Great Britain and the Ottoman Empire: British Discourses on

the 'Ottomans', 1860-1878

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores British perceptions of and discourses on the 'Ottomans' in the mid-nineteenth century, which have been largely overlooked in the existing literature. It approaches the question through three case studies analysing the construction of the perceptions through a discourse-analytic framework.

This thesis is divided into two main parts, with the first part providing essential background information for the three case studies which make up the second part.

Chapter 1 sets out the research question and the methodology. Chapter 2 looks at the development of Anglo-Ottoman relations from the beginning until the nineteenth century, identifying important stages in these relations which in turn impacted upon British perceptions. These early British perceptions are traced in Chapter 3, identifying a range of perceptions none of which achieve a dominant position in the British public discourse on the Ottoman Empire and the Ottomans.

Part 2 constitutes the core of the dissertation. Chapter 4 focuses on Britain and the Ottoman Empire in the 1860s and 1870s, analysing the wider setting which forms the background to the case studies. Chapter 5 examines the Lebanon Crisis of 1860 tracing the formation of two discourses on the Ottomans in Britain: the sick-man discourse and the integrity discourse, which competed for dominance in the public debate. Chapter 6 examines the Cretan Crisis of 1866, which showed the continued use of these two discourses, with the sick-

man discourse finding more support but not yet dominating the debate. This changes during the Bulgarian Atrocities Campaign of 1876, which is explored in Chapter 7. During this crisis, the sick-man discourse undergoes both a radicalisation and popularisation following the graphic coverage in the British press of the atrocities committed in the Balkans which is picked up by politicians who feel the need to respond to pressure from the streets.

The Conclusion sums up the main findings of the dissertation and discusses how far the nineteenth-century constructions of the Ottomans as the 'other' in Britain remain relevant in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, when the Muslims take the place of the Ottomans as the 'other'.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.)   **The Research Question**

The 1874 general elections did not end successfully for W. E. Gladstone, the Liberal Prime Minister of Britain. Following his party's defeat in the elections, he resigned from the Party's leadership and decided to continue his career as an MP. At the age of 65 it looked like his political career was over.

2 years later in late August 1876, he wrote a pamphlet after one week of research in the British Museum and sent it over for publication. *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East* was published on September 7 and was a phenomenal success. All copies of the pamphlet were sold within the day of publication and it sold a total of 200,000 copies in one month. In the next four years Gladstone's political career revitalised, his electoral campaign in 1879 was hugely successful and he was back in the Prime Minister's office after the general election of 1880.

For historians, Gladstone's renaissance in late 1870s was not surprising; he was popular in electorate even after his resignation, and he continued to dominate the political scene until his final fall in the 1890s. However, in retrospect, the success of his pamphlet is surprising. Although Gladstone and his pamphlet is not the focus of this dissertation, 'why did a pamphlet on Bulgaria, a place that hardly anyone had ever heard of in 1876, become so popular' was the first question that draw my interest to this topic.

The first answer to this question in the literature was straightforward. The pamphlet was successful because it was a part of a wider campaign called the Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation which was organised in form of public meetings to protest the atrocities committed by the Ottoman irregular troops in Bulgaria. Gladstone's pamphlet was written at a time when the press informed the people about the

massacres and agitated people to protest both the Ottoman government, because of its crimes, and the British government because of its indirect support to the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, there was already an audience eager to learn his say on the issue.

The Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation, which is analysed in Chapter 5 of this thesis was a part of an international crisis started in 1875 in Ottoman Bosnia as a revolt against the Ottoman government.[1] The revolt turned into the 'Great Eastern Crisis' of 1875-1878 which was the climax of the so-called Eastern Question, one of the major preoccupations of Great Power diplomacy in the 19th century. The April Uprising of 1876, a failed nationalist revolution in Bulgaria, was a part of the Great Crisis. The Ottomans suppressed the Uprising with brutality which was presented to British public by daily newspapers and caused public outcry that formed the Agitation.

The Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation had been subjected to numerous studies which could be principally grouped into two categories. The first is the studies which treat the Agitation as a part of diplomatic-international history of the Eastern Question. The second treats it as a predominantly domestic phenomenon arguing that it influenced the British domestic politics more than it did the international politics.

The first of the three major studies in the area was Robert William Seton-Watson's *Disraeli, Gladstone, and the Eastern Question: A Study in Diplomacy and Party Politics*, first published in 1935[2]. Seton-Watson's account was authoritative and influenced the subsequent works on the area because it presented vast archival material to its readers. Seton-Watson's work placed the Agitation within the context of the Eastern Question and created the backbone of the contemporary international

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[1] The literature on the issue and a historical account of events are presented in Chapter 5 of this thesis. See Appendix 1 for the chronology of events.
[2] R. W. Seton –Watson, *Disraeli, Gladstone and the Eastern Question: A Study in Diplomacy and Party Politics*, Norton, 1972.

relations studies which concerned with the Agitation as an example of 'humanitarian intervention'.[3] Seton-Watson, like most of the earlier 20th century British historians, suffers from the 'pro-Gladstonian bias'; being born in 1879, he was a member of the era he was studying and shaped by the same cultural presuppositions and ideological positions. Seton-Watson's account was highly critical of Disraeli's defence of the Ottoman Empire as he accused the Prime Minister of focusing on narrow 'British self-interests' in contrast to Gladstone's appeal for 'civilisation and humanity'.[4]

The second important work was R. Shannon's *Gladstone and Bulgarian Agitation* published in 1963 and formed the basis of the second category of works.[5] Shannon analysed domestic sources such as personal letters, diaries and petitions, in order to understand the 'public opinion' in Britain. His work also focused on Gladstone's role in the Agitation and argued that the Agitation contributed more to Gladstone's career than he contributed to the Agitation. Although Shannon's focus is different than Seton-Watson's, they both appreciated Gladstone's role and position in the Agitation, and were highly critical of Disraeli.

The final important work was by Ann Pottinger Saab, *The Reluctant Icon: Gladstone, Bulgaria and the Working Classes* in 1991[6]. Saab criticised the earlier works for being too top-down in approach and focusing too much on the 'high politics'. Saab's approach was similar to Shannon's in arguing that the Agitation was chiefly a domestic event. In contrast to him, Saab argued that the Agitation could be best explained with the sociological theory of Neil Smelser, *Theory of Collective Behavior.*

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[3] See M. Finneson, Constructing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention in P.J. Katzenstein (eds), *The Culture of National Security,* Columbia University Press, 1996, pp. 153-175 and D. Rodogno, *Against Massacre: Humanitarian Intervention in the Ottoman Empire, 1815-1914,* Princeton University Press, 2012.

[4] R.W. Seton-Watson, p.102.

[5] R. Shannon, *Gladstone and the Bulgarian Agitation 1876*, Thomas Nelson, 1963.

[6] A. P. Saab, *The Reluctant Icon: Gladstone, Bulgaria and the Working Classes*, Harvard University Press, 1991.

Thus, the conventional view of the Agitation is that it was primarily developed as a response to Disraeli's inhumane foreign policy and his insistence on the Palmerston's *realpolitik* approach to the Eastern Question. According this view, Gladstone's 'humanitarian, principled and moral' foreign policy stands in contrast with the Conservative policy and represented the will of the Agitators and the 'public opinion'. The Agitation was successful in altering the domestic political configuration by reinvigorating Gladstone's political career, as a first step in his way to Prime Ministership in 1880, although its impact on foreign policy was more ambiguous.

These three major works present us invaluable information and analyses of the Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation. However, one crucial dimension of the Agitation was left unexamined; none of the studies focused on the link between the 'perpetrator' Ottomans and the 'agitated' British. In all of the studies, the Agitation was either treated as a domestic issue and thus the historiography was concerned with the actors that took part in it or as a part of the intra-state 'diplomatic' history which concerned primarily with the actions of the state. The third, cultural dimension, was overlooked; what the Agitators –newspapers, MPs and others- thought about the perpetrators in general, before, during and after the Agitation was not examined.

The reason of this gap is difficult to understand; if the Agitation was developed in response to the horrors committed by the 'Ottomans' and if all the meetings were organised principally to protest the Ottoman Empire –Disraeli was protested because of his *support to* the Ottoman Empire- then the British understanding of the 'Ottomans' is crucial in explaining the Agitation. This gap in the literature on the Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation led me to ask the main research question*: how did the British perceive the 'Ottomans'? How much did they know about the Ottoman Empire and more importantly which factors shaped their understanding of it?*

The question of perceiving and representing the other cultures have been subjected to a major debate in scholarly literature in the 20th century. One work particularly stands out in the studies concerning the Western representations of the Middle East, Edward Said's *Orientalism* published in 1978, and has been the most influential work for scholars preoccupied with the questions on cultural representation such as 'how people perceive and represent other cultures'. Said was concerned with how the 'Orient' was constructed by the 'West', particularly in the 19th and 20th centuries. Said notes his main thesis in *Orientalism* as:

> the essential aspects of modern Orientalist theory and praxis (from which present-day Orientalism derives) can be understood, not as a sudden access of objective knowledge about the Orient, but as a set of structures inherited from the past, secularized, redisposed, and re-formed by such disciplines as philology, which in turn were naturalized, modernized, and laicized substitutes for (or versions of) Christian supernaturalism.[7]

In Said's theory, the 19th century representations of the East by the Westerners were primarily depended on the sense of European superiority of the Orient. In this way, Said claimed that 19th century Orientalists served to justify Western imperialism, by creating a terrain of social practices. For instance, 'academic Orientalism' was concerned with the study of the Orient by Western scholars and authors; an extensive list of names including Renan, Flaubert and Marx jointly created an 'imagined or Orientalized' Orient. The common denominator of these thinkers were their 'style of thought' which depended on 'an ontological and epistemological distinction made between the Orient and the Occident'; a well-rooted dichotomy which was well-rooted in the pre-modern times.

Although Said's primary case was the Western perceptions of the Arabs and Muslims

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[7] E. Said, *Orientalism,* Pantheon Books, 1978, p. 122.

in the 19th (and 20th) century, there was surprisingly few references to the Ottoman Empire and Ottoman society. Two important works in the literature scrutinised Said's theory in the Ottoman context; Asli Cirakman's *From the 'terror of the World to the sick-man of Europe': European Images of Ottoman Empire and Society from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century*, published in 2002, surveyed the perceptions of Ottomans in Britain and France until the beginning of the 19th century. Cirakman refuted the 'one-sidedness' of Said's framework and argued that the Orientalists in the 16th and 17th centuries 'neither had an Orientalist world-view nor subscribed to the idea of European superiority and hegemony over the Ottomans'.[8] Moreover, Cirakman argues that the 18th century Enlightenment brought a radical change to the European imagination of the Ottoman Empire, as anti-Ottoman images started to prevail. Cirakman's study is valuable as it explores the themes used in early-modern 'European' thinking which were used to analyse the Ottomans; however it does not cover the 19th century.

The second work on the issue is primarily concerned with the 19th century British perceptions of the Ottoman Empire; the only monograph in the literature focused on this period. Reinhold Schiffer's *Oriental Panaroma: British Travellers in 19th Century Turkey,* published in 1999, explores the perceptions of the British travellers to the Ottoman Empire and thus presents us a valuable but skewed picture of the period; the book focuses solely on the traveller accounts.[9] Schiffer, similar to Cirakman, also disagrees with Said's framework and argues that the travellers constructed multiple views on the 'Ottomans', and some of these were not Orientalist in the Saidian sense.

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[8] A. Cirakman, *From the 'Terror of the World to Sick-man of Europe': European Images of the Ottoman Empire from the Sixteenth to Nineteenth Century*¸ Peter Lang Publications, 2002, pp.31-2. For a detailed analysis of Cirakman's work see Chapter 2 of this thesis.
[9] R. Schiffer, *Oriental Panaroma: British Travellers in the 19th century Turkey*, Radopi, 1999.

The available literature on the British perceptions of the 'Ottomans' was unable to provide a definitive answer to the research question posed, which led me to the main research objective of this thesis; to explore the British perceptions of the 'Ottomans' in the mid-19th century in a wide range of available sources such as newspapers, parliamentary debates and periodical press. In this way the research aims to contribute to the literature on the British perceptions of the 'Ottomans' through analysing the Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation as a case study.

2.)   **Research Strategy**

The main strategy of this research was to situate the Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation into a wider context and to use it as a reference point to examine and understand how the British subjects, more precisely the British elites, constructed the Ottoman image in that period. In this approach the Agitation is used as a 'case study' to explore how the British perceptions were constructed, contested and, finally, how they succeeded in dominating the public imagination. Therefore, the preferred methodology of this research is the case study method.

Flyvbjerg defines a case as a 'detailed examination of a single example'[10] which could be used 'as a basis of generalization, comparison and lending support to proto-explanations'[11] to shed light on a phenomenon. One of the virtues of the case study method, as outlined by Glynos and Howarth in their recent study, is 'its greater attention to detail and its closer proximity to the object of study'[12] which reduces the risk of selective bias, choosing cases according to researchers' predilections, which is the main argument against the use of case study method. Cases provide an

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[10] B.Flyvbjerg, *Making Social Science Matter,* Cambridge University Press, 2001, p. 65.

[11] J. Glynos and D. Howarth, *Logics of Critical Explanation in Social and Political Theory*, Routledge, 2007, p. 202.

[12] Glynos and Howarth, p. 204.

opportunity of in-depth study of a given phenomenon, and in most of the reported cases, including mine, the case research reveals results which challenge the assumptions of the researcher due to its detailed nature.

Cases could be contextualised in various ways, which proves the explanatory capacity of the method. Flyvbjerg outlines four types of cases, which are instructive in understanding the different roles cases could play in explaining a phenomenon. The first example, *critical* cases, is important if the objective is to gather the greatest possible amount of information on a given problem because uncommon, *critical* cases, 'activate more actors and more basic mechanisms in the situation studied.'[13] The second type, *extreme* cases, 'can serve to highlight particular phenomena in dramatic fashion'[14] and the third type, *maximum variation* cases, may enable the researchers to 'obtain information about the significance of various circumstances for case process and outcome' because they are different from each other in certain respects: size, historical background, geographical location etc.[15] The fourth type is *paradigmatic* cases, which function as exemplars or metaphors for a whole class of cases that highlight the general characteristics of a society or system.[16]

The mostly used example to explain a paradigmatic case is Foucault's usage of the 'panopticon', an architectural design of Jeremy Benhtam which gave a single watchman the opportunity to watch every single inmate in a prison.[17] For Foucault, the panopticon was not only a disciplinary mechanism for prison, but it 'must be understood as a generalizable model of functioning; a way of defining power relations

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[13] Flyvbjerg, pp. 77-78.
[14] Glynos and Howarth p.202.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Flyvbjerg, p. 80.
[17] M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish, the Birth of Prison,* Vintage Books, 1995, pp. 200-209.

in terms of everyday life of man'.[18] Therefore, it was a paradigmatic case representing the system of disciplinary and surveillance mechanisms emerging at the end of the 18th century. Foucault used the prison system as a case of the emerging modern state's control over individuals, which was best represented in the example of panopticon.

Once these four basic types are established, the question is how to decide on which category the case will fall under. According to Flyvbjerg and Dreyfus, it is difficult to pre-determine the category of a case especially for critical and paradigmatic cases.[19] The paradigmatic cases are the most difficult to establish in advance because 'paradigmatic case transcends any sort-of rule based criteria'. As Flyvbjerg notes, the selection of a paradigmatic case also depends on the execution of the case study by the researcher and the reaction to the study by the research community. Moreover, these four types are not exhaustive and more importantly they are not mutually exclusive, they can overlap with each other.[20]

In this perspective, the Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation emerges foremost as a 'paradigmatic case' in examining the British perceptions in the mid-19th century as it was the major event in Britain which brought the 'Ottomans' to the centre of public attention. Similar to Foucault's panopticon, the Agitation served as the exemplar case in which the perceptions on the Ottomans in British society became visible.

Although choosing a single-case can be very useful to illuminate a social phenomenon through providing context-depended knowledge, generalising over a single-case carries the risk of simplification and over-generalisation. In order to tackle

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[18] Foucault, p. 205.
[19] B. Flyvbjerg, Five Misunderstandings about Case-Study Research, *Qualitative Inquiry,* Vol. 12, No.2, 2006, p. 233.
[20] Flyvbjerg p. 81.

this problem, Glynos and Howarth propose a second methodological device, 'comparison'. Choosing multiple cases and comparing them enables the researcher to assess the importance of the main case and renders the phenomena under question more intelligible.[21]

Researching an area as wide as British perspectives necessitates the usage of multiple cases, as this will bring a larger sample of examples and broaden the analysis. Moreover, comparing various cases with each other enables us to explore the significance of the paradigmatic case through focusing on the differences and similarities of it with other cases.[22] Because of these reasons, this research is developed through three cases studies; the Agitation is analysed in relation to two other case studies that chronologically precede it. I have chosen the Lebanon Crisis of 1860 and Cretan Crisis of 1866-68 as two other cases to investigate the British perceptions. The criteria in selecting the case studies were 'periodisation' and 'contextual unity'; the three case studies complement each other to provide us a detailed picture of the British perceptions on the 'Ottomans' during the mid-Victorian era.

In terms of periodization, the 1860s and 1870s form a unity in two aspects. In terms of the foreign relations, the Crimean War (1853-56) and the Berlin Treaty (1878) which ended the Russo-Ottoman War have become two important moments shaping the Anglo-Ottoman relations as the former symbolised the peak and the latter the decline of the cooperation between the two states. The Crimean War was the peak of the relations because the British Empire fought with the Ottoman Empire against Russia, the traditional adversary of the Ottoman Empire. The Berlin Treaty on the

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[21] Glynos and Howarth, p. 205.
[22] Ibid.

other hand signalled the end of the 'close cooperation' between these empires as Britain left the Ottoman Empire alone in its fight with the Russian Empire.

The period in between was a period of relatively stable and tranquil cooperation which neither led to war nor a souring in bilateral relations. On the other hand, the same period was a period of transformation in Britain, where a multitude of factors initiated a change in politics and society.[23] Hence, this period offers both a comparable background due to its unity while offering various differences which render a comparative study necessary. The aim of these three cases is to provide us with a complete picture of a transformatory period in which the British perceptions were shaped.

3.) **Discourse Theory**

The main argument so far, after analysing the available literature, is that the British perceptions of the 'Ottomans' in the mid-Victorian era has been overlooked by the literature, and the Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation, complemented with two other case studies, provides us a valuable case to study these perceptions. Once this is established, a final question should be asked before the research could be conducted: 'what is the best way to extract information from the case studies and interpret them in a systematic way?' This question is crucial as it is both an ontological and explanatory question; it concerns vital issues such as 'what to look at' in a case and 'how to explain them'. These questions are important for every research and they are vital for a research concerning an abstract issue such as 'perceptions'.

Discourse analysis emerges as the main theoretical tool at the disposal of the researchers who aims to capture, identify and interpret the construction of the social,

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[23] For an analysis of these see Chapter 3 of this thesis.

political and cultural identities.[24] The main argument of discourse theory is that the meaning of an object depends on the particular systems of differences or discourses that constitute its identity.[25] It is this function of discourse analysis that makes it highly relevant for this research as the main aim of this thesis is to investigate how the identity of the 'Ottomans' was constructed in Britain.

In the last three decades, the term discourse gained prominence and various theories of discourse have been developed by the researchers. It is therefore crucial to define the type of discourse analysis used in this thesis as well giving the basic definitions of the main concepts used throughout the case studies.

This thesis utilises poststructuralist discourse theory (PDT) which focuses 'neither on observable facts nor on deep meanings, but on the historical formation of the discursive conditions of social being' and thus offers a relationist, historical and contextual explanation to identity formation.[26] In this way, PDT offers us a novel way of explaining how the identities and 'meanings' or, in a broader sense, how the social world is constructed through the functioning of discourses.

3.1)   Main Arguments of the Poststucturalist Discourse Theory (PDT)

The key arguments of the PDT are set by Laclau and Mouffe in *The Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (1985) and in Laclau's later writings.[27] The first argument is that identities are formed against a background of historically specific *discourses*. Discourse can be approximated as a 'shared way of apprehending the world' which 'enables those who subscribe to it to interpret bits of information and put them

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[24] J. Torfing, Discourse Theory: Achievements, Arguments and Challenges, in D. Howarth and J. Torfing (eds), *Discourse Theory in European Politics; Identity, Policy, Governance,* Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, p. 1.

[25] D. Howarth, *Discourse,* Open University Press, 2000, p. 102.

[26] Ibid.

[27] E. Laclau and C. Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy,* Verso, 1985.

together into coherent stories or accounts.'[28] Each discourse rests on certain assumptions, judgments and contentions that provide the basic terms for analysis, debate, agreement and disagreement on an object. Natural, physical and cultural objects are understood and acquire meaning in discourses and do not have any meaning prior to or beyond discourses. [29] Moreover, in PDT, discourse is a political category formed through power relations such as domination, coercion or consent:

> discourses are concrete systems of social relations and practices that are intrinsically political, as their formation is an act of radical institution which involves the construction of antagonisms and the drawing of political frontiers between 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. The construction of discourses thus involves the exercise of power and a consequent structuring of the relations between different social agents.[30]

In light of this, the discursive representation of an object is not a passive act of identifying an already existing object; rather, it *creates* the identity of the object as such.[31] For instance, the 'Turk' is represented as an 'Asiatic barbaric race' by British elite through the sick-man discourse analysed in this thesis. It is through this representation that the identity of the 'Turk' is established in Britain. Similarly, when the 'Turk' is identified as a 'barbaric' race it is subordinated to the more 'civilized' races' such as the British; therefore the discursive representations instituted the power relations between the 'Turk' and the 'British'.

In Laclau and Mouffe's understanding, a discourse is a combination of discursive elements such as text and non-discursive elements such as institutions, regimes and

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[28] J. Dryzek, *The Politics of Earth,* Oxford University Press, 1997, p.8.
[29] J. Glynos, D. Howarth, A. Norval, E. Speed, *Discourse Analysis: Varieties and Methods,* ESRC National Centre for Research Methods Review Paper, 2009, p.8.
[30] Howarth, p. 9.
[31] Laclau, E., Deconstruction, Pragmatism, Hegemony in C. Mouffe (eds.) *Deconstruction and Pragmatism* Routledge,1996,, pp. 47-67.

practices. This is crucial in understanding the usage of discourse analysis throughout this thesis. Discourses analysed in this thesis consist of both textual elements, such as newspaper articles and Parliamentary speeches, and set of practices, such as 'humanitarianism' or 'interventionist foreign policy', which aims to transform institutions such as the British state or the Liberal Party.

Another key argument of PDT is that social phenomena are never finished or total as there is no predetermined essence capable of fixing all identities/meanings within a totalising structure.[32] This is an essential point in the construction of meanings; according to discourse theory, meanings could only be 'partially fixed'. The creation of meaning is about the fixation of a word within a specific discourse and different discourses compete in this process. The main task of the analyst is to determine how the meanings are fixed and why some fixation of meanings become conventional or hegemonic.

3.2) Key Analytical Concepts

The category of discourse refers to a 'relational configuration' of different elements that comprise subjects, words, actions or things.[33] It is through this relationality that the meanings are formed; within a discourse, meaning is constructed either in terms of difference or equivalence or a combination of the both.[34] For instance, in the sick-man discourse analysed in this thesis, the identity of the 'Turk' is fixed in relation to its difference from the 'European' or 'British' and the 'Muslim' from the 'Christian'. Naturally this process is a reductionary process; defining the meaning of the 'Turk' as 'non-European' forecloses various other possibilities that could have been used to

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[32] M. Jorgensen and L. J. Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method,* Sage Publications, 2002, p. 24.
[33] D. Howarth, Power, Discourse and Policy: Articulating a Hegemony Approach to Critical Policy Studies, *Critical Policy Studies,* Vol. 3, No. 3-4, 2009, p. 311.
[34] Torfing, p. 15.

define the 'Turk'.

In a discourse, the elements of a discourse are related to one another in a process called *'articulation'*.[35] The meaning of the objects changes as a result of this articulatory process, and thus, the same term could have different meanings in different discourses. Articulation of various elements in a discourse is *contingent* (possible but not necessary) and singular (context-dependent). It is through articulation that terms and objects acquire meaning in a discourse, and this is also the reason why meaning of a term can never be fully fixed. The possibility of being articulated with different terms enables the redefining of the term differently in a different discourse. For instance, the term 'Ottoman Christian' in the sick-man discourse is articulated to 'civilized' and thus presented as being superior to the 'barbaric Muslim'. On the contrary, in the integrity discourse it is articulated to the 'Oriental' and thus presented as being inferior to the Western Christians and as equally barbaric and backward as its Muslim neighbours. In this way, discourse is an operation of foreclosure of possibilities and partially-fixing the meaning of a term in a particular context.

To sum up, according to PDT, discourses partially fix the meaning of elements in a relational process called articulation. Because articulation opens up the theoretically infinite possibilities of meaning production, discourses are never fully complete and in constant struggle with each other to define the social world. This brings us to another important concept of PDT; *social antagonism* which defines the limits of a discourse through its constitutive other. Social antagonism occurs when different identities or meanings mutually exclude each other and are found when discourses

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[35] E. Laclau, C. Mouffe, *Hegemony and the Socialist Strategy,* Verso, 1985, p. 105.

collide.[36]

Antagonisms are dissolved through *hegemonic* interventions, when one discourse dominates the other through articulating its elements. An illuminating example here is from World War 1, where the 'workers' were split between fighting for their nation (nationalist discourse) and to reject fighting against fellow workers from other countries (socialist discourse). An English worker therefore had two identities; being English and being a worker, and they mutually excluded each other in the face of the event (war). These two discourses colluded with each other to define a course of action in the War and the nationalist discourse prevailed; the English worker went to war and fought against other workers from the Central Powers. In this example, the nationalist discourse became the *hegemonic* discourse by articulating the English worker as 'Englishman' at the expense of articulation the same person as the 'class-conscious worker'.[37]

3.3) Discourse Analysis and the Sources

The merits of the PDT for this thesis can explained in light of the information provided. The vague concept of 'perceptions' could be best explained within a discourse analytic framework because this ontology enables us to explain not only 'which perceptions' were formulated, but more importantly, 'why and how these were constructed'. In this way, this research differs from other works on this area by focusing on the 'construction' of the perceptions.

The main sources of the research are twofold; the newspaper archives and the Hansard archives. The main newspapers used throughout this dissertation are *The*

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[36] Jorgensen and Phillips, p. 47.
[37] Ibid, See also Hobsbawm E., *Nations and Nationalisms since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality,* Columbia University Press, 1990.

Times and the *Daily News* and these papers were supported by numerous other newspapers.[38] *The Times* was the most popular and most read newspaper in the 1860s, which makes the paper the most relevant source in investigating the perceptions. On the other hand, the *Daily News* had a constitutive role in the Agitation and became the most important paper in setting the tone of it. This makes the paper relevant for this research.

In addition to the newspaper archives, various periodicals are also analysed particularly in Chapter 4; exploring the periodicals enriches the research because it enlarges the sample size as well as reflecting the more 'specialist' view. The periodicals targeted a smaller but more educated group of readers than newspapers, and this increases their importance in studying the elite perceptions.

The final important source used in this research is the Parliamentary debates. I have analysed the discussions in both the House of Lords and Commons where the political class of the day articulated their views on the 'Ottomans'. Their ideas were reproduced in the newspapers and disseminated to the public. Moreover, they held the executive power to shape the British policy which, as explained above, constituted the non-discursive element of the discourse. Through analysing these sources, this research then focuses on how each discourse constitutes 'the knowledge and reality' about the conflicts analysed in the case studies.

4.)   **Organisation of the Thesis**

This thesis is broadly organised in two parts. Part I is concerned with providing the historical background necessary for the case studies and developed in two chapters.

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[38] More detailed information on the newspapers used in this thesis can be find in the relevant chapters. Apart from these two newspapers, Chapter

Part II deals with the case studies which deploy discourse analysis to explore the construction of British discourses on the 'Ottomans' and is developed through three chapters, each dealing with a case study. The main argument of this thesis is that the British perceptions on the Ottomans could be categorised in two separate discourses in the 1860s and 1870s, the *sick-man* and the *integrity* discourse. Each of these discourses formulated a different understanding of key concepts such as the 'Turk', the 'Muslim', the 'Eastern Christian' and had an antagonistic relation with each other, and the radicalisation of these two discourses played a key role in the making of the Agitation in 1876.

Chapter 2 provides a historical narrative of the Anglo-Ottoman relations from the 16th century to mid-19th century. The main focus of the chapter is to analyse the literature on the 'diplomatic' relations between the two states in order to explore the impact of the political-diplomatic relations on the formation of the early modern British perceptions on the 'Ottomans'. The chapter concludes that the British interest to the Ottoman Empire is increased in the early 19th century, which brought the 'Ottomans' into closer contact with the British elite in a political context, different than the earlier centuries.

Chapter 3 deals with the historical perceptions of the Ottomans in early modern Britain and traces the emergence, disappearance and transformation of these perceptions until the mid-19th century. I argue in this chapter that, although the Ottoman representations in Britain were 'plural' from the earlier centuries onwards, the way they were constructed started to transform in the 19th century. The earlier vague perceptions were transformed in the 19th century and began to be constructed in coherent political discourses, which renders a more systematic examination necessary for the 19th century.

Chapter 4 aims to bridge Part I and Part II by focusing closely on 1860s and 1870s to Britain and the Ottoman Empire. The former's economic, political and social development is analysed and specific attention is given to map the *Weltanschauung* of the period. Similarly, the reformation period in the Ottoman Empire is examined in order to shed light on how these reforms affected the British discourses.

The first case study is the Lebanese Civil War, which is analysed in Chapter 5. The first analysis investigates British newspapers, Hansard papers and two major traveller books in order to explore how the Crisis was understood in Britain. I argue that the Civil War was reflected through two major discourses which competed with each other to define the Civil War, construct perceptions on the Ottoman society and offer different foreign policy options for Britain in light of these discussions.

Chapter 6 deals with the second case study, the Cretan Revolt, which happened six years after the end of the Lebanese Civil War. Different from the first study, the second case study adds material from a new source, British periodical press, and tests the continuities and discontinuities in the discourses established during the Lebanon Civil War. Therefore the aim of the second case study is twofold; to observe the construction of British discourses in a different context and to compare the results with the earlier case to establish the perceptions in the 1860s.

The main case study of the thesis is analysed in Chapter 7, the Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation. The final case analyses the discourses produced during the Agitation, depending on similar sources used in the first two cases. Moreover, specific attention is given to examine Gladstone's pamphlet, which was one of the main symbols of the Agitation. The findings of the chapter is compared with the findings of the earlier case studies, and in this way, the dominant perceptions of the 1860s and 1870s are

presented.

The conclusion of the thesis deals with the main findings of the analysis and draws results from them through discussing the relevance of these findings with today's perceptions.

5.) A word on terms used in this Thesis

At this point it is necessary to explain the terminology used in this thesis. In 19th century Britain, the Ottoman Empire was referred as 'Turkey' both in newspapers and in Parliament and because of this, the term 'Ottoman' did not exist in the primary sources. Two seemingly interchangeable terms, the 'Turk' and the 'Muslim' was used to refer to the Muslim part of the society. One of the aims of this research is to examine the meaning of these terms through the case studies, to discern how the terms Turk and Muslim was used in British sources. I used the term 'Ottoman' throughout this thesis to refer to the Ottoman society including all religious and ethnic groups, as an umbrella term.

Some background information on the Ottoman Empire is also useful. The Ottoman Empire was established in 1299 or 1301 by Osman I in Western Anatolia as a small Muslim warrior state in order to wage a religious war against the Byzantium Empire.[39] Osman established the dynasty which ruled contemporary Balkans, Turkey and the Middle East until the end of the World War 1. The head of the Ottoman state was named as the Sultan who was a member of Osman's dynasty. The highest authority in the Ottoman bureaucracy was the Grand Vizier, who was chosen and

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[39] For the formation of the Ottoman Empire see H. Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire, The Classical Age, 1300-1600,* Orion, 1994 and C. Kafadar, *Between the Two Worlds: Construction of the Ottoman State,* University of California Press, 1996. For a brief history of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century see, E.J. Zurcher, *Turkey: A Modern History,* I.B. Tauris, 1994 and D. Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922,* Cambridge University Press, 2005.

replaced by the Sultan. The Grand Vizier was the head of a number of viziers responsible of different parts of the state affairs. The Porte was the name used to denote to the Ottoman bureaucracy, due to the large door of the building where the Grand Vizier and other viziers were based. In the 19th century, the period focused in this thesis, the Porte exerted great influence over the Sultan in decision making.

In terms of geography, the Ottoman realm in the 19th century Britain was named as the Near East, a term that is largely forgotten in today's world and partly replaced by the Middle East. The Near East encompassed the territory from Balkans to India, and from Crimea to the southern edge of Arabia.

Chapter 2: A Short Overview of the Anglo-Ottoman Relations up to the Mid-Nineteenth Century

1.)   Introduction

The diplomatic relations between the English and the Ottomans were established at the end of the 16th century when the Ottomans emerged as a European power and English sailors started to penetrate the Mediterranean for commercial purposes.[1] The diplomatic relations between the two states continued uninterruptedly from this time on although the importance of the relations for the two countries declined in the middle of the 17th century until it was revitalised in the 19th century with the emergence of the Eastern Question.[2]

The Eastern Question had a profound impact on the Anglo-Ottoman relations. It emerged as a result of the international order established in the 18th century, when the balance of power between the Ottoman Empire and the Western Powers became significantly different from the 16th century. Development of the relations in the 19th century as a result of an international question had a significant impact on the nature of the relations, which in turn influenced the perceptions of the Ottomans in Britain.

The first purpose of this chapter is to present the diplomatic history of the Anglo-Ottoman relations from its emergence until 1860 in order to present the political landscape in the development of the relations. The diplomatic history is central to understanding the formation of the English elites' perceptions of the Ottomans which are analysed in the Chapter 2. In this way, the chapter aims to provide a background for the following chapter by focusing on the political relations.

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[1] V.J. Parry, The Ottoman Empire 1566-1617 in R.W Wernham, *The New Cambridge Modern History, Vol. 3, The Counter Reformation and Price Revolution, 1559-1610,* Cambridge University Press, 1968, p. 367.
[2] See, D.G Clayton, *Britain and the Eastern Question*, Lion Library, 1970, M.S. Anderson, *Great Powers and the Near East*, *1774-1923*, Edward Arnold,1970, M.E. Yapp, *The Making of the Modern Near East*, Longman 1987, *A. Macfie, The Eastern Question 1774-1923*, Longman, 1996. For a short analysis of different definitions of the Eastern Question see Macfie pp.1-4.

The second aim of the chapter is to focus on the 19th century political transformations, embodied in the Eastern Question, which reshaped the Anglo-Ottoman relations. This part aims to lay the diplomatic background to the crises analysed in the case studies, which are vital in understanding the discourses constructed in Britain after 1860.

2.) The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

2.1) The Levant Trade Company and Anglo-Ottoman Commerce

The commercial concerns were one of the major factors in the establishment of the direct relations between the English and the Ottomans. Although the English traded in the Levant from the beginning of the 16th century, the Venetians, who were engaged in a bitter rivalry with the Ottomans to control the trade routes between the East and Europe, acted as the middle-man in this trade.[3]

In the mid-16[th]century, the Ottomans asserted their control over the Eastern Mediterranean trade routes as a result of a series of military victories, and one of the results of this situation was the direct contact established between the Ottomans and the English. The Sultan granted independent trading rights to English subjects in 1553 after an English commercial agent arrived at Constantinople to regulate the trade.[4] A few years later, the Levant Trading Company was established in England and the first official English representative to the Ottoman Empire arrived in Constantinople in 1583 who acted as both the representative of the Levant Company and the English court.[5]

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[3] E. S. Gurkan, Osmanli-Habsburg Rekabeti Cercevesinde Osmanlilarin XVI.Yuzyil Akdeniz Siyaseti [16th century Mediterranean Policy of the Ottomans within the Context of Ottoman-Habsburg Rivalry] in *Osmanli Donemi Akdeniz Dunyasi [Mediterranean World in the Ottoman Age]*, Yeditepe, 2011, pp. 11-50.

[4] G.M Bell, *A Handlist of British Diplomatic Representatives 1509-1688*, Royal Historical Society, 1990, p. 283.

[5] C. Laidlaw, *British in the Levant: Trade and Perceptions in the 18th Century*, I.B. Tauris, 2010.

In the development of the early Anglo-Ottoman relations, the Levant Company played a central role. Until 1804, the dual role of the representatives of the Levant Company in Constantinople continued and their expenses were covered by the Company.[6] The Company operated in three cities, Constantinople, Smyrna and Aleppo and the representatives in Smyrna and Aleppo acted as the British consuls during their residence.

The trade between the two states rose rapidly at the end of the 16th century, and by 1620, England became the main European trading partner of the Ottoman Empire.[7] Throughout the 17th century, the Levant Company's trade with the Ottoman Empire century faced competition both from the East Indian Company over the monopoly of certain commodities, silk being the most important, and from France over textile exports.[8] Between 1620-1683 the English domination in the Levant trade continued; the English trade constituted an estimated 39.6% of the Ottoman exports in 1638 and 39% in 1686.[9]

The Anglo-Ottoman trade volume diminished significantly in the 18th century; at the end of 1700s only 1% of British foreign trade was with the Levant.[10] Similarly, by the end of the 18th century, only 9.2% of the Ottoman exports headed to the British Empire.[11] The trade between two nations improved in the mid-19th century; Ottoman exports to Britain rose from 13% in 1830 to 29.2% in 1850, following the free-trade

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[6] C. Laidlaw, p.18
[7] G. M. MacLean, Looking East, English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, p. 27.
[8] Laidlaw, pp. 25-6.
[9] B. McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe: Taxation, Trade, and the Struggle for Land, 1600-1800*, Cambridge University Press, 1981, p. 18.
[10] P. Mathias, *The First Industrial Nation,* Routledge, 2001, p. 88.
[11] McGowan, p.18.

treaty signed in 1838.[12]

2.2) The Political Situation in Britain and the Ottoman Empire at the Start of their Relations

Politics played a key role in the establishment of the direct relations between England and the Ottoman Empire, which took place at the backdrop of the political/religious struggle in 16th century Europe between the Habsburgs, England, France and the Ottomans.

In the mid-16th century, the religious struggle in Europe between Catholicism and various branches of Protestantism intensified, especially after the ascendance of Philip II to the Spanish branch of the Habsburg throne. The main rival of the Spain in the Western Mediterranean was the Ottoman Empire which was also engaged with a series of wars with the Austrian branch of the Habsburgs.

On the other corner of Europe, England also found itself engulfed with the same political/religious struggle; Elizabeth, the Protestant Queen, supported the revolt in Netherlands against Philip II's Spain which, in turn, aimed to first quell the revolt and then invade England to put an end to the Protestant rule.[13] Elizabeth sent 6000 troops to fight against the Spanish Habsburgs in the Low Countries in 1585, and Philip II assembled the 'Great Armada' in 1588 to invade England. Existence of the common powerful enemy provided the

The first British Ambassadors to the Porte, William Harborne and Edward Barton encouraged the Ottomans to attack Spain.[14] Moreover, the English Ambassador

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[12] S. Pamuk, *The Ottoman Empire and European Capitalism: 1820-1913,* Cambridge University Press, 1987, pp.188-191.
[13] R.R. Palmer & J. Colton, *A History of the Modern World,* Alfred Knopf Inc, 1978, pp. 124-26.
[14] Parry, p. 368.

Edward Barton participated in the Ottoman military campaign against Habsburgs in Hungary in 1596 in which the English supported the Ottomans by providing them with war materials.[15] The political friendship of the English was also important for the Ottoman Empire as the basic tenet of the Ottoman foreign strategy was to keep Europe divided. In this respect, the emergence of Protestantism in the 16th century provided a political opportunity for the Ottomans and they exploited the religious rivalry in Europe until the mid-17th century.

The religious struggle in Europe ended with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 which coincided with major political changes in England, which reduced the importance of Mediterranean and the Near East for English. By the end of the 17th century, England became much less engaged in European affairs and much more with the overseas expansion.[16]

2.3)   The Eighteenth Century

At the turn of the 18th century, the political relations with the Ottomans were of minor importance for England since the country was preoccupied with developing its commerce with the Americas and Asia.[17] Similarly, as the British devoted more resources to their navy and newly acquired colonies in the North America, the political importance of the Ottomans was significantly diminished.

The relations between the British and the Ottomans were rekindled only at the end of the 18th century when a series of changes necessitated a re-arrangement of the priorities of the British foreign policy. The most important of these was the American Revolution and the increased importance of India, which developed simultaneously

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[15] Ibid.
[16] W. Doyle, *The Old European Order 1660-1800,* Oxford University Press, 1978, p. 274.
[17] W. Doyle, p. 275.

for the British Empire in the last quarter of the 18th century.

The second important change was the emergence of the 'Great Power' system in the 1760s and 1770s which reshaped the way European states, including Britain, approached international relations. Britain became one of the five major Powers in Europe, with France, Austria, Prussia and the Russian Empire.[18] The Ottoman Empire was included in the new European diplomatic system in the 18th century as one of the lesser states.[19] The first diplomatic mission of the Ottoman Empire was sent to France in the 1730s and the first Ottoman Embassy in London was established in 1793 as a part of Selim III's modernisation reforms.

3.) **The Eastern Question and its Impact**

3.1) **The Emergence of the Eastern Question**

The relations between Britain and the Ottoman Empire developed substantially after the 1820s, and this was due to the emergence of the Eastern Question as one of the major issues of the 19th century Great Power diplomacy. Increased British interest in the Near East were due to a number of interconnected political reasons; the French Revolution and the two decades following it brought drastic changes in the European order, which shifted the positions of every Power.

The basis of the Eastern Question was the conflict between the Ottoman rulers and the Christian subjects, which became more acute as the Ottomans attempted to modernize their administration by centralization and the Christian minorities demanded autonomy or independence.[20] The European Powers intervened to this

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[18] H.M. Scott, *The Birth of the Great Power System 1740-1815*, Pearson, 2006, p. 119.
[19] Scott, pp. 127-8.
[20] Yapp, p. 59.

interaction in order to preserve the 'balance of power' established in 1815 and accommodate the demands of the Christian minority and the Ottoman centre at the same time; which proved to be an insurmountable task.

The second important aspect of the Eastern Question was diplomatic and it was a by-product of the 18th century developments. The emergence of Russia as a major European Power in the 18th century posed a substantial threat to the Ottoman hegemony in Eastern Europe. [21] During the reign of Catherine II (1762-96) Russia developed a more aggressive policy towards the Ottomans and positioned itself as 'the defender of the Orthodox religion' in the Ottoman Empire. During the late 18th century, Britain and Russia were allied against France and its eastern allies Ottomans, Poland and Sweden. In the war which resulted with the 1774 Treaty of Kucuk Kainardji, Britain assisted Russia to despatch its navy to the Mediterranean to fight against the Ottoman navy. Russia gained access to the Black sea and large economic privileges; all to be contested by Britain in the 19th century and some provided the pretext of British intervention to the Crimean War (1854-56).

One of the most important consequences of the Treaty of Kucuk Kainardji for the Russian Empire was obtaining the status of 'protector of the Orthodox Christians' in the Ottoman Empire which turned the tide in the relations of the two states in favour of the Russian Empire.[22] Soon after, Catherine II constructed an alliance with Austria with the aim of partitioning the Ottoman Empire and declared war in 1787. Although

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[21] Doyle, pp. 278-9 and J. Black, *Eighteenth Century Europe,* 1999, p.330.
[22] R. Davison, Russian Skill and Turkish Imbecility: The Treaty of Kucuk Kainardji Reconsidered, *Slavic Review,* Vol 35, No 3, pp. 463-483. See also D. Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922,* Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp 54-57, For the 18th century Ottoman-Russian relations see S. Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It,* IB Tauris, 2007 and Acton, *Russia,* pp. 38-41 and J. Black, *18th Century Europe,* MacMillan, 1999, p. 347.

the war ended without making a significant change in the balance of power, it made a significant impact on the Anglo-Ottoman relations.

The second important diplomatic event in the development of the Eastern Question was the rise of Napoleon in the Revolutionary France, who embarked on the Egyptian Expedition in 1798.[23] The most important result of the Expedition for the Ottoman Empire was the fall of the old order in Egypt after Napoleon's invasion. Furthermore, it resulted with the first formal alliance of Britain and the Ottoman Empire in 1799; a triple alliance which included Russia against France.

The reason for Napoleon's Expedition to Egypt is debated in the literature but it raised suspicions in Britain against France because of the belief that it aimed to assert French control in India.[24] British navy fought with the Ottoman forces and the joint expedition stopped Napoleon's advance at Acre. Soon after, Napoleon withdrew from Egypt to return to France without a significant military result in the Near East.

After the withdrawal of the French contingent from Egypt, the British interest to the Ottoman Empire waned. The main British interest during the first decade of the 19th century laid primarily in the continental Europe, although Britain re-established contacts with the region during the Napoleonic Wars. For a short interval, Britain joined the Russian Empire in its war against the Ottoman Empire in the 1806-1812 Russo-Ottoman War, but signed a peace treaty with the Ottoman Empire in 1809, without making a significant contribution to the War.[25]

The Ottoman Empire's involvement to the Napoleonic Wars was limited and the

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[23] Yapp, p. 50.
[24] Yapp pp. 50-52 and Chamberlain, p. 30, Macfie, pp. 10-13.
[25] Yapp, p.55.

Ottoman Empire did not participate in the Vienna Congress in 1815. The major impact of the Napoleonic Wars for the Ottoman Empire was that it brought the Near East back to the European scene. This was partly because of the importance of India for the British Empire, as the Near East was strategic in defending routes to India, and partly due to the changing balance of power in Europe after the capitulation of France in 1815 and the rise of Russia as a major continental power.

3.2)   The British Foreign Policy in 19th Century

The Vienna settlement of 1815 which ended the Napoleonic Wars was designed to preserve the 'balance of powers' between the major European states, Britain, France, Habsburgs, Prussia and Russia against the dangers of revolution.[26] The Concert System was designed to restrain the risk of war by convening diplomatic conferences between Powers to settle the international issues.[27] In this setting, the Anglo-Ottoman relations became a part of the broader international relations in Europe in the 19th century.

In the first half of the 19th century, British foreign policy was based on the country's superior industrial power and naval force.[28] This period, when compared with the last quarter of the century, was visibly more peaceful. This stability was due to the fear of a political revolution in Europe. Through the mid-century, 'the idea of free-trade' gained prominence in Britain, especially after the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846; this required an active foreign policy to open the world markets for British goods.[29]

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[26] R. Gildea, *Barricades and Borders, Europe 1800-1914,* Oxford University Press, 1991, p. 57.
[27] For Vienna Settlement and British position see M.S. Anderson, *The Ascendancy of Europe 1815-1914,* Pearson, 2000, E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution 1789-1848,* Abacus, 2007 pp. 127-137,M.E. Chamberlain, *Pax Britannica? British Foreign Policy, 1789-1914,* Longman, 1990 pp. 49-59, A.W Ward & G.P Gooch, *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, Vol II,* Octagon, 1970.
[28] See M. S. Anderson, p. 13, and E. Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire,* Penguin, 1989, p. 134.
[29] See D.N. McCloskey, The Magnanimous Albion: Free Trade and British National Income, 1841-

An early example of the free-trade treaties was the one signed with the Ottoman Empire in 1838 with which the Ottomans abandoned all state monopolies and reduced the tariffs for British exports in exchange of British military and political support in Egypt.[30]

The two basic principles of the British foreign policy after the Vienna Settlement were to prevent the domination of Europe by a single power and to open global markets for British trade.[31] The former of these principles was due to the peculiar position that Britain occupied in European affairs; it was neither a truly European power like the continental states, nor completely outside of it. Due to this peculiarity, British foreign policy in the 19th century swung between two opposite policies of 'non-intervention' and 'active interference' in European affairs.[32]

Britain was committed to the preservation of the 'balance of power' in Europe because of these two principles, and in the 19th century, one of the real dangers which threatened it was the Eastern Question. The risk of the total disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, either due to domestic revolts or a foreign occupation, threatened the stability of the whole of Europe. Such a collapse would definitely alter the European balance of power and in order to prevent this, Britain committed itself to defending the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire, particularly during the so-called 'classical age' (1812-1865) of British foreign policy, dominated by the

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1881, *Explorations in Economic History,* 17, pp. 303-320, J.V. Nye, Myth of Free-Trade Britain and Fortress France: Tariffs and Trade in the 19th Century, *Journal of Economic History,* Vol 51, No 1, pp. 23-46.

[30] S. Pamuk, *The Ottoman Empire and European Capitalism 1820-1913,* Cambridge University Press, 1987, pp19-20. Ottomans signed a similar treaty with Russia after their defeat in 1829.

[31] See J. Lowe, *Britain and Foreign Affairs 1815-1885*, Routledge, 1998, p. 3.

[32] There is debate in the literature on how much 'European' Britain was in the 19th century. While one group, such as Lowe argues that Britain was active and a determining force of European affairs, Chamberlain and Anderson argues that Britain's influence was peripheral.

statesmen born in the 18th century, such as Castlereagh, Canning and Palmerston.[33]

The second principle was related to the rapidly expanding British economy. Britain was the only power in the first half of the 19th century with interests spread across the globe due to its trade links with far-off territories.[34] Following the loss of the North American colonies at the end of the 18th century, British trade with India became more significant for the Empire and securing the trade routes became a chief aim of British foreign policy.[35] In this context, the Russian Empire emerged as the main threat that could disrupt the British position in India by either asserting its dominance over the Eastern Mediterranean or invading Persia and Afghanistan.[36] British statesmen feared the possibility of Russian control in the Near East because if the Russian navy controlled the Black Sea and achieved free access to the Straits, it would be able to disrupt the British shipping in the Mediterranean and sever British communications with India. Such a scenario looked increasingly more likely at the end of the 18th century, following a series of Russian military victories against the Ottoman Empire.[37]

The first British reaction against Russia in defence of the Ottoman Empire happened during the Russo-Turkish War of 1787-92. In 1791, the British Foreign Secretary Pitt contemplated a British intervention against Russia at Ochakov, a small fortress at the northern coast of the Black Sea.[38] His proposal met with resistance at the Cabinet and the House of Commons where the majority had no interest of a military intervention

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[33]Chamberlein, p. 12, Lowe, p. 3.
[34]P.M. Kennedy, Tradition of Appeasement in British Foreign Policy 1865-1939, *British Journal of International Studies,* Vol 2, Issue 3, p. 197 and M.S. Anderson, p. 7.
[35]Chamberlein p.5
[36] Jelavich, pp. 54-55.
[37] Macfie, pp. 8-9, E. Acton, *Russia, The Tsarist and Soviet Legacy,* Longman, 1995, pp. 38-9.
[38] Chamberlain, p. 25 and Gleason, p.45.

against the Russian Empire with which Britain had strong commercial ties.[39] Although Pitt's proposal was defeated, it was significant because it marked the beginning of revival of the British interest, after 150 years of oblivion, to the Ottoman Empire.[40]

Until 1860s, France, albeit steadily losing its influence and power in Europe firstly against Britain and then Prussia, continued to occupy a significant position in the Near East. In some occasions, like Mehmed Ali's revolt of 1830s, its position clashed with the British, and in some other occasions like the Greek Revolution (1821-32) it cooperated with Britain and other powers to preserve the status quo.[41] As a general principle, British foreign policy aimed to keep the French as an ally or at least as a neutral force; due to the traditional British aversion of keeping a standing army, it was necessary for Britain to cooperate with at least one European force such as France, Austria or Prussia in times of a crisis against Russia.[42]

3.3) The Greek Revolt as a case in Eastern Question

The national movements in Europe proliferated after the French Revolution and spread throughout the continent, from Italy to Poland and to the Ottoman Empire, also influenced the foreign policy of the European Powers.[43] One of the first of national independence movements in the Ottoman Empire was the Greek Revolution (1821-32) which aroused sympathy and support in Britain, especially after the

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[39] A.J.P. Taylor, p. 25-6.

[40] There are conflicting views on the reason of Pitt's demand of surrender of the Ochakov to the Ottoman Empire. Contrary to Chamberlain's assertion, Yapp h

[41] Mehmed Ali Crisis is discussed in the next chapter in detail. In nutshell, Mehmed Ali,the governor of Egypt, whose army was trained and equipped by the French rebelled against the Ottoman Sultan Mahmud II and won a series of military victories in 1832-3. As his armies approached the Ottoman capital, European Powers intervened to end the crisis before the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. France backed Mehmed Ali in the Crisis where Britain, Russia and Austria backed the Ottoman Empire.

[42] M.S. Anderson,

[43] See Hobsbawm, p. 164-184 and Anderson, p. 204.

popular poet Lord Byron decided to join the Greeks to fight against the Ottoman state in 1824.[44] Greek intellectuals educated in the West and aware of the privileged position of ancient Greece in Western educated cadres aimed to capitalize on this sympathy; they drafted constitutions during the Revolution in order to gain the support of liberal public opinion in Britain and France.[45]

The British official position before and during the Revolution was neutrality, since the official foreign policy in the Near East was to support the Ottoman Empire. Similarly, Russia under Alexander I (1801-25) initially did not support the Revolution and together with Austria and France, four European Powers declared their decisiveness to protect the status quo. [46] However, as their expectation of a swift Ottoman victory did not materialise and the conflict prolonged, the trading interests of the powers were harmed, British public opinion turned more philhellene, and as a result, Russia and Britain decided to intervene on behalf of the revolutionaries.[47] In 1827 a joint Russian, French and British fleet destroyed the Ottoman fleet in Navarino and saved the Revolution which was on the brink of military defeat. [48]

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[44] A.J.P. Taylor, *The Troublemakers,* Pimlico, 1993, pp. 37-8, and Hobsbawm p. 173. Chamberlain notes that the sympathy was not 'universal': see Chamberlain p. 67. Byron was a famous poet of Scottish origin who first travelled to the Ottoman Empire in 1809. He later decided to join the Greek cause and died in 1824 in Missolinghi, Greece due to fever. His poems were popular among liberal-aristocratic circles and his decision to join Greek Revolution added to his popularity and the popularity of the Revolution in British liberal circles.

[45] See R. Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece,* Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp. 36-44, B. Jelavich, *History of Balkans,* Vol 1, Cambridge University Press, 1983, pp. 214-29

[46] See Clogg, pp.35-46. Jelavich, *Russian Foreign Policy,* p. 65 and M. Mazower, *The Balkans,* Phoenix, 2000, pp. 91-2.

[47] Most of the Russian trade in the Ottoman Empire was done through Greeks and the active participation of the Greek sailors into the Revolution damaged Russian trade significantly. The conflict was difficult to solve for the Ottomans as the Greeks had a class of fighters experienced in 'guerrilla tactics' which provided advantages in the mountainous geography of Morea. The Ottomans managed to gain the upper hand after Mehmed Ali, the governor of Egypt who was only nominally under Ottoman control, intervened on behalf of the Ottomans in 1825. See Macfie, p. 16, and Jelavich, *Russian Foreign Policy,* p. 65.

[48] Although the Allied fleet aimed only impose a blockade on Morea to force the Ottoman Empire to capitulate to Allied decision to form a 'autonomous Greece' under nominal Ottoman control, the Allied fleet incidentally engaged with the Ottoman fleet in Navarino, which triggered a Russian-Ottoman War in 1828.

British and Russian foreign policy towards the Revolution illustrated the importance given to the 'balance of power' by the European states; in 1822 they refused to intervene and after 1826, Russia and Britain concerted their policy with the Protocol of St. Petersburg, which was then joined by France in 1827 with the London Convention.[49] Secondly, it showed the importance of the concepts of 'prestige' and 'public opinion' in the 19th century policy-making. Alexander I balanced his fear of revolution, which was widespread for the early 19th century, and his willingness to preserve Russia's prestige as the defender of Orthodox Christians. Similarly, Canning, the Foreign Secretary of Britain during the Revolution, faced public and parliamentary pressure to support Greeks on one hand, and fending off a unitary Russian action against the Ottomans on the other.[50]

Although British policy aimed to prevent a Russo-Ottoman war on the Greek Revolution, it failed to achieve this target; in 1828 Ottomans declared war on the Russian Empire and the next year, Russia managed to reach Adrianople, threatening the Ottoman capital. However, Russia preferred to preserve a weak Ottoman Empire rather than dismember it because of Austrian, British and French opposition to such a scheme.[51] Similarly Russia allied with the Ottoman Empire in 1833 to defend Constantinople from Mehmed Ali's Egyptian army marching towards the capital. [52] This demonstrated the change in the Russian policy between the 18th century and the 19th century; Russia in the 19th century was committed to a preserve a weak Ottoman Empire under Russian influence rather than outright partitioning it as a general policy,

[49] See, Ward & Gooch, pp. 37-42.
[50] See Jelavich, pp. 65-7, Ott
[51] See Jelavich, p. 76, Macfie p. 18.
[52] Russian troops were landed in the Ottoman territory to force Mehmed Ali to armistice with Hunkar Iskelessi Treaty in 1833, which placed the Ottomans under Russian protectorate.

and this transformation resulted with increased British interest to the Ottoman Empire after 1833 to counter the influence of the Russian Empire.[53]

3.4)   Emergence of Russophobia and Turkophilism in Britain

Russophobia in Britain emerged in this international context, when Anglo-Russian rivalry towards the Empire became more eminent in 1830s. Although the two Powers concerted their actions against France during the Near Eastern Crisis of 1839-40, mutual suspicions continued. For the liberals in Britain, Russia's crush of Polish Revolution in 1830 and then Hungarian Revolt in 1849 reinforced its image as 'the oppressor' state of Europe which influenced the views on the Ottoman Empire since it was perceived to be under constant siege of the Tsar's armies. [54]

The Crimean War (1853-56) was a result of the complex relations between Russia, France, Austria and Britain over the Ottoman Empire.[55] The dispute between France and Russia started over the rights of the Catholics and the Orthodox Christians over the Holy Places in 1850 and escalated to a battle for influence on the Ottoman Christians by 1853. Louis Napoleon, who was elected as the President of the Second Republic in 1849 and proclaimed as the Emperor Napoleon III in 1852, depended on the Catholic support at home and exploited the issue for domestic purpose.[56]Austria and Prussia, two allies of Russia, declared neutrality but Austrian neutrality was on far less favourable terms for the Russian Empire and towards the end of the War Austria moved closer to the Allies.

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[53] See Chamberlain, p.
[54] Anderson, pp. 12-13.
[55] See, A.P. Saab, *Origins of Crimean Alliance,* University of Virginia Press, 1988, C. Ponting, *The Crimean War: Truth Before Myth,* Pimlico, 2005, C. Badem, *The Ottoman Crimean War,* Brill, 2010.
[56] See Jelavich, p. 113 and Badem p. 65.

Compared to other Powers, Britain's position was more complicated. It was led by a coalition cabinet which included names who had conflicting opinions on foreign policy. British press was far more developed than its counterparts in other countries, and more importantly much more free and influential on the public opinion which was dominated by the Russophobia in British society, combined with the British Cabinet's mistrust of the Russian intentions on the future of the Ottoman Empire resulted with the British military participation in the conflict.[57]

The end of the Crimean War in with the Treaty of Paris in 1856 did not alter the European balance of power considerably although it limited the Russian influence over the Ottoman Empire considerably because the Treaty prohibited the Russians to keep a fleet in the Black Sea and stripped them off their 'protector of Orthodox Christians' status. Moreover, it included the Ottoman Empire in the 'European concert' and guaranteed its territorial integrity.

4.) **Conclusion**

The relations between Britain and the Ottoman Empire were established at the end of the 16th century, which was of both commercial and political nature. Although the relations started after the establishment of the Levant Trading Company, it was the political situation in Europe which played the key role in stimulating the English interest in the Near East.

Similarly, in the absence of a key political interest, the importance of the Anglo-Ottoman relations diminished in the following centuries until the emergence of the Eastern Question as a major political issue in Europe, which re-kindled the British

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[57] See S.E. Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain,* Vol 1, Hamish Hamilton, 1981, D. Goldfrank, *The Origins of the Crimean War,* Longman, 1995, pp. 109-110, Chamberlain p. 107.

interest to the Ottoman Empire. Most importantly, the 19th century not only a marked transformation of the history of Anglo-Ottoman relations, but it also constituted a clear break in the Ottoman perceptions in Britain due to the changing political setting. The 19th century Ottomans was a much closer object for British to observe and project on than the earlier centuries.

The diplomatic events set in this chapter are important in understanding the formation of the perceptions of the Ottomans in Britain. The historical elite perceptions which will be analysed in the following chapter overlapped with the political events noted in this chapter, which in turn influenced the way British perceived the Ottomans.

Chapter 3: Images of the Ottomans in Britain up to 1860

1.)   **Introduction**

The English curiosity towards the 'Turks' started in the late 16th century when the British merchants came in to contact with the Ottoman Empire and their African vassals. In the early modern England, the term 'Turk' was used to denote anyone who was a Muslim Ottoman subject.[1] Thus, in the English writings of the 16th and 17th centuries, the Balkan converts, African corsairs, Turkish or Arabic peasantry were all referred as the 'Turk'. For example, when the Qur'an was translated to English in 1649, it was presented as the 'book of the Turks', and this usage of continued in the 17th and 18th centuries.[2]

The British understanding of the Ottomans became more detailed after the introduction of the term 'Mohammedan' in the late 17th century which was replaced by 'Muslim' in the 20th century. However, until the 19th century, Mohammedan (there were various different versions of spelling of the term such as 'Muhammedan' or 'Mahometan') was used interchangeably with the 'Turk'.[3] Although the British established commercial relations with Persia and the Mughal Empire in India, the 'Turk' continued to be used in place of Muslim between the 16th-19[th]centuries and the image of the 'Muslim' was largely shaped by the Anglo-Ottoman relations.

The first aim of this chapter is to analyse the development of the British perceptions of the Ottomans from the beginning of the 16th century to mid-19th century in order to provide a historical background of British discourses which emerged in the 1860s and 1870s, which are analysed as the case studies of this dissertation.

The second task of this chapter is to analyse the differentiation in the perceptions to

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[1] G. M. MacLean, *Looking East*, p. 6.
[2] Ibid.
[3] G. Maclean & N. Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558-1713,* Oxford University Press, 2011, p. 42.

mark how and why certain images of the Ottomans dominated the public sphere in these centuries. In this way, this chapter aims to shed light on the roots of the 'modern' discourses analysed in the subsequent chapters.

2.) **British Perceptions of the Ottoman Empire before 1860**

2.1) **Early Modern Perceptions**

In the 16th and 17th centuries, the British experience of the 'Turk' was radically different from the continental European who perceived the Ottoman Empire as a military threat.[4] The Ottoman-Hungarian Wars of the 16th century and the Ottoman-Habsburg Wars of the early 17th century created an image of the 'Muslim threat' to Christendom which was felt by the Venetians or the Habsburgs.[5] On the other hand, Britain, away from the warfare in continental Europe, was separated from the feeling of a direct threat and even benefited from the wars between Catholic Europe and the Ottomans by establishing a lucrative trade in war materials with the latter. [6]

The emergence of the interest towards the 'Turks' and 'Islam' in Britain was due to various religious and social reasons.[7] Increased contact with the Ottomans from the late 16th century onwards triggered a curiosity in Britain over the 'Turks' which overlapped with the era of acute religious battles between Protestantism, Catholicism and Islam.

The simultaneous struggle against the Habsburgs brought the English and the

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[4] B. Lewis, The West and the Middle East, *Foreign Affairs,* Vol 76, No 1,1997, pp. 114-130 and A.C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company,* Routledge, 1964, pp. 15-19.
[5] G. M. MacLean, *Looking East*, p. 1.
[6] G. Aboston, Merces Prohibitae: The Anglo-Ottoman Trade in War Materials and the Dependency Theory, *Oriento Moderno,* Vol: 81, No: 1, 2001, pp. 177-192.
[7] G. M. Maclean, *Looking East,* p. 4.

Ottomans closer in the Elizabethan era.[8] Moreover, the English naval activity increased in the Mediterranean following the annihilation of the Spanish fleet, which used to dominate Western Mediterranean in the 16th century, by the English in 1588.[9] This was one of the reasons behind the increased commercial relations between the Ottomans and the English, which in turn intensified the English contact with the Ottomans and Moroccan Muslims. As more English came into contact with the Muslims of the East, the curiosity towards the 'Turks' and 'Muslims 'intensified in England.

Throughout the 17th century, the English perceptions of the 'Turks' oscillated between religious contempt and cultural curiosity. Authors who wrote about the Ottoman Empire, travellers and scholars alike, constructed an image of the Ottomans which varied between these two opposite poles. The commentary or analyses of the scholars in comparison to the travellers contained 'more contempt and hostility towards the Turks rather than curiosity'[10] and became influential for their contemporaries, because their work was more systematic in their approach to the 'Turk' and more available for the English readers.

The first of these scholars who worked on the 'Turks' was Richard Knolles, who published his major work, *The General Historie [sic] of Turks,* in 1603 and referred to the 'Turks' as the 'present terror of the world.'[11] His work became a best-seller in England and was produced after 12 years of research in chronicles.[12] Knolles' work

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[8] G. Maclean & N. Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558-1713,* Oxford University Press, 2011, p. 42.
[9] Palmer & Colton p. 125.
[10] A. Cirakman, *From the "Terror of the World" to the "Sick-Man of Europe"*, Peter Lang, 2005, p. 72.
[11] See R.Knolles, *The General Historie of Turkes*,1603.
[12] G.M. Maclean, *Looking East,* p. 56.

was later continued by Paul Rycaut, the British consul in Smyrna (present day Izmir), and a second volume of the Turkish history was published in 1699 after the Treaty of Karlowitz, which marked the end of Ottoman invasion to Central Europe. Similar to Knolles, John Barclay, a 17th century scholar, noted in 1633 that '[t]he Turks a barbarous people borne to the destruction of cities, art and learning.'[13] These were among the early examples of negative views.

The British travellers to the Ottoman Empire constituted the other source on the early British perceptions of the Ottomans. The travellers of the 17th and 18th centuries were from the upper-middle classes, and visited the Ottoman Empire either with an official post or for personal curiosity.[14] The early British traveller accounts demonstrate the existence of plural and, in some cases, opposing views on the Turks and the Ottoman Empire.

One of the early examples of traveller reports is that of the British lawyer Henry Blount[15],who travelled to the Ottoman Empire between 1634-1636 in order to observe the 'Turks' and wrote that the Ottoman Turks were 'moderne [sic] people, great in action'.[16] His views were positive about the Ottoman Empire and he was impressed by the Ottoman military power which 'suddenly invaded the world'. Blount, under the influence of Bacon's scientific model of rational inquiry and scepticism, attempted to present an alternative account of the Ottoman Empire and the Turks to Knolles'. The perception of the 'Turk' in Blount's account was influenced greatly by the economic and political might of the Ottoman Empire; as a

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[13] J. Barclay, *The Mirrour of Minds,* 1633, op. Cited in Cirakman, p. 75.
[14] Cirakman, p. 55.
[15] G.M. Maclean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel,* Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, pp. 121-171.
[16] M. Todorava, *Imagining the Balkans,* Oxford University Press, 2009, p. 90.

mid-17th century observer, Blount was in awe of Ottoman successes even though the Empire itself was already moving away from its so-called the 'golden-age' of the 16th century at the time of his visit.

A second example is Paul Rycaut, who was both a scholar and traveller and disagreed with Blount on the character of the Ottomans. Rycaut was in the Ottoman Empire on an official duty but also travelled within the Empire to some extent outside of this duty.[17] Rycaut wrote his book in 1665 and defined the Ottoman Empire as a 'tyranny' and lamented the Ottoman *devsirme* system, which was based on the practice of taking Christian children from their families during their childhood, converting them to Islam for service to the Ottoman state as soldiers or bureaucrats.[18]

Both Rycaut's and Blount's work became popular among the reading public in the 17th century. Blount's work was printed 7 times before 1671 and translated to German and Dutch in 1707 and 1737 respectively.[19] More importantly, both accounts were written in English rather than Latin, which increased their importance since they appealed to a wider readership. Similarly, Rycaut's work was also highly influential and was used by the other travellers who visited the Ottoman Empire in the following centuries as a primary source of information in the later centuries.[20] Thus, two opposite and popular views were established in Britain in the 17th century which were used and reproduced by other travellers in the later centuries as well.

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[17] L.T. Darling, Ottoman Politics through British Eyes: Paul Rycaut's "The Present State of the Ottoman Empire", *Journal of World History,* Vol. 5, No. 1, 1994, pp. 71-97.
[18]*An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1914,* ed. H.Inalcik and D. Quataert, Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 413-433.
[19] G.M. Maclean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel*, p. 122.
[20] E.K.Shaw, C.J.Heywood, *English and Continental Views of the Ottoman Empire 1500-1800,* University of California, 1972, pp. 16-7.

One factor which defined the tone of Rycaut's critical portrayal of the Ottoman Empire was the contemporary British politics.[21] Rycaut wrote his book just a few years after the restoration of monarchy in England and addressed his book to King Charles II. Rycaut was a royalist; he was appointed to his post by the King himself. Thus, most of his harsh and rhetorical critique of the Ottoman Empire was designed as an implicit warning for King Charles II on the harms of absolutism rather than being a real analysis of the Ottoman system. Moreover, in 1660s' England, there was an intensive debate about tyranny, despotism and liberty where the 'Ungodly Ottoman Empire' was likened to the Republican England of the 'despotic' Cromwell by the monarchists.[22]

The 17th century Ottoman sultans, contrary to Rycault's and others' generalizations, were weak and ineffective; the Ottoman Empire was experiencing a great upheaval and transformation at that time.[23] During Rycaut's visit in 1660s, the Ottoman Empire was recovering from a particularly catastrophic era preceded the leadership of a grand vizier, Ahmed Koprulu (r. 1661-1676). The premature death of Sultan Murad IV (r.1623-1640), the only strong and despotic ruler of the 17th century Ottoman Empire, left the state first at the hands of the mentally disabled Sultan Ibrahim (1640-48) and then child Sultan Mehmed IV (1648-87) who acquired the throne at the age of 6. The power vacuum created with the death of Murad IV was filled after the appointment of Mehmed Koprulu in 1656 whose family acted as Grand Viziers until over 40 years. The ascendance of Koprulus to power in the 1860s, thus, restored the political stability in the Empire.

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[21] See, Darling.
[22] G.M. Maclean, *Looking East,* pp. 59-60.
[23] For an analysis of 17th century Ottoman politics see C.K. Newmann, Political and Diplomatic Developments,in S. Faroqhi (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey Vol: 3, Tle Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839,* Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 45-50.

One of the main flaws of the traveller accounts, such as Rycaut's, was the absence of direct contact between the traveller and the society they were observing; they lacked the language skills to communicate with the Ottomans and they were thus confined to their own 'British' quarter in the capital around the British Embassy. This fact distanced them from the Ottomans and made the travellers reliant on the older publications.[24] For this reason, Rycaut read and continued the work of Knolles, which had a significant influence on Rycaut's views.

The plurality of views on the Ottomans was evident not only in the British sources but also in the Italian, Russian and French accounts of the Empire which either admired the Ottoman system or showed contempt in the early modern era. The views on the Ottomans and the Turks in the 17th century were influenced from the scholars' point of view towards the European political system and their religious identity. The Ottoman Empire appeared as a preferable social model for authors who disliked the European society and state models.

In addition, religion also influenced the perceptions; the Turks were perceived as a calamity by Knolles, who was a devout Catholic Christian. On the other hand, Francis Osborne, a 17th century Protestant thinker, thought that the Ottoman political system was superior to the European monarchies.[25] The enmity between the Catholics on one hand and Protestants and Muslims on the other in early modern Europe exacerbated

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[24] Shaw and Heywood, p. 17. There were exceptions to these travellers, who actually learned the Ottoman language and thus managed to create their own direct contact with larger sections of the population of the capital. Examples of such are the 18th century French adviser of the Sultan, Baron de Tott, and 16th century Austrian Ambassador Busbecq. See the above mentioned work for an analysis of their work.
[25] Cirakman, p. 78.

the enmity towards the Ottoman Muslims in the minds of the British Catholics while bringing the Protestant English closer with the Ottoman Empire, especially during the days of the religious conflict.[26]

2.1.1) The Eighteenth Century

During the 18th century, the Ottomans ceased to be the 'invading' force in Europe after three centuries, following their defeat in the Battle of Vienna (1683) and moved to a more defensive position which resulted with the decline of European curiosity in the Ottoman Empire.[27] As a second dynamic, the Enlightenment influenced the perceptions; as concepts such as political liberalism gained prominence among British thinkers, the Ottoman Empire was perceived as a symbol of 'tyranny' and 'absolutism', the anti-thesis of the liberal, free society that Europe should become. This perception was also because of the rise of the 'abstract' knowledge against empirical knowledge in the 18th century, which reinforced the stereotypical perceptions of the 'outsider' societies formed in the previous era.[28]

An important transformation of the 18th century was the change in England's place in Europe and the world. This transformation began in the second part of the 17th century with the emergence of England as a commercial power and culminated politically after the Act of Union of 1707, which resulted in the birth of Britain. After the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, Britain emerged as a colonial power, dominating the global

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[26] See D. Goffman, *The Early Modern Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe,* Cambridge University Press 2004. There was an ongoing Habsburg-Ottoman War (1593-1606) when Knolles was writing his book, which also hints on his anti-Ottoman stance.
[27] Cirakman, p. 106.
[28] Ibid.

trade.[29] This transformation also influenced the British perspectives on the Ottomans since the British observers from the late 17th century onwards gained a 'colonial' perspective in their treatment of 'other' cultures.[30]

Enlightenment thinkers such as Montesquieu based their opinions on scholars who wrote on the Orient or Asia, but their analysis was made under the influence of the contemporary political situation they were experiencing.[31] Montesquieu's impact on the perceptions of the Ottoman Empire was important due to his popularization of the term 'Oriental despotism'[32] by re-defining 'despotism' as an exclusively Oriental regime. Many authors and travellers were influenced by him, thus he made a lasting impact on the perceptions of the Ottoman Empire in Britain.[33]

One of 'abstract' theories of the 18th century was 'Climatic Theory', which was developed by John Arbuthnot, a British author in 1733, who noted 'the equability of the air rendered Asiatics lazy' where 'the great variety of hot and cold in Europe ... rendered them active'.[34] Similarly, the image of idle, lazy, indolent Orientals was constructed against the hard-working Europeans in some traveller accounts and the Ottoman 'backwardness' was explained as a result of their 'Asiatic laziness'. The image of 'lazy Oriental' was related with the Protestant values which rated being hard-working as a virtue and perceived laziness as a sin.[35] This made the association of Ottoman Muslims and Orthodox Christians with laziness easier for the Western

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[29] J. Israel, The Emerging Empire: A Continental Perspective: 1660-1713, in N. Canny (ed.) *The Origins of Empire,* Oxford University Press, 1998, pp. 423-45.

[30] G.M. Maclean, *Looking East*, p. 197.

[31] Montesquieu depended on Rycault and Chardin, a French traveller, in formulating his opinion about the Ottoman Empire and Persia.

[32] For a study on the French Enlightenment's views on the Ottomans and Monstequieu's formulation of despotism vis-a-vis the Ottoman Empire see A. Grosrichard, *The Sultan's Court,* Verso, 1998.

[33] Grosrichard, p. 30.

[34] J. Arbuthnot, An Essay Concerning the Effects on Air on Human Bodies, London, 1751, p. 123.

[35] R. Schiffer, Oriental Panorama: British Travellers in 19th Century Turkey, Rodopi, 1999, p. 235.

Christian authors.

One reason in the changing attitude of the Protestant thinkers of the Ottomans was the transformation in the European political climate.[36] The wars waged between the Catholics and Protestants ended in the 17th century, and the Peace of Westphalia (1648) recognized the various trends of Protestantism as a part of the Christian faith. The partial reconciliation between the Protestantism and Catholicism influenced the Protestant views on the Ottomans.

Apart from the climatic or religious explanations, the 18th century depictions of the Ottomans were also influenced by the visible regression of the Ottoman power in Europe. Rycaut's views became more popular and influenced the 18th century authors, including Montesquieu, which in turn influenced later scholars and travellers.[37] The continuity between Rycaut, Montesquieu and the later 18th century authors such as Josiah Tucker, a Welshman, was established through the idea of 'despotism'. The Earl of Crawford, a Scottish soldier who fought with the Russian army against the Ottomans, noted in his memoir that 'there are no laws or compacts in Turkey'[38]; William Hunter, an 18th century traveller wrote in his travel work that the government of the Turks 'disclaims the law of nature, equity and reason, and exhibits amplification of injustice, tyranny and vice…'[39]; David Jones, a British scholar, noted that the 'maxim of the Turks as the unlimited power and oppression of the people'.[40] At the end of the 18th century, Edmund Burke, British Whig politician and

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[36] See Chapter 32.2).

[37] Cirakman, p. 112.

[38] Cited in Cirakman p. 132.

[39] Cirakman p. 133 and W. Hunter, Travels in the year 1792 through France, Turkey and Hungary to Vienna, London, 1798, p. 387.

[40] D. Jones, A Compleat [sic] History of the Turks from their Origin in the Year 755 to the Year 1718, London, 1718.

philosopher, in his parliamentary speech, noted that:

> What had these worse than savages [the Turks] to do with the Powers of Europe, but to spread the war, destruction and pestilence among them? ... Any Christian Power was to be preferred to these destructive savages.[41]

The term 'despotism' became the most prominent term to define the Ottomans in the later part of the 17th century. By the 18th century it was being used interchangeably with 'absolutism', the anti-thesis of constitutionalism and rule of law, which, were predominant in Britain in this period.[42] Aaron Hill wrote in his book in 1733 that 'learning was discouraged in the Empire since it is dangerous for the despotic regime'.[43] For William Hunter, Turks were '... a superstitious, an ignorant and a sluggish people; declared enemy of arts and sciences...'[44]; he further claimed that despotism and slavishness were the main qualities of the 'Turks': 'Haughty, cruel and overbearing when in power; that power is annihilated, cringing, humble and irresolute, their different situations only serve to delineate the various shades of a weak and vitiated mind.'[45] Charles Thompson, a British traveller of the 18th century, wrote that the Turks were lazy and spent all day in coffeehouses.[46]

There were also opposite views during the 18th century, albeit shared only by a minority; most notably by the philosopher David Hume, on his essay *Of National Characters*. Hume described the 'Turks' as people with 'integrity, gravity and

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[41] Cited in A.J.P. Taylor, *The Trouble Makers,* Pimlico, 1993, p. 26.

[42] P. Hamilton, The Enlightenment and the Birth of the Social Science in S. Hall and B. Gieben (ed.) *Formations of Modernity,* Polity, 1992, p. 30.

[43] A. Hill, A Full and Just Account of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire in all its Branches, London, 1733, cited in Cirakman p. 151.

[44] W. Hunter, p. 353.

[45] Hunter, p. 394, cited in Cirakman p. 157.

[46] C. Thompson, *Travels Through Turkey in Asia, Holy Land Arabia, Egypt and Other Parts of the World*, London, 1767, p. 139.

bravery' and 'candid, sincere people like the Ancient Romans'.[47] In some traveller accounts, the 'Turks' were defined as 'hospitable, helpful, honest, kind to children and animals.'[48]Similar to Hume, James Porter, the British Ambassador to the Porte, denied that the Ottoman government was despotic and stated that it was 'a species of limited monarchy, not an absolute despotism'.[49] Porter refuted Montesquieu's categorization of the Ottoman Empire as despotism and claimed instead that this was a misunderstanding. For Porter, the Ottoman Empire was not lawless but the Turkish law was corrupted by the administration. Schiffer notes that some of the British travellers in the 18th century depicted the Turk as 'distinguished morally by sternness and solemnity.'[50]

A new factor influencing the British perceptions in the 18th century was the class awareness. Travellers who had contacts with only the upper echelons of the Ottoman society were more sympathetic in their depiction of the 'Turks', especially in comparison to the Christian peoples of the Ottoman Empire.[51] Lady Montagu, the wife of the British Ambassador to the Porte, published her memoirs in which the 'Turks' were rated highly whereas subject peoples such as the Greeks and Bulgarians were described with particular contempt. Similar to Montagu, many British gentlemen who travelled to the Ottoman Empire in late 18th and early 19th centuries, sympathized with the 'Turks' who were described as an 'honourable race' preferable over the Greeks and other subject people.[52]

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[47] D. Hume, *Essays Political, Moral and Literary*, 1752.
[48]Schiffer, p. 240.
[49] J. Porter, *Observations on the Religion, Law, Government and Manners of the Turks*, London, 1798, p XX.
[50]Ibid.
[51] M. Todorava, *Imagining the Balkans,* Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 91-92.
[52] G.E. Marindined, *The Letters of John B.S. Morritt*, London, 1914.

Either in a positive or a negative way, there was an increased tendency among the British elite to define the 'Turk' as an example of 'exotic' people, different from the 'Europeans'. The 18th century perceptions of the Ottoman Empire and the Turks became more negative; the two basic reasons of this shift was both the decline of the Ottoman power, especially in the later part of the 18th century, and the emergence of the political liberalism in Britain.

2.2) The image of the Ottomans in the 19th century

The perceptions of the Ottomans were shaped on two major levels in the 19th century Europe; the ideological level, which was in continuity with the 18th century thinking, and the political level, which transformed the importance of the Ottoman Empire for Britain. The Ottomans and Britain became more entangled in the 19th century; the Ottoman Empire became a popular destination for travellers in the beginning of the century at a time when Britain became more politically active in the Near East.[53]

The 19th century secular ideology produced an image of liberal and 'progressive' Europe. Various political projects constructed in the first half of the century acknowledged the technical progress witnessed in Europe, particularly in Britain. In this period, the East emerged as the anti-thesis of the progressive and liberal Britain and Europe; the Ottoman society was perceived as a decaying organisation because of its visible backwardness compared to Britain.[54]

The Eastern Question defined the political level and preoccupied the Western Powers

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[53]R. Schiffer, *Turkey Romanticized Images of the Turks in the Early Nineteenth Century English Travel Literature,* Studienverlag Brockmeyer, 1982, p.13. Schiffer notes that there was a growing interest in travel books on Turkey in the first three decades of the 19th century as they were rigorously reviewed in British periodicals.

[54] Schiffer, Turkey Romanticized, p. 5.

until the First World War. The importance of the Eastern Question for the British foreign policy during the 19th century necessitated accumulation of substantial 'knowledge' on the Ottoman Empire.[55] It placed the Ottoman Empire at the centre of European diplomacy and hence, the Ottoman Empire became not only an 'exotic' place for travellers and a commercial destination for British trade, but also a politically significant state in the international relations.

The Eastern Question resulted with the 'politicisation' of the Ottoman perceptions in Britain in the 19th century. The British foreign policy made a significant impact on the Ottoman image in the 19th century; as the British foreign policy towards the Ottomans became more active after the 1830s, the British travellers and scholars developed various positions vis-à-vis the official British discourse especially in the periods of diplomatic crisis such as the 1830s and the 1850s.[56]

In addition to the emergence of the Eastern Question, a second factor played an important role in politicising and radicalising the views on the Ottomans. The rise of newspapers and periodicals in Britain, which published numerous analyses on the Ottoman society and state, especially after the 1850s, made a major impact on the popularisation of the elite views in Britain. Especially from the mid-19[th]century onwards, British press emerged as the main source influencing the public image of the Ottomans and replaced the other sources, such as traveller narratives, in significance.[57]

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[55] M.E. Chamberlain, *Pax Britannica? British Foreign Policy 1789-1914,* Longman 1990, p. 5. E. Hobsbawm, p.133.

[56] See Todorova, p.95.

[57] Development of British press will be analysed in the following chapter, but for now it is sufficient to say that increased literacy, abolition of the duties which made newspapers cheaper and technological advances which enabled newspapers to publish faster in greater volumes and existence of a censor-free

2.3)   Images of the 'Turk' in the 19th century

The technological advances transformed the British society in the first half of the 19th century, especially through railways and industrial towns.[58] In contrast to the rapidly changing Britain, the Ottoman Empire was left behind by these gigantic transformations and the difference was easy to perceive by a regular traveller; by 1850 Britain has already established its main railway network cutting travel times significantly, while travel in the Ottoman Empire, especially in Asia Minor or the Middle Eastern territories, was still based on horse carriages on ancient roads.

The visible difference in technology between the two countries resulted in the creation of two opposite images of the Ottoman Empire depending on the vision of the traveller. The Ottomans were portrayed either as a 'backward' and archaic Empire or the classical/traditional Empire which protected its traditions against the encroachment of the industrial modernity.[59]

On the other hand, the late 18th and early 19th century brought a 'romantic' representation of the Orient in fiction, especially after the tremendous popularity of *Arabian Nights* in Britain.[60] These romantic and fictional representations influenced the expectations of the 19th century travellers, who attempted to present both an

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environment were behind the rise of British press.

[58] For the economic and industrial development of Britain with a comparison to other European states at the turn of the 19th century see, E. Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire,* Penguin, 1990, pp. 56-76, MS Anderson, *The Ascendacy of Europe,* Longman, 2000, pp.124-8, R.C. Allen, *British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective,* Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp. 136-154.

[59] Schiffer, *Turkey Romanticized*, p.8.and R. Schiffer, Oriental Panorama: British Travellers in the 19th century Turkey, Radopi, 1999, p. 243.

[60] The tales of *1001 Nights* was brought to Europe at the beginning of the 18th century by a French traveller, Jean Antoine Galland. For its impact on British travellers see: F. Al-Olaqi, The Influence of Arabian Nights on English Literature, A Selective Study, *European Journal of Social Sciences,* Vol 31, No 3, pp. 384-396.

empirical and an imagined Orient.[61] The influence of romanticism was stronger in the works written at the beginning of the century; towards the mid-century, the political or scientific representations started to gain prominence and replaced the old romantic style.[62]

Thomas Thornton, a British industrialist who was sent to Constantinople to manage a British factory, published his memoirs in 1807 after 15 years of residency in the Ottoman capital.[63] Thornton described the 'Turks' as 'grave and saturnine' and added that 'honesty is the characteristic of the Turkish merchant, and distinguishes him from the Jew, the Greek, the Armenian against whose artifices no precaution can suffice'.[64] Thornton's account was valued as a standard book of reference in Britain by its contemporaries although he was perceived as having a clear pro-Turkish bias.[65] Even though his views on the 'Turks' was more positive than the others, Thornton concluded his book with a remark on 'European' superiority over the Asians by stating '[W]e [Europeans] triumph in our acknowledged superiority over the Asiatics'; a common theme between otherwise competing perceptions.[66]

Charles Colville Frankland, a British navy officer, published his travel account, named *Travels to and from Constantinople* in 1829.[67] Similar to Thornton, Frankland also painted the image of the 'Turk' in comparison to the Greeks and other nationalities, which was due to the rising interest of British educated classes in Greece in the later part of the 18th century. Frankland, in contrast to Thornton,

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[61] Schiffer, *Turkey Romanticized*, p.3
[62] Schiffer, *Turkey Romanticized*, p.3.
[63] See T. Thornton, *The Present State of Turkey,* Vol II, London, 1809.
[64] Thornton, cited in Schiffer, *Turkey Romanticized*, p.79.
[65] Schiffer, *Turkey Romanticized*, p. 74.
[66] Thornton, cited in Schiffer, *Turkey Romanticized,* p.79.
[67] C. Frankland, *To and From Constantinople,* Vol I, London, 1830.

considered the 'Turks' inferior to the Greeks who were 'artisans and artificers':

> The Turks are, personally, extremely brave but so are all barbarians ... they are said to be honourable in their dealings; and yet worship gold, and are sordid and avaricious...
>
> ... [t]he Ottoman nation is the bitterest enemy to the human race, and the severest scourge that ever sent by Providence to chastise mankind.[68]

Frankland's account was anti-Turkish partly because of its timing; it was written during the days of the Greek Revolution (1821-1832), during which anti-Ottoman discourses prevailed in the liberal and educated classes of Britain. Philhellenism which emerged in Europe in late 18th century as an adoration of ancient Greek culture, articulated into the political discourse aiming to save the Greeks from the 'Turkish' yoke during the days of the Greek Revolution. Under the influence of the Revolution, the dominant image of the Ottoman Empire in Britain was that of a 'tyrannical, oppressive power'.[69]

The Greeks in the Ottoman Empire were perceived as an oppressed people, similar to other oppressed nations striving to achieve independence, from other multi-ethnic 'Eastern' empires, such as the Poles from the Russian Empire, Italians from the Habsburgs and South Americans from the Spanish. The swing of opinion towards Greeks at the expense of Turks was connected to Britain's self-imposed image as the defender of liberty against political absolutism in post-Napoleonic Europe. For British authors, the Ottoman Empire in the 1820s was another example of absolutism, which was perceived as the ideological enemy of Britain.[70]

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[68] Frankland pp. 186-7.
[69] Schiffer p.240.
[70] M.S. Anderson, p. 6.

An Irish traveller, Richard Madden, visited the Ottoman Empire in the 1820s and published his travel memoirs under the title *Travels in Turkey, Egypt, Nubia and Palestine* in 1829.[71] Madden mentioned both Thornton's and de Tott's opinions of the Ottomans; both of which he refutes.[72] Madden was critical of the impact of 'despotism' on the Ottoman subjects, which for him was 'the little value it causes to people to set on human life'.[73] He also noted that the 'Turks were leading a life of indolence' since they left all trades to the Christians, with the exception of a few such as bread-making and shoe-making.[74] Madden also wrote his work during the days of the Greek Revolution and compared the Greeks with the 'Turks', concluding that they were both not to be admired by a European: 'I would be inclined to say that the Greeks as a nation are the least estimable people in the world, with the exception of the Turks who are still less to be admired.'[75]

Most of the 19th century travellers tried to describe the 'Turks' not only in terms of moral qualities and habits, but also with their physical appearances. J.M. Kinneir, in his *Journey through Asia Minor,* tried to demarcate the 'regular Turk' from the Ottoman bureaucrats and concluded that 'The Turks were not cruel people ... the miserable condition of the Sultan's territories therefore not to be attributed to the disposition or habits of the people, but to the inefficiency of the government, the insecurity of the private property ...'[76] Kinneir's observation tried to bridge the two

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[71] R. Madden, *Travels in Turkey, Egypt, Nubia and Palestine*, Vol I, London, 1829.
[72] Baron de Tott was the late 18th century French advisor of Sultan Selim III who attempted to modernize the Ottoman army. He published his memoirs in 1784 which were then translated to English and known to be decisively anti-Ottoman. See F. B. De Tott, *Memoirs of Baron De Tott Containing The State of Turkish Empire,* 1784.
[73] Madden, p. 31.
[74] Madden, pp. 32-3.
[75] Madden p.29-30, cited in Schiffer, *Turkey Romanticized* p. 86.
[76] J.M. Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor,* 1818, pp. 192-3.

different representations of the Ottomans similar to Thornton's book; the one shaped by the 18th century authorities and the ones created by the contemporary author's own observation.[77]

The representations of the Ottomans constructed in the 18th century which claimed an essential divide between Europe and Asia, continued in the 19th century.[78] The two popular images of the earlier century, the climatic theory and the 'lazy, indolent Turk', both constructed Europe and Asia as the two opposite poles; two different sets of moral, social, religious values were created for each continent. The climatic theory was refuted by the 19th century authors as it was deemed to be not scientific, although the basic divide it was built on was reproduced in contemporary, 'scientific' theories. For example, Thornton argued that 'interaction with woman' was the chief driving force of civilization –refuting that the climate had any role in the process. He concluded that the Ottomans were inferior to Europe due to Islam giving women an inferior status in society.

2.4)   Impact of Russophobia on the Image of the 'Turk'

The main transformation in the image of the Ottomans in the 19th century was the 'politicisation' of the representations. Starting with the Greek Revolution, the perceptions of the Ottomans in Britain were influenced by political developments. The most important of these affecting the Ottoman image was the emergence of

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[77] See Schiffer, Turkey Romanticized, p.25.
[78] See Schiffer, *Turkey Romanticized,* pp.25-9.

Russophobia in British society in the 1830s.[79] British public opinion became more hostile towards Russia, especially after Nicholas I's (r.1825-1855) suppression of the 1830 revolution in Poland.[80]

Although Russia's image as 'despotism' was a representation it shared with the Ottomans, its growing military power demarcated the positions of the two empires. The Russian Empire was not only a despotic regime; from the perspective of the British, it possessed enough military power to fight against liberalism in Europe.[81] The anti-Russian sentiments in Britain reached their climax before the Crimean War (1854-56) when Britain and France allied with the Ottoman Empire, fought against the Russian Empire.

The Russophobia in Britain produced its counter-discourse as the 'Turkophilism'. Turkophilism was linked to the Russophobia as the Russian Empire and the Ottoman Empire were the main rivals in the Near East and the main importance of the Ottoman Empire for Britain was related to the danger the Russian Empire posed for British interests. Through the rest of the 19th century, the perceptions on the Ottomans and the Russians converged; as the Russophobia declined after the Crimean War, the Turkophil discourses also lost their appeal.

The best example of the Turkophil trend of 19th century was David Urquhart, a Scottish diplomat, who travelled to the Ottoman Empire in 1827 and published his

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[79] O.J. Hammen, Free Europe versus Russia, *American Slavic and East European Review,* Vol. 11, No 1, pp. 27-41 and J.H. Gleason, *The Genesis of Russophobia in Great Britain,* Harvard University Press, 1950. For a more detailed discussion on the issue see relevant pages below.
[80] Hammen, p 29.
[81] Ibid.

book *The Spirit of the East* in 1838 upon his return to Britain.[82] Besides this work, he had written several pamphlets and contributed to numerous journals in Britain, all argued for a strict anti-Russian policy for Britain.[83] He admired the Ottoman civilization and culture and strongly opposed Russia and her foreign policy in the Near East. His work was widely read in contemporary Britain.[84] In addition to Urquhart, opinions of the Liberals and Radicals in the British parliament, who backed the Greek independence in the 1820s, became friendlier towards the Ottoman Empire after the 1830s, mainly due to impact of the Russophobia.[85]

Urquhart's Turkophilism was based not only on his opposition to Russia, but also on his belief in the ability of the Ottoman Empire to reform itself. The Ottoman political reformation, *Tanzimat,* which started in 1839 with an Imperial Edict, coincided with the intensification of Russophobia in Britain and helped to reshape the Ottoman image as an 'empire in reform' from 'despotism towards liberalism.[86] Urquhart's work also marked a transformation in the travel literature; from his work onwards, the travel literature became increasingly politicized, and in some instances, political travel books emerged which were written specifically to address a political problem in the Ottoman Empire.[87]

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[82] Urquhart firstly joined the Greek Revolution and then secured a place in the Embassy in Constantinople in 1831. He wrote his first book *Turkey and its Resources* in 1833 and then his second book *The Spirit of the East* in 1838. He was recalled from his post in Embassy following Vixen incident which brought Russia and Britain at the brink of war.

[83] Gleason, *Genesis of Russophobia*, pp. 178-182.

[84] Gleason, p. 177.

[85] A.J.P Taylor, *Troublemakers,* p. 45.

[86] See D. Gurpinar, The Rise and Fall of Turcophilism in Nineteenth-Century British Discourses: Visions of the Turk 'Young' and 'Old', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies,* Vol. 39, No 3, 346-71, 2012, p. 352.

[87] For examples of such works see the next chapter where two such books on Lebanon political crisis is examined.

2.5)   The Perceptions of Islam in the 19th century

Although Russophobia and hopes of reforming the Ottoman Empire dominated British public opinion after the 1830s, there were dissenting travellers who were not optimistic on the prospects of such a reinvigoration. William J. Hamilton, a British traveller, visited the Ottoman Empire in the 1830s and published his book in 1842 claiming that 'the bigotry and intolerance of Mahometanism barred moral or political improvement', and 'Russians were far more preferable for humanity and civilisation and commerce [than the Turks]'. [88] Hamilton's main argument was based on his opinions of Islam, which were shared by many other contemporary travellers.

In the 19th century, Islam played an increasingly important role in defining the Ottoman Empire. Both secular and religious British subjects analysed Islam and criticized it both because of its values and beliefs and also because it 'cannot cope with civilization'.[89] The blame for the Ottoman technical backwardness against Britain was placed on Islam as it was perceived to be at the heart of the Ottoman culture.

Two visible factors influenced the perceptions of the Ottoman Empire and the 'Turks' which were in continuation from the earlier centuries. The first of these was the contemporary political context which the author experienced and the second was the religious or the political affiliation of the author. The British middle class authors who travelled to or wrote on the Ottoman Empire became increasingly anti-Ottoman because they sympathised with the oppressed Ottoman Christians whereas the British aristocracy were biased towards the Ottoman Turks. The former perceived the

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[88] H.J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia*, London, 1842, p. 196.
[89] Schiffer pp. 196-200.

Ottoman Empire as 'despotism' opposite of the British liberalism and Islam as a fanatical, backward religion, closed to progress and civilization.[90]

Moreover, the perceptions were also negatively affected from the decline of the Ottoman power vis-à-vis Europe. The abolition of the stamp duty in 1855, alongside rising literacy rates, created the backbone of the British press which became a prominent force in public opinion making, especially after the 1860s. Similarly, the 'public opinion' became a more eminent force in foreign policy making after the mid-century, especially following the democratisation of the British politics in the 1860s with the Reform Act of 1867, which considerably enlarged the franchise and thus increased the importance of the 'public' in the policy making.

In the 1850s, even in a more rudimentary form compared to the last decades of the 19th century, British press created, disseminated and reflected upon this public opinion. The turning point in this relation was the Crimean War where *The Times* provided an extensive coverage of the war which was supplemented with the photographs printed in the *llustrated London News.* The conduct of the war in Crimea was brought to the public scrutiny by the press, and the mismanagement of the war, which left thousands of British troops dead as a result of disease caused by supply problems, angered the British public.[91] A direct result of this anger was the resignation of the Prime Minister in 1855 and the bitter complaints of the Foreign Secretary on the British newspapers for their coverage.[92]

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[90] Todorava, p. 97,
[91] N.M. Houston, Reading the Victorian Souvenir: Sonnets and Photographs of the Crimean War, *Yale Journal of Criticism,* Vol. 14, No.2, 2001, p. 354.
[92] S. Markovitz, Rushing into the Print: "Participatory Journalism" During the Crimean War, *Victorian Studies,* Vol. 50, No. 4, 2008, pp. 559-586.

3.) **Conclusion**

Until the 19th century, British authors perceived the Ottomans in the form of vague images such as 'lazy', 'indolent' or 'backward' or 'despotic' Ottomans. These perceptions, until the 19th century, were produced by a handful of elites such as travellers, diplomats or scholars. Their work was read by a small group of elites consisted of merchants trading with the Levant, aristocrats, and upper-middle class travellers who were interested in travelling to the 'exotic' Eastern lands.

In the 19th century major transformations occured both in the wider European world and in the British domestic politics. On one hand, the transformation of the European political order after 1815, and the emergence of the Eastern Question, altered the importance of the Ottomans for Britain. The Ottomans, who were perceived as a 'far-away exotic people' until the 19th century, became a topic of British diplomacy in Europe in the 19th century.

On the other hand, various important domestic changes, particularly the rise of the British press and the transformation of the British political system also altered the British perceptions of the Ottomans. From the mid-century onwards, number of people writing on the Ottomans multiplied; journalists, newspaper readers and a wider group of MPs, began to discuss events taking place in the Ottoman Empire and their implications for the British foreign policy. Thus, especially after the Greek Revolution, the Ottomans became a subject of British domestic politics and European political order. The interest in the Ottomans was no longer limited to a small group; it gradually became an issue for larger sections of the British society.

In this context, the Anglo-Ottoman relations and the British perceptions of the Ottomans were both in a period of transformation in the mid-19th century, when the case analyses examined in Part II of this thesis took place. The main impact of these transformations was on the nature of the 'perceptions'. The vague and distant images produced in the earlier centuries started to be articulated into wider coherent, political 'discourses' from the mid-19th century onwards. As a result, the earlier perceptions were politicised and radicalised as they became a part of competing political discourses.

In the 1850s the different perceptions existed in Britain; the anti-Ottoman sentiment of the days of the Greek Revolution was replaced by the pro-Ottoman views under the influence of the Anglo-Russian rivalry and the anti-Russian discourses it produced. However, as can be seen from these two examples, the 'dominant' public perception of the Ottomans was dependent on the contemporary political issues, and it was open to contestation.

The three political crises that happened in the Ottoman Empire in the 1860s and the 1870s, the Lebanese Civil War, the Create Revolt and the Great Balkan Crisis stimulated a discussion in Britain between the government and opposition, between the various newspapers and, especially in the case of the last one, between various parts of the British public. These discussions gradually radicalised the discourses on the Ottomans and in a significant break from the earlier centuries, influenced the direction of the Anglo-Ottoman relations.

Chapter 4: Britain and the Ottoman Empire in the 1860s

1.)   **Introduction**

The mid-19th century was a transformational period for the Anglo-Ottoman relations as well as a period of change for the Ottoman images in Britain. This chapter will firstly analyse the political, economic and ideational changes in Britain that happened in the 1860s and 1870s where the case studies took place.

Similarly, the period was also a time of rapid transformation and change for the Ottoman Empire called the *Tanzimat* period. The *Tanzimat* reforms not only altered the Ottoman society, but also influenced the British discourses on the Ottomans and this makes a broad analysis of the reforms necessary for the purposes of this thesis.

1.1)   **British Politics in mid-Victorian Age**

The first of the important political transformation of the period was the evolution of the British politics from the 'parliamentary politics', where Parliament held the executive power in the beginning of the 19th century, to the 'party politics', where two rival political parties gained prominence in the 1870s.[1]

Creation of the Liberal Party in 1859 under Palmerston's leadership paved the way for the modern party politics in Britain. [2] After the 1860s, the Conservative and Liberal parties emerged as institutions enjoying mass membership, centralized bureaucracies and an aspiration to maintain ideological homogeneity, which demarcated the modern system from the traditional parliamentary politics.[3] In the emerging rivalry between the two parties, the Liberals took the upper hand during the 1860s; in five elections held between 1859 and 1880 the Liberals won four; the 1874

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[1] A. Hawkins, 'Parliamentary Government' and Victorian Political Parties, *The English Historical Review,* Vol. 104, No. 412, 1989, p.642.
[2] Hawkins, *British Party Politics*, Palgrave Macmillan, 1998, p. 77.
[3] Hawkins, *Parliamentary Government,* p. 666.

elections, which was held after the economic slump of 1873, was the only one won by the Conservatives.

The emergence of the two-party system was coincided with the advent of the personal rivalry between the influential politicians Gladstone and Disraeli in the late 1860s. These two politicians' role in British politics increased especially after the death of Palmerston, who was the most popular and influential politician in Britain prior to his death in 1865. [4] He was at the zenith of his power in the 1850s and 1860s; he was leader of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons, the most experienced politician in foreign affairs and the most popular politician among the pre-reform electorate as proved with two consecutive electoral victories in 1859 and 1865.

Palmerston's death in 1865 was a 'landmark in English political history' because of two main reasons. [5] Firstly, it contributed to the development of the two-party system under two new leaders. Palmerston obscured the differences between Liberalism and Conservatism by combining the virtues of the both. Only after his death a sharper line of division appeared between the two parties.[6] Secondly, with Palmerston's death, the parliamentary reform which aimed to enlarge the franchise to urban classes became a more realistic possibility. Although his role in the reform process has been debated in the literature, his vision of 'gentlemanly high-politics' which was suspicious of granting voting rights to the lower classes because they could be 'bribed or intimidated' created a block in front of the reform movement.[7] For the Ottomans, Palmerston's death brought another concern. Palmerston was a man of the 'Concert

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[4] See Appendix 3 for a short biography of Palmerston.
[5] D. Thomson, *England in the Nineteenth Century,* Pelican, 1950, p. 121.
[6] Ibid.
[7] For a brief study of Palmerston and Parliamentary reform see H.C. Bell, Palmerston and Parliamentary Representation, *The Journal of Modern History,* Vol. 4, No 2, 1932, pp. 188-216, C. Hall, K. McCelland and J. Rendall (eds), *Defining the Victorian Nation,* Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 1-3.and K. Zimmerman, Liberal Speech, Palmerstonian Delay and the Passage of the Second Reform Act, *English Historical Review,* Vol. 118, No 479, 2003, pp. 1176-1207.

system' that was established after the Congress of Vienna, and he was the chief architect of the pro-Ottoman policy in Britain which he staunchly defended. [8] With his death, the Ottoman Empire lost its most vocal supporter in the British political establishment.

After Palmerston's death, Gladstone ascended to the Liberal Party's leadership in 1867, when Lord John Russell, who was Palmerston's immediate successor, decided to step down. In the Conservative ranks, Benjamin Disraeli became the leader in 1869 after Lord Derby's death and emerged as the dominant figure until his death in 1881.

Gladstone and Disraeli's personal rivalry accompanied the two party system in Britain and demonstrated the increasing influence of the middle-class in British politics. In contrast with the earlier generation of politicians such as Palmerston, Russell and Derby, who were from the aristocratic class, both Gladstone and Disraeli were sons of middle-class businessmen. Their background was in accordance with the rise of the urban middle-class MPs in their parties after the Second Reform Act.[9]

Another important factor in the transformation of politics in Britain was the reformation of the electoral system. The electoral system in 1860 was still based on the Reform Act of 1832, which limited voting rights to property-owners and landed classes and thus created a 'gentlemanly' parliament. The Second Reform Act of 1867 brought significant changes to the way British politics organized through presenting

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[8] The Concert system, which is also known as the Congress system was established in 1815 to preserve the balance of power in Europe to prevent the continent to descend into another catastrophic war. Most of the issues which was of interest to more than one European Power was discussed in congresses which included diplomats (sometimes ministers) of the five European states: Britain, France, Russian Empire, Habsburg Empire and Prussia. The crisis of 1860 was also discussed in a congress where Britain, France and Russia discussed the possible actions to take on the Lebanese Civil War. See, A.C René. *The Concert of Europe,* Macmillan, 1968.
[9] See Cain and Hopkins pp. 134-9.

an opportunity of better representation for the new urban classes.[10]

After the Second Reform Act, size of the electorate rose from around 800,000 in 1865 to 2.3 million in 1868 elections (Figure 1). Almost half of the urban male populace, numbering around 800,000, of whom the majority was working-class, was enfranchised.[11] The increased enfranchise transformed the relationship between the electorate and government and also between the two-political parties.[12]

Certain factors such as the conservative redistribution plan reduced the impact of these changes in the first instance. Disraeli and the Conservatives, who were architects of the Reform, deliberately arranged the seats and constituencies in a way that 'the Liberal votes were piled up and wasted in the great centres of populations' and the 'Conservative votes were evenly distributed throughout the country' through over-representation of the boroughs.[13]

Moreover, corruption in the voting remained as a problem and was remedied by later reforms such the Ballot Act of 1872 which modernised the ballots and reduced corruption during voting process. After the Reform Act, the franchise included only around 8% of the population; in this sense the Reform Act was a 'conservative reform' which enfranchised only a small portion of the working-classes.[14] However, despite its conservative nature, the Reform Act still constituted a step in the

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[10] Hawkins, Parliamentary Government, p. 664, and A. Wood, *Nineteenth Century Britain 1815-1914,* Longman, 1982, p. 267.

[11] See, Adelman, P., *Gladstone, Disraeli and Later Victorian Politics,* Pearson, 1997, pp. 19-20, Malcolm, P. and Stewart G., *British Political History 1867-1995,* Routledge, 1996, p. 24 and Hawkins, *British Party Politics,* pp. 131- 134.(Hawkins notes that, the percentage of male voters increased approximately from one to five to one to three.)

[12] Adelman, p. 20. For recent analysis of the Reform and politics see: D. Acemoglu and J. Robinson, Why did the West Extend the Franchise? Democracy, Inequality, Growth in Historical Perspective, *The Quarterly Journal of Economics,* Vol. 115, No. 4, 2000, pp. 1167-1199, S. Berlinski and T. Dewan, Political Consequences of Franchise Extension: Evidence from the Second Reform Act, *Quarterly Journal of Political Science,* Vol. 6, 2011, pp. 329-376.

[13] Hawkins, *Party Politics,* p.134.

[14] T. F. Gallagher, The Second Reform Movement, 1848-1867, *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies,* Vol. 12, No.2, 1980, pp. 147-163.

democratisation of the British political system in the 19th century.

The transformations in the political system were results of larger changes in British society; the power of the 'masses' started to increase in Britain in the 19th century because of the demographic change. Half of the British population was already urbanised by 1851 and the population of the country had risen from 8 million in 1801 to 22.7 million by 1871.[15] The emergence of this dynamic and populous urban mass made reformation of the system necessary.

Class structure of the society was another important factor affecting the politics in Britain. The majority of the population belonged to the working-class; according to some calculations, over three-quarters of the population in 1867 belonged to the 'manual-labour' class.[16] Only a limited number of the members of this class were enfranchised in 1867 and those who were eligible voted for the Liberals. In contrast, the urban middle-classes and rural population was known to vote for Conservatives during the 1860s.[17]

Another important change of the mid-19th century was the rise of the 'pressure-groups' as non-parliamentary political institutions representing the will of the masses, especially the one who were excluded from power. The Reform League pushed for the Second Reform Act with the Hyde Park protest of 1867 and various other pressure groups, from trade unions to independent press associations, flourished in this period. Religious groups such as the Non-Conformist Association seeking religious freedom and political groups such as the Home Rule League pushing for autonomy and home

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[15] B. R. Mitchell, *European Historical Statistics,* Macmillan Press, 1975, p. 19 and [15] D. Baines and R. Woods, Population and Regional Development in R. Floud and P. Johnson (eds), *Cambridge Economic History of Britain,* Vol. 2, Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 35.
[16] Hobsbawm, Industry and Empire, p. 154.
[17] G.S. Jones, Working Class Culture and Working Class Politics in London: 1870-1900, *Journal of Social History,* Vol. 7, No. 4, 1974, pp. 460-508.

rule in Ireland became active during the 1860s. Wootton notes that 'by the 1870s and 1880s, (at the latest) pressure from without was being recommended in so many words as a mode of practical action'.[18] The two major parties interacted with these groups especially during election times.

1.2) *Weltanschauung* of the Mid-Victorian Age: Darwinism, Racism and Religion

The 1860s were the heyday of the 'Liberal Age' economically, politically and ideologically. The 'great boom' which started in the 1850s continued in the 1860s, which was supplemented by laisser-faire capitalism at home and free-trade abroad, provided the economic basis of liberalism. However, the liberal age was not confined to the economic realm; science, positivism and progress were all components of the dominant ideology of the 1860s.[19] Although the economic slump of 1873 brought the economic liberalism to an end in mid-1870s, the ideological impact survived much longer which, in turn, also affected the British understanding of the Ottomans.

1850 and 1860s were also the times of great scientific discoveries, and Darwin's Theory of Evolution was one of the most significant one. Darwin's book on evolution, *Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* became an immediate success and sold all of its 1250 copies on the day of its publication on 29 November 1859.[20] The second edition was printed in January 1860 and was reviewed by the most important daily newspapers like *The Times* and the *Daily News*. Darwin's theory created an immediate stir in the intellectual circles; some of the reviews of his work were very favourable while the others were violently hostile. Darwin influenced a

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18 G. Wootton, *Pressure Groups in Britain, 1720-1970,* Allen Lane, 1975, p.6.
[19] E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital,* Abacus, 1988, p. 294-313.
[20] C. Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*, London, 1859. See A. Ellegard, *Darwin and the General Reader: The Reception of Darwin's Theory of Evolution in British Periodical Press 1859-1872*, Chicago University Press, 1958, p. 25.

number of other works such as T. H. Huxley's *Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature* and Sir Charles Lyell's *Antiquity of Man,* both published in 1863 and applied Darwin's evolutionary ideas to the human race.[21]

Darwin's theory paved the way for Darwism, a biological theory which aimed to scientifically explain how species are formed and become extinct. For Darwin, various mechanisms were in play in this process, most notably the 'natural selection', alongside the 'sexual selection' and inheritance. The 'natural selection' was a biological concept co-co-discovered by Darwin and Albert Russell Wallace and both scientists were influenced from the ideas of the preeminent economist Malthus developed in *Essay on Population* (1798).[22] Malthus argued that the organic population and the natural resources available to them would not rise proportionately, and eventually, the population will far surpass the available resources. This would create competition for resources which would trigger a 'struggle for existence', a selection process as a result of which some species would perish and some would survive. Darwin himself claimed that reading Malthus' work was significant in the development of the Theory of Evolution because it contributed to the development of the idea of natural selection as the basis of the evolution of species.[23]

Natural selection was a key concept in Darwinian Theory of evolution, which was based on the argument that each new species was produced and maintained by having some advantage over its competitors, and consequently, the less favoured species would become extinct. Darwin believed that natural selection also operated on human evolution, although it was attenuated in the civilized societies due to the welfare and

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[21] Ellegard, p. 28.

[22] For an analysis of the relation between Malthus and Darwin see: P. Vorzimmer, Darwin, Malthus and the Theory of Natural Selection, *Journal of History of Ideas,* Vol. 30, No.4, 1969, pp. 27-542. G. Claeys, The "Survival of the Fittest" and the Origins of Social Darwinism, *Journal of History of Ideas,* Vol. 61, No. 2, 2000, pp. 223-40.

[23] Claeys, p. 223.

charity schemes which protected the weak.[24]

The idea of natural selection and the struggle to survive was not exclusive to Darwin. Herbert Spencer invented the term 'survival of the fittest' in 1864 and noted that his term was the equivalent of Darwin's natural selection. Darwin picked up the term and added it to the 1868 edition of his *Origins* in order to clear the confusion created because of the term 'selection'.[25] Darwin underlined that his usage of the term survival of the fittest was 'metaphorical' rather than literal because, in evolution, cooperation was as important as competition.

The 1860s also witnessed the development of new scientific disciplines, such as anthropology and ethnology, two areas where the impact of Darwinism was clear. The Ethnological Society was formed in 1843 and was dominated by the proponents of monogenesis, the theory which posits that human beings are of the same origin, which was compatible with the theories of 'creation'. The disagreement between the defenders of monogenesis and polygenesis led to a split in the Society and the formation of the Anthropological Society of London in 1863 by James Hunt, an ardent follower of the Scottish anatomist Robert Knox.

Robert Knox is accepted as the founder of the modern scientific racism in Britain with his work *Races of Man* (1850), which claimed the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race over the non-white peoples.[26] He was anti-Darwinist in thinking, which

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[24] M. Hawkins, *Social Darwinism in European and American Thought 1860-1945*, Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 29.

[25] D. Paul, The Selection of the 'Survival of the Fittest', *Journal of History of Biology,* Vol. 21, No. 3, 1988, p. 414. The confusion is well known in the literature see, C. K. Waters, Natural Selection without Survival of the Fittest, *Biology and Philosophy,* Vol. 1, 1986, pp. 207-225. There's a controversy in the literature on the introduction of the 'survival of the fittest'. Earlier works such as R. Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought: 1860-1915,* Philadelphia University Press, 1944 claimed that Spencer coined the term in 1852, before the publication of the *Origins.* Paul disputes with this and argues that the term indeed discovered in 1864, after Darwin's publication.

[26] D. Lorimer, Theoretical Racism in Late-Victorian Anthropology, 1870-1900, *Victorian Studies,* Vol. 31, No.3, 1988, p. 406.

was one of the main reasons behind the split.[27] The two rival institutions merged under the name of the Anthropological Institute in 1871 after the death of Knox and Hunt.[28] These institutions were predominantly involved in the research of the human race, a question that has also been tackled by Darwin in his work *The Descent of Man* (1871).

Darwin was interested in the human evolution even before he published the *Origins* and this interest was shared by the followers of the emerging disciplines mentioned above. Both Darwin and other anthropologists extended Darwinist evolution to shed new light on the social existence of human beings. The result of this endeavour was the birth of a new world-view, which was broadly called as Social Darwinism..

Social Darwinism became a 'cluster of ideas' about the nature of societies and the causes and dynamics of the social change.[29] Social Darwinism was based on the application of Darwinian ideas, such as the survival of the fittest or gradual evolutionary change, to social field. The interpretations of these concepts for social life varied greatly, and as a result, Social Darwinism emerged not as a singular political project or theory but as a world view influencing different ideologies and political projects.

Although Social Darwinist projects varied, certain common elements linked them to each other. Hawkins notes that 'scientific materialism, the rejection of supernatural forces in natural explanation' were among the common traits of this world view. One particular Social Darwinist view, which was also shared by Darwin, reinforced the

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[27] D. Lorimer, From Natural Science to Social Science: Race and the Language of Race Relations in Late Victorian and Edwardian Discourse, in D. Kelly (eds) *Lineages of Empire,* British Academy, 2009, p. 183.

[28] D. Lorimer, *Theoretical Racism*, p. 408.

[29] J. A. Rogers, Darwinism and Social Darwinism, *Journal of History of Ideas,* Vol. 33, No.2, 1972, p. 265 and M. Hawkins, p. 32.

views of Anglo-Saxon superiority over the 'uncivilized' nations.[30] Between the *Origins* and *Descent* during the 1860s, a number of other social theorists across Europe applied Darwin's theory to social life, which contributed to the emergence of Social Darwinism as a Western idea.

One important interpretation of Social Darwinism during 1860s and 1870s were ideas on the racial and class superiority, which was based on the idea of the survival of the fittest. Darwin's own writings on social issues demonstrated the application of evolutionary ideas on society. Darwin commented on the Balkan Crisis through the lenses of the 'natural selection':

> 'Remember what risk the nations of Europe ran not so many centuries ago of being overwhelmed by the Turks, and how ridiculous such an idea now is! The more civilized so-called Caucasian races have beaten the Turkish hollow in the struggle for existence. Looking to the world at no very distant date, what an end-less number of the lower races will have been eliminated by the higher civilized races throughout the world.'[31]

Darwin's analysis of the political situation in Balkans depended on the concept of 'race' and the struggle for existence between different races, which was in line with natural selection theory. Race as a concept was visibly on the rise in the 1850s and 1860s Britain and two important British men, Darwin and Walter Bagehot, were the main influences behind the rise of 'racial' thinking.[32]

Definition of 'race' varied in the 19th century. In Darwin's usage the 'Turk' appeared as a race alongside 'Caucasian races' of the Balkans which is puzzling for a 21st century reader where the differences between the terms 'nation', 'ethnicity' and 'race'

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[30] M. Hawkins, p. 36.
[31] *Life and Letters of Darwin,* Vol. 1, Letter of July 3 1881, p. 316.
[32] E. Beasley, *The Victorian Reinvention of Race,* Routledge, 2010, pp. 1-2.

are clear. In the early 19th century, race used to define 'any group whom one wished to examine' and this tradition partly continued in the mid-19th century. [33]

The meaning of race and racism began to transform in mid-19th century because of the works of the scientists interested in the subject.[34] This new scientific racism catalogued the races and believed that size of the brain, which was understood by measuring the skull, differed between races.[35] These ideas had been developing in Britain in the 1850s; 'scientific racism' had emerged in Robert Knox's work before the *Origins* was published.[36] Knox was not the only anthropologist who developed the modern scientific racism, many other authors made similar arguments. At the end of 1860s, racial determinism and anthropology became intertwined, demonstrating the rise of scientific racism in Victorian thinking.[37]

The rise of the racial thought in the mid-19th century was not only due to the march of science; missionaries played their part too.[38] In many missionary reports, the cultural and spiritual inferiority of the Africans against the White Europeans was asserted, which ran contrary to the earlier 19th century 'humanitarian' views of Christian missionaries. The swing from humanitarian egalitarianism to racism in religious thinking further demonstrates the prevalence of racial thinking in the 1850s and 1860s.[39]

Darwin's evolutionary theory connected with the existing ideas on racism. By the 1870s, there was a consensus in the West on the existence of fixed, heritable and

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[33] Beasley, p. 19.
[34] N. Stephan, *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain 1800-1960*, MacMillan, 1982, p. 45-6.
[35] Ibid.
[36] E. Richards, Moral Anatomy of Richard Knox: The Interplay between Biological and Social Thought in Victorian Scientific Naturalism, *Journal of History of Biology,* Vol. 22, No. 3, 1989, p. 374.
[37] M. D. Biddiss, The Politics of Anatomy: Dr. Robert Knox and Victorian Racism, *Procedings of the Royal Society of Medicine,* Vol. 69, No 4, 1976, p. 250.
[38] P. D. Curtin, "Scientific" Racism and the British Theory of Empire, *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria,* Vol. 2, No 1, 1960, p. 47.
[39] Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire,* p. 317.

unequal race groups and the supremacy of the White-European races over the others. Darwin reinforced these views in the *Descent* by claiming that the blacks were the lowest race while the Caucasian race was the most advanced and 'civilized' race.[40]

Although secularism under the influence of science was on the rise, the British society was still a religious society in the 1850s.[41] Secularism was one of the currents in Britain and there were counter-currents such as the rise of Evangelicalism, in the form missionary activities, and inclusion of Catholicism in British public life in the same period.[42] Evangelicalism bridged the Nonconformists and the Anglicans and created a new moral appeal for the British population as well as fuelling the missionary activity in the colonies and beyond. Some of the most influential mid-Victorian politicians such as Gladstone was influenced from evangelical moralism and combined it with political liberalism which in turn influenced the whole liberal movement.[43] The mixture of liberal notion of progress and evangelicalist sense of duty resulted in a new articulation where progress became a Christian duty to improve society. According to van der Veer, this new mixture of liberal and evangelical ideas led to a general emphasis on the moral character of the English people and their duty to lead the world.[44]

Relations between Protestantism and Catholicism, an important issue that shaped the Anglo-Ottoman relations in the early modern times, continued to influence the 19th century society. The Catholic emancipation of 1829 had a positive effect in repairing

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[40] Beasley, p. 102.

[41] J. Wolffe *God and Great Britain¸ Religion and National Life in Britain and Ireland, 1843-1945*, 1994, p. 113 and Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire,* p. 320.

[42] P. van der Veer, The Moral State: Religion, Nation and Empire in Victorian Britain and British India in P.v.d. Veer and H. Lehmann (eds.), *Nation and Religion, Perspectives on Europe and Asia,* Princeton University Press, 1999, p. 21.

[43] P.v.d Veer, p. 23, A. Ramm, Gladstone's Religion, *The Historical Journal,* Vol. 28, No. 2, 1985, pp. 327-40

[44] Ibid.

the Protestant-Catholic relations. The patriotism of the Crimean War period had a religious undertone as the War was justified at home by being a 'Just War', to protect a vulnerable ally from the aggressor.[45] Therefore, the British support of a Muslim power alongside a Catholic power against another Christian power was partly justified with a moral-religious discourse. The Crimean War demonstrated that, in mid-century, religion still played a central role in articulating the British national consciousness and sense of duty abroad.[46]

1.3)   Economy and rise of the City in Anglo-Ottoman Relations

In the mid-19th century, Britain experienced a period of rapid progress, broadly named the 'second industrial revolution' with the invention of the railways and telegraph.[47] In the 1860s, compared to its European rivals, Britain was the most industrialised country at the zenith of its economic dominance; two thirds of world's coal, and half of the iron and cotton, were produced in Britain.[48] Moreover, Britain was already an open-economy, its foreign trade was more than the combination of France, Germany and Italy and it was four times more than the United States.[49]

British trade with the Ottoman Empire continued to expand, especially after the Free-Trade Convention signed between the two states in 1838. Increased volume in the Anglo-Ottoman trade coincided with the general expansion in the British foreign trade in the 1850-1870 period, and the Ottoman market became an important importer

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[45] Wolffe, p. 118.
[46] Ibid.
[47] See E. Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire,* pp. 87-112 and E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital*, pp. 43-88.
[48] E. Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire*, p. 112. It needs to be noted that although Britain was relatively 'the most industrialized nation' in 1850s, it was not without rivals. Around the same dates Britain owned around one third of total steam power in the world and around one third of total manufactured goods.
[49] D. Thomson, pp. 100-101.

of British cotton textiles.[50] However, the main determinant of the economic relations between the two states in the 1850-1870 period was not the commodity trade, it was the emerging British financial capital.[51]

The need for external financing in the Ottoman Empire began during the Crimean War, in order to overcome the burden of the war.[52] Foreign debts of the Empire rose rapidly in the next 20 years until 1876 when the Ottoman Empire declared its bankruptcy; Britain was among the main creditors of the Empire during this period. The chief financial institution in the Ottoman Empire was the Imperial Ottoman Bank which was established in 1856 in London and which became the 'most visible manifestation of extension abroad of the new financial instruments developed in Britain'.[53]

British credit to the Ottoman Empire was issued by the City, which emerged as a new actor affecting the British views on the Ottomans alongside the traditional commercial and strategic interests of the merchants and the political elite. The City's influence was demonstrated after the financial collapse of the Ottomans in 1876, when the creditors vehemently protested the Ottoman administration and visibly turned against it.[54] Thus, the nature of the economic relations was reshaped in the mid-19th century, where the financial capital gained more influence and importance.

1.4) The Rise of the Press

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[50] H. Inalcik, 'When and How British Cotton Goods Invaded the Levant Market', in N.I. Inan, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy,* Cambridge University Press, 1987.

[51] P. J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion 1688-1914*, Longman, 1993, p. 398.

[52] S. Pamuk, *Osmanli-Turkiye Iktisadi Tarihi 1500-1914*[Economic History of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey 1500-1914], Iletisim Yayinlari, 2007, p. 231.

[53] Cain and Hopkins, p. 402.

[54] For more information, see Chapter 5 below in this thesis.

The British press was also under transformations which were characterised by the increased circulation and readership of the newspapers and periodicals, the technical developments in printing which reduced the cost in publishing and the 'liberalisation' of the press with the abolition of the taxes which resulted in the emergence of the cheap, mass newspapers.[55]

First of the important transformations in British press in the 1860s was the technological shift in the newspaper industry. Innovations such as the rotary press, which was invented in late 1860s, enabled newspapers to press large number of copies quickly. The developments in the telegraphic technology, due to the opening of sub-oceanic cables to connect Britain with USA and India respectively in 1865 and 1869, increased the communication speed between continents and enabled the newspapers to quickly inform the British public about foreign news.[56]

The second important transformation was the increase in literacy in Britain, which improved gradually in the 19th century.[57] Vincent estimates that the literacy rate in the 1840s and 1850s was around 52% ; however, if the 'collective literacy' in families, where a literate member of the family read the papers aloud to the illiterate members, was taken into account, 82% of the population had access to newspapers.[58] Lee estimates the literacy rate in 1850 as 61%, in 1868 as 76% and in 1888 as 97% and adds that the disparity between female and male literacy was eradicated by 1898.[59]

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[55] L. Brown, *Victorian News and the Newspapers,* Clarendon, 1985, p.7. M. Hampton, *Visions of the Press in Britain 1850-1950,* University of Illinois Press, 2004, p. 17.
[56] Reuters was established in 1851 and by 1860s nearly all of the major London papers were using its service to transmit information from distant places to Britain.
[57] D. Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture: England 1750-1914,* Cambridge University Press, 1989, p. 283.
[58] Vincent, p. 22.
[59] A.J. Lee, *The Origins of the Popular Press in England 1855-1914,* Croom Helm Publishing, 1976, p. 33. It should be noted that these figures are estimates based on marriage registers and had various drawbacks. For a discussion on the issue see Lee, pp. 31-3.

The third important transformation was the abolition of the 'taxes on knowledge'. The advertising duty was abolished in 1853, the stamp duty in 1855 and the paper duty in 1861, which enabled the newspapers to lower their prices to 1p or even to 1/2p. In terms of circulation, the impact of the abolition of taxation became particularly significant after the 1870s due to the advent of the 'penny press' in the late 1860s.[60] In addition, the invention of the telegraph, the usage of railways for distributing newspapers and technological developments in paper production steadily drove the operational costs down in the 1860s and 1870s.[61] As a result, the number of daily papers rose from 32 (London and the provinces each had 16) to 150 between 1850 and 1880.[62]

As a result of these changes, the newspaper circulations rose sharply in the 19th century, especially after the 1860s. Although the circulation figures are an inadequate measure of the readership of the newspapers, they point out to the fact that the consumption of newspapers had progressively changed from the 1850s onwards and newspapers had become a household product, especially for the middle-classes.[63] There was a move from 'communal ownership of newspapers', which was the norm before the mid-century, to personal ownership, which became the norm at the end of the century.[64] Moreover the illiterate people had the chance to listen to the newspapers in the reading clubs, where newspapers were read aloud.

The second impact of these transformations was the 'liberalisation' of the newspapers, which developed as a chain reaction: 'lower prices, increased sales and

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[60] Lee, p.71, Brown p. 39.
[61] Brown, p. 24
[62] Hampton p. 28. Brown, p.
[63] Hampton p. 28, Lee p. 35.
[64] Hampton p. 27,

the development of new print technology to service an expanding market.'[65] On one hand, the British press became much less dependent on the state and thus was not subject to state censorship, unlike the French or the Ottoman press. On the other hand, they became completely dependent on sales and advertising revenue to survive, and hence became more reliant on the advertisers and owners. Costs of starting a newspaper in the 1870s were 7 times higher than 1855, particularly because of the high cost of modern print machinery, which was a reason in the fall of 'independent' press i.[66]

The final important change in the British press was the rise of the political press in Britain. Parallel to the transformation of the party system in Britain in the mid-19th century, the new dailies which emerged in the 1860s and after were affiliated to either the Liberals or Conservatives.[67] In this way, the press contributed to the transformation of the British political parties to mass movements. A significant number of the daily pennies which emerged after 1860 were pro-Liberal, the national *Daily News,* one of the main newspapers which influenced the Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation, was among them.[68]

Prior to the abolition of taxation in 1855, *The Times* was the undisputed leader of British journalism, the most popular paper both in London and the provinces.[69] The circulation of the paper, which was around 30,000 per day in 1847, increased to 50,000 in the 1850s. Following the reduction of the price to 3d. the paper reached an average circulation of 65,000 by 1867.[70] However, although the paper increased its

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[65] J. Curran, Press History, in J. Curran and J. Seaton, *Power without Responsibility: Press, Broadcasting and the Internet in Britain,* Routledge, 2010, p. 26.
[66] Curran, p. 27.
[67] Curran p. 34.
[68] A. Hawkins, *British Party Politics*, p.85.
[69] No Author, *History of the Times,* Vol.2, Times Printing House, 1951, p. 294.
[70] *History of the Times*, pp. 298-303.

circulation in the 1860s, it lost its dominant position in the British press; it faced increasing competition from the *Telegraph* and the *Daily News* on the national level. Furthermore, the rise of independent provincial press diminished the impact of *The Times* in the country.

During the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, three newspapers fiercely competed with each other. The *Telegraph's* circulation hit 190,000, the *Daily News* sold 150,000 copies and *The Times* sold around 70,000.[71] Although these figures increased due to the public interest in the War, they nonetheless demonstrate that *The Times* was no longer the only important newspaper in Britain by the 1870s.

During the 1860s and 1870s *The Times,* represented the mainstream media and thus will be analysed in all three case studies as one of the main sources. The *Daily News,* which was a minor newspaper for most of the 1860s, will also be analysed in all case studies, mainly because of the central role it played during the Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation. These two papers were also among the most circulated papers during the Agitation period.

2.) **Ottoman Empire in the Middle of the 19th Century**

2.1) *Tanzimat* **and the Ottoman Reforms**

The efforts to modernise the Ottoman state institutions began at the end of the18th century during Selim III's reign (1789-1807), specifically in the military realm. The Ottoman Empire struggled in its military campaigns at the end of the 18th century as the traditional Ottoman military institutions' obsolescence in the face of superior European armies became more evident. Disastrous military performance of the Ottoman army against Catherine II's Russian army in Russo-Ottoman War of 1787-92

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[71] Brown, p. 52.

and Napoleon's quick successes in his Egyptian expedition in 1798 persuaded the young Ottoman Sultan Selim III to adopt a series of institutional reforms to modernise the Ottoman army and state. Selim's reforms was cut short with a military rebellion of the 'old guard', *janissary* corps, against his reforms in the capital which led to his deposition in 1807.

Selim III's successor Mahmud II (1808-1839) also carried out reforms in military, medicine and economy to modernise the Ottoman institutions. Mahmoud eventually managed to dismantle the *janissary* corps in 1826 and then embarked on a more extensive reform program. However, his reign was undermined with the rise of Mehmed Ali, the Ottoman governor of Egypt who rebelled against the Ottoman army and defeated it twice in 1830s.[72]At the time of Mahmoud's death in 1839, the Ottoman Empire was in a precarious position due to the Egyptian Question.[73]

This troubled situation triggered the need to find a strong Western ally to fend off the military threat to the Empire's territorial integrity as well as to modernise the Ottoman institutions as a whole to strengthen the central state. The *Tanzimat* which meant 'organisation' in the Ottoman language was born in this context as a systematic effort to apply far-reaching reforms in the Ottoman Empire's state institutions and its social structure.

Tanzimat period started with the ascendance of Abdulmejid to the throne in 1839 after the death of Mahmud II. The new sultan, who was only 18, appointed to a group of experienced statesman including Reshid, who became the initiator of the reforms in the Ottoman Empire. Reshid was responsible for foreign relations; he was the

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[72] See Chapter 5 for a history of Mehmed Ali-Ottoman relations. See Appendix 3 for a biography of Mehmed Ali.
[73] See Chapter 2 for a short analysis of the Egyptian Question and its impact on the Anglo-Ottoman relations.

Ottoman Ambassador in Paris and London during the 1830s where he experienced the workings of the European diplomacy, especially over the Egyptian Question. Moreover, the Sultan saw Reshid as the ideal candidate in forming an alliance with Britain because of his close personal relationship with Palmerston.[74]

On November 3, 1839, the Foreign Minister Reshid Pasha read an imperial decree which promised wide ranging reforms in various aspects of social life in the Ottoman Empire. Reshid was the chief architect of the Edict and the *Tanzimat* reforms that followed it. Although the reforms were domestic in nature, Reshid aimed to use them as a propeller to elevate the status of the Ottoman Empire to a member of the European Concert.[75]

The *Tanzimat* reforms were far-reaching and aimed to transform the ancient institutions of the Ottoman Empire, including military, taxation, legal structure, administrative system.[76] The aim of the *Tanzimat* reforms was to create a new type of social model for the Ottoman citizens, by establishing Christian – Muslim equality in society rather than the hegemonic domination of the latter over the former. Above all, they aimed to create a new and coherent society united together by a common bond of 'Ottomanism'. In order to achieve this, another imperial edict promising to establish equality between religious groups was proclaimed in 1856, prior to the Paris Peace Conference which ended the Crimean War. These reforms continued in the 1860s, and culminated with the Ottoman citizenship law (1869), which declared the Ottoman subjects as equal citizens before the law.

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[74] T. Subasi, *Anglo-Ottoman Relations and the Reform Question in Early Tanzimat Period 1839-1852: With Special Reference to Reforms Concerning Ottoman Non-Muslims*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1995, p. 53.

[75] S. Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire,* Princeton University Press, 2010, pp. 73.

[76] For recent analysis of the *Tanzimat* reforms: E. J. Zurcher, *Turkey,*, pp. 50-71, K. Barkey, *Empire of Difference: Ottomans in Comparative Perspective,* Cambridge University Press, 2008, pp. 264-289, Hanioglu pp.72-108. For recent Turkish scholarship: H. Inalcik, M. Seyitdanlioglu (eds), *Tanzimat,* Phoenix Press, 2006, H. Inalcik, *Devlet-I Aliyye, Vol 2.,* Isbankasi Yayinlari, 2013.

The *Tanzimat* era witnessed the change in the balance of power between the Sultan, religious clerics (*ulema*) and the Porte, the Ottoman bureaucracy. Reshid and his followers, especially Ali and Fuad Pashas, rose to prominence during the reform period as the authoritarian reformists. They hoped that the new Ottoman values, which embodied equality before law and the introduction of a new and fairer taxation, would bring vastly different social, religious, ethnic groups of the Empire together and reinvigorate the state.

They were also skilful diplomats. It was mostly due to these men that the Ottomans established themselves as a member of the European concert in the mid-19th century; securing an alliance with the French and British in the Crimean War was their finest diplomatic point. The cordial Anglo-Ottoman relations during the 1860s was also partly due their diplomatic skills; Ali and Fuad continued to replace one another as a Grand Vizier or Foreign Minister until the death of Fuad in 1869 and Ali in 1871. Death of the two prominent statesmen rekindled a bitter power struggle in the 1870s, between the Sultan Abdulaziz and the Porte. Ironically, the dethronement of Abdulaziz and the promulgation of the first Ottoman constitution in 1876 ended the *Tanzimat* statesmen's hold on power. The new Sultan, Abdulhamid II, both promulgated and annulled the constitution within a year and established his personal rule after 1877.

The *Tanzimat* reforms caused significant consequences for the Ottoman Empire and some of these were not in the direction hoped for by their instigators. In some cases, such as taxation, an effective reform proved impossible to implement, in some other cases such as the abolition of slavery created serious backlash in certain parts of the Empire where slave trade was the most important commercial activity.

The *Tanzimat* reforms provoked different and mostly hostile reactions from the various social, religious and ethnic groups of the Ottoman society. In the Ottoman centre, the religious clerics of all religions, particularly the Muslims and Orthodox Christians, were hostile to reform,. The reforms continued Constantinople's earlier attempts to modernise the state through centralisation and bureaucratisation, which created further backlash in the provinces. For example, in Lebanon and Syria, which would be analysed in the subsequent chapter, the immediate impact of the reforms was the reinforcement of the sectarian fragmentation on the one hand and emergence of political demands, such as 'liberty from tyranny', 'fiscal equality for peasants', on the other.

The role of Britain in the *Tanzimat* reforms is debated in the literature. The earlier British articles attributed a key role to Palmerston, Stratford Canning and the British Foreign Office in drawing and implementing the reform programme.[77] Later Turkish historiography, on the other hand, underlined the authenticity of the Ottoman reforms.[78] Both claims hold certain truth; the Ottoman reformation occurred during a period when the Anglo-Ottoman relations were at the peak and thus Britain was in a favourable position to exert influence on the Ottoman Empire.

The British position from 1830s to 1860s was to provide encouragement and support in the making of reforms in the Ottoman Empire, which were seen as the cornerstone in the preserving the territorial integrity of the Empire. Palmerston noted that the British power in maintaining the Ottoman Empire depended on the 'public opinion in Britain', which would not support government's pro-Ottoman policy unless the

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[77] See H. Temperley, British Policy Towards Parliamentary Rule and Constitutionalism in Turkey, (1830-1914), *Cambridge Historical Journal,* Vol. 4, Issue 2, 1933, pp. 156-191, F.S. Rodkey, Lord Palmerston's Policy towards Rejuvenation of Turkey, 1939-1941, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* Vol. 12, 1929, pp. 163-192.
[78] K. Karpat, The Transformation of the Ottoman State, 1789-1908, *Journal of Middle Eastern Studies,* Vol. 3, 1972, pp. 243-281.

Ottoman government exerted itself to make reforms.[79] In this way, the *Tanzimat* reforms served both the Porte, who wanted to elevate the Ottomans into the European Concert, and the British government, who wanted to preserve the Ottoman territorial integrity for as long as possible.

3.)   Conclusion

The transformations in mid-Victorian Britain was both fast and vast, as explained in this chapter. From the Ottoman perspective, the post-Crimean War period brought landmark changes. The death of Palmerston, increased influence of the press in politics, and the gradual democratisation of the politics which made popular opinion more important were among the most important changes that influenced the Anglo-Ottoman relations and the British perceptions on the Ottomans. Although these more 'material' transformations are important to understand the context for the development of British perceptions, the ideational changes hold an equally important position.

The case studies following this chapter explores in depth the usage of important concepts such as 'race' and 'religion' in the way the British related to the Ottomans. The literature, as explained in this chapter, argues that racism and belief on Anglo-Saxon/European supremacy was on the rise in 1860s and 1870s; the case analyses aims to test these beliefs in the Ottoman context and aims to analyse the impact of this 'new thinking' of the mid-Victorian Britain vis-à-vis the Ottoman society.

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[79] *Pte Russell Papers,* Palmerston to Russell 13 December 1860.

Chapter 5: The Lebanese Civil War of 1860

1.) **The Lebanon Crisis of 1860**

1.1) **Historical Background**

The Ottomans took control of the region in the beginning of the 16th century and imposed an indirect control on the region until the 19th century through local feudal lords called '*emirs'*. The last of the *emir*s was Bashir Shihbab II, a Maronite Christian, who ruled the region from 1788 to 1840. His era was turbulent, marred with wars for Mount Lebanon, and following his fall, the ancient order of Mount Lebanon officially ended.

In the 19th century, a series of events led to the end of the indirect Ottoman order in Mount Lebanon. The first of these was Napoleon's expedition to the Middle East in 1798-1801, in which he succeeded to invade Egypt and his army's march was halted by the Ottomans at Acre, a town which is close to the border between modern Israel and Lebanon. [1] The most important result of Napoleon's conquest of Egypt was the rise of Mehmed Ali, the Ottoman viceroy of Egypt from 1805 to 1849, who substantially altered the power relations in the Middle East until his military defeat in 1840 at the hands of British and Habsburg forces. [2]

Mehmed Ali's army invaded Mount Lebanon in 1831 and controlled the region until 1840, and his era was marked by relentless modernizing reforms which unsettled the old order and social relations in the region. The most direct consequence of these reforms on social relations was the emergence of sectarianism; with the demise of the

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[1] Napoleon captured Egypt but failed to capture Lebanon and Syria. French forces lost the naval battle to British, and in 1801 Napoleon decided to return to France for political reasons. Shortly after a new Anglo-Ottoman offensive resulted with French capitulation. For more information see, P. Mackesy, *British Victory in Egypt,* IB Tauris, 2010.

[2] For information on Mehmed Ali see Appendix 3. See U. Makdisi, *Culture of Sectarianism*, University of California Press, 2000 pp. 52-57 for a detailed analysis of the local strife following the Egyptian invasion of Syria.

local nobility, religious identity became dominant social force.[3] Moreover, during Mehmed Ali period, different religious groups separated in their allegiance between the Sultan and Mehmed Ali. Druzes preferred to stay loyal to the Sultan whereas Sunni Muslim leader Bashir and Maronites cooperated with the Egyptians. Landowning Druzes and Maronite peasants clashed in 1841 and 1845 due to economic reasons such as high taxation. However, different from the previous agrarian uprisings, religion also played a role in these clashes.[4]

In 1860 Mount Lebanon was an autonomous region under Ottoman control and covered much of the area which is today a part of modern Lebanon. The region was populated by Arabs of various religious beliefs; the Maronite Christians, a Middle Eastern Christian Church, Druzes; a religious community emerged from Islam, Shi'a and Sunni Muslims and Greek Orthodoxs.[5]

1.2)   Run Up to the Civil War

Sectarianism in Mount Lebanon emerged as a result of two important developments during the 1850s. The first of these was the *Tanzimat* reforms, which sought equality in representation, taxation, military service and social status between the Muslims and the non-Muslims of the Empire. After *Tanzimat,* the political identity of social groups was defined predominantly by their religious affiliations.

The second development was the 'Western penetration' into the region. Before the 19th century, Mount Lebanon's agricultural products was sold in the domestic market, particularly Damascus. From the 1840s onwards, Mount Lebanon's main economic

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[3] See U. Makdisi, "After 1860: Debating Religion, Reform and Nationalism in the Ottoman Empire", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol 34, No. 4, pp. 601-617.
[4] See C. Issawi, *The Fertile Crescent 1800-1914*, Oxford University Press, 1988 pp. 48-50.
[5] S. Swayd, *Historical Dictionary of Druzes*, Scarecrow Press, 2006, and K. Parry ed., *Blackwell Companion to Eastern Christianity*, Blackwell, 2010, p. 296.

product, silk, started to be exported to European markets which consequently made Lebanon more vulnerable to the economic cycles of Western capitalism. The boom of the early 1850s brought prosperity, the recession which started after 1857 resulted in significant commercial losses for both the merchants and landowners. Moreover, trade with the West led to unequal development in prosperity; the Christian merchants benefited more from the rising trade due to 'Capitulation' system, concessionary agreements signed between European states and the Ottoman Empire which provided significant privileges, such as low tariffs and tax exemptions, to foreign merchants.[6] Many Ottoman Christians acquired protectorates through the European consuls which placed them in a favourable position in Western trade.[7] This process in the end reversed the classical economic positions in the region, in which the Muslim landowning and merchant classes were economically superior.[8]

The final important development was the extension of the Great Power diplomacy to the region. Each religious group was aligned with a different Great Power, which further complicated the political situation in Lebanon. The Maronites established cordial relations with the French, as they were perceived as suitable to become French agents in Lebanon. The Druzes were backed by the British, the Orthodox by Russians and Sunni Muslims by the Porte. These lines were defined by religion; the French were the protectors of the Catholics and the Russians of Orthodoxs in the Ottoman Empire, and the Sunni Islam was the Ottoman state's official interpretation of Islam.

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[6] F. Ahmad, Ottoman Perceptions of the Capitulations, 1800-1914, *Journal of Islamic Studies,* Vol. 11, No. 1, 2000, pp. 1-20 and I. Blumi, Capitulations in the Late Ottoman Empire, *Oriento Moderno,* Vol. 83, No. 3, 2003, pp. 635-47.

[7] See A.L.S. Marsot, *Egypt in the Reign of Muhammad Ali,* Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 234.

[8] Balta-Liman Charter was one of the stimulator of British trade in the region. Marsot notes that British trade in 1839 to Aleppo exceeded British trade to France. The Charter prohibited the erection of 'trade monopolies' throughout the Empire as well as abolishing the import tax from foreign nationals. It was a 'free-trade agreement' which resulted with flourishing of British (and French to a certain extent) trade to the Ottoman Empire, especially textiles.

1.3)   The Civil War

The 1850s were an anarchic decade for Lebanon, which resulted in increased banditry and petty crime. Looting by bandits of one religious sect against the other were the starting point of the civil war. Murders and revenge murders further escalated the tensions. At the end of May 1860, bandit warfare turned into a full-blown inter-religious warfare between the Maronites on one side and the Druzes and Muslims on the other.[9]

The Lebanese Civil War mainly happened in the mountainous areas; the major coastal towns were spared from violence. The Ottoman forces were either ineffective or collaborated with the Druzes against the Christians. The difficulty with the Ottoman forces were twofold; the Ottoman army was a Muslim army and found it difficult to fight against other Muslims, and the Ottoman authority in Mount Lebanon was too weak to be effective in a full scale civil war. Following the destruction of their towns and villages in the mountains, the Christians fled to the coastal towns of Lebanon where they were protected by the European warships.

Spilling over of sectarian war to Palestine and Syria was avoided except the key city of the Syrian region, Damascus, which had an overwhelmingly Muslim population living together with Christian minority. News about the hostilities reached Damascus quickly, and tensions between the Muslims and the Christians rose considerably due to the hearsay and gossips about the Civil War. A Muslim mob started a riot in the city on July 9 1860, attacking almost all of the foreign consulates except the British and Prussian. The Christian shops was attacked on the second day and civilian population

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[9]For a detailed narrative of the War, See L.T Fawaz, *An Occasion for War: Civil Conflict in Lebanon and Damascus in 1860,* University California Press, 1994.

on the third day. In Damascus, the riots ceased again mainly due to the efforts of a number of Muslim notables who protected the Christian civilians and intervened to disperse the mob.

The Lebanese Civil War and the Damascus attacks occurred for similar reasons; the emergence of sectarian political identities as a result of modernisation of the social order, raising income gap between the Muslims and the Christians favouring the latter and in the Damascus case, contempt towards certain European Powers.

1.4)   International Response

The news about the Lebanese Civil War reached Constantinople in early June, and the Porte, fearful of a European intervention to Syria, decided to despatch one of the top Ottoman officials, Fuad Pasha, equipped with 15,000 troops to the region in July 1860. [10] Fuad Pasha reached Beirut on 17 July and established a heavy-handed rule by swiftly punishing hundreds of mostly Muslim rioters, by issuing death penalties. Fuad Pasha and his men stayed in Syria until June 1861 with the aim of not only suppressing the riots, but also rebuilding the region and punishing the rioters. In this way, the Sultan aimed to counter a European intervention that might undercut the Ottoman power in Syria.

The news of the Civil War and Damascus massacres reached European capitals in mid-June. Napoleon III was the most eager European leader to intervene hoping to increase French influence in the Middle East and consolidate Christian support at home with a humanitarian intervention on behalf of the Lebanese Christians. France decided to send a European expedition force to Syria in order to protect the Christians

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[10] See Appendix 3 for a short biography of M. Fuad Pasha.

and help the Ottomans establish order on 20 July 1860. Britain initially responded coldly to this offer as Palmerston was in favour of a non-interventionist policy. However, under the threat of a single-handed French humanitarian intervention, they accepted with some reluctance to join a conference in Paris to discuss the possibility of a joint European action on 25 July. The European Powers agreed on the despatch of a small expeditionary force of 12,000 men, which in the end was reduced to 6,000, and consisted only of French soldiers, to be send in a 6 months long mission.

The expedition sailed on August 1860 from Marseille to Syria and stayed until June 1861. The expedition's mission conflicted with Fuad Pasha's mission as both had exactly the same aims, most of them already accomplished by Fuad Pasha before the French expedition arrived.[11] Fuad Pasha had succeeded in his aim of limiting the influence of the French expedition and re-organizing the region. Mount Lebanon was given a privileged administrative status: the governor would be a non-Lebanese Ottoman Christian chosen by the Porte and approved by European Powers and he would supervise an administrative council filled by the members of local communities. This new system proved long lasting and stayed in place until the end of the Ottoman rule in Lebanon and Syria at the end of World War I.

2.)   British Debates of the Lebanon Crisis

News about the Civil War in Lebanon reached Britain on June 1860 mainly through reports in *The Times,* which were reproduced by other newspapers around the country. Parliamentary debates followed the publication of these reports in the newspapers and took place during the July and August 1860 sessions.

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[11]See L. Fawaz, *An Occasion for War,* pp. 110-131.

British interest in the Lebanon Crisis was limited; and this was due to two factors. First of all, the Crisis was a 'minor' one for European diplomacy and this was partly because of its timing; the Civil War broke out only 4 years after the Crimean War (1853-1856) ended. The Russian and French Empire, the two powers who had genuine interests in the Near East, had yet to recover from the Crimean War and had no appetite for a new conflict. Secondly, the Crisis in this remote part of the Ottoman Empire was not a concern for British press, who played no role in creating a strong public opinion on the Crisis.

The debates on the Civil War demonstrated the various interpretations in Britain on the Ottoman society. The official interpretation of the War and the Ottoman society in general was in continuity with the earlier decades, which focused on the preservation of the Ottoman state in the Near East for British interests. This discourse was contested by a second discourse, the sick-man discourse, which emerged at the 'popular' level, in the newspapers, traveller accounts and the Parliament.

British perceptions of the Lebanese Civil War was shaped by these two discourses; each placed the blame of the War on different parties and offered a different diplomatic policy for Britain to follow in the East.

2.1)   The Emergence of the Sick-Man Discourse

The debates on the Lebanese Civil War reveals the construction of various perceptions on the Turks, Muslims, Ottoman Empire and the Lebanese locals. The debates analysed the causes of the Civil War and placed the blame on various parties; the Ottoman administration, the local Lebanese population or the Muslim residents were among the ones that shared the blame for the Civil War.

The first of these discourses was named the 'sick-man discourse', which articulated a negative image of the 'Turks', Muslims and the Ottoman Empire. The term 'sick-man' was coined by Tsar Nicholas in 1853, who said to the British envoy Sir George Hamilton Seymour that the Ottoman Empire was a 'sick-man –a very sick-man'.[12] From that point onward, the term sick-man became the main signifier of the Ottoman Empire in the literature and its impact is even felt in the contemporary world; the current Prime Minister of Turkey noted in his inaugural speech on 27 August 2014 that his Party has transformed a nation which was once called as the 'sick-man'.[13] Equating the Ottoman Empire to a deadly sick patient captured the spirit of the first discourse which defined the 'Ottomans' in a negative and inferior way.

The Civil War was explained in different ways and each of these distinct explanations singled out one group as the main reason behind the War. The discourses emerged during this explanation process and constructed the identity of a group on the way.

2.1.1) The Perceptions on the 'Muslim'

British news reports identified religion as one of the main reasons of the Civil War and articulated a perception of the Ottoman 'Muslim'. The first report from Syria appeared on 6 July 1860 in *The Times,* which explained the events through a Muslim vs. Christian dichotomy where the former appeared as the 'oppressor' and the latter as the 'victim'. This dichotomy not only presented the Eastern Christians as the pure 'victim' of the Civil War but also as the victims of the Muslim Ottoman rule in Near East.

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[12] D. Livanios, The Sick-man Paradox: History, Rhetoric and the 'European Character' of Turkey, *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans,* Vol. 8, No. 3, 2006, pp. 299-300 and A.L. Macfie, *The Eastern Question, 1774-1923,* 1996, pp. 96-103.
[13] AKP'nin Yeni Baskani Ahmet Davutoglu [Ahmet Davutoglu is the new head of AKP], *Milliyet,* 28 August 2014.

The news reports sent by the correspondents focused on the violence perpetrated against the Christians who 'being taken unawares, were massacred' by the Muslims; plenty of reports centred on the destruction of the Christian villages and noted the injuries inflicted on women and children. [14] In one example, *The Times* reported that 'all villages belonging to Christians had been pillaged and burnt, and women violated... men women, children were slaughtered.'[15] This was a typical news report on the Civil War which used the image of 'slaughtered children and women' to underline the innocence of the victimhood of the Christians in comparison to the limitless brutality of the perpetrators.

The Muslims were blamed for the outbreak of the atrocities, and as a result of this, they were defined as 'semi-barbarians' whose 'bloody fanaticism' against the Christians deserved 'the full weight of a swift and adequate retribution' by the Christian West. [16] The victimisation of the Christians reproduced an older view on the Ottomans which perceived the 'Muslim' Ottoman Empire as the traditional adversary of European Christianity. Examples of this logic was not confined to newspaper reports; it was also a common theme in traveller accounts.[17] The Lebanese Civil War was contextualised as an example of the ancient Muslim hostility against the Christians.

The victimisation of Christians was effective in concealing the complex nature of the Crisis. In this context, the Lebanese Civil War emerged as a purely religious/cultural conflict devoid of any economic and social cause. Reports underlined that 'not only Druzes who are working out … the extirpation of Christianity in Syria; but 'Moslems,

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[14] Syria and Palestine, *The Times,* 11 July 1860, p.5.
[15] The Civil War in Syria, *The Times,* 9 July 1860, p. 10.
[16] Ibid.
[17] See below for examples from traveller accounts from Syria-Lebanon published in 1861 and 1862, immediately after the massacres.

Bedouins, Kurds, Africans' and … regular troops' were also taking part in the massacres against the Christians.[18] In this way, the Civil War was presented as a religious warfare between the Christians on one hand and Muslims on the other.

As noted in the Introduction, discourses are constructed through the reduction of possible meanings in a differential process. Throughout the debates on the Lebanese Civil War, the Muslim identity was reduced to being a war-mongering, semi-barbaric identity which aimed to exterminate Christianity in the East. The traveller accounts on the Civil War were particularly more vocal about this point. There were two major works written on the Civil War; one was James Lewis Farley's, *The Massacres of Syria,* published in London in 1861, and the other was written by Charles Henry-Spencer Churchill, *The Druzes and the Maronites under Turkish Rule 1840-1860,* which was published in 1862.[19] Among the two, it was Churchill who argued that Islam and Christianity were incompatible and thus 'can only exist together in the mutual relation of the conquering and the conquered.'[20]

Although this view was an extreme example in the 1860s, numerous authors propagated that Britain should not cooperate with the Ottoman Empire due to their religious difference*:* 'I … hope that my letter may do its share towards causing England to see the lives she is sacrificing to uphold a Moslem power.'[21] There were many anonymous letters sent to *The Times* protesting against the European apathy in the face of this 'Muslim hostility' against the Christian co-religionists. One anonymous author noted that '*[T]he Christian governments of Europe* must not be

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[18] The Massacres in Syria, *The Times,* 11 July 1860, p. 9.
[19] See Appendix 3 for Churchill and Farley's biographies.
[20] H.C.S, Churchill, The Druzes and the Maronites under Turkish Rule 1840-1860, Bernard Quaritch, 1862, p. 3.
[21] To the Editor of the Times, *The Times,* 31 July 1860, p.9

content to witness the extermination of *their brethren* in Lebanon'[22] and called the European powers to act: '*Christian powers* have issued stringent instructions to put a stop to these horrible deeds of rapine, dishonour and blood.'[23] Contextualising the Civil War as a 'Muslim attack' on the Christians was popular especially in the press.

2.1.2) The Druzes and the Maronites

The Civil War was a Lebanese event and naturally the British debates on the War constructed a view for the local Lebanese people. The two main religious groups, the Druzes and the Maronites, and their responsibility on the crimes committed in the Civil War were discussed frequently by the MPs in Parliament.

Parliamentary debates on the Civil War cross-cut the party differences; MPs from both parties singled out similar explanations for the Lebanese Civil War. This was mainly due to the fact that the two-party system with clear cut differences and strong party rivalry was not yet fully established in 1860. The majority of the speakers in this question were from the ranks of the ruling Liberal Party, and most of them had been in the Ottoman Empire with a formal appointment as holders of diplomatic or military posts in the past.

The second common way of explaining the cause of the Civil War in Parliament was that it was because of the 'long-established animosity between the hostile parties.'[24] Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the former British Ambassador to the Porte, an important and influential figure in the Ottoman affairs and a Liberal member of the House of Lords, argued that Mount Lebanon was 'inhabited by tribes of very imperfect

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[22] The Massacre in Syria, *Saturday Analyst and Leader,* 14 July 1860, p. 652. My emphasis.
[23] The Massacres in Syria, *The Times,* 11 July 1860, p. 9. My emphasis.
[24] HL Deb, 3 August 1860, Column 610.

civilization, who are more separated from each other by religious animosities.'[25] Stratford was acknowledged as an authority on the Ottoman Empire, and his words influenced the development of the debates in both the House of Commons and Lords.

Although Druzes and Maronites had lived in peace for centuries, they were deemed as being 'more exposed to violent collisions than even the inhabitants of other parts of Turkey'[26] due to the perception that they were '*two races of half-savage and bigoted mountaineers*'.[27] MPs such as James Fergusson, a conservative member of the House of Lords and a retired military officer who had fought in the Crimean War, noted that the main reason of the conflict was 'originated in an irreconcilable quarrel between antagonistic races, and … religion had in fact had very little to do with them'.[28] Similarly, the speakers for the Cabinet, the Prime Minister Viscount Palmerston and the Foreign Secretary Lord John Russell, supported the view that the 'Druzes and the Maronite Christians have long been divided by sentiments of deep-seated hostility'[29] and 'these deplorable animosities of race between the Druzes and the Maronites have burst out' in Lebanon as a 'consequence of the weakness of the Turkish authority in Syria'.[30]

These examples demonstrated that the category of 'race' was used, particularly in order to define the Druzes and the Maronites, two religious groups belonging to the same ethnicity (Arab). Identifying these groups as 'separate races' aimed to give a more 'exotic' identity, as they were imagined as pre-modern, tribal people in Britain.

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[25] See Appendix 3. HL Deb 10 July 1860, Column 1648.
[26] HL Deb, 10 July 1860, Column 1648.
[27] France and the Lebanon, *Daily News,* 28 June 1860. My emphasis.
[28] He questioned the government on the possibility of the French expedition to Syria on 23 July in Commons. On the 3 August session, he was the second speaker and noted that 'he had a great interest on the issue'. He also became the secretary for the "British Syrian Relief Fund" a relief fund for the victims of the War in July 1860.See Appendix 3 for a short biography of James Fergusson. HC Deb, 03 August 1860, Column 637.
[29] See Appendix 3 for a short biography of Russell. HC Deb, 12 July 1860, Column1772.
[30] HC Deb, 20 August 1860, Column 1587.

Moreover, it also underlined the 'difference' of the two groups from each other rather than their commonality, and thus explained the Civil War as a racial/tribal warfare.

Furthermore, denoting the Druzes and Maronites as a race also demonstrated the power relations embedded in the sick-man discourse; these two groups were deemed as 'barbaric, antiquated' races who were inferior to the British/European race who observed and criticised them. The argument that the Civil War was a result of racial animosity contended that the two 'races' who engaged in war were 'Asiatics' whose warfare 'did not observe the niceties of European warfare'.[31] The Druzes and the Maronites were imagined to be savage tribes who were engaged in a continuous warfare to exterminate each other. The Foreign Secretary Lord Russell claimed that Lebanon was 'an *uncivilized* country where there are two races which have been from time immemorial at war with each other.'[32]

These explanations ignore the fact that Sunnis, Druzes and Maronites had lived for centuries side by side, sometimes in the same villages and in other times in neighbouring villages. Moreover, they had the same customs and had been ruled by the same feudal notables for centuries.[33] In some cases such as the *emir* Shihbab's case, half of a family was Sunni Muslim while the other half was Maronite Christian. In spite of these, British observers perceived the Maronites and Druzes as two 'uncivilized' tribes who historically aimed to exterminate each other.

This view demonstrated the second discourse of the Civil War which was presented either as a result of the Muslim hatred towards the Christians or the mutual hatred of the two savage tribes. The socio economic developments, such as the impact of the modernisation on the region, were completely ignored in these discourses which

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[31] HC Deb, 03 August 1860, Column 637.
[32] HC Deb, 17 August 1860, Column1485. My emphasis.
[33] Makdisi, Culture of Sectarianism, p. 23.

created an inferior and negative perception of the Muslims, Druzes and Maronites as 'uncivilized and backward' people.

Although some preferred to blame the Maronites and the Druzes equally, others placed the bigger blame on the Druzes. Farley, the second traveller who published on the War, described the Druzes as men 'without faith and without pity', with 'love of plunder', thirst for blood' and a 'criminal origin'. [34] Both Lord Stratford and Farley noted the 'ferocity' of the Druzes which for the former was 'added to the prejudices of Mohammedan religion they generally profess.'[35] Lord Stratford's description of the Druzes demonstrated the perception that Druzes were even more barbaric and uncivilized than Maronites because they were peculiarly ferocious, tribal and Muslim. According to Lord Stratford, the Maronites acted 'from time to time with little regard for humanity' '*in spite of their Christianity*' and, therefore, occupied a superior position in British eyes only in comparison to the worse behaving Druzes and Muslims. [36]

One important point to underline is the duality in the perceptions of the Maronites. In some cases, they were seen as 'as barbaric as the Druzes or the Muslims' and in some others they were regarded as being 'more civilized' than the Druzes. This duality was down to two factors. Some authors, especially more religiously motivated ones in the press, distanced themselves from the Maronites because Maronites were closer to the Catholic Church. Secondly, the identities of the Lebanese locals and Muslims were articulated in difference to the 'Christian Europe'. The Eastern Christians were not perceived to be the equals of the Western Christians which demonstrated the centrality of the East v. West axis in the elite thinking.

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[34] Farley, *Massacres in Syria,* Bradbury and Evans, 1861, p. 6 and 15.
[35] HL Deb, 10 July 1860, Column 1649. My emphasis.
[36] Ibid.

Farley's narrative shifted the blame from the 'Muslims' to the local 'Druzes' and illustrated the thinking evident also in Churchill and others who believed that the Civil War was because of the Muslim or Druze fanaticism. This explanation argued that the basis of the Civil War in Lebanon was the 'culture' of its people, which was either defined by their religion or race. The culture of the Lebanese people in both cases was imagined as being backward and uncivilized. For example, Lord Stratford, similar to Farley, also defined the Druzes and Maronites as groups possessing similar uncivilized characteristics such as 'ferocity' or 'barbarity'. The perceptions of the Druzes and Maronites were constructed in a similar way to the 'Muslim' in being inferior and uncivilized and, thus, appeared as the objects of the same discourse articulated

2.1.3) Perceptions on the 'Turk'

In an answer to William Monsell[37], an Irish Liberal MP who had raised a question to the government in the House of Commons about the massacres of the Christians in the Lebanese Civil War, Sir Charles Napier[38], a former Navy commander who fought in Egypt, blamed the Ottoman governor in Lebanon for being 'a regular tyrannical, cruel, old Turk.'[39] Napier held the Ottoman government responsible for the Civil War as he believed that 'the Turkish Government fomented all sorts of quarrels between the Druzes and the Maronites.'[40] Similarly, William Monsell argued that 'it was not in the nature of the Turks to govern properly' and thus the Ottoman government could not be trusted to govern the region after the 'European troops were out of the

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[37] For more information see, M. Porter, *William Monsell of Tervoe,* Irish Academy Press, 2009.
[38] See Appendix 3 for a short biography of Napier.
[39] HC Deb, 17 August 1860, Column 1481.
[40] Ibid.

country.' [41]

The Civil War had a negative impact on the perceptions of the Ottoman government's credibility in the eyes of the MPs. As noted in the earlier chapter, the perceptions of the 'Turks' oscillated between the two opposite poles, from the days of the Greek Revolution onwards between a clear anti-Turkish and pro-Turkish extremes, depending the on the political context. The Ottoman *Tanzimat* reforms was one of the elements that positively affected the perceptions of the 'Turk' as it was argued that the reforms would improve the condition of the Christians in the Ottoman Empire. The Civil War on the other hand, contributed to the opposite belief which argued that '[i]t was useless to attempt to bind the Turks by any laws' and thus, the reforms would be futile. [42]

For some Liberal MPs the Civil War demonstrated that the 'Turks' could not govern successfully because 'there was in them an ineffaceable cruelty and treachery.' [43] This argument was similar to the ones constructed on the Druzes and Maronites, which branded them as uncivilized barbarians. Similar to the Lebanese locals, '[t]he Turks' were also marked as being 'half-civilized cunning' whose continuing rule in Lebanon would only bring 'under the name of tranquillity … merely ruin and desolation.' [44]

There were MPs who argued that if Britain and Europe decide on the future of Lebanon, it would benefit the local population, as the Ottoman administration was the main reason for the backwardness of the region. For instance, James Fergusson noted

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[41] HC Deb, 17 August 1860, Column 1482. (Charles Napier)

[42] HC Deb 20, August 1860, Column 1586. Monsell reiterated his question three days after he asked and demanded further explanation from the government. In the first debate on 17 August Viscount Palmerston asserted that the cause of the Civil War was not the 'tyranny of the Turks' but on contrary the absence of a real authority in the region. Monsell demanded further explanation on 20 August by asking: 'how Palmerston exonerated the Ottoman government from responsibility.

[43] HC Deb 20, August 1860, Column 1586.

[44] The Massacres in Syria, *The Times,* 13 July 1860, p. 12.

that 'If the Turks were enabled to establish their authority in the Lebanon … there was great risk of its being reduced to the same state of misery as prevailed in other parts of Syria and to a great extent throughout the Turkish dominions.'[45]

This argument was followed by other MPs and authors who noted that Lebanon, one of 'the finest districts in the world', was in a desolated state due to the rule of the 'Turkish Pashas' who 'would be glad to have the opportunity of fleecing the unfortunate population and enriching themselves at their expense.'[46] Thus, the term 'Turk' was used to denote the Ottoman elite and was blamed for the Civil War alongside the Muslims, Druzes and the Maronites.

2.1.4) Perceptions on the 'Ottoman Empire'

The nostalgic approach to the past is a common discursive strategy, which aimed to reconstruct the present in a particular way, to serve a particular purpose. 'As many scholars of nostalgia agree, this particular structured feeling toward the past is a strategy that serves the present both in terms of legitimating and legitimatising its parts. What makes each moment of nostalgia unique is the role it plays in relations to the present.'[47] In explaining the Lebanese Civil War, the past which was invented as a glorious golden-era was Mehmed Ali's rule in Syria in the 1830s. Although Mehmed Ali's regime had complicated results for Lebanon, it was reconstructed by some in Britain as a golden age in order to criticise the contemporary Ottoman rule, which was argued to be the main reason for the Civil War.

Literature points out that Mehmed Ali imposed an authoritarian modernisation project in Lebanon and Syria through disarming the locals, introducing conscription and

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[45] HC Deb, 12 July 1860, Column 1771.
[46] HL Deb 3 August 1860, Column 2366-7.
[47] Ozyurek, E., *Nostalgia for the Modern: State, Secularism and Everyday Politics in Turkey*, Duke University Press, 2006, p. 31.

modern taxation and bringing corveé labour in newly opened mines. As a result of these, the antagonism in the Lebanese society was sharpened. For example, the Druze revolted against the conscription and requested to reinstate Ottoman rule in 1837. This uprising was suppressed with difficulty in 1838 by Mehmed Ali's regime, with the help of the Maronite troops. In 1840, when the Ottoman Empire managed to secure British military support against Mehmed Ali, a new revolt united the Druzes and the Maronites in Lebanon and played an important role in bringing Mehmed Ali's rule to an end. [48]

Despite this complex history of Mehmed Ali's reign over Syria and Lebanon, nostalgic narrative established in Parliament glorified Mehmed Ali's rule as an example of successful administration. The glorification of Mehmed Ali was partly because it was the only alternative to the Ottoman rule in Lebanon in contemporary times. The history of Lebanon before the Ottoman rule was obscure for the British, and Mehmed Ali's quick victories over the Ottoman Empire in the 1830s helped to construct an image of a moderniser in the Middle East in contrast to the corrupt and backward Ottoman rule.

For instance, William Monsell described Lebanon under Mehmed Ali's rule as 'peaceable and quiet' where 'the roads were secure and the people comparatively happy'.[49] Fergusson added that during Egyptian rule 'there was tranquillity throughout the land, and travellers might pass wherever they liked with at least a fair security'.[50] It was argued that all these had been changed after reinstating the Ottoman rule in Lebanon, which returned the country to 'the condition of its present

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[48] For more information see Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism,* pp. 51-60.
[49] HC Deb 17 August 1860, Column 1480.
[50] HC Deb 3 August 1860, Column 648.

anarchy'.[51]

Constructed nostalgia was a part of the sick-man discourse that blamed the 'Turks' who 'did everything they could to stir up rebellion in Mount Lebanon.'[52] Monsell further added that 'the allied Powers did a great deal' in deterioration of Lebanon by supporting the Ottoman Empire against Mehmed Ali's alleged superior rule.[53] Thus, Britain was claimed to be 'deeply responsible for these atrocities' due to their intervention against Mehmed Ali; it was claimed that 'under his rule these horrible scenes did not take place'.[54]

The British decision of non-intervention during the Civil War was perceived as the continuation of the Crimean War alliance between the two Empires. Britain was branded as 'the protector of Turkey' without whose support 'Turkey would not … [be] existing.' [55] Marquess of Clanricarde, an Irish member of the House of Lords, asserted that the 'feeble, effete [Ottoman] Government's right to hold [the country] in a state of barbarism' 'should *not to be tolerated.'* [56] For Clanricarde, the Ottoman administration was 'tolerated by' the European Powers who have the ability to change this situation. In some other examples, it was argued the Ottoman Empire was able to survive because of the British support which protects it from its enemies and thus a change in British Eastern policy is necessary to stop the extermination of the Christians:

> The Turks, with their *half-civilized cunning*, believe that … we shall protect them from France and Russia' and certain it is that, unless we act with decision, and put a stop to their fanaticism, we shall ere

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[51] Ibid.
[52] HC Deb 17 August 1860, Column 1480.
[53] Ibid.
[54] HC Deb, 17 August 1860, Columns 1479.
[55] The Massacres in Syria, *The Times,* 11 July 1860, p. 9.
[56] Ulick de Burg, 1st Marquess of Clanricarde (1802-1876) was an Irish member of House of Lords from 1825 onwards. HL Deb 3 August 1860. My emphasis.

long see a succession of outbreaks against Christians...[57]

The foreign policy in this case emerged as the 'practical', non-discursive aspect of the sick-man discourse; there were ideas circulating in the press and Parliament against the contemporary passive support of Britain to the Ottoman Empire. Some authors called Britain or the 'Christian nations to take counsel as to the future of this... land [Ottoman Empire] in a way which would be more suitable for the Christian subjects. [58] For example, Churchill concluded his work, in an open declaration against the non-interventionist policy, with an open call to the '*Christian* emperors and kings' to save the Eastern Christianity from the 'Turkish rule':

> How long will you … continue bring contumely, reproach and disaster on the Christians of the East? How long will you tarnish your crowns, sully your sceptres, and put the name of Christ to open shame, by submitting to be led captives of the Turk?[59]

This alternative foreign policy functioned as an argument for an imperialist foreign policy. It also demonstrated the articulation of various elements; such as religion on one hand and the scientific progression on the other hand to each other in constructing the perception of the Ottoman Empire in the sick man discourse. The Lebanese Civil War was presented as the example of the oppression of the Christians by the Ottoman Empire, which was represented as a 'barbaric Muslim' Empire. Britain was expected to shoulder the responsibility of a benevolent moderniser who could bring justice to the Christians in the East. This policy, as noted in Said's *Orientalism,* constructed an ontologically different East and West; the former represented the 'oblivion and

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[57] The Massacres in Syria, *The Times,* 13 July 1860, p. 12.
[58] *The Times,* 18 July 1860, p. 9.
[59] H.C. Churchill, *The Druzes and the Maronites under Turkish Rule 1840-1860,* Bernard Quaritch, 1862, p. 283 My emphasis.

neglect' and the latter 'human progress and advance.'[60] This difference created a 'humanitarian duty' for Britain to undertake a civilising mission to transform the Ottoman realm.

The second assumption behind the alternative foreign policy was the belief that the Empire's collapse was imminent and in such a case, it would be the British or other civilized European Powers' duty to shape and organise the region. One of the chief propagators of this belief was John Bright, the Radical member of the Parliament. Bright was well-known in Britain for his opposition to the Crimean War in the 1850s. During the Lebanese Crisis he continued to give speeches in the House of Commons against the British non-interventionist policy. For him the Ottoman Empire was 'doomed to extinction from a decay which it is altogether impossible, in my opinion, for any human aid to avert'.[61] Bright underlined the 'fatalist belief' that the Ottoman Empire did not have the capacity to reform itself or could be reformed by an outsider force and thus contested the 'wisdom and right of the Government of this country in interfering to support a Power' that was visibly collapsing. Instead, he argued to 'repudiate it as altogether a mistake—that the integrity of the Turkish Empire is to be maintained'.[62]

As noted in Chapter 3, Evangelicalism in the 19th century assumed an important position in British society which proposed a 'humanitarian, civilising duty' to Britain in the world. The impact of this thinking was evident in the sick-man discourse which argued for a new Eastern policy that prioritised the unity of the Western and Eastern Christians: 'Religion, humanity and civilisation alike demand the adoption of some

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[60] H.C. Churchill, *Mount Lebanon Vol 1.*, London, 1853.
[61] HC Deb 3 August 1860, Column 649.
[62] HC Deb 3 August 1860, Column 649.

measures by the powers of Europe.'[63] Religion and humanity were articulated together to propose a new policy for the European Powers in the East, and it was claimed that '*the imperative claims of Christianity and humanity* must and ought to absorb all others in the … Eastern Question.'[64] In this way, the non-interventionist policy of the contemporary government was condemned, and an alternative based on the 'civilising duty of Britain' and the 'protection of Christians' was constructed. These two points brought a wide array of people from old Radical Bright to religious Churchill and secular *The Times* newspaper together in arguing for an alternative Eastern policy.

Although this view was not yet strong enough to push for a change of policy in 1860, its widespread usage demonstrated the belief that various parts of the world could be organized and shaped by Britain, in cooperation with other Great Powers. In the Ottoman context, the new organization was proposed to uphold the demands of the Christians against the local Muslims and the Ottoman authority.

2.2)   The Integrity Discourse

The sick-man discourse on the Civil War was used to criticise the government either because they did not do enough to protect the Christians in the region or because they actively supported the Ottoman Empire, who massacred and oppressed the Eastern Christians, through the non-interventionist foreign policy.

These attacks on the Parliament were countered by the members of the Cabinet who defended the official British policy. Government's discourse primarily argued that defending the Ottoman territorial integrity was the best option to defend the British

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[63] Churchill, p. 7.
[64] H.C.S Churchill, The Druzes and the Maronites under Turkish Rule 1840-1860, Bernard Quaritch, 1862, p. V. My emphasis.

interests in the region. The central point of the government's discourse was the foreign policy which was designed to defend the Ottoman territorial integrity. In light of this, official discourse was named the 'integrity discourse' in this thesis..

The integrity discourse also constructed its own reality, similar to the sick-man discourse. Certain constructions of the sick-man discourse was challenged by the proponents of the integrity discourse. Apart from the foreign policy the main points of debate was on describing the Ottoman state and the 'Turks' as they were the two identities that were closely related to the foreign policy.

2.2.1) The Maronites

In the press, the *Daily News* underlined different explanation for the Civil War that challenged the ones argued in *The Times* and by some MPs. The *Daily News* in 1860 was a small newspaper with limited influence, with an estimated circulation around 5000 copies/day and with an editorial line close the Liberals. Brown noted that 'there were obscurities' of their early editorial line, however, the analysis below shows that during the Civil War it was very close to Palmerston's version of events. [65]

In some of its reports, the *Daily News* depicted similar stories which presented the Christians as the victims, similar to *The Times*. However, in contrast to *The Times,* the *Daily News* published many reports which argued that the Lebanese Civil War was not due to Muslim brutality on the Christians; both sides shared the responsibility. For example, in one letter sent to the editor of the newspaper, an unnamed individual noted that '*The Times,* published an article leaving an impression on the mind of the reader that this [Civil War] is a religious movement directed against Christians' and

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[65] Brown, *Victorian News and Newspapers*, p. 61.

then disputed the reports published in *The Times*. [66]

These sort of expressions were the main difference between the two papers; while *The Times* represented the event exclusively as a religious warfare against Christians, the *Daily News* produced reports where the Christians were both the victims of massacres and the perpetrators of the Crisis at the same time. For example, in one report it was noted that the '... Christians attacked Druzes at various points and have been thoroughly beaten'[67] while in others 'the siege and the sack of Zahle' by the Druzes was presented as the 'the natural reprisal' to the actions of the Maronites. [68]

With these examples, the Civil War was presented as the joint responsibility of Maronites and Druzes in the integrity discourse. Moreover, the Maronites were blamed for toying with the 'idea that, with the assistance of France, ' they could 'establish themselves as the masters of Lebanon, to the exclusion of both Druzes and Turks', which placed the blame of the Civil War on the Maronite Christians. [69]

Similar to the newspaper's reports, Prime Minister Palmerston also noted in Parliament that the Maronites were responsible for the Civil War because there was 'little doubt that the Maronites commenced the disturbances.'[70] In some other speeches, he insisted that the '[w]ar began with an attack by the Maronites for the purpose of expelling the Druzes'[71] and the Maronites were supported by France, who encouraged them to attack the Druzes:

> It is well known that large supplies of arms were furnished to the Maronites—European arms, coming from Europe—I cannot tell whence they came—some of them were sold openly in Beyrout, and

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[66] The Lebanon, *Daily News,* 12 July 1860: 4420.
[67] France and the Lebanon, *Daily News,* 28 June 1860.
[68] Ibid.
[69] France and the Lebanon, *Daily News,* 28 June 1860.
[70] HC Deb, 17 August 1860, Column 1484.
[71] HC Deb, 20 August 1860, Column1589.

beyond those I have reason to believe great numbers were supplied
to the Maronite population.[72]

Although the Prime Minister had stated on a few occasions that the Maronites were the instigator of the War, on some other occasions he preferred to give a more ambiguous explanation for the causes of the Civil War: 'Individual outrages, I fear, were too common on both sides; and it is impossible to say that either the one or the other began those attacks.'[73]

The common theme in all these explanations was his refusal to directly blame the Ottoman government or the 'Muslims' as the perpetrators. Similar to Palmerston's words, a report published in the *Daily News* argued that the 'War in Lebanon, then, is *not* a religious war, nor an attack on Christians as Christians'[74] and added that the 'Christians of the Lebanon are not a race who show mercy to a vanquished foe.'[75]

Blaming the Maronites was Lord Palmerston's answer to William Munsell's repeated questions on the government's responsibility in the Civil War through their actions in the 1840s and 1850s, such as their responsibility in the fall of the Egyptian rule during Palmerston's tenure at the Foreign Secretary. Munsell claimed that the British were responsible of the Civil War because they re-instated the Ottoman rule in Lebanon, which was believed to be the main cause of the War. In contrast, Palmerston argued that the War had happened because of the actions of the Maronites rather than the Ottoman government. In this way, Palmerston both defended his earlier alliance

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[72] HC Deb, 20 August 1860, Column1588. The country behind was France, as at the period both John Russell and Palmerston had strong suspicions of France cooperating with Russian Empire to foment the violence in the Ottoman Empire and use it as a basis of administrating the territories under 'protectorates'. See E. Ashley, *The Life of Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston, 1846-1865 vol 2,* London , 1876.

[73] HC Deb, 20 August 1860, Column1589.

[74] France and the Lebanon, *Daily News,* 28 June 1860. My emphasis.

[75] France and the Lebanon, *Daily News,* 28 June 1860

with the Ottoman Empire against Mehmed Ali's and constructed an alternative explanation for the Civil War.

This view constructed a different perception of the Maronites and the Muslims. The proponents of the sick-man discourse victimised the Christians and argued that the barbaric Muslims slaughtered the Christians. In comparison, the government argued that the Maronites, or the Eastern Christians, were responsible for the War, the Muslims and the Ottoman Empire was not responsible for the violence that happened in Lebanon.

2.2.2) The perceptions on the 'Ottoman Empire'

The most significant aspect of Palmerston's parliamentary speeches was his efforts in separating the central and local Ottoman authority in order to shift the Ottoman responsibility from the massacres solely to the local administration. Palmerston argued that the Ottoman government had been 'sincerely desirous of taking every step necessary to punish the guilty and to lay the foundation for future tranquillity between those hostile races' in Lebanon.[76] In this way, Palmerston asserted the 'antagonistic races' were blamed for the Civil War rather than the Ottoman government, which was supported by the British Empire.

Moreover, Palmerston argued that the Civil War happened because of 'the weakness of the Turkish authority in Syria', in a clear contrast to the explanations which blamed the Ottoman rule. [77] In answering Monsell's motion, he noted that the Civil War was not due to 'the tyranny of the Turks', on the contrary, it was a result of 'the absence of direct authority on the part of the Turkish empire' in Syria and Lebanon. [78] By

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[76] HC Deb, 20 August 1860, Column 1587.
[77] HC Deb, 20 August 1860, Column 1587.
[78] HC Deb 17, August 1860, Column 1484.

emphasizing the weakness of the Ottoman central government in Levant, Palmerston moved the blame particularly on the 'the Turkish authorities in Syria'[79] and on 'the two tribes' which were freed of the 'the direct dominion of the Porte'.[80]

Fuad Pasha's expedition from Constantinople to pacify the region helped Palmerston to demonstrate the difference between the Ottoman government and the Ottoman local authority. For Palmerston, the Ottoman government was 'far from … sheltering or protecting those miscreants [who committed violence]' because 'Fuad Pasha ... immediately on his arrival proceeded to arrest 400 of the principal offenders'.[81] Palmerston added that Fuad Pasha not only arrested the civilian offenders but also sent the local governors 'Osman Bey and Kurschid Pasha to Constantinople to be tried.'[82]

In addition to Palmerston, James Farley also argued for the innocence of the Ottoman government; in his words the 'Osmanli Turks' for the Civil War. [83] Different from Palmerston, Farley placed the blame not on the local governors, but on the local 'Muslims' whose 'hatred entertained towards their Turkish masters is scarcely less violent than the detestation felt towards Christians.'[84] Although Palmerston acknowledged the responsibility of the local governors, Farley, who was an employee of the Ottoman Bank in Beirut, a joint venture between the British, French and Ottomans, placed the blame solely on the local Muslims avoiding any comment on the Ottoman administration. It was possible that Farley did not want to directly criticise the Ottomans with whom he was in good relation. Farley argued that the 'The Osmanli Turks, 'are generally looked upon as degenerate Mohammedans' by

[79] HC Deb 20, August 1860, Columns 1587-1588.
[80] HC Deb 17, August 1860, Column 1484.
[81] HC Deb 20, August 1860, Columns 1587-1588.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Farley, p. 68.
[84] Ibid.

the locals and thus 'it would … be a very great mistake to suppose that this intolerance [against Christians] arises altogether from the fanaticism of the Turks.'.[85]

Palmerston on the other hand, argued that the Ottoman Empire can be reformed under a strong Sultan and the authority of *Tanzimat* bureaucrats. In a letter he sent to the British Ambassador Henry Bulwar in 1861, he noted that 'if the accounts we have heard of the new Sultan [Abdulaziz] are true, we may hope that he will restore Turkey to the proper position among the Powers of Europe.'[86] Similarly, in another letter he wrote in 1860, he maintained his view that if the Russian Empire attacks the Ottomans, Britain should take necessary measures to prevent the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire.[87] Palmerston hoped that the reformed Ottoman Empire can be a bulwark against Russian expansionism, which was one of his chief concerns in foreign affairs.

2.2.3) Government on the Eastern Policy

The government's foreign policy was condemned in Parliament and press alike by the proponents of the sick-man discourse. The government, on the other hand, countered these attacks by giving the rationale of the non-interventionist foreign policy, which was situated in the diplomatic relations created by the Eastern Question.

Foreign Minister Lord Russell noted that 'the position of the Turkish empire requires the utmost caution and the utmost delicacy in dealing with all questions that relate to it'.[88] The delicate situation mentioned by Russell was firstly due to the diplomatic situation in Europe. Lord Russell and Palmerston had different point of views on the Lebanon Crisis, particularly in terms of the diplomatic action to be taken. France

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[85] Farley, p. 68.
[86] E. Ashley, *The Life of Henry John Temple*, p. 212.
[87] Marquis of Lorne, *Viscount Palmerston,* New York, 1892, p. 198.
[88] HL Deb, 3 August 1860, Column 619.

started to press for a humanitarian intervention in July 1860. Palmerston opposed this idea, whereas Lord Russell was more conciliatory. He accepted Palmerston's fear that the French might never leave Lebanon but still agreed to an international expedition as he thought that if Britain did not cooperate with France, it could lead to a Russo-French alliance. Compared to Viscount Palmerston, Lord Russell proposed a moderate line on the issue, and the 'delicacy' referred to this weak balance of power between European Powers, which could be easily broken and would have detrimental effects on the British interests in the Middle East.[89] Moreover, Lord Russell inclined towards a concerted action with other European Powers in the Eastern Question and noted that it would be problematic 'if we or any other Power were to attempt to interfere directly in the administration of Turkey' and thus 'the only path of safety lies in concert'.[90] For Lord Russell the delicacy of the issue was due to the balance of power in Europe and due to his fear of a possible power vacuum that would be created with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

The fear of a major European War because of the fall of the Ottoman Empire appeared as the main reason for the Cabinet's decision to defend the Ottoman territorial integrity. Both Lord Russell and Palmerston gave cautious messages that a unilateral action of one European Power against the Ottoman Empire 'will be dangerous … to the stability of that Empire' and 'still more dangerous in its possible effects to the peace of Europe.'[91] Palmerston, who was accused of having a Turkophil bias, clearly noted that the necessity to 'maintain that empire' was not stemmed from 'any predilection for the Turkish race' but because that 'the Turkish Empire could not

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[89] For a detailed study of the role of John Russell during Lebanese Crisis see See P.H. Scherer, 'Partner of Puppet? Lord John Russell at the Foreign Office, 1859-1862', *Albion: A Quarterly Review Concerned with British Studies,* Vol 19, No 3, 1987, pp 347-71, especially after p.369.
[90] HC Deb, 3 August 1860, Column 646.
[91] HL Deb, 3 August 1860, Column 619.

be partitioned without involving a general European conflict' which would be to the serious detriment of the interests of this country [Great Britain].[92] Similarly, Palmerston replied to John Bright's earlier comments that Britain should not interfere to support the Ottoman territorial integrity by stating that 'the political consequences' of the partitioning of the Ottoman Empire will have a dangerous effect 'on the balance of power in Europe.'[93]

Although both Lord Russell and Palmerston agreed on the danger of a European War because of an imminent Ottoman collapse, their analysis still departed on the perception of the Muslims. Compared to Palmerston, Lord Russell insisted that there was a further 'delicacy' in the Eastern Question in addition to the danger of a European War; the risk of provoking Muslim hatred towards the Christians in the rest of the Empire. This narrative in the Muslim 'religious' fanaticism was a construct which pictured the local Muslims as a group ready to attack the Christians only because of their 'Mahommedan fanaticism:'[94]

> If we or any other Power were to attempt to interfere directly in the administration of Turkey there is this great danger; that we should not only diminish the authority of the Sultan, but might awake *the fanatical passions of the Moslems,* who might think that they were betrayed, and might involve the whole empire in bloodshed and sedition.[95]

Although Lord Russell or any other member of the Cabinet did not perceive the Civil War as a religious war, in the Foreign Secretary's eyes, the fanaticism of the Muslims needed to be checked because of the attacks and murders happened in Damascus which were triggered by the Lebanese Civil War. Lord Russell made his point clear in

[92] HC Deb, 20 August 1860, Columns 1587.
[93] HC Deb, 3 August 1860, Column 653.
[94] HC Deb, 5 July 1861, Column 460.
[95] HC Deb, 3 August 1860, Column 646.

his analysis of the event in 1861, during which the French contingent was withdrawing from Syria and Lebanon. In this sense, his usage of the 'religious fanaticism of Muslims' was different than the usage of the sick-man discourse, which gave a central place to the alleged fanaticism in the explanation of the Civil War. For Lord Russell, a unilateral action of France or Russia might trigger the 'Mahommedan fanaticism would have its full sway repeated in various parts of the Turkish Empire' which would in turn raise 'all the Powers of Europe against the maintenance of the Turkish Empire.'[96]

3.) **Conclusion**

An analysis of the British debates on the Lebanese Civil War demonstrated that two discernible British elite perceptions were formulated in 1860. These perceptions are best analysed with the help of discourse analysis, which enables us the capture the identity formation. Discourses creates the identity of the objects through a differential process. This theoretical outlook proves to be extremely useful in interpreting the public sources.These discourses interpreted the Civil War in a different way, enlisting different and, in some cases, contesting explanations as to the reasons for the War. These explanations presented different groups as the main perpetrator of the Civil War, and through this process the perceptions on these groups were constructed.

The first of these discourses was the sick-man discourse which emerged as a 'popular' discourse because it was constructed by newspapers, travellers and MPs. The proponents of this discourse argued that the Civil War was the attack of the 'semi-barbaric' Muslims on the Christians; it was a war between 'two half-savage tribes' or it was because of the 'barbaric' Ottoman Empire. In this way, the debates on

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[96] HC Deb 5 July 1861, Column 460.

the Civil War created the identity of the Muslim, Turk, Druze etc, in relation to each other and in difference to a common outsider. In each case, the sick-man discourse constructed a common outsider 'civilized, Christian West' as the 'other' of the 'Ottoman.'

The second discourse was the 'official' discourse which constructed a conflicting picture of the Civil War. In this picture, the Civil War was caused by the Maronites or the local Ottoman government whereas the Ottoman central administration, the Turks or the Muslims were not to be blamed of the violence. Therefore, in this discourse the same terms had a different meaning.

The second outcome of the analysis is the emergence of two antagonistic foreign policy options constructed by these discourses. The government defended their non-interventionist policy by arguing that the best way to defend the British interests in the region was defending the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire. The popular alternative to this was a more 'imperialist' policy which aimed to reshape the Ottoman realm in a more beneficial way to the Christians. In this way, two discourses developed an antagonistic relation with each other for defining the Eastern policy; the religious-humanitarianism of the one was against the pragmatism of the other.

The final important result of the first case study is the visible difference in power of each discourse in capturing the public opinion. The sick-man discourse depended on categories that was popular in mid-Victorian thinking, such as Christianity, humanitarianism and progress. The Ottomans were perceived as inferior to the Europeans, as an 'other' of civilized Europe. The perceptions of the Muslims and the Turks were formulated by using this categories, which was easier to capture public interest. On the contrary, the official discourse articulated the meaning of the Muslim

and the Turks, without any reference to these categories; in the integrity discourse these identities were formulated from the perspective of their usefulness for British interests, which had a weaker appeal to the public due to its secular and pragmatic nature.

These discursive formations demonstrated the first steps in the transformation in the construction process of the Ottoman perceptions in the 19th century. It will be accurate to define the sick-man discourse in 1860 as an undercurrent; although its usage was widespread, its effect on the official policy was negligible. This was both due to the limited impact of the Lebanese Civil War in Britain and Palmerston's strong position in the Parliament and policy making circles. However, its deployment by various sources demonstrated the existence of anti-Ottoman public opinion in Britain, and alternative policies revealed the pervasiveness of 'imperialist' discourse in the society.

Chapter 6: Crete Revolt and the Development of the British Discourses

1.)   Introduction

The debates on the Lebanese Civil War and the Ottoman Empire declined after 1861, and in the following 5 years, there were few mentions of the Ottomans in Britain. The public interest in the 'Ottomans' rekindled after the news about the Cretan Revolt spread in Britain. The number of articles and parliamentary speeches increased in the 1866-68 period. This chapter will focus on how the Cretan Revolt influenced the perceptions established in the first case.

Similar to the Lebanese Civil War, the Cretan Revolt was also a minor event in Britain; as can be seen from Chart 1 and Chart 2, the number of articles produced in British press was higher than the 'peaceful' years, but far lower than the Great Balkan Crisis (1875-78), where the final case study is located. [1]

1.1)   Historical Background

Crete, an island in the south Aegean Sea was conquered by Venice in the 13th century, and had strategic importance for the Ottoman Empire's security and trade in the early modern era due to its geographical position. During early 17th century, it became a contested area between Venice and the Ottoman Empire as a part of the larger Venetian-Ottoman rivalry and was conquered by the Ottomans in 1669 after a lengthy siege.

The background of the Cretan Revolt is dealt with in a few monographs and a number of articles.[2] The first modern revolt against the Ottoman rule in Crete happened

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[1] See Figure 2 and Figure 3 in Appendix 1.

[2] This includes the English, French, Turkish, Ottoman and Arabic sources. Because of the language barrier I could not survey the Greek and Russian language sources. See, S. Kuneralp (eds), *Ottoman Diplomatic Documents on the 'Eastern Question': Cretan Uprising 1866-1869*, Isis Press, 2010, L. Kallivretakis, A Century of Revolutions: The Cretan Question between European and Near Eastern Politics, in P. Kitromilides (eds), *Eleftherios Venizelos: The Trials of Statesmanship,* Edinburgh University Press, 2006, pp. 11-35, A.J May, Crete and the United States, 1866-69, *The Journal of*

simultaneously with the Greek Revolution in 1821, which was suppressed by the Ottomans with the help of Mehmed Ali. The island was invaded by Mehmed Ali in 1831 and returned to the Ottoman Empire, similar to Lebanon, in 1840 following the European intervention. Crete, throughout the 19th century, was an island of rebellion; there were 9 rebellions in the island, in 1821, 1833, 1841, 1858, 1866, 1878, 1889, 1895 and finally in 1897 which led to a war between the Ottoman Empire and Greece.[3]

The basis of these revolts was the peculiar condition of the island in the Ottoman Empire. The island was one of the final 'conquests' of the Ottoman Empire and populated entirely by the Greek Orthodox subjects. Some of these were converted to Islam in the 18th century forming the 'Creto-Turks' in order to benefit from the privileged position of the Muslims in the Empire. Although the literature disagrees on the population estimates of the Cretans in the 19th century, it agrees that the Christian population formed the majority in the 1870s. The Turkish sources note that of the 210,000 residents in 1872-74, 90,000 were Muslims (42%) where the Greek sources note that the Christians in the same period held a majority of 62.5% to 77.5%.[4]

This changing balance in favour of the Christians on the island was explained as being a result of the reconverting of the Creto-Turks to Christianity, which was mainly due to the loss of the Muslim privileges on the island after the economic reforms implemented during the short Egyptian rule from 1831-1840. The most important result of these reforms on the island was the transfer of land from the

Modern History, Vol 16, No 4, 1944, K. Bourne, Great Britain and the Cretan Revolt, 1866-1869, *The Slavonic and East European Review,* Vol 35, No 84, 1956, M.M. Robson, Lord Clarendon and the Cretan Question, 1868-9, *The Historical Journal,* Vol 3, No 1, 1960, A.P. Saab, The Doctors' Dilemma: Britain and the Cretan Crisis 1866-69, *The Journal of Modern History,* Vol 49, No, 4, 1977.

[3] Kallivetrakis, p. 16, May p. 287.

[4] K. Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics,* University of Wisconsin Press, 1984, p. 115. See Kallivetrakis pp. 14-8

Muslim landowners to Christian peasants. In 1866, before the beginning of the Revolt, the majority of the Muslim landowners sold their property and moved to the fortified towns in the east of the island. The Christian Cretans, on the other hand, held the 85% majority in the rural western part of the island, where the Revolt began.[5]

In addition to the economic and religious transformation of the island, the emerging Greek nationalism also had an impact on the Revolt. Crete already revolted in 1821 against the Ottoman Empire together with the mainland Greece, and the existence of an independent Greece a few hundred miles away created a desire for unification with Greece on the island. The organizers of the 1866 Revolt informed the representatives of the European Powers on their desire to unify with Greece.[6]

1.2) The Cretan Revolt

The Revolt began on May 1866, when a group of Christian Cretans convened in the western town Chania and submitted a list of demands to the Ottoman governor Ismail Pasha which included tax reliefs, better hospitals and judicial reforms. One of the more radical of these demands was self-governance through a local parliament and free elections.[7] The group simultaneously despatched secret messages to the representatives of the Powers, demanding either unification with Greece or an autonomous rule in Crete.[8] The Ottomans sent an official reply in July 1866 rejecting all of the demands. Consequently, in August 1866, the Cretans formed a 'General Assembly', declared the unification of the island with Greece and started the armed struggle.

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[5] See Kallivetrakis pp. 16-21 for more information.
[6] Dickson to Lyons, 28 April and 5 May, 'Correspondence respecting the Disturbances in Crete, 1866-7', *Parliamentary Papers,* HC, 1867, LXXIV, pp. 129-130.
[7] Kallivetrakis, p. 20.
[8] Bourne p. 75,

The Revolt continued for the next three years. The Christian Cretans were supported by volunteers from Greece, USA and Europe and the Ottomans aimed to suppress the revolt using both the regular army and irregular forces formed by the Muslim Cretans. Most of the fighting took place in 1866-67 and left behind hundreds of burnt villages, thousands of deaths and tens of thousands of refugees.[9] In order to find a political solution, the Ottoman Grand Vizier Ali Pasha, similar to Fuad Pasha's Syrian expedition in 1860, arrived at the island in 1867 and drafted an 'Organic Act' agreeing to most of the Cretan demands which was ratified by the Sultan in February 1868. The Act provided a new administration system for the island and brought the Revolt to an end, although minor skirmishes continued until spring 1869.

1.3)   Britain in 1866

In the 5 years between the Lebanese Civil War and the Cretan Revolt, the most important change in Britain was the death of Palmerston, who was the most influential figure in British politics in 1860s. Parlmerston's death in 1865 paved the way for major changes in British politics, including British foreign policy. Palmerston was the chief policy maker in Britain and a staunch defender of the pro-Ottoman foreign policy.[10]

Following Palmerston's death, Lord Russell became the Prime Minister in the Cabinet, however, his government was short-lived. The major issue in Britain during the Cretan Revolt was the electoral reform which became a pressing issue; the Reform League as a non-Parliamentary pressure group organised two large meetings in Hyde Park and Birmingham in late 1866 and early 1867; 20,000 people attended the former and 150,000 attended the latter. Lord Russell's initial reform bid led to

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[9] Kallivetrakis p. 21,

[10] Hawkins, *British Politics,* p. 106.

strong dissent in his party and as a result of this, his government fell in 1866. The succeeding Cabinet, formed by the Conservatives under Lord Derby's leadership, passed the Reform Bill in August 1867. [11]

The debates and struggles for the Reform Act resulted with a change of leadership in the British politics. Lord Russell resigned from the leadership of the Liberals in 1867 and was succeeded by Gladstone and Derby, who resigned in 1868 due to ill health, and replaced by Disraeli in the Conservative Party. Thus, during the three years following Palmerston's death which coincided with the Cretan Revolt, three short-lived Cabinets were formed and the balance in politics was established only after the Liberal victory in the November 1868 elections.

1.4) European Diplomacy and the Revolt

The foreign policy of Britain towards the Cretan Revolt was formulated first by the Foreign Secretary Clarendon in Lord Russell's government, and then by Lord Stanley in Derby's government; both preferred to stick with the Palmerstonian non-interventionist policy.[12] The general European situation during the Crisis also favoured the implementation of this policy; the Habsburg Empire or Prussia did not show a direct interest in the conflict, and in Greece where public support for the Cretan cause was high, the government, judging the overall European situation, initially refused to take direct action.[13]

France and Russia, on the other hand, were more interested in interfering with the conflict although they could not coordinate their policy due to their differences on other European issues. British did their utmost to ensure that these two powers did not

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[11] See Hawkins, *British Politics* ,pp. 109-112 for more information.
[12] Bourne p. 75.
[13] Bourne p. 77-9, Kallivetrakis, p. 15,

cooperate in Crete.[14] Russia and Britain occupied opposing positions in the Crisis and Napoleon's France oscillated between these two camps.[15] Britain was committed to non-intervention through three different Cabinets. Russia, on the other hand, was much less coherent; Gorchakov, the foreign minister was very conciliatory with the British, while Ignatieff, the Ambassador to Porte pursued an active policy to draw Greece to the Russian camp in the Near East.[16] Although Russian policy carried inconsistencies, it was more pro-Greek and demanded an autonomous government for the island, which was deemed unacceptable by Britain.

Two years of diplomatic manoeuvres between these powers did not have a significant impact on the course of events on the island; the revolutionaries continued to hope that European pressure would bring them a better result. The Ottomans, on the other hand, met some of their demands with Ali Pasha's Organic Act and fended off Russian and French pressure for secession of the island with the help of the British. As noted earlier in this thesis, the perceptions of the Greeks also influenced the European decision making on the island; the poor condition of the Cretan refugees in Greece, and the overall poor image of the country in Europe due to its financial and administrative problems, helped the Ottomans to relieve some of the pressure.[17] The Ottoman Sultan's visit to European capitals in the summer of 1867 and Fuad Pasha's diplomatic efforts during this visit also lessened the pressure on the Ottoman Empire to cede the island. Finally, the Ottoman decision to appoint a Christian governor with the Organic Act in early 1868 appeased the European public opinion in favour of the Ottoman Empire.

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[14] Bourne, pp 80-2.
[15] Robson p. 43 and Bourne p. 85.
[16] Ibid. Ignatieff assumed a more important role in the Balkan Crisis of 1875-78 which would be dealt in the following chapter.
[17] Bourne p. 91

In 1868, diplomatic relations between the Ottomans and Greece deteriorated due to the latter's involvement in the Revolt, and then completely broke off in late 1868, signalling an imminent danger of war. European Powers intervened in this diplomatic crisis; British Foreign Secretary Clarendon proposed to settle the issue in a diplomatic conference in Paris.[18] As a result of the conference, diplomatic relations between Greece and the Ottoman Empire were restored and the Revolt which had already collapsed militarily for the Christian Cretans had come to an end.

2.) British Debates on the Cretan Revolt

The British public was informed from the very beginning about events on Crete by both newspapers and the evidence presented to the Parliament. The interest shown to the Revolt was not greater than the Lebanese Civil War; there were over fifty lengthy reports in periodicals and magazines and a total of 420 newspaper articles within three years. The peak of the news and articles produced was in the year 1867 when the insurrection was at its height. The number of articles decreased after the declaration of the Organic Act. After the summer of 1868, the main theme of the news turned to the diplomatic crisis between Greece and the Ottoman Empire.

Similar to the Lebanese Civil War, the Cretan Revolt was also debated in the Parliament and the British press using similar tools for both explaining the causes of the Revolt and constructing similar discourses on the various sections of the Ottoman society. The sick-man discourse, as in the previous case, was more popular; it was used widely by different sources in the British press and the Parliament.

The previous case study focused on *The Times* and the *Daily News* reports as newspaper sources in addition to the Parliamentary debates. In comparison, this case

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[18] Robson, pp. 38-40.

study analyses a wide range of daily, weekly, fortnightly and monthly publications as press source. This is because of two reasons. The first is to understand the continuities between the discourses constructed on the Lebanese Civil War and the Cretan Revolt, and to analyse the similarities and differences between the discursive constructions made on the two events. The second is to explore the 'pervasiveness' of the discourses in the British press and to answer how far these discourses permeated in different newspapers and periodicals towards the end of the 1860s. In this way, the chapter will provide a more complete understanding on the British discourses on the 'Ottomans' in the 1860s.

2.1) Perceptions of the Sick-man Discourse

2.1.1) The Perceptions on the Muslims

> They [Christians] are without shoes and without clothes. The enemy [Ottomans] has burnt down houses, furniture and the crops of the last year that were in them... Even the old men, women, and children have had to be removed from the few villages that stand up to the mountains, because the Turks ruthlessly destroy these innocent victims.[19]

In some reports, the Cretan Revolt was presented in Britain as above; as the ruthless attack of brutal perpetrators (Muslims) against the innocent and defenceless victims (Christians); a recurring theme from the first case study. As seen from the Lebanese case, religion was a central element of the sick-man discourse, which constructed the dichotomy of Christianity versus Islam. This dichotomy was used to explain the causes of the Revolt as well as demarcating the perpetrator from the victim. British press reported and analysed the events in detail, sometimes in a picturesque style, by

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[19] Insurrection in Candia, *Bentley's Miscellany,* Vol. 61, January 1867 p. 379.

identifying the insurgents as being the Christians; the revolutionaries were called as the Cretan (or Candiote- the old Venetian name) Christians, who were represented as the victims of Muslim tyranny.

On the other hand, the Muslims were depicted as a united body, consisted of the government and the local population. It was argued that their ruthless oppression of the Christians, a state that had been ongoing for centuries, was the main reason for the Revolt. Similar to the Lebanese Christians, the Cretan Christians were presented as the ultimate victims of the Ottoman rule, before and during the Revolt. Examples of this argument were not confined to the news reports or letters published in the dailies; it expanded to the periodicals and traveller accounts.

In an article on Crete in the *Contemporary Review,*[20] a popular religious magazine, the conditions in Crete prior to the Greek Revolution were noted by a British traveller who argued that 'the horrors and atrocities' were 'almost a daily occurrence in Crete', which 'had hardly a single parallel throughout the whole extent of the Ottoman Empire.'[21] The 'horrors' reported by the traveller were heard from 'a reliable source' as the violation of privacy and property: 'any Mohammedan might pass his [Christian's] threshold, and either require from him money, or what was more commoner, send the husband and father out of the way, on some pretext, and himself remain with his wife and daughter.' [22] Similar stories were found in the *Good Words*[23]*,* another popular religious magazine, which argued that the Christians had

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[20] The *Contemporary Review* was edited by Henry Alford and belonged to the Established Church. The aim of the paper was to bridge the seculars and the Christians and its content was on wide range of issues, not limited to theological issues. See, W.E. Houghton (eds), *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals 1824-1900,* Toronto University Press, 1978, Vol.1, p 210.
[21] Bunbury, E.H., Crete, *Contemporary Review*, 1, April 1866, p. 555.
[22] Ibid.
[23] The *Good Words,* was also a religious paper belonged to the Established Church established by Alexander Strahan and focused on the sacred reading more than its sister publication *Contemporary Review.* See, *Wellesley Index,* p. 210.

been subjected to these kinds of extreme injustices in Crete for centuries and lived 'at the mercy of the Mussulmans' who could 'enter houses both day and night, take what they want and behave as they will.'[24] These traveller reports constructed a picture of mundane unbearable oppression of the Christians that included torture; one article noted that if a Christian 'raise[s] an arm' to a Muslim 'or speak a word' against him, this would 'bring on death or loss of a limb'.[25]

The arguments on the oppression of the Christians in Crete aimed to argue that the Revolt was a 'justified' reaction to oppression. Secondly, it argued that the Revolt was primarily a religious conflict. These arguments did not account for the economic conditions of the island; similar to the situation in Lebanon, Christians' position gradually improved in the 19th century at the expense of their Muslim neighbours. Although the economic transformation of the island was mainly due to the impact of Western trade, capitulations and *Tanzimat* reforms, it was presented by some papers as an example of the Muslim 'indolence'. In an article published in the *Fortnightly Review,*[26] a bipartisan, cultural and political magazine, a small story of the famous European traveller Ubicini was published in which he argued that the Muslims effortlessly accepted their decline by saying 'why not if God wills it?'[27]

In addition, these depictions run counter to the general economic realities in the Ottoman Empire. The burden of conscription totally fell upon the Muslim villagers since Christians were exempt from the military service and taxation of the Muslim population was as heavy as their Christians neighbours. Commercial agreements

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[24] The Conditions of Christians under the Turks, *Good Words,* 7, November 1866, p. 762.
[25] Ibid.
[26] The *Fortnightly Review,* similar to the *MacMillan's* was modelled on the French paper *Revue de Deux Mondes,* a paper where variety of opinion could be published. It's publisher declared that the paper will be liberal and include great diversity of opinion inside. The paper was established in 1865 and estimated to have around 1500 circulation in these days. See *Wellesley Index,* Vol. 3, pp. 173-4.
[27] Ubicini, A., *Les Serbes de la Turquie*, Paris, 1865, quoted in Gielgud, A. European Turkey and Its Subject Races, *Fortnightly Review,* 6:35 15 October 1866, pp. 609-610.

signed by the Porte with the Great Powers, known as the capitulations, further aggravated the economic disparity between the Christians and the Muslims and were left out of the picture in these depictions.[28] The economic decline of the Muslims in the Ottoman Empire, which was a result of these socio-economic conditions, was presented as a result of 'their cultural habits' or the life style.

2.1.2) Perceptions on Islam

As the Revolt was presented as a justified reaction to the Muslim oppression on the island, the perceptions on the Islam, the basis of the Muslim identity, were affected negatively from the Cretan Revolt. In an article, the author argued that Islam was 'propagated solely by the sword' and thus 'must decline when the sword can be no longer employed'. [29] This was contrasted with the Christian religion which was defined as being 'founded on reasoning and persuasive principles', and thus, 'must in the end, prevail over savage ignorance and merciless proselytism.'[30]

Similar views were propagated in Britain by the Cretan residents' letters sent to the editors of the periodicals. For instance a letter published in *MacMillan's Magazine,*[31] a political and cultural magazine, declared that the 'the antagonism of Moslem and Christian' in the Ottoman Empire should be settled in favour of the Christian who

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[28] See Karpat, K. *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History,* Brill, 2002, pp. 327-352. For more information about the economic conditions of the Ottoman Muslims, please see Eldem, E. 'Capitulations and the Western Trade' in *Studies in the History of Turkey,* Cambridge, 2008. Scholarly literatures produced legthy discussions on the Ottoman land and economic system and the changes came in the nineteenth century. For some recent collection of essay on the issue please see, Inalcık, H., Seyitdanlıoglu M. *Tanzimat Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu [The Ottoman Empire during the Tanzimat Transformations],* Phoenix, 2006.
[29] Servia, *Leisure Hour*, 833, 14 December 1867 p.798.
[30] Servia, *Leisure Hour*, 14 December 1867 p.798.
[31] The *MacMillan's Magazine,* combined political, religious, literary articles and targeted the educated circles.

[was] the rightful inheritor [of the land].'[32] In Parliament, William Gregory, an Irish Catholic MP, added that 'wherever the Christianity was brought into contact with Islamism' the result was 'massacres and tumults'.[33] Islam was presented as the obstacle to progress in an article published in the *Daily News* which argued that, in Crete, 'the fair hopes and prospects of the Cretans to raise their country to the height of prosperity' was 'marred by an intrusive handful of Moslems' for 'whom exaction and the oppression become the inevitable conditions of their indolent life.'[34]

Presenting the Cretan Christians as the victim of extraordinary injustice went hand in hand with the criticism of the British's non-intervention, similar to the first case study. The British government was accused of 'put[ing] forth his hand to support the Moslem rule, the rule of Turk over Christian'[35] . This argument was shared between the religious and non-religious papers; the *London Review* shared the *Good Words'* perception in Crete and declared that they did not conceal their 'entire and warm sympathy with the oppressed Christian populations under Turkish rule' or their 'belief in the utterly hateful and contemptible character of the Ottoman government.'[36] Liberal newspaper the *Daily News* also criticised the British government for not doing enough to 'rescue the oldest Christian population of the world from the hands of their oppressors although it was the 'English, who send hundreds of thousands to India, to China, and Australia'[37] to spread the Christian cause.

The political weekly newspaper, *The Examiner*[38], which appealed to predominantly

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[32] The Cretan Insurrection, *McMillan Magazine,* February 1867, p. 263.
[33] HC Deb, 15 February 1867, Vol. 185, Columns 407-408.
[34] The Insurrection in Crete, *Daily News,* 25 July 1867.
[35] The Conditions of Christians under the Turks, *Good Words,* 7, November 1866, p. 762.
[36] Collapse in Crete, *London Review,* 10 November 1866, p. 509.
[37] The Insurrection in Crete, *Daily News,* 4 July 1867.
[38] *The Examiner,* was one of the older weeklies in Britain started its publication in 1808 and ceased it

liberal and higher social classes, also criticised the British government for the same reasons and accused the Foreign Secretary, Stanley, of losing 'no opportunity of showing his indifference to Greek suffering, and to the hope of the further emancipation of the Greek race from the Mussulman yoke.'[39] Similar to the examples in the Lebanese Crisis, 'humanitarian reasons' were articulated to defending the Christian cause in the foreign policy and offered as an alternative to the non-intervention which allegedly supported the Muslim power against the Christians. A clear example of the alternative 'humanitarian' foreign policy was articulated in an article in *The Examiner* which argued that 'the triumph of Liberalism in England could not better inaugurate its foreign policy than *by an act of humanity ... on behalf of Christianity and progress* in the Levant.'[40]

2.1.3) Perceptions on the Ottoman Empire

During the Lebanese Civil War, British reports and the MPs already voiced their criticism of the Ottoman Empire, which was portrayed as an oppressive and backward Muslim power standing in opposition to the progressive and Christian Britain and Europe. These views were reproduced during the Cretan Revolt, and the scepticism on the success of the Ottoman reforms strengthened further in Britain.

The debates on the Ottoman Empire demonstrated a similar pattern in the Crete Revolt with the Lebanese Civil War, through constructing an imagined golden past which was presented in contrast to the contemporary order. In the Lebanese case,

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in 1881. The paper changed ownership in 1865, and was expensive 6d. compared to other publications. In late 1860s, its circulation fell to 2000 per week and political opinions tended towards political left. See A. Ellegard, The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian Britain: II. Directory, *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter,* Vol. 4, No. 3, 1971, p. 9.

[39] Turkey and Greece, *The Examiner*, 12 December 1868, p. 785.

[40] Turkey and Greece, *The Examiner*, 12 December 1868. My emphasis.

Mehmed Ali's earlier rule in the region was presented as an example of good administration, which stood in contrast with the contemporary Ottoman rule. In the Cretan case, the situation of Crete was described as being 'heaps of ruins, villages half-peopled and country impoverished by war'[41] which stood in contrast with the 17th century rule of the Venetians when ''there were castles and villas, well-peopled villages and cultivated fields.'[42] The author of these words was a British journalist and traveller J.E. Skinner[43], who published his book *Roughing in Crete*, as a traveller account in 1868 upon his return from the island.

Skinner compared the situation of Scotland in the United Kingdom with the Ottoman conquest of Crete, drawing a contrast between the English who 'made roads where he marched, and brought a higher civilization to the conquered clans' and the Ottoman rule 'who have made no roads and brought no civilization.' [44] *The Examine,r* which published a positive review of Skinner's work, further noted that 'when the Venetians gave place to the Ottomans, there were a million dwellers in Crete, which possessed fertile lands and well-to-do towns' whereas Crete under Ottoman control 'has not a quarter of a million of inhabitants; its towns are in ruins; its villages are half-deserted...'[45]

Skinner was already an influential figure in reporting foreign news in Britain when his book was published. He had established himself as a news correspondent in the 1860s, reporting the Danish-Prussian war of 1864, and Austria-Prussia War of 1866, and thus his book commanded several book reviews in the British press, which

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[41] J.H.E. Skinner, *Roughing it in Crete in 1867,* London, 1868, p. 20.
[42] Ibid.
[43] For more information on Skinner see Appendix 3 and T. Seccombe, Skinner, John Edwin Hillary, in S. Lee (eds) *Dictionary of National Biography 1885-1900,* Vol. 52, 1897, pp. 346-7.
[44] Skinner, *Roughing,* p. 19.
[45] Roughing it in Crete in 1867', *The Examiner,* 4 January 1868, p. 6.

published excerpts from his work. For example, the *Aetheneum*, [46] a well-established literary weekly with a relatively high circulation of 15,000 copies/week, criticised Skinner for not giving enough account of the 'Turkish and Mussulman barbarity' in his book.[47] On the other hand, the *Saturday Review*, the bestselling political-literary paper of the time, was more positive in its review and recommended it as a good literary reading.[48]

Similar arguments were produced in the religious press as well; the *Contemporary Review* noted that the once prosperous Venetian island 'gradually died away' as it 'sank under the lethargic rule of the Ottoman despotism.'[49] This constructed dichotomy between the good Venetian Crete v. the bad Ottoman Crete was not only used by the British authors; the Cretan revolutionaries who appealed to the President of the United States described their island as 'the Greek island of Crete …, glorious in the ancient times and happy, insignificant to-day [sic] and unhappy'. According to the Cretans, this situation was because of the 'heavy yoke of the Mussulman'.[50] The appeal of the Cretan Christians brought together the nostalgia for the past and the impact of Christian identity together. Similar examples of this articulation were evident in articles published in Britain; the *New Monthly Magazine,*[51] a literary paper, argued that the Greek Revolution 'delivered a Christian nation from subjection to Muhammedanism … and extended the advantages of civil liberty to regions where

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[46] The *Aethaneum*, established in 1828, and became an indispensable weekly for the literary and scientific circles. It was a secular paper sold at relatively cheaper price of 3d. for a weekly periodical in the 1860s and according to Ellegard ' commanded a position similar to *The Times'* among the weekly papers. See Ellegard, p. 8.

[47] Roughing it in Crete in 1867, *Aetheneum*,15 February 1868, p. 246.

[48] Roughing it in Crete, *Saturday Review,* 15 February 1868, p. 186.

[49] Bunbury, E.H., 'Crete', *Contemporary Review*, 1, April 1866, p. 551.

[50] The Insurrection in Crete, An Appeal to the United States', *Leeds Mercury,* 19 September 1866.

[51] The *New Monthly Magazine,* was a monthly paper of around 2-3,000 circulation and primarily concerned with literature rather than politics and read by mostly conservative upper classes. Ellegard, p. 19.

despotism had for ages been indigenous.'[52]

The nostalgic approach was used to create an imagined golden-age in Cretan history prior to Ottoman conquest, which served the purpose of defining the Ottoman epoch as a continuous Muslim tyranny over the Christian peoples, which finally collapsed with the Greek emancipation. The alleged deterioration of Crete under Ottoman tyranny was taken as an evidence of the contemporary ineffectiveness and the backwardness of the Ottoman rule. The Ottoman regime was described as the most 'degraded and corrupt'[53] of its time, because 'the political system, the social system, the religious system, the military system- all alike [were] tainted with irremediable corruption.'[54]

Nostalgia was used to construct a historical narrative in which the Ottoman Empire's identity was shaped. The extension of this perspective into the future was the argument that the Ottoman Empire's collapse was imminent and inevitable; there was no future left for the Ottoman Empire. An article in *New Monthly Magazine* noted that the 'the Turkish Empire shall, and inevitably will, crumble to pieces' and the 'old Christian races shall arise from its ruins.'[55] In the monthly *Saint Paul's*[56], a literary magazine, it was concluded that 'the present states of things in Turkey is only provisional, and that the Ottoman rule in Europe *must* fall, sooner or later.'[57] Similar fatalist views on the Ottoman Empire were produced in the religious papers as well as

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[52] The Turks in Europe and the Candian Insurrection, *New Monthly Magazine,* December 1866, p. 387.
[53] Turkey, *London Review,* 8 September 1866, p. 254.
[54] Turkey, *London Review,* 8 September 1866, p. 254.
[55] Modern Greece, *New Monthly Magazine*, February 1866, p 129. My emphasis.
[56] *Saint Paul's* was established in 1867 as a literary magazine. It's circulation is debated; *Wellesley Index,* estimates it to be around 10,000 and Ellegard puts to figure to 20,000. It appealed the middle to upper class public and changed ownership three times due to financial reasons in 7 years and ceased publication on 1874. See *Wellesley Index,* Vol. III p. 361 and Ellegard p. 17.
[57] The Ottoman Rule in Europe, *Saint Paul's*, 5, January 1870, pp. 418-419.

the aforementioned secular papers. The *London Quarterly Review*[58], a Methodist publication, noted that the collapse of the Ottoman Empire was 'irremediable'[59]. Similarly, another article in *The Examiner* noted that the 'sick-man is failing faster and more fast[sic]' and when he collapses 'none will say, God Bless him.'[60] In Parliament, Earl Grey, the Liberal ex-Minister of War and ex-Minister of Colonies, noted that 'Empire of Turkey bore on its face the unmistakable signs of approaching dissolution' and no efforts which Britain 'could make would be effective in keeping it together for any long time'.[61] The Earl of Kimberly, who had been the Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs during the Lebanese Crisis and a defender of the British policy, added that 'the fall of the Ottoman Empire was approaching' and the fall of the Empire 'would not occur without a bloody war throughout Europe.'[62]

The expectation that the Ottoman Empire could not survive these subsequent crises constituted the basis of the criticism of the British foreign policy in the East, which was argued to be 'strained too far' to defend the Ottoman territorial integrity.[63] According to views advocated in the press, the British government should abandon defending the status quo and 'encourage and hasten, if it be possible, the renovation of the Greeks as a nation'[64] instead, because the Greeks sympathised with Britain 'in most of those things that form the elements of modern civilized existence.'[65] The Ottoman Empire as a state was perceived as 'the reason' of backwardness and desolation, and thus according to this view, redirecting the British support from them

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[58] *London Quarterly* was the chief Methodist publication and read by the educated middle classes and politically tended to the conservatives. It's circulation was low around 1200-1500 in the 1860s. See *Wellesley Index*, Vol. IV, p. 371-4 and Ellegard, p. 17.

[59] ART. V.-La Question d'Orient, Expose Politique, *London Quarterly Review*, 29:58 January 1868, p.399

[60] The Condition of Turkey, *The Examiner,* 25 March 1871, p. 303.

[61] HL Deb, 08 March 1867, Vol. 185, Column 1544.

[62] HL Deb, 08 March 1867, Vol. 185, Column 1541.

[63] The Turkish Triumph in Crete', *London Review,* 3 August 1867, p. 118.

[64] Greece for Greeks, *The Examiner,* 22 September 1866, p. 594.

[65] Ibid.

to 'those who are his legitimate and predestined successors' [66] was presented as the only logical option for British to pursue in the East.

The alternative foreign policy in the Lebanese case advocated for an 'imperialist' course to be taken; Britain was called to act on behalf of the Eastern Christians. The analysis demonstrated the emergence of clear alternative policy option in the Crete case. Britain was called to 'support the emerging Christian nations' rather than defending the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

2.1.4) Perceptions on the 'Turk'

The Ottoman Empire's 'otherness' to Europe was presented as a result of its historical position as the traditional adversary of Christianity, which linked the contemporary understanding of the Ottoman Empire to the hostile historical perceptions. Similar to the Lebanese Civil War, the perceptions on the 'Turk' and the 'Ottoman Empire' was intertwined. The term 'Turk' who was used to denote the ruling members of the Ottoman administration, and thus the perceptions of the 'Turk' was closely related to the perceptions on the Ottoman state.

In an article, the political magazine, *The Examiner,* gave a historical account of the 'Turk' as being 'once an enemy of a dangerous and determined character. Fierce and barbarous…' whom was stopped by the 'house of Hapsburg during the 16th the 17th, and the commencement of the 18th centuries' who 'prevented western civilization from being overrun by Oriental despotism.'[67] Similar to the Lebanese case, some in Britain blamed the 'Turks' for the Cretan Revolt. For William Gregory, 'the iniquitous mis-government of the Turks was the sole cause of the outbreak' and the 'Turks committed outrages upon the Christian population of Crete, especially upon

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[66] The Turkish Triumph in Crete', *London Review,* 3 August 1867, p. 118.
[67] Austria and Turkey, *The Examiner*, 27 March 1869, p.194. My emphasis.

women'.[68] In the House of Lords, Duke of Argyll, a Liberal Scottish peer, noted that 'the Turks mercilessly chopped off the heads of the unfortunate wounded' and behaved atrociously against the Cretan Christians.[69] The Ottoman army, the main state institution in Crete was also presented as committing crimes on the island against the Christians by the same MPs.

Although the Turks were perceived to be the 'Ottomans' per-se, in some limited cases they were defined as a peculiar race of their own, which was a minority view during the 1860s. For instance, in the House of Commons, William Gregory argued that the Turks 'lay at the feet of *the most brutal and ignorant race* of conquerors that ever weighed upon the earth', which classified the 'Turks' as a distinct Asiatic race. [70] Similar to the usage of the term 'race' in the Lebanese Crisis to define the Maronites and the Druzes, it denoted the 'inferiority' of the 'Turk' from the European.

2.1.5) Perceptions of the Eastern Christians

In the 19th century, the perceptions of the Ottomans developed within the political context of the Eastern Question in relation to the British perceptions of the Greeks and the Russians. The perceptions on the latter was especially significant as Russia symbolised the backwardness and autocracy in Europe, similar to the Ottoman Empire, in the eyes of the liberal British elite. All of these states were labelled as the 'Orientals' and considered to be 'unfitted for any species of government that is not autocratic.'[71] For instance, in an article published in the *Fraser's Magazine*[72]*,* a liberal monthly, Russia was placed behind Western Europe and ahead of the Ottoman Empire

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[68] HC Deb, 15 February 1867, Vol. 185, Columns 412-415.
[69] See Appendix 3.
[70] HC Deb, 15 February 1867, Column 418. My emphasis.
[71] Gielgud, A. European Turkey and Its Subject Races, *Fortnightly Review,* 15 October 1866, pp. 606-607.
[72] *Fraser's Magazine,* was a monthly established in 1831 and ceased publication in 1882. In the 1860s it was of liberal editorial line with a circulation of 8000, read mostly by the middle and upper classes. Ellegard, p. 19, *Wellesley Index*, Vol. II, pp. 313-4.

in terms of civilization, due to its autocratic regime.[73]

One of the most popular terms used in the debates during the Cretan Revolt was 'civilization.' The terms 'civilized' and 'civilization' had nuances which affected the meaning produced by these terms; this renders an analysis of the terminology necessary. For instance, the administrative problems of the Ottoman Empire were argued to be because of its 'state of civilization', and thus, these problems could not be addressed with reforms: 'The misgovernment which prevails in the East depends mainly on a *state of civilization*, which cannot be materially altered by political changes.'[74] In a different example, *The Saturday Review,* the paper which was the strongest supporter of the non-interventionist policy in British press, argued that although the Ottoman Empire introduced the *Tanzimat* Reforms 'under the pressure of *civilized Europe.'* However, the reforms had not been successful because the Ottoman Empire was 'unwilling or unable to extend the equal justice to all classes of its subjects because of *their civilization*.'[75]

Historically, the term 'civilization' appeared more or less simultaneously in France and Britain in the 18th century and gained prominence in the 19th century.[76] Levin notes that 'the whole point of the term at least from 18th century onwards was bound up with the Western idea of itself as in advance of the rest of the world; that it had developed and others hadn't'.[77] In the 19th century, meaning of the term civilization acquired a double meaning denoting both 'moral and material' values as civilization was accompanied with a supplementary term 'culture'.[78] In this context, 'being

[73] J. Vikers, 'The Future of Turkey', *Fraser's Magazine,* April 1870, p. 533.
[74] Ibid. My emphasis.
[75] The Eastern Question', *The Saturday Review*, 18 March 1867, p.319. Emphasis added.
[76] F. Braudel, *The History of Civilization s,* Penguin, 1993, pp. 3-4 and M. Levin, *J.S. Mill on Civilization and Barbarism,* Routledge, 2004, p. 10.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Braudel, p. 5.

civilized' not only meant to be superior in material progress; it also meant to possess a superior culture which was the reason for the material progress. From the beginning of the 19th century, being civilized signified being a member of humanity's elite which had 'collective life of a period or a group'[79]; it was a sign of superiority. Only certain elite nations and peoples were labelled as civilized, while the rest of the world was reduced to the status of 'semi-civilized' or 'barbarian'. Therefore, the term civilization was primarily used to 'differentiate' the civilized from the uncivilized; the West from the rest, or in the Ottoman context, the European from the Oriental. For the Ottomans, the term 'uncivilized' not only indicated the backwardness of the Ottoman Empire in comparison to the Great Powers, it also pointed to its 'otherness' of the European civilization.

The term civilization was not only used to differentiate the European from non-European, it was also used as a yardstick to compare societies with each other, and with 'civilized Europe', the highest ranking society. For example, one article in the *Saturday Review*, demonstrated the variations of the level of 'barbarity' between the Ottoman regions: '…the most barbarous section of Turkey in Asia, then from Constantinople to scarcely less barbarous and much more corrupt provinces of European Turkey and finally half the States of Europe...'[80] The Asian part of the Empire, which consisted of both Anatolia and the Arabic lands, were populated by a Muslim majority and deemed 'more barbaric' than the European parts, where the majority were Christians. In addition, the 'European Turkey' was geographically closer to Western Europe.

Religion was the main element which played a part in determining the degree of

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[79] Braudel p. 7.
[80] Telegraphs to the East, *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Arts,* May 30 1868, p 706.

'civilization'; the Christians were more civilized than the Muslims, although they were still inferior to the European societies and the Western parts of the Empire populated by the Christians was deemed to be more civilized than the 'Asiatic' Eastern parts, which were populated by the Muslims.

The perceptions of the Greeks were poor in the 1860s due to the financial and the administrative crisis the country faced.[81] As a result of this, the Greeks were also defined as being 'little better than barbarian' 'and as a country who were 'labouring to emancipate itself from the state of barbarism … cast by the Turks.'[82] According to the *Saturday Review,* Islam was 'ill-suited to Europe' although it 'satisfies Asiatics and raises African nearer to humanity'; in comparison, '*even* Greek Christianity is more reconcilable with civilization' because 'its character would alter with the moral and intellectual condition of its votaries.'[83] The Greeks were perceived to be close to the European civilization only because of their religion, which demonstrated the importance of religion in drawing the frontiers of Europe; except for their religion, the Greeks were perceived as equally backward and barbarous as with the Ottoman Empire.

The centrality of Christianity in defining civilized was demonstrated also by the perceptions of Islam, which was seen as suitable to Africans and Asians who were farther behind in terms of civilization than the 'Turks'[84]. In another example, a traveller who arrived Greece from Europe noted that he has found 'everything in a

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[81] M. Milori, Europe, the Classical Polis and the Greek Nation: Phillenism and Hellenism in the 19th century Britain, R. Beaton and D. Ricks (eds) *The Making of Modern Greece: Nationalism, Romanticism & the Uses of the Past,* Ashgate, 2009, p. 70.

[82] From the Levant, *London Review,* November 1868, p. 601, and Modern Greece, *New Monthly Magazine*, February 1866.

[83] The *Saturday Review,* sold at 6d. and had an estimated circulation of around 18,000 to 20,000 in the day was a secular opinion paper which was read by middle and upper classes of both liberal and conservative opinions, although it leaned towards the latter. Ellegard, p. 10. The Eastern Question, *The Saturday Review* 12 January 1867, p. 35. My emphasis.

[84] Modern Greece, *New Monthly Magazine*, February 1866.

state of infancy- of semi-barbarism'. However, the same traveller who travelled to Greece from 'the interior Turkey, Syria, or Egypt' claimed that he 'reached a region of almost refined civilization.'[85] Similarly, 'the Cretans' were regarded to be 'more barbarous than the Western islanders' due to the Civil War, and 'the Christian subject races' of the Ottoman Empire were perceived to be 'more capable of improvement than the Turks', although 'at present' they were 'scarcely more competent to establish civilized governments.'[86] Similar arguments were made for the Greeks who although 'allow[ed] anarchy to prevail in their own country, are more capable of improvement and civilization than their rivals [the Turks].'[87]

Concepts of Christianity, humanity and civilization was equated in the sick-man discourse in the Cretan Revolt, similar to the Lebanese case. This articulation constituted the basis of the imperialist foreign policy in the British elite; similar to the Lebanese example, debates on Cretan Revolt demonstrated that Britain was seen as the Power which could reform and restructure the backward regions for 'their own good'. Proponents of the alternative foreign policy criticised the non-interventionist policy of the British government and proposed instead to '*take* Christian populations, from under Mahometan rule.'[88] Although the article did not propose a clear alternative on where and how the Christians could be taken, it nonetheless argued for establishing independent Christian nations as Islam was blamed for the backwardness of the region: the 'Christian societies and governments may be slow to attain our status of civilization: so they proved in the middle ages' whereas the 'Mahometan societes and governments can never reach that in any amount of ages' regardless of

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[85] Ibid.
[86] Turkey, *The Saturday Review,* 16 November 1867, p. 618. The Cretan Insurrection, *The Saturday Review,* 23 February 1867, p. 225.
[87] Greece and Turkey, *The Saturday Review,* 20 July 1867, p. 71.
[88] Candia, *The Examiner,* 6 April 1867, p. 210. My emphasis.

the 'degree of wisdom in their rules'.[89]

In this way, the identities of the Greeks, Turks and Muslims were articulated to the concept of civilization in the sick-man discourse, which perceived them as an 'other' of European identity. The Ottoman Christians, albeit having a superior position vis-à-vis the Ottoman Muslims, were still labelled as such due to their affiliation with the Ottoman Empire; they were related to the European civilization only minimally. The perceptions of the Eastern Orthodox Christians as 'semi-civilized' demonstrated on one hand their perceived inferiority against Western Christians, and on the other hand demonstrated their superiority to the Ottoman Muslims.

An article published in *The Saturday Review* on the unification of Romania, an ongoing process in the 1860s, argued that '[t]here is no reason to suppose that the Romanians are more barbarous and anarchical then the Christian inhabitants of the provinces which are still attached to Turkey.'[90] In a similar vein, the Cretan Christians were described in the same paper as 'half-civilized dependencies of a semi-barbarous Government' that were 'easily provoked by local grievances to insurrection.'[91] Other Balkan nationalities, such as the Serbians, were treated similarly and labelled as 'partially civilized'; it was argued that 'the prospects of Ser[b]ia would be brighter if European politics gave uncultivated races time to rise gradually into civilization.'[92] All these examples demonstrated that the Eastern Christians were not perceived as 'real' Europeans; they were still Orientals.

2.2)   The Integrity Discourse

Similar to the Lebanese Crisis, the Cretan Revolt was not analysed through the prism

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[89] Ibid.
[90] English Policy in the East, *The Saturday Review,* 2 May 1868, p. 575.
[91] The Eastern Question, *The Saturday Review,* 6 October 1866, p 407.
[92] The Eastern Question', *The Saturday Review,* 23 March 1867 p. 351.

of a singular discourse. The government's discourse was significantly different than the popular discourse and reproduced only by a few magazines in the press. The *Saturday Review* distinguished itself as the defender of the non-interventionist policy and government. In order to defend the government's policy, an alternative explanation on the causes of the Revolt was constructed. The paper published over twenty articles during the course of the Revolt contesting the dominant discourse in the British press and supported the official policy primarily by placing the blame of the Revolt on the Greeks and Russia rather than the Muslims or the Turks.

2.2.1) Perceptions of The 'Eastern Christians'

> 'The success of the insurrection was from the first entirely dependent on foreign intervention. It was, therefore, the chief object of those who directed it to persuade foreigners that intervention was the only means of re-establishing peace.[93]

Victimisation of the Oriental Christians had played a vital role in the sick-man discourse in explaining the causes of the Civil War. According to this view, the Crete Revolt was a fair Revolt because the Christians fought to liberate themselves from the Muslim oppression. The proponents of the government's policy argued against the 'fair Revolt' perspective by arguing that the Revolt was designed to instigate a foreign intervention, as exemplified in the quote above. According to this view, the British press presented the Revolt as a 'fair Revolt' mainly because of 'the feeling or prejudice which condemns an alien religion', Islam, in Britain. [94]

According to this alternative view, the prejudice in the Britain against Islam was important in reflecting the Revolt, and the Cretan Revolutionaries' chief aim in

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[93] The Cretan Insurrection and the Greek Nationality, *The Saturday Review,* 5 October 1867, p. 435.
[94] Crete and the Eastern Question, *The Saturday Review,* 28 December 1867, p. 797. Emphasis added.

uprising was to use this prejudices to provoke a Great Power intervention. In an article published in *The Saturday Review*, the petitions sent by the Cretan Assembly in 1866 were defined as being 'marked by obvious insincerity.'[95] Moreover, it was argued that 'the grievances which were alleged [by the Cretans] at the outset, were purely conventional, nor is there any reason to suppose that the people of Crete had been recently subjected to peculiar oppression.'[96] In Parliament, the Prime Minister noted that 'the slightest symptom of armed intervention on the part of the Western Powers was looked for by these insurgents.'[97]

The Cretan Assembly despatched appeals to different addressees in 1866. The Assembly met before the armed revolt began and forwarded a petition to the Sultan, where the demands of the Cretans were listed. The British Consul in the island, Mr. Dickson, has translated and sent this document to Constantinople, which was presented to the House of Commons by the government.[98] The Assembly then addressed a second, secret letter to the representatives of the Great Powers, and continued to send similar letters several more times once the armed struggle began. The demands of the Cretans differed in the despatches sent to the Sultan and the Great Powers; the former stated their main demand as the establishment of a better administration under the Ottoman rule. In comparison, the latter demanded to be liberated from the Ottoman rule. This difference between the demands was underlined in an article published in *The Saturday Review* to question the 'true intentions' of the revolutionaries: 'The Cretans felt assured that their petition would obtain them the

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[95] The Cretan Insurrection and the Greek Nationality, *The Saturday Review,* 5 October 1867, p. 435.
[96] The Cretan Insurrection, *The Saturday Review,* 10 August, 1867, p. 166.
[97] HC Deb, 15 February 1867, Columns 449-450.
[98] *Correspondence respecting the Disturbances in Crete: 1866-1867,* House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 3771:1867.

direct intervention of the Powers that signed the Treaty of Paris.'[99]

According to this view, the petition of the revolutionaries was sent to the Sultan, although it actually aimed to provoke a Great Power intervention by creating disturbances in the Empire's territory. This view challenged the perception of the Cretan Revolt constructed by the sick-man discourse as a revolt against an unjust regime. *The Saturday Review* also argued that the victimisation of the Christians was as an imaginary scenario which was 'intended to arouse the sympathy of Christendom'.[100] According to this view, if the Cretans achieve their goal of obtaining Great Power intervention, this would set an example for other Christian groups in the Balkans: 'The evacuation of Crete, by the Turkish army, and the grant of independence to the islanders would only serve as a pretext for the promotion of disturbances in the Continental provinces.'[101]

In parallel to this view, Liberal MP Austen Layard noted that the 'the unhappy people [Cretan Christians] were led to believe that some intervention would take place on their behalf' and this was behind their decision to continue the Revolt which 'could only lead to fresh disasters.'[102] Prime Minister Earl of Derby argued in a House of Lords Debate that all Consular reports received by the government 'have shown that the complaints of the Christian population have been greatly exaggerated', or were 'without foundation.'[103]

In addition, both the government and the articles published in the *Saturday Review* argued that the Cretan Christians were not the 'victims' of oppression; on the contrary they perpetrated crimes against the Muslims on the island. These arguments were

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[99] The Cretan Insurrection and the Greek Nationality, *The Saturday Review,* 5 October 1867. p. 435.
[100] The Cretan Insurrection, *The Saturday Review,* 29 June 1867, p. 806.
[101] Crete and the Eastern Question, *The Saturday Review,* 28 December, 1867, p. 798.
[102] HC Deb, 15 February 1867, Column 426. For a biography of Layard see Appendix 3.
[103] HL Deb, 08 March 1867, Column 1533.

similar to the ones made during the Lebanese Civil War on the Maronite Christians, who were deemed as being equally, if not more, responsible for the Civil War by the government. In the same speech noted above, the Earl of Derby argued that the 'there is evidence equally strong of atrocities on the part of the Cretans against the Mussulmans' together with the atrocities committed by the Muslims. [104] In a Commons debate, Austen Layard also noted that 'barbarities had been committed … by the Christians as well as by the Turks' and 'the former perhaps being the more ingenious in their tortures.'[105] For Layard, the violence were perpetrated by 'both races' of Crete who 'were equally barbarous'.[106]

Some MPs and newspaper articles during the Lebanese Civil War argued that both the Druzes and Maronites were equally barbarous and warlike 'races'. Lord Stratford, who was labelled by other MPs as the 'master of Turkish question' argued that there was the 'habitual state of antagonism subsisting between the two separate races' in Crete, analogous to his description of the reason of the Lebanese Civil War. [107] Similarly, Prime Minister Derby stated that 'the fanaticism on the one side and the other, the feelings of mutual hostility and exasperation' rendered it difficult to govern the island by anyone. [108] Hence, in various debates, the blame for the Revolt was distributed equally among both groups; an explanation which was in continuity with the Lebanese case. Lord Stanley stated the Cabinet's view on the Revolt by saying that the 'blame must be pretty equally allotted to either side' and these kind of 'wars of religion and race' 'will always happen, in a country which … is described as semi-

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[104] HL Deb, 08 March 1867, Column 1533-1534.
[105] HC Deb, 15 February 1867, Column 436.
[106] HC Deb, 15 February 1867, Column 438.
[107] HL Deb,, 15 August 1867, Column 1548.
[108] HL Deb, 08 March 1867, Column 1535.

barbarous'.[109]

In contrast to the arguments of the sick-man discourse, the integrity discourse argued that the Christians who were 'treated as inferiors' 'appear to suffer little from oppression' and their oppressors were their 'own chiefs, and especially their bishops' who were 'more corrupt and more tyrannical than their alien masters[Turks].'[110] In some articles, it was noted that the Christians paid more taxes than the Muslims to escape from the burden of conscription, and 'Lord Lyons [British Ambassador to the Porte] and the majority of his informants assert[ed] with unhesitating confidence that the condition of the subject races has been greatly improved during the present generation.'[111]

The *Tanzimat* reforms were the cornerstone of the pro-Ottoman arguments in Britain. Layard noted that 'since he first knew Turkey, an incalculable improvement had taken place' because the Ottoman Empire was 'now under the influence of the public opinion of Europe.'[112] Gladstone supported the non-intervention policy and noted that although he did not believe that the *Tanzimat* Reforms were successfully implemented, the government should support the reforms in the Ottoman Empire and persuade them that the 'the true policy of the Ottoman Empire was to do full justice to the principles of the Hatti-Humayoun [Tanzimat Charter]' and obtain equality between the Christians and the Muslims.[113]

2.2.2) Arguments on Foreign Policy

The foreign policy emerged as the main contested practice of the two discourses,

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[109] HC Deb, 15 February 1867, Column 447.
[110] The Cretan Insurrection and the Greek Nationality, *The Saturday Review,* 5 October 1867, p. 435. Crete and the Eastern Question, *The Saturday Review,* 1 June 1867, p. 677.
[111] Crete and the Eastern Question, *The Saturday Review,* 1 June 1867, p. 677.
[112] HC Deb, 15 February 1867, Column 439.
[113] HC Deb, 15 February 1867, Column 444.

similar to the first case study. Defenders of the non-interventionist policy such as Layard noted that the position of the 'Turks in Europe were very much like what the English were in Ireland' and the British were in 'in the habit of treating Turkey very unfairly'. [114] Directly comparing the Ottoman Empire with the British Empire was a rare argument, which opposed one of the main presuppositions of the sick-man discourse, which described the Ottoman Empire as an ontologically different place than the 'Christian West'. In the same speech, Layard reminded the MPs that the British 'held many millions of Mahomedans in India' under their control, and thus the British policy towards the Ottoman Empire should take the British position in India into account: 'We and they might say, "If Mahomedans have no right to govern Christians, Christians have no right to govern Mahomedans" and if they found us backing up the Christians in murdering the Turks, who would guarantee the security of affairs in India?'[115]

Layard's reminder on India demonstrated that the 'rationality' of the non-interventionist foreign policy in calculating the 'British interests'. In the Lebanese case, the chief British interest in the region was presented as averting the possibility of a European War due to the Eastern Question. In the Cretan case, Layard's speech on India added a further dimension to this *realpolitik* calculations.

In addition to Layard, an article in *The Saturday Review* argued that the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire would be 'dangerous and impracticable' because of the large Muslim populations living in the Balkans. The article argued that 'the rights and interests of the 80.000 to 90.000 Mahometans in the island [Crete]' were not taken into consideration by the 'intolerant' Christian philanthropists. The

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[114] HC Deb, 15 February 1867, Column 432.
[115] HC Deb, 15 February 1867, Column 433.

paper argued that if the Cretan Revolutionaries are supported, this might encourage more revolts and thus result with the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. In such a scenario, the emerging Balkan nations would drive the vast Muslim population of the region from their homes, which 'would be cruelly unjust, and still more to the purpose that the attempt would be dangerous, if not impracticable.'[116]

The critics of the non-interventionist policy during the Lebanese Civil War argued that it was not a humanitarian policy as it does not take the civilising 'duty' of Britain into account. In this way, the concept of humanitarianism, which was defined as a mixture of 'the duty to protect Christians' and 'bring civilization to the rest of the world' became the basis of the alternative policy. In comparison, during the Cretan Revolt, the defenders of the government's policy articulated 'humanitarian reasons' in their discourse as well; supporters of the integrity discourse used humanitarianism as a reason to support the Ottoman territorial integrity. For instance, in one article the author suggested that the 'philanthropist habitually confines their regards to Christians', and in order to settle the Eastern Question in accordance with the 'sentimental theory', according to which '[t]hree millions of Turks' living in the Balkans 'have to be killed, or driven beyond the Bosphorus' in the lack of an 'indigenous successor' which is ready to take Ottoman's place.[117] The probability of an Ottoman collapse was thus presented as a possible 'humanitarian catastrophe' for the Balkan Muslims, and thus the contemporary Eastern policy was presented also as a 'secular humanitarian' option, which differed from the 'Christian humanitarianism' of the proponents of the sick-man discourse.

The government and its supporters attempted to counter the victimisation of the

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[116] The Cretan Insurrection, *The Saturday Review,* 23 February 1867, p. 225.
[117] Turkey, *The Saturday Review,* 16 November 1867, p. 618.

Christians in order to redefine the causes of the Crete Revolt, from an emancipatory movement based on just demands to an insurrection aiming at provoking a foreign intervention for the purpose of dismemberment of the Empire. The blame of the Civil War was placed upon the Ottoman Empire by the sick-man discourse through the victimisation of the Christians. Once this victimisation discourse is challenged, the proponents of the integrity discourse needed to shift the blame to another party, and in this case, these were the 'foreign powers' such as Russia and Greece. As noted in Chapter 2, the perceptions of the Ottomans in the 19th century Britain were connected to the perceptions of the other Eastern Powers, especially Russia and Greece, who were seen as the 'enemies' of the Ottoman Empire, and in the case of the former, enemy of Britain.

2.2.3) Perceptions on the Russia and Greece

> 'Tolerable government and civil equality would sooner or later be established in Turkey if reforms were allowed time to ripen; but before the Crimean War Russia always resisted the internal improvement of Turkey, and at present the same influence is exercised in the cultivation of disaffection and revolt.' [118]

Britain fought alongside the Ottoman Empire in 1856 against Russia which represented a peak moment in Anglo-Ottoman relations. Russophobia, although not as strong as its heyday in the 1830s and 1840s, was still influential in shaping the perceptions of Russia in Britain. The integrity discourse linked the anti-Russian discourses in Britain in the 1860s to the discourses on the Ottoman Empire to point to the 'real culprit'.

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[118] The Eastern Question, *The Saturday Review,* 23:599 20 April 1867, p. 486.

Proponents of the integrity discourse depicted Russia as the main threat to the Ottoman territorial integrity and, consequently, to the British interests. Russia, as seen from the quote above, was both presented as a major obstacle to tranquillity in the Ottoman realm and as a Great Power waiting to dismember the Ottoman Empire by intervening in the local conflicts. Articles in *The Saturday Review* noted that 'the demands of Russia' from the Ottoman Empire were 'vague and insidious' as the 'Russian Empire would accept no concession in full satisfaction of the supposed claims of the Christian population.'[119] In another article, Russia was blamed for looking for 'a plausible pretext for intervention on behalf of a Christian community *supposed to be oppressed* by a Mahometan government.'[120]

The Ottoman Empire was presented as the main culprit of the Revolt by the defenders of the sick-man discourse. In comparison, pro-government circles claimed that the responsibility of the Revolt laid with 'Emperor Alexander and his Ministers' who 'constantly announced in menacing language their entire sympathy with the cause of the insurgents'[121] and encouraged the 'rebellion' in Crete. Russia's conduct in the Revolt contrasted with the British policy which 'wisely abstained from incurring the responsibility of promoting civil war and anarchy by encouraging a hopeless rebellion.'[122]

Even the opponents of the non-interventionist policy in Parliament, such as William Gregory, argued that the Russian policy was 'one of pure self-interest and aggrandizement' and thus 'had no desire to see' the Balkan nations 'rise, thrive, and become strong, self-governing, and satisfied.'[123] Instead, it was argued that the object

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[119] Crete and the Eastern Question, *The Saturday Review,* 28 December 1867, p.798. My emphasis.
[120] Crete and the Eastern Question, *The Saturday Review,* 1 June 1867, p. 677.
[121] Crete and the Eastern Question, *The Saturday Review,* 28 December 1867, pp.797-8.
[122] Turkey, *The Saturday Review,* 16 November 1867, p. 618.
[123] HC Deb, 15 February 1867, Column 408.

of the Russian policy was 'to keep the Eastern Christians united … in constant discontent and turbulence.'[124] Similarly, another opponent of the government in the House of Lords, Duke of Argyll, stated that the 'Western Nations of Europe' should act as the protectors of the Eastern Christians and the British government should show its 'determination that Russia should not exercise the protectorate' in the Balkans. [125]

The general perceptions on Russia was linked to the European political context; in 1863, a few years before the Crete Revolt, the Russian Empire had crushed an uprising in Poland, which intensified the anti-Russian sentiments in British public opinion. The impact of this event was evident in the debates on the Cretan Revolt. An article in *The Saturday Review* argued that 'Russia treated Poland more cruelly than the Turks are likely, if they succeed, to treat their revolting subjects.'[126] Another article referred to Layard's speech in the Commons and concluded that 'the Turks have never assailed the national existence of subject Slaves or Greeks with the systematic cruelty which Russian government displays at Poland.'[127]

Russia's treatment of the Polish revolutionaries raised questions about their aims in the Cretan Revolt; one article claimed that 'Russia is only anxious to protect the Christians subjects of Turkey' after 'they disposed of Poland.'[128] Russia's behaviour during the Cretan Revolt was labelled as 'hypocrisy', and Russia's sympathy towards the Cretan revolutionaries were thus interpreted as an anti-Ottoman conspiracy. Following Ali Pasha's visit to the island in 1867 and his proposal to end the rebellion, Russia's role in the uprising was further questioned. According to one article, the Ottoman territorial integrity should be defended by Britain because the 'Russian

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[124] HC Deb, 15 February 1867, Column 409.
[125] HL Deb, 08 March 1867, Column 1529.
[126] Greece and Turkey, *The Saturday Review,* 20 July 1867, p. 71.
[127] English Policy in the East', *The Saturday Review*, 2 May 1868, p.575.
[128] Greece and Turkey, *The Saturday Review,* 19 September 1868, p.383.

influence [in the Empire] became gradually more and more evident' and the best demonstration of this influence would be the continuation of the Cretan Revolt: 'if the insurrection should be continued after the late concessions of the Sultan, it will be because of Russia and not Greece, gives the word of command.'[129]

Greece was the second state that was attributed the blame for the Cretan Revolt. In Parliament, Layard was a vocal critic of Greece, which was blamed for not only to 'encourage the insurgents', but also for being the main cause of it with the aim of annexing the island. [130] Layard argued that the 'movement for independence and annexation to Greece was instigated, directed, and supplied with money and volunteers from Athens', and if 'the insurrection had not been countenanced and supported from Greece, tranquillity would have been long since restored.'[131]

Layard's arguments were supported by the Prime Minister in Parliament. In answering to William Gregory, Lord Stanley stated that '*for no doubt,* the centre of the movement was in Greece.'[132] Similarly, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, the Earl of Derby, noted in the House of Lords, that 'the leading men in the Greek Ministry were among the most active agents in forwarding of supplies', and he agreed with Layard that it was this constant supply of weapons which prolonged the conflict in Crete. [133] Articles published in *The Saturday Review* also claimed that the 'Greek agents seized the opportunity of working on the minds of the Cretan Christians' through 'two great delusions of the modern Greek mind'; Greek nationalism and religion, which were 'operating as incentives to revolution in the Ottoman Empire.'[134]

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[129] The Cretan Insurrection and the Greek Nationality, *The Saturday Review,* 5 October 1867, p. 436.
[130] HC Deb, 15 February 1867, Column 427-430.
[131] HC Deb, 15 February 1867, Column 434.
[132] HC Deb, 15 February 1867, Vol. 185, Column 447. My emphasis.
[133] HL Deb, 8 March 1867, Vol. 185, Column 1534.
[134] The Cretan Insurrection and the Greek Nationality, *The Saturday Review,* 5 October, 1867, p. 435.

The overall perceptions of Greece in the 1860s suffered after the British decision to transfer the Ionian Islands from Britain to Greece in 1862. The takeover of the island was completed in 1864, and although only three years had passed from the transfer of the Ionian Islands, it was argued that the islands 'degenerated into anarchy as soon as they were deprived of the mild and regular administration of England' and 'have suffered from the union [with Greece]'.[135] The paper did not substantiate why and how the conditions of the islands 'degenerated' and argued that the Ionian example demonstrated the inability of the Greek state to govern; if Crete was given to Greece, it would govern the island 'on nearly the same principles which have been adopted in practice by successive Pashas.'[136]

The perceptions of Greece resembled the sick-man discourse's perceptions on the Ottoman Empire. Greece was placed in opposition to Britain, where the latter was an example of 'good government' and 'just and liberal administration' and the former was represented as a 'practical anarchy.'[137] The case of the Ionian Islands was used against Greece, similar to the relationship between Poland and Russia, in order to argue that the Cretan Revolt, in essence, aimed the secession of the island to Greece and, therefore, was instigated and directed by the Greek state. In this way, Russia and Greece were presented as the main culprits of the Revolt in place of the Ottoman Empire or the Muslims.

2.2.4) Perceptions of the Ottoman Empire

Presenting the foreign actors as the main reason for the Cretan Revolt paved the way for a different perception of the Ottoman Empire. As the blame was shifted to other

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[135] The Cretan Insurrection, *The Saturday Review,* 23 February 1867, p. 224.The Cretan Insurrection, *The Saturday Review,* 22 August 1868, p. 247.
[136] The Cretan Insurrection, *The Saturday Review,* 23 February 1867, p. 224.
[137] The Cretan Insurrection, *The Saturday Review,* 22 August 1868, p. 247.

actors, pro-Ottoman MPs such as Layard argued that 'allowance must be made for the Turkish Government' because they needed to contend the 'feelings and prejudices of a dominant race' as well as putting down the Revolt. [138] Similarly, Lord Stanley argued that there was 'not the slightest evidence to show that the atrocities were 'sanctioned or even tolerated by the Turkish government.'[139] In the House of Lords, Derby articulated the government's view that the Consular papers submitted to Parliament disproved 'any barbarity on the part of the superior officers' of the Ottoman Army and there were 'numerous cases' which had shown that 'prisoners were treated with the greatest possible kindness.'[140] The Prime Minister stated that although the desire of the Porte was 'to deal equitably and impartially between the Mussulman and the Christian populations of the Crete'; the fanaticism and mutual hostility of the local population rendered it difficult to put down the Revolt. [141]

In the Lebanese case, the Ottoman government was defended by the British government, especially by Prime Minister Palmerston, and the blame was put on the local Ottoman governors, who were removed from their positions by the Porte simultaneously. The Cabinet continued to defend the Ottoman central government in the Cretan case, although with less intensity. The death of Palmerston resulted in the loss of the staunchest defender of the non-interventionist policy and also a respected expert whose command on the Eastern affairs was accepted by everyone. The Foreign Secretary Derby articulated arguments similar to those of Palmerston's by stating 'there have been excesses committed on both sides' which were 'committed against the wishes of the Turkish government', and thus removed the Ottoman government's

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[138] HC Deb, 15 February 1867, Column 429.
[139] HC Deb, 15 February 1867, Column 447.
[140] HL Deb, 08 March 1867, Column 1535.
[141] Ibid.

responsibility from the Revolt. [142]

The chief aim of the government in constructing an alternative perception of the Ottoman Empire was to provide moral support for the public on the British foreign policy. The primary goal of the non-interventionist policy in the East was to protect the British interests, which were defined in the Cretan case to counter the Russian influence on the Ottoman Empire. In both cases, the government's policy lacked the 'popular appeal' such as defending Christianity or protecting victims of oppression, which the alternative policy possessed. This necessitated the construction of an alternative vision of Cretan Revolt in which Russia, a popular enemy figure in Britain, emerged as the main reason of the Revolt. In this way, the Ottoman Empire was presented not as a barbarous Muslim power, but as an ally fighting against the common enemy.

3.) **Conclusion**

The second case study focused on the debates made on the Cretan Revolt to capture the perceptions on the 'Ottomans'. The first outcome of this chapter is the 'pervasiveness of the discourses' underlined in the Lebanese Civil War. The various periodicals examined in this chapter revealed the reproduction of the perception on the 'Ottomans' in close proximity to the ones constructed in the first case study.

The government's discourse and the popular discourse differed from each other. The official discourse in Britain cross-cut party differences as both Liberal and Conservative Cabinets pursued non-interventionist foreign policy. However, as in the Lebanese case, only one main paper in the press was aligned with the government, while the rest reproduced the 'popular' discourse.

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[142] Ibid.

The second important outcome was the increased usage of the term 'civilization' in defining the 'Ottomans' such as the Muslims, Turks and the Eastern Christians. The British press' perception of the Ottomans and Muslims was primarily shaped in relation to the 'civilization', which was an example of the 'articulatory process' as defined by Laclau and Mouffe. Although the term was used in the first case study as well, it assumed a more central position in the Cretan case. The proponents of the sick-man discourse defined the Ottoman Empire as an 'uncivilized' Empire; the 'other' of Europe. Similarly, various social groups were labelled as 'semi-civilized' or 'semi-barbarous', marking their inferiority to Europe and their differences from each other.

Although the integrity discourse differed from the sick-man discourse in identifying the underlying causes of the Cretan Revolt, it shared the belief of the latter on the European supremacy. Two opposite discourses in the public level appealed to different solutions, but they shared the view that the Eastern Question should be solved either as dismemberment or as preservation of the Empire by the 'civilized' Europe.

Religion was used as one of the key concepts to explain the Cretan Revolt, similar to the Lebanese Civil War in British press. During the Cretan Crisis, a variety of different journals, from religious press to Liberal press and political journals, analysed the Cretan Revolt within the religious context based in the Christian v. Muslim dichotomy. These explanations constructed the popular perception of the Muslim which was defined as 'barbaric and indolent'. In a similar vein, the perception of the 'Turk' was 'fierce and barbarous'.

Discourses on civilization revealed two crucial points for the purpose of this research.

On one hand, since the precondition of these discourses was the unshakeable belief in the Western supremacy over the East, the British press hegemonized the meaning of civilization and equated it to the Western political institutions and economic system. Moreover, defining the 'Ottomans' as 'semi-barbarous' people had an impact on the British foreign policy towards the Ottoman Empire. Since the Ottoman society was not perceived as an equal of Britain and 'civilized' Europe, their fate became decided in the West. As the sick-man discourse became more radical in arguing the Ottoman 'otherness', the proposed foreign policy became more 'forward' which insisted on breaking with the non-interventionist neutral policy.

As a result of the Cretan Revolt, the sick-man discourse became more widespread in the British press, although it did not accumulate enough power to alter the British official discourse. This 'living' rivalry between these two discourses continued to dominate the political scene in the following decade, and reached its climax during the Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation, which will be analysed in the following chapter.

Chapter 7: Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation of 1876

1.) **Introduction**

The previous chapters analysed the British perception of the Ottomans during 1860s, and concluded that the political crises in the Ottoman Empire was explained through two different discourses; the official and the popular discourse. The final case study analyses the Balkan Crisis (1875-78), one of the major diplomatic events of the 1870s.

The Balkan Crisis of 1875-1878 was consisted of three main phases. The first phase started with a peasant revolt in Bosnia, which was followed by an unsuccessful uprising in Bulgaria in 1876. The Bulgarian atrocities campaign in Britain started in mid-June 1876 and ended in 1877 which aimed at protesting the Bulgarian civilian causalities as a result of the Ottoman efforts to suppress the revolt. The third and last phase of the Crisis started when the Russian Empire declared war on the Ottoman Empire in April 1877. The war resulted with a decisive Russian victory in March 1878 which paved the way for post-war diplomacy in the summer of 1878 in order to put an end to the Crisis.

The Balkan Crisis, in comparison to the Lebanese Civil War and Cretan Revolt, was discussed in much more detail in Britain. Four figures provided in the Appendix 1 reflects on the significance of the Balkan Crisis for the British public and Parliament. Figure 1 presents an account of the number of journal articles published on the Ottoman Empire between 1860 and 1882 in various British periodicals. The average number of articles in British periodicals was around 600 per year until throughout the 1860s. However, this figure was more than doubled between 1876-78; at the height of the crisis, British periodical press produced nearly 1400 articles.

Similarly, Figure 2 analyses the number of news reports published on the Ottoman Empire and Figure 3 enlists the number of Parliamentary debates made on the 'Ottomans' in the 1860-1878 period. Both figures demonstrates a huge surge in the number of news reports and parliamentary debates made on the Ottoman Empire. Figure 4 presents a comparative analysis of the foreign policy debates in the British Parliament; other relevant foreign policy issues like Italian unification and relations of China follows a rather stable pattern throughout the decade, whereas during the Balkan Crisis years, debates on the Ottoman Empire and Russia constituted a much larger percentage compared to the other countries. In addition, Figure 4 shows that there is a positive correlation between the debates on the Russian Empire and the Ottoman Empire, which demonstrates the close relationship between the perceptions of the two.

A final graph, Figure 5, represents the number of speeches given on Bulgaria and shows the relevance of the Bulgarian atrocities campaign to the overall debate on the Ottoman Empire and foreign policy. Bulgaria was not mentioned at all in the Parliament until 1876 and then quickly became the focal point of foreign policy debate in 1877 and 1878, where around 150 speeches were made in the Parliament.

2.) **Historical Background** [1]

The Balkan Crisis started with a revolt in Herzegovina in July 1875 and ended with the Treaty of Berlin, signed in June 1878 between Russia and the Ottoman Empire under the auspices of the other European Powers. The three years long Crisis unfolded on two cards; the diplomatic one where the European Powers rivalled with each other to increase their influence in the region, and the local one where nationalist

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[1] For a detailed timeline of events please see Appendix 2.

groups were at the forefront. The Crisis had major impacts on Britain, the Ottoman Empire and Europe. Three new Balkan countries, Serbia, Montenegro and Romania were formally established alongside an autonomous Bulgaria; Anglo-Ottoman relations severed and never recovered from the Crisis, and in Britain, a major public protest shook the government.

The Herzegovinian revolt was caused by a mixture of socio-economic reasons, Pan-Slav nationalist sentiments and foreign support to the revolutionaries.[2] Different scholars had given different importance to these three elements. Shaw, points out that the rebellions beginning was 'due to' foreign agitation, while Jelavich singles out the 'extreme discontent of the Christian peasants working in the lands of Muslim Slavic landowners' as the major reason of the Revolt. Turkish scholar Aydin, on contrary, argues that Pan-Slavist organisations were the major power behind the uprising. A.J.P. Taylor, different from all, argued that the insurrection was a 'true national revival'.

Although the exact reasons of the outbreak are disputed, both the majority of historians and contemporary Foreign Office agree that the revolt was primarily an 'agrarian uprising' of the Christian peasants who used to cultivate the lands belonging to the Muslims, and had been subjected to extremely harsh taxation. The taxation reforms was one of the main reforms of the Tanzimat period. Ottoman attempts for direct taxation failed in 1860s and during the time of the revolt, state lands were cultivated by large landowners who paid an annual sum to the Ottoman state and then

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[2] See M, Aydin, Bosna-Hersek Ayaklanmasinda Pan-Slavismin Etkisi ve Sirbistan ve Karadag'in Rolu [The Impact of Pan-Slavism and the Role of Serbia and Montenegro in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Revolt] *Belleten,* No: 256, 2006 December, S. Shaw and E. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey 1808-1975*, Cambridge University Press, 1977, p. 158, B. Jelavich., *Russia's Balkan Entanglements, 1808-1914,* Cambridge University Press, 1991, p. 156. See also, M. Kovic, The Beginning of the 1875 Serbian Uprising in Herzegovina The British Perspective, *Balcanica,* Vol: 41, 2010, pp. 55-71. Taylor A.J.P., *The Mastery for Europe,* Oxford University Press, 1954, p. 155.

taxed the peasants living under near-serfdom conditions.[3]

From the beginning of the Herzegovinian uprising in 1875, Montenegro, Serbia and Three-Emperors League (Austria-Hungary, Germany and Russia) were involved in the revolt in various degrees. The impact of Montenegro, Serbia, Russia and Austria on the continuation of the revolt has been debated in the literature. Some, like Sumner and Millman underline that the Russian influence through their agents, volunteers and money was highly significant. In his recently published essay Kovic notes that recently published Russian material shows that the Russians were suspicious of Austrian influence. Stojanovic on the other hand asserts that the insurrection was 'the result of' Serbian propaganda and preparations.[4]

The Ottoman Empire in the 1870s was in complete financial disorder due to the debt crisis that hit the Ottoman economy following the global recession of 1873.[5] The heavy borrowing from the European bond markets during the 1860s and 1870s in highly unfavourable terms was the major cause of the deterioration of the Ottoman economy. [6] The economic crisis deepened in 1876 and affected the Ottoman army funding, which impeded their ability to organize successful military campaigns to quell the Revolt. Moreover, the complex nature of the revolt, due to this mixture of socio-economic reasons and foreign interference, lowered the chances of a 'military solution'. As a result, the revolt spread to Bosnia in August 1875.

The Herzegovinian-Bosnian Revolt generated European diplomatic interest from its

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[3] For a detailed analysis see Inalcik, H., Quataert D., *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire,* Vol: 2, Cambridge University Press, 1999.

[4] See Sumner, B.H., *Russia and the Balkans,* Oxford University Press, 1962. Millman, R., *Britain and the Eastern Question, 1875-1878,* Clarendon, 1979.

[5] For Shaw, the financial chaos of the country was because of a faulty system of tax collection, huge indebtedness to foreign bondholders, and Ottoman self-mismanagement.

[6] See S. Pamuk, *Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire,* Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 213-214.

beginning in the summer 1875. The League of Three Emperors convened in Berlin with the aim of 'assisting the Ottoman Empire' to put an end to the disturbances. In August 1875, the Russian Ambassador to the Porte Count Ignatiev proposed to mediate between the Ottomans and the rebels to the Porte on behalf of the League. The outcome of the consultation was the Andrassy Note of December 1875, which was accepted by the Ottomans in February 1876 but rejected by the rebels. [7] The Andrassy Note, named after the Austrian Foreign Minister Count Andrassy, proposed reforms which were similar to the *Tanzimat* reforms in the areas of taxation and religious equality in exchange for an immediate ceasefire. As a further guarantee to the rebels, the Consuls of the Powers were empowered to supervise the implementation of the reforms. Although the Andrassy Note was proposed on behalf of the League, the French, British and Italians were also included to the supervision process. The Note was rejected by the rebels as they demanded nothing less than autonomy for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

A second attempt, the Berlin memorandum, which was similar to the Andrassy Note was issued in May 1876 and was flatly rejected first by Britain, who responded by sending its fleet to the Dardanelles to demonstrate the British interest in protecting the Straits. Disraeli's motives in his move were partly stemmed from the omission of Britain from the Berlin Memorandum process since the Memorandum was discussed and agreed by *Dreikaiserbund* alone without involving Britain or France and partly for his desire in continuing the Palmerstonian Eastern policy. [8] The Memorandum proposed a two months ceasefire during which the reforms would be implemented

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[8] See Appendix 3. For a list of biographies on Disraeli, see Feuchtwanger, E., *Disraeli,* 2000, pp. 215-218.

and the Ottoman government would assist in rebuilding houses and providing relief. The point which triggered Disraeli's negative reaction was the ambiguous statement, which noted that 'if the armistice should expire before an agreement as to the necessary reforms, it would be necessary to take "efficacious measures in the interests of peace".'[9] The threat of a European –which was read as Russian in Cabinet-intervention was perceived negatively by Disraeli and his cabinet. Moreover, Disraeli was reluctant to grant autonomy to Bosnia, which was one of the conditions of the Memorandum because he related the condition of Bosnia to Ireland.[10] He explained these points in a note addressed to the Cabinet, and his suggestion to decline the Memorandum was accepted unanimously.[11]

One impact of the deep economic crisis in the Ottoman Empire was the political turmoil. Sultan Abdulaziz was deposed with a palace coup in May 1876 by an alliance of his reformer Grand Vizier Midhat Pasha and his chief of staff Hussein Avni Pasha. Following Abdulaziz's deposition, his brother Murat V ascended to the Ottoman throne. However, Murat's poor mental health exacerbated the political crisis; Abdulaziz was found dead in his room on 4 July, and by then, it became clear that Murat was unfit to rule the Ottoman Empire. It was then decided to place Abdulhamid II on the throne, who promised to promulgate the constitution and open the parliament, and he became the new Sultan on 31 August 1876.

While the diplomats were working on a solution, two important events escalated the

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[9] Seton-Watson, pp. 32-33.

[10] In his private letter to Lady Bradford on October 1 1875, Disraeli noted that: 'Fancy autonomy for Bosnia, with a mixed population: autonomy for Ireland would be less absurd, for there are more Turks in proportion to Christians in Bosnia than Ulster v. the three other provinces.' See Buckle G.E., *The Life of Benjamin Disraeli,* Vol: VI (1876-1881), London, 1920, p. 13.

[11] See Buckle, *Life of Disraeli,* pp. 25-26. Disraeli described the Memorandum as as 'putting a knife to the throat of Turkey' and feared that the Memorandum might result with dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. For this reason, he rather offered Ottoman withdrawal from Bosnia-Herzegovina rather than accepting the note.

Crisis; an uprising in Bulgaria which started at the end of April 1876, and Serbia's and Montenegro's declaration of war on the Ottomans in June 1876. The literature agrees that the Bulgarian revolution, nationalist in character, was weak and disorganised and even a failure. Paradoxically, what made the Revolt achieve its goals was not its success but its failure; it was suppressed by the Ottoman auxiliary troops with considerable brutality. The number of casualties in Bulgaria is debated in the literature, estimates vary from 4,000 to 100,000, which included a large number of civilian deaths. Shaw noted that around 4,000 Christians were killed against 'much more' Muslim death which were gone unnoticed. Contemporary official report by Consul Dupuis mentioned 12,000 deaths while *Times* correspondent Edwin Pears reported 30,000.[12]

The news of the massacres committed by the Ottomans in Bulgaria was influential enough to provoke Pan-Slav anger and led to Serbia's and Montenegro's declaration of war. The war between the Ottomans and Serbia and Montenegro resulted in a quick defeat for both countries at the hands of the Ottomans in August 1876. Consequently, Russia intervened on their behalf and demanded an armistice to be signed, which was agreed by the Ottoman Empire on October 1876. Russian position was strengthened with mutual non-intervention agreement signed between Russia and the Austria in July 7. According to this agreement, if the Ottomans defeated the rebels, they would act to make sure the Ottomans would not benefit from the victory. If the Ottomans had lost, Russia would acquire Bessarabia while Austria-Hungary invade part of the Bosnia. Russian position throughout the crisis swing between the interventionist Pan-Slavist party and the non-interventionists. Tsar Alexander, after great reluctance, gave way to the war party in November 1876 following the defeat of Serbia and

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[12] See Millman, R. Bulgarian Massacres Reconsidered, *The Slavonic and East European Review,* Vol 58, No:2, 1980, pp. 218-231 and Shaw, p. 164.

Montenegro at the hands of the Ottomans.

The British Foreign Secretary, Lord Derby, proposed another conference in Constantinople, which was convened in December 1876 as a final attempt to put an end to the Crisis. [13] The Great Powers suggested harsh terms to the Ottoman Empire to conclude the Crisis, which included the creation of large and autonomous Bulgaria. The Porte, under the leadership of the reformist Midhat Pasha, decided to refuse the terms and promulgated a constitution which established the first parliament in the opening day of the Conference. Consequently, the Ottomans proposed a new reform programme which was rebuffed both by the Great Powers and the rebels.

The Conference ended without any success, and following a few months of diplomatic efforts, Russia declared war on the Ottoman Empire in March 1877, which ended with the Ottoman capitulation in January 1878. The two states signed the Treaty of San-Stefano in April 1878 which created a large and autonomous Bulgaria, designed to maximise the Russian sphere of influence in Balkans. This was strongly objected by Britain and Austria-Hungary, and another European conference to discuss the peace conditions was convened in Berlin, in which Bismarck acted as the 'honest broker' between conflicting Powers. Germany was the least interested party in this affair alongside France, who was recently defeated by Germany and in political turmoil.

The Treaty of Berlin (1878) depended primarily on the secret agreement signed on 30 May 1878 between Salisbury, the recently appointed British Secretary of Foreign

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[13] See Appendix 3. He was a resolute supporter of the non-interventionist policy and in the latter stages of the Crisis he fell out with Disraeli over the Eastern policy because of his opposition to Prime Minister's interventionist policy and sidelined from late 1877. In order to maintain peace with Russia he transferred the secret Cabinet talks to the Russian pro-peace Ambassador Shuvalov and as a result of this action he was forced to resign from Cabinet in 1878 (see Medlicott, W.N., The Near Eastern Crisis of 1875-78 Reconsidered, *Middle Eastern Studies,* Vol 7, No:1, p.106.) and replaced by Lord Salisbury.

Affairs, and Shuvalov, Russian Ambassador to Britain.[14] The Treaty included 69 clauses divided into 9 headers. Bulgaria, who was envisaged as a unified state in San Stefano Treaty, was split in three, one autonomous, one semi-autonomous and one under direct Ottoman rule. Bosnia-Hercegovina was occupied and administrated by Austria-Hungary. Serbia, Montenegro and Romania's became independent, and Russia's territorial gains were limited to three towns in Eastern Anatolia and Bessarabia. The Ottoman Empire promised to implement reforms for religious equality.

The Balkan region with its populations, wealth and culture was very significant for the Ottoman Empire and it was one of the most economically developed part of the Ottoman Empire. Following the Treaty of Berlin, the Ottoman Empire lost control of the considerable portion of its Balkan territories encompassing two-fifths of the Empire's total land, and 5.5 million of its citizens of whom a significant portion were Muslims.[15] Consequently, the large exodus of Muslim masses into the Ottoman Empire from the Balkans (the population of Constantinople doubled in 1877 with the flow of Muslim refugees from Bulgaria) had a significant effect on the Empire, its ideology and daily life for the next three decades.

2.1)   The British Foreign Policy

In terms of the British Eastern policy, the ten years from the end of Cretan Crisis of 1866-68 and the beginning of the Balkan Crisis of 1875-78 witnessed rapid and

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[14] Seton-Watson, p. 432.

[15] It is extremely difficult to establish 'correct' demographical numbers on the composition of people of Bulgaria before 1878, albeit Ottomans conducted several censuses between years 1831-1878. The last census was done in 1868, and different estimations were used to determine the population of Bulgaria by the Great Powers in 1878 during the Berlin Congress. The one that was submitted for the British plenipotentiary Lord Salisbury estimated 260,000 Muslims and 440,000 Christians while 1868 census noted 412,000 and 610,000 respectively for the administrative unit which included Bulgaria. See Karpat, K. Osmanli Nufusu 1830-1914 [The Ottoman Population 1830-1914], Timas, 2010, pp. 132-140.

significant transformations in both British domestic politics and foreign policy.

An important event, which influenced the British Eastern policy, was the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. Following its opening, the canal's share of British trade with the Far East rapidly increased, making the defence of the Suez Canal and Egypt a top priority for Britain.[16] Particularly after the purchase of the Canal's majority shares by Britain in 1875, the focus of the British strategic defence in the Near East started to shift to the Red Sea and Egypt. The Straits and the Eastern Mediterranean, which during Palmerstonian years, were the invaluable locations, lost their position. The increasing British commitment to the Suez Canal and Egypt's protection was declared by Lord Derby, in December 1877, at the peak of the Russo-Ottoman War when he communicated to Gorchakov, the Russian Foreign Minister that an attack on the Suez Canal and Egypt would be considered as *casus belli* by Britain.[17] The security of the Canal was established with consequent moves, by acquiring Cyprus from the Ottoman Empire in 1878 (in exchange of supporting the Empire at the Berlin peace conference) and finally with the invasion of Egypt in 1882.

The balance of power established in the Near East after the Crimean War was altered by the increased power of Germany in late 1860s; the Prussian army defeated France in 1870, which led to the collapse of Napoleon III's rule in France. The unification of Germany in 1871 and the defeat of France had an impact on the international relations. Russia repudiated the Black Sea Clauses of the Paris Treaty (1856), which demilitarized the Black Sea region in 1870, and although Gladstone protested against it, this change was confirmed with the London Treaty in 1871. Two direct results of this Treaty affected the Near East for the next ten years; Russia reacquired the right to

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[16] See, Fletcher, E.M., 'The Suez Canal and World Shipping, 1869-1914', *Journal of Economic History,* Vol: 18, No:4. December 1958.

[17] Macfie, A.L., *The Eastern Question 1774-1923,* Longman Limited, 1997. p. 47.

build a Black Sea fleet which was detrimental for British interests, but conceded to the British demand that the international treaties could not be changed by unilateral action.[18] The latter was the legal basis of the Berlin Conference (1878) with which Russia accepted to lay San Stefano Treaty under European examination.

The collapse of the French Empire in 1870 and the unification of Germany were the most serious threats to British influence in the East. Germany under Bismarck engineered a triple-alliance with Austria-Hungary and Russia in 1873. Even though it lasted only three years and collapsed due to the differences between the latter two Empires over East Europe, the alliance demonstrated the increasing influence and power of Germany in the East. Bismark's increased influence was proven by his 'honest broker' position, which he assumed firstly in the London Treaty (1871), in main Anglo-Russian diplomatic conflicts.

Finally, a new wave of European colonialism, known as the 'new imperialism', began to rise in the 1870s. Between 1875 and 1914, one quarter of the world's land surface was partitioned between several nations, and Britain acquired over 4 million square miles in this period, leading the process in front of France and Germany, who acquired 3.5 and 1 million sq. miles respectively.[19] This demonstrated the rising tensions and rivalry between 'industrial' European nations which disturbed the careful balance of power in Europe preserved until the 1870s, especially when the Ottoman Empire was under question. New imperialism triggered implementation of 'forward' foreign policy in Britain, which was based on military power. This policy shift made the conciliatory, non-intervention policy less popular and more difficult to implement because the rivalry between the European Powers became more intense.

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[18] A.J.P. Taylor, *Struggle for Mastery*, p. 216.
[19] E. Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire,* p. 59.

2.2)   British Public and the Events on the Balkans

In terms of home politics, a highly significant factor which had an impact on British policy formation was the Reform Act of 1867, which enlarged the franchise and popularized the politics in Britain. The transformations of 1860s and 1870s were not confined to party politics in its strict sense. The enlargement of the franchise also paved the way for the evolution of non-party politics through two important mediums, free press and pressure groups. The abolition of stamp and paper duty by the Liberals in 1860s resulted in the creation of penny dailies, newspapers which were remarkably cheaper than their predecessors and thus, with a much higher circulation figures. The most important of the penny dailies was the *Daily News,* whose circulation had been around 5,000 for most of 1860s and hit 150,000 in 1871 following the reduction of its price to 1d. The *Daily News* was one of the most influential papers during the Balkan Crisis and Bulgarian atrocities agitation with the *Telegraph;* the circulation of both papers increased (Figure 6) as the two papers' position on the events of Bulgaria opposed each other. Wadsworth notes that during 1870s and 1880s 'the chief penny mornings in London ranged from 300,000 to 90,000 or less; the principal provincial dailies from 40,000 to 20,000 … *The Times* at 3d came in between.'[20]

The increase in circulation also brought important changes to the style of journalism. During the 1860s, the foreign news was confined to specialist periodicals with small and London based 'gentlemanly' readership. The popularisation of the daily newspapers, new technological advances in printing and utilisation of the telegraph, meant that in the 1870s, the newspapers were not confined to London or the

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[20] A.P. Wadsworth, 'Newspaper Circulations 1800-1954', T*ransactions of the Manchester Statistical Society,* Norbory, Lockwood &Co, 1955, p.21.

aristocratic class any longer. The rise of the provincial press meant rise of the middle class readership in Britain.

As the enlargement of the franchise 'democratised' the elections to a certain extent, the institutionalisation of the party politics in Britain was the second factor in this process. The death of Palmerston in 1865 paved the way for the transformation of politics in Britain and a new balance in British politics emerged in late 1860s, following the retirement and death of the older generation of politicians who had dominated the British elite, such as Lord Russell and Lord Derby. The retirement of Russell resulted with Gladstone's[21] ascendance to the Liberal Party leadership. Gladstone's main rival was Benjamin Disraeli who became the leader of the Conservatives after Derby's death in 1869, and on the surface, the two leaders dominated the British politics as the heads of their parties until Disraeli's death in 1881.

Gladstone won the first elections after the Reform Bill in 1868 and lost the elections in 1874 to Disraeli's conservatives. Following his defeat, Gladstone announced his retirement from politics, although he was elected as an MP, and relinquished his position as leader of the Liberal Party. Gladstone's return from retirement was partly attributed to the Atrocities Agitation in 1876, his first active and passionate contribution to a public debate after his retirement. As Disraeli's health and power waned, Gladstone's increased; he returned to politics in 1879 and won the 1880 elections.

During the Cretan Revolt, consequent British governments of Liberals and Conservatives deployed the 'non-interventionist' policy and thus pursued a common

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[21] See Appendix 3. Over the 20th century Gladstone was subjected to biographical studies from number of scholars. See Patridge M. *Gladstone*, Routledge, 2003, pp. 5-11.

policy towards the Ottoman Empire. The increased rivalry in the 1870s between the two parties contributed to the emergence of a more intense opposition to the Conservative government's 'Palmerstonian' Eastern policy by the Liberals.

Lastly, the same period witnessed a proliferation of non-party interest groups campaigning for every single important political issue. The Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation was created and developed in this atmosphere as a result of the popularity of non-party political campaigning in the 1870s Britain, where the 'public' protests against the policies of the state was widespread.

3.)   **The Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation**

All these transformations in British newspapers, the rise of interest groups and the increase of franchise democratised the British society in 1870s, and it was this atmosphere that made the Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation possible. The Agitation was a political campaign as a response to the massacres committed by the Ottoman forces, and developed into a series of public meetings across Britain in protest of the Ottoman crimes and British government's policy, during September-December 1876. The Foreign Office documents contain a total of 455 petitions addressed to Lord Derby, protesting government's pro-Ottoman foreign policy. 90% of these documents were dated between 1 September and 9 October; the Agitation in October and November lost momentum in terms of the meetings organised. [22] This was because of the Russian war ultimatum to the Ottomans in November 1876 and waning public interest. The final meeting of the Agitation nevertheless was the 'National Conference for the Eastern Question', convened in London in December, parallel to the diplomatic conference organised in Constantinople.

[22]See Shannon, R. *Gladstone and the Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation,* Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1962, p. 148.

The Agitation started with the reports of the *Daily News* on massacres committed against the Christian civilians in Bulgaria by the Ottoman irregular forces on and after June 1876. The Ottomans, because of the financial chaos, deployed a large number of irregular troops, formed by the Circassian immigrants among others, known as *basibozuks,* instead of regular troops, who crushed the Bulgarian uprising with brutality and attacked civilians alongside the Bulgarian revolutionaries. [23] Simultaneously, *The Times* reproduced reports of the same kind and a parliamentary debate started in July and August 1876 on the conduct of the British Foreign Office on these crimes.

This thesis analyses the Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation campaign in three distinct phases. The first phase of the Agitation was the journalistic phase: started in 23 June and lasted until 7 August and was the period when the Agitation was driven forward by the *Daily News* and supported by *The Times.* The second period started in August when W.E. Stead, the editor of the *Northern Echo,* joined the Agitation in the North and started to call for mass demonstrations against the British government to protest their support to the Ottoman Empire. [24] The third phase started in September with both Gladstone's intervention with his pamphlet, the *Bulgarian Horrors,* where he attacked the government's policy during the Crisis in September 1876. This period witnessed the multiplication of the public meetings on the Bulgarian atrocities. The majority of public meetings were organised in September. The most active groups in the agitation were non-conformists and various working men's associations; 75% of

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[23] Circassian is a term used to identify different groups of indigenous Muslim peoples inhabiting the Northern Caucaus region. Following the Russian invasion Caucaus region, especially after the Crimean War, large groups of Circassians migrated to the Ottoman Empire due to Russian persecution. The first wave of mass migration marked as 'Circassian exodus' by the scholarly literature, started in 1860s and peaked after the 1877/78 Russo-Ottoman War. The Circassian irregulars deployed in Bulgaria, had been settled in the territory by the Ottoman authorities in 1860s after the declaration of an official 'deportation' policy by the Russian Empire.

[24] See Appendix 3.

all petitions were sent to the Foreign Office by the former, 21% by the latter. [25]

The newspaper reports published in Britain in the first phase of the Agitation constituted the basis of the Atrocities Agitation. The reports conflicted with each other in terms of the civilian deaths in Bulgaria. The *Daily News* correspondent Pears estimated 30,000 deaths,[26] the US Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire Schuyler 20,000 deaths, whereas MacGahan, *Daily News* special reporter who had travelled to Bulgaria with Consul Schuyler, estimated around 8,000 deaths in just a single town, Batak, alone.[27] The official British report from Bulgaria prepared by Mr. Baring, the second secretary to the British Ambassador in Constantinople, estimated the total casualties to be around 12,000 people, considerably less than Schuyler and MacGahan.[28] Albeit the validity of the reports published in Britain can be debated, their impact on public opinion was significant.

The Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation has been discussed in several monographs, mostly as an episode of the 1870s Balkan Crisis rather than being on its own. The majority of the studies were published in the 1930s and the interest in the subject waned in the post-war period.[29] Two studies which were exclusively on the Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation were published in the post-War era, by Richard Shannon in 1963 and by Ann-Pottinger Saab in 1991.[30] The former, by far the best available work analysing

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[25] Ibid.

[26] The Assassinations in Constantinople, *Daily News,* June 23 1876.

[27] See Appendix 3. Similar to Stead's controversial friendship with Russian propagandist Madame Novikoff, Stead and Schuyler were also connected to Russia, a fact that raised suspicions about their motives by the later scholars. Schuyler Report, *London Gazette,* September 20, 1876.The Atrocities in Bulgaria, Terrible Scenes, *Daily News,* August 7 1876, p. 5.

[28]Walter Baring, second secretary of the British embassy in Constantinople was instructed to investigate the alleged Bulgarian massacres with British vice-consul in Adrianople by the government in July 1876, following growing pressure from the Liberals, press and Church.

[29] See, Seton-Watson, R.W., *Disraeli, Gladstone and The Eastern Question,* Norton, 1972. M.D. Stojanovic, *The Great Powers and the Balkans 1875-1878,* Cambridge University Press, 1939. Sumner, B.H., *Russia and the Balkans,* Oxford University Press, 1937. For a more recent analysis, Millman, R., *Britain and the Eastern Question, 1875-1878,* Clarendon, 1979.

[30]See Shannon and Pottinger-Saab, A. *The Reluctant Icon.*

the Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation, focused on Gladstone's role during the Agitation, and the latter attempted the same in a larger period, going back to the 1850s. This chapter differs from both works on scope and methodology. It follows Shannon's chronological scope by analysing the Agitation proper, which was between July-December 1876, but differs completely by deploying a discourse analytical approach to unravel the language of the Agitation. The scope of this paper is, thus, not the writing of a history of the Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation, but to analyse it in order to understand the construction of the Ottoman/Turkish/Muslim identities in Britain at a period when the public attention was on the East.

3.1) The First Phase of the Agitation

The Agitation began with the news reports published in British press on the 'atrocities' committed in Bulgaria. The first phase built the Agitation from the top; the newspapers not only informed the public about the crimes, but also constructed a view of the situation in Bulgaria, to an uninformed public. The underlining theme of the news was the concept of 'atrocity' or the crimes committed on the civilians. The whole of the Agitation was developed in relation to this concept, which had a significant influence on the perceptions of the 'Ottomans'.

3.1.1) Perceptions on the 'Turk'

The first news was reported in the *Daily News* by its Constantinople correspondent Edwin Pears about the 'atrocities' committed in Bulgaria, which did not led to much interest in British press. [31] Pears reported that on April 23 'the Turks killed and cut into pieces a merchant … Mukhtar Pacha the commander of the Turks in Herzegovina lured a Montenegrin named Torica Kavalevich into his camp, and then cut off his

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[31] Edwin Pears (1835-1919): English lawyer, historian and journalist. He moved to Constantinople in 1873 and worked in the British Consulate and also acted as the *Daily News* correspondent.

head...'[32]

The first example was similar to the arguments developed in the first two case studies which presented the Christians as the victims and the Muslims or the Ottoman Empire as the oppressor. However, the difference between the Agitation and the Lebanese and Cretan Crisis was not in the content or in the arguments; it was in the presentation of the news. The new journalistic style which was labelled as the 'New Journalism' led to the 'sensationalisation' of the news reports. Similar arguments were made with much more intensity; victims presented as more innocent and the perpetrators as more villainous.

New Journalism was a term coined in 1887 by the English poet Matthew Arnold. For Arnold, New Journalism was 'full of ability, novelty, variety, *sensation,* sympathy, generous instinct.'[33] Arnold's conception of 'New Journalism' was to capture the W.E. Stead's impact on British press during his editorship of the *Pall Mall.* New Journalism was both a reaction to the expansion of the newspaper market towards the lower classes 'who were considered to be less politically aware and concerned, and less intellectually rigorous' and also a general demand of readers for a more lively, less formal newspaper.[34]

The first signs of the turn from 'traditional' news reporting to sensationalist New Journalism was evident in the reporting of the Agitation. Although Stead played a significant role in this turn, especially in and after the Agitation, this transformation cannot be attributed solely to him. In June 1876, Pears' reports already demonstrated the turn towards a more sensational reporting which aimed to 'create' interest. The

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[32] Moslem Atrocities in Turkey, *Daily News,* June 10, 1876.
[33] J. O. Baylen, The 'New Journalism' in Late Victorian Britain, *Australian Journal of Politics and History,* Vol. 18, No. 3, 1972, p. 367. My emphasis.
[34] G. Weber, Henry Labouchere, "Truth" and the New Journalism of Late Victorian Britain, *Victorian Periodicals Review,* Vol. 26, No. 1, 1993, p. 41.

clearest examples of this situation were the reports which focused on the atrocities committed on the most vulnerable of the society, such as the babies, children, women and the old; there were picturesque details of the crimes which aspired to shock the British populace.

Similar to the earlier cases, the dichotomisation of pure victim v the villain was used during the Agitation. However, different from the earlier constructions, the sensationalist style caused radicalisation of the discourse, which became more overtly 'anti-Turk'. The *Daily News* correspondent Pears consistently reported on the victims who were subjected to extreme violence by the Ottoman forces or auxiliaries: 'the burning of the houses and villages of peasantry ... and the almost indiscriminate *slaughter of old man, women and children.*'[35] These examples were not only confined to Bulgaria; when Serbia and Montenegro declared war on the Ottoman Empire at the end of June 1876, the *Daily News* started to publish reports of similar crimes highlighting that '[T]he victims are miserable women, and hapless children' and the 'officers and soldiers who come down from the front' told 'the tales of mangled bodies of children lying in the gutters of debris, headless trunks of Servian soldiers in places...'[36]

Edwin Pears' reports from Bulgaria did not only indicate the violence; they also elaborated on it through explicit horror stories, which were specifically added to address to the emotions of the readers:

> 'Her cottage had been burnt before eyes, of three children she had seen one, her baby, tossed about from soldier to soldier, and then flung into the flames; of the second she knew nothing, the third, the lad who was now with her, had made his escape timeously...'[37]

[35] Ibid. My emphasis.
[36] Moslem Atrocities in Turkey, *Daily News,* June 10, 1876.
[37] Turkish Atrocities in the Servian Front, *Daily News,* July 28, 1876, p. 5.

Like the *Daily News, The Times* also published extensively on the massacres in Bulgaria. Correspondent of the paper in Constantinople, Gallenga was slow to report the events, however, Delane, the editor of *The Times,* filled the gap by publishing letters sent from Bulgaria which shared the depictions of the *Daily News* reports. Most of the letters were anonymous signed by pseudonyms such as 'a Bulgarian' or 'a witness'. The main focus of the letters was to demonstrate the use of extreme violence in Bulgaria. In one letter, the author noted that 'about 500 persons, mostly old men, women and children, were killed' by the *Bashibozuks* who 'then rushed into the village and pillaged it thoroughly.'[38] The focal point of the reports were the atrocities committed by the Ottoman irregulars, *Bashibozuks,* against the vulnerable civilians: 'On 27th [April]the Bashibozuks attacked the village, murdered two priests enslaved all girls and young women they could find, and then set the village on fire.'[39] The accusations against the *Bashibozuks* were 'extreme acts of violence'; they were accused of 'violating women, burning houses, destroying churches, cutting into mincemeat little children, and crucifying and roasting priests.'[40]

This sensationalist style had an immediate impact as the first question in the House of Lords was asked on 26 June, only three days after the first report with a specific reference to the *Daily News*. As Pears continued to report on indiscriminate Ottoman war crimes, the Parliament started to react and demanded an official inquiry, which was sent to Bulgaria on 21 July. Mr. Baring, a diplomat from the British Embassy in Constantinople was sent to Bulgaria with Lord Derby's order. At the same time, US Consul Schuyler, who was in close contact with Bulgarian students at Constantinople

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[38] Turkish Outrages in Bulgaria, *The Times,* July 18, 1876. p. 8.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.

who were studying at a US missionary school, was already on the way to visit Bulgaria in order to investigate the alleged massacres. In Consul Schuyler's company was a newspaper reporter, who was recently employed by the *Daily News,* Januarius MacGahan, whose first report from Bulgaria was published on 7 August and created an immediate sensation. [41]

MacGahan was already an established war reporter well known in the elite circles with his works on Russian Central Asia expedition. MacGahan's reports were similar to the Pears' both in content and style; however, his status as an 'eye-witness', reporting from the region, gave him a more important role. MacGahan's position in the Agitation was similar to Lord Stratford's position in the previous decade; both had the advantage of talking from an 'expert' point of view which allowed them to position their views as 'the truth' on the subject. MacGahan's horror stories were both more detailed and more literary than Pears' ones and thus contributed in the popularisation of the 'atrocities' in Britain.

MacGahan built his reports on the victim v villain dichotomy that was used in explaining both the Cretan Revolt and Lebanese Crisis. However, the striking difference of MacGahan's reports was the 'literary detail' which created the sensational style. In his most famous report on 7 August 1876, MacGahan explained his eye-witness account of the extreme atrocities committed in the Bulgarian town Batak as such:

> 'I have just seen the town of Batak with Mr. Schuyler … On approaching the town, on a hill, there were some dogs. They ran away and we found on this spot a number of skulls, picked and licked clean; all of women and children. I counted from the saddle a hundred skulls, picked and licked clean; all of women and children. I entered the town... there were skeletons of girls and women, with

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[41] See Appendix 3.

> long brown hair hanging to their skulls… I saw many little hands,
> heads and foot of children of three years of age, and girls with heads
> covered with beautiful hair… The church was still worse. The floor
> was covered with rotten bodies quite uncovered.'[42]

The impact of the sensationalism was evident in the report, which exclusively focused on the details of violence in order to present the barbaric, cruel nature of the 'Turks' who oppressed the Bulgaria civilians. The examples of violence included ranged from death to torture and hunger, which further contributed to the image of a cruel administration who was unable to help the innocent victims, who were depicted as 'homeless and starving.'[43] The most frequent images reported from Bulgaria were those of the 'children', especially 'young girls' who 'had been carried off' by the 'Turks' who 'refused to restore them to their parents.'[44] The victims of atrocity included not only young girls or women, but also disabled people; MacGahan reported that a villager showed him the place where his 'blind little brother had been burned alive'. Similarly, MacGahan noted that he had 'counted a hundred skulls, not including those that were hidden behind the other' which belonged to the 'beheaded women and children.' [45]

MacGahan's 'horror stories' from Bulgaria was one of the reasons behind the Agitation's success as these reports grasped public interest, which was demonstrated by the increased sales of the *Daily News* in these months. The scenery in Bulgaria was pictured in such detail that it would have been impossible not to condemn the perpetrators if one believed in the authenticity of the reports:

> 'As we approached [to Batak] our attention was directed to some

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[42] The Atrocities in Bulgaria, Terrible Scenes, *Daily News,* August 7, 1876, p. 5.
[43] Latest Telegrams, *Daily News,* August 21, 1876, p.5.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.

> dogs … when looking down I perceived we had stepped on a human skull partly hid among grass … As we ascended, bones, skulls, skeletons, and skulls became more frequent but they had not been picked so clean, for there were fragments of half-dry flesh still clinging to them.'[46] 'It was a heap of skulls, intermingled with bones from all parts of the human body, skeletons nearly entirely rotting, human hair and putrid flesh lying there in foul heap … and it was here the dogs had been seeking a hasty repast when our untimely approach interrupted them.'[47]

The reports represented the 'Turk' as the brutal villain, the perpetrator of the crimes. According to these reports, there was 'no proof yet that a single Turkish women or child was killed or violated' in the conflict' and thus, they were the only party in Bulgaria committing the atrocities. [48] MacGahan specifically added that all casualties were from one side, which contradicted with the government's contemporary discourse, which was claiming that the atrocities were committed by both sides. The *Daily News* reports appealed for the British public to create 'urgent relief for the starving and helpless families' in Bulgaria. [49] MacGahan's report made an immediate impact in Britain; the first public meeting protesting against the Bulgarian atrocities took place in Manchester, on 9 August, just two days after the publication of the first report.

During the Agitation, depiction of violence was not confined to mass killings. One specific crime that was widely reported, albeit never confirmed in later official reports, was the issue of slavery. Britain had established itself as an anti-slavery nation from the beginning of the 19th century, and by the 1870s, slavery was recognized as a serious crime in the eyes of the British public. Publication of specific slavery stories led to further deterioration of the perceptions of the 'Turks' in the eyes

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[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] The Atrocities in Bulgaria, Terrible Scenes, *Daily News,* August 7, 1876, p. 5.
[49] Ibid.

of the British public, especially in the liberal and religious circles, which were the most anti-slavery sections of society.

For instance, Pears reported that, 'the average price of a Christian child is ten francs.'[50] In another article, he noted that 'great numbers of Bulgarian children have been captured by the Circassians, and have been sold or are now on sale as slaves' and the Bulgarian 'girls were sold for three or four liras' in Constantinople. [51] Similar reports were produced in *The Times* as well; a letter sent to the paper from a resident in Adrianople stated that 'all the men have been killed and women who escaped the massacre have been led into slavery beyond Balkans' and the 'little girls those who were pretty, have been taken to Constantinople to be disposed of in the secret markets.'[52] The claims on slavery were probably the only inaccurate aspect of the news produced from Bulgaria. None of the reports including Schuyler's, confirmed the existence of slavery during the Bulgarian atrocities and the slavery story was probably fabricated by Pears' sources to provoke public anger in the West.

The perceptions on the 'Turks' were influenced greatly from the atrocities committed in Bulgaria. Similar to the Lebanese and Cretan cases, the 'Turk' was presented as the main culprit behind the crisis in the first phase of the Atrocities Agitation.

3.2)   Perceptions of the Ottoman Empire

In the previous cases, the Ottoman Empire was presented in the sick-man discourse as a 'barbaric tyranny' which oppressed the Eastern Christians and, thus, was the main culprit of the crises. There was a continuity between the discourses of the 1860s and the discourse of the Agitation in terms of the representation of the Ottoman Empire. In

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[50] The Atrocities in Bulgaria, *Daily News,* July 25, 1876, p.5.
[51] The Moslem Atrocities in Bulgaria, *Daily News,* July 8, 1876 (letter dated 30 June)
[52] The Atrocities in Bulgaria, *The Times,* August 01, 1876.

the first phase of the Agitation the difference between the Ottoman Empire and the Christian West was articulated clearer by the newspapers through depicting the Ottoman Empire as the 'Asiatic barbarians'. For example, in one report, the Christian Bulgarians were described as 'the wealthiest, most labourous, and most honest peasants' who 'had to suffer the full ferocity, inhumanity and rapacity of the *Asiatic barbarians*.'[53]

The civilized v. barbarian dichotomy that had been constructed in the previous decade, which was used to demonstrate that the 'Ottomans' were outsiders to the civilized Europe, was reproduced during the Agitation. Gallenga, *The Times* correspondent from Constantinople, noted that ' the state of things which now prevails in Bulgaria' were 'nothing but an intensification of the … tyranny which prevail throughout the whole of the Turkish Empire.'[54] Similarly, Edward Freeman[55], who was one of the active members of the Agitation, sent a letter to the *Daily News* calling the British public to act against the 'bloody despotism of the barbarian Turk'[56]. Freeman was one of the first to call for an action 'outside the walls of the Parliament' by the ones 'who are not willing that England … should be branded in the pages of the history as the accomplice of the foul.'[57]

MacGahan's reports constituted the backbone of the *Daily News*' reports and the Agitation. The sensational reports from Bulgaria informed the British public in a novel and peculiar way by appealing to the emotions of the readers through depicting unacceptable horror stories such as the death and assaults on the innocent women and

[53] Turkish Outrages in Bulgaria, *The Times,* July 18, 1876. p. 8.My emphasis.
[54] The Atrocities in Bulgarian, *The Times,* August 04, 1876, p. 5.
[55] Richard Shannon describes Freeman as 'the most considerable figure in the proto-agitation on behalf of the Serbs … Freeman had been a vociferous enemy of the Turks, from a Hellenist viewpoint, since the Crimean War.' See, Shannon p. 37.
[56] The Debate on Bulgaria, *Daily News,* July 13, 1876.
[57] Ibid.

little children sold as slaves. The sensationalism connected with the main political aim of the sick-man discourse: the salvation of the Christians from the Muslim rule through forcing the Government to abandon the traditional Eastern policy.

Foreign policy became the focal point of the debate starting from the first phase of the Agitation, similar to the earlier case studies. However, as the crimes were presented in a more sensational way, the defenders of the alternative policy became more open in their attacks to the government, which constituted the main difference of the Agitation. For example, in a letter sent by an anonymous British merchant from Constantinople to the *Daily News,* the British government was criticised because they have sided with an Islamic power and was openly blamed for the atrocities: 'would England be surprised to learn that she, of all European nations, is looked upon by most Christians in these countries as jointly responsible for these massacres?'[58]

The initial US report compiled by Schuyler was published at the end of August. Schuyler estimated the total number of deaths to be around 15.000 for Bulgaria, a substantially lower estimate than that of MacGahan's and Pears' estimations. Although Schuyler, who travelled to Bulgaria with MacGahan, estimated far less deaths, the figures were still enough to create a moral outcry in Britain. The Agitation gained momentum as the provincial press started to reproduce *Daily News'* reports from July onwards; *Leeds Mercury* reproduced the exact copy of Pears' letter, published on 8 July by *Daily News,* on July 10. Similarly, the *Sheffield Independent* published a small note on 15 July on the Bulgarian atrocities in the middle pages of the paper stating: 'The Atrocities in Bulgaria: 190 villages burnt by the Turks, fearful massacres of men and kidnapping women. Tatar villages are burnt in retaliation.'[59]

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[58] The Outrages in Bulgaria, *Daily News,* July 24, 1876.
[59] The War in the East, *The Sheffield and Rotherham Independent,* July 15, 1876, p.6.

Similar examples were found in many provincial newspapers, although one provincial paper differed from the others in its handling of the atrocity reports. *The Northern Echo* reproduced MacGahan's report on 8 August in full and vigorously aimed to create a mass protest movement against the government's Eastern policy for the rest of the month. The editor of that paper, W.E. Stead, was to become influential in transforming the Agitation from a journalistic work to a mass movement in weeks, which constituted the second level of the Agitation.

3.3) The Second Phase of the Agitation: the *Northern Echo* and Public Meetings

'Ghastly Scenes of Slaughter', 'Dogs Praying on Human Bodies', 'Horrible Details of Turkish Ferocities' were the sub-headings of an article the *Northern Echo's* article published on 8 August which demonstrated the importance given to the atrocity news by the paper. [60] The *Northern Echo* did not pay much attention to the Eastern Question or the Bulgarian atrocities in the earlier months; there was very little published about these topics before 8 August. The first piece they published was the reprint of MacGahan's report published in the *Daily News* on 7 August. Stead's *Northern Echo* depended on the news brought to Britain by the *Daily News*; in most of the cases, they reproduced the same material. [61] Therefore, Stead's contribution to the Agitation was not in content, it was in turning the Agitation to a political campaign. He was the first in British press to consistently denounce the British government's stance in handling the Bulgarian Crisis. Stead used the *Daily News* reports to convince his readers to organise meetings and protest against both the

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[60] The Atrocities in Bulgaria, *Northern Echo,* August 08, 1876. p. 3.

[61] The scholar who put Stead's role in the agitation to fore was Shannon who describes Stead as 'the pro-Russian counterpart of the Turcomaniac David Urquhart' and 'consistent and enthusiastic Slavophile' who 'had learned Russophilism in the office of a Newcastle merchant who was also Russian vice-consul.' Stead was an 'intensely pious Nonconformist, a strong Radical, a natural crusader' according to Shannon. See Shannon pp. 70-71.

'Turks' and the British Government which supported them.

Non-conformists in Britain played an important role in the Agitation, as demonstrated by the number of petitions sent to the Foreign Office by the non-conformist organizations. Stead was a 'dedicated Non-conformist and militant radical' who believed that the press should be 'the greatest agency influencing public opinion in the world.'[62] Stead argued that the 'public opinion could be utilized by the press to determine government policy or compel the government to abandon unpopular policies'.[63] The Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation was the first case which enabled Stead to put his ideas on New Journalism in action. Stead was inspired by 'strong religious fervour and Russophilism' and his role in the Agitation demonstrated his belief in the 'Christian duty' of Britain to defend the rights of the Christians abroad. [64] He had seen the Agitation as 'his work' which was taken forward by Gladstone's 'more able hands' following the publication of the *Bulgarian Horrors.*[65]

MacGahan's horror stories provided Stead the necessary content to construct an emotional appeal to mobilise the people. He published the full material from MacGahan's two reports, and following the publication of the Batak report, Stead announced that a 'public meeting will be held on Friday [26 August], in Darlington'; he hoped it to be the first of many meeting to be hold in the North in order to 'to express sentiments with which truehearted Englishmen regard affairs in the East.'[66]

This opened the second phase in the Atrocities Agitation as the first of the many public meetings organized in the North began on this date. Stead specifically referred to MacGahan's Batak report and noted '[w]e do not envy the man who can read it

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[62] Baylen, p. 368. Stead's Journal, 4 July 1875, Stead Papers.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Baylen, p. 371.
[65] Stead's Journal, 14 January 1877, Stead Papers.
[66] The Northern Country and the Turkish Atrocities, *Northern Echo,* August 23, 1876, p.2.

without tears.'[67] A report published in the *Northern Echo* about first public meeting organized at Darlington noted that the *Daily News* was enthusiastically applauded by the audience for their contribution in 'revealing the massacres.' Therefore, for Stead, the issue was no longer on the veracity of the reports, which constructed the perception of the 'Turks' as brutal perpetrators, but on penalizing them:

> 'It would be a sheer waste of valuable opportunity, if the meeting merely expressed its regret that the Turks had massacred Bulgarians. Even the Earl of Beaconsfield will say that now … The practical question is what is to be done with the murderers, and what is to be said of their aiders and abetters?'[68]

The 'aiders and abetters' were directly pointed to in the article: the British Ambassador to the Porte, Henry Elliott, and the British Prime, Minister Disraeli. The sick-man discourse contested the British support to the Ottoman Empire and demanded the withdrawal of the support from the Ottomans from the previous decade onwards. However, the news on atrocities, which were published in the first phase of the Agitation, had radicalised these demands. The main demand in the Atrocities Agitation, different from the 1860s, was to force the government to recognise 'the *expulsion* of the Turk from Europe as one of the leading objects of English policy' 'in the name of Humanity, Civilisation and Christianity'. [69]

Similarly, the report published after the first meeting noted that the audience was split in two groups; one proposed only the withdrawal of British support from the Ottomans while the other group demanded a direct military intervention for the Ottoman Empire on behalf of the Bulgarian civilians, and similar demands were

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[67] The Northern Country and the Turkish Atrocities, *Northern Echo,* August 23, 1876, p.2.
[68] The Northern Country and the Turkish Atrocities, *Northern Echo,* August 23, 1876, p.2.
[69] The Northern Country and the Turkish Atrocities, *Northern Echo,* August 23, 1876, p.2. My emphasis.

vocalised in the consequent meetings as well.[70]

In some Agitation meetings, such as the first Darlington one, the speakers were local MPs; in many others it was the members of the local non-conformist clergy. For example, the main speaker of the Darlington meeting, Edmund Backhouse, [71] was a noteworthy figure because he was the most prominent member of the non-conformists businessmen in Darlington, a group that was among the most active supporters of the Agitation.[72] Backhouse's speech reflects not only the radicalisation of the political demands, but also the use of the sick-man discourse, to refute a major claim of its rival integrity discourse. Backhouse noted that 'England had nothing to fear whoever ruled at Constantinople, so long as she preserved the independence and neutrality of Egypt' which elicited a passionate outburst of enthusiastic applause from the audience. [73] The official discourse in the previous decade emphasised the pragmatic reasoning for defending the Ottoman territorial integrity, which was used to convince the public for the continuation of the policy.

This new argument was a serious challenge to the official discourse, which argued that protection of Constantinople and Straits were vital for the 'British interests'. The opening of the Suez Canal, Egypt's importance increased at the expense of Constantinople and Straits, which challenged the discourse that marked the Ottoman territorial integrity as the cornerstone of British interests in the East. In this way, it became more plausible within the sick-man discourse to argue against the necessity of defending the Ottoman territorial integrity against the Russian Empire.

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[70] The North Country and Atrocities, *Northern Echo,* August 26, 1876, p. 2.
[71] Edmund Backhouse (1824-1906), MP from Liberals for Darlington served two terms, between 1867 and 1880. At the time of the meeting he was the Liberal MP of Darlington. He was a backbencher during his time in the Commons, and he was a member of the Quaker belief, and a member of one of the most powerful Quaker families in Darlington. Mr. Theodore Fry, the Darlington MP after 1880 elections was present in the meeting as well.
[72] See Shannon, pp. 102-137.
[73] The North Country and Atrocities, *Northern Echo,* August 26, 1876, p. 2.

In addition, Backhouse also noted that 'England owed something to the Christians for her support of Turkey in 1854 [Crimean War]'. [74] Similar 'religious' arguments were also made by the second speaker of the meeting, a non-conformist clergyman, who stated that the 'Eastern Christians had flown to arms to rid themselves of cruel tyranny of the Turk' in Bulgaria, and thus, they should not 'stand on one side when a strong bully was kicking a boy into death.'[75] Similar to Backhouse, reverend Neman also noted that the support of the Ottoman Empire was not necessary anymore: 'our hold on India did not depend on the support of the Turk.'[76] This first meeting reflected the character of the public meetings during the Bulgarian agitation, which was a coalition of Liberal politicians, even before Gladstone's intervention, and non-conformist clergyman. Two resolutions were accepted in the meeting: the first demanded Sir Elliott's withdrawal from his post and the second demanded the declaration of Britain's neutrality in the Crisis, which were both achieved in the following months. The resolutions also demonstrated both Pears' and MacGahan's success in their journalism; whenever their name was mentioned in the meetings the crowd cheered in support of them and in some cases passages from their reports were fully orated.[77]

In the three weeks period before the publication of Gladstone's pamphlet, Stead succeeded in organising public meetings in the North; the region that should take the lead in this moral duty in Stead's opinion. Indeed, within just one week, Stead managed to mobilise Northerners, and by 1 September 14, meetings were held in Britain.

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[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.
[77] A noteworthy example is MacGahan's quotation on the Bulgarians which was read by Mr. Backhouse to the crowd in full in his speech.

3.4)   The *Bulgarian Horrors* and the Third Phase of the Agitation

The mobilisation of the British public started with the efforts of Stead, but it was Gladstone's intervention that defined the politicisation of the agitation. At the time of his publication, Gladstone was in his voluntary retirement, withdrawn from leadership of the Liberal Party, but he continued to participate in the House of Commons' debates. Gladstone decided to write a pamphlet on 29 August without great enthusiasm.[78] He wrote the *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East* in several hours on 4 September, which was published on 7 September, with 24,000 copies which was sent across Britain.[79] The outcome of the pamphlet was a great success for both Gladstone and the Agitation; 200,000 copies were sold in one month and Gladstone, a major political figure, committed himself to the Atrocities Agitation and became the political representative of it. Furthermore, it forced Lord Derby to defend the government's position in a newspaper article on 12 September, which was followed with a reply letter from Gladstone, adding to the political debate on the Bulgarian massacres.

The *Bulgarian Horrors* was a 32 pages long detailed pamphlet which mainly criticised the British Government over their conduct of the Bulgarian massacres. The publication of the pamphlet was followed by Gladstone's public speech in Blackheath on 9 September. Gladstone noted in his diary that the meeting in Blackheath was 'the most enthusiastic by far I ever saw' and *The Times* recorded an audience of 10,000 people in the meeting. [80] The pamphlet and the speech were his most notable

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[78] In his letter to Lord Granville, Gladstone said: 'I'm half, perhaps a little more than half, a mind to write a pamphlet'. See A. Ramm, *The Political Correspondence of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville, 1876-1886,* Vol:1, Clarendon Press, 1962, p. 3.

[79] Gladstone, W.E., *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East,* Lovell, Adam, Weston Company, 1876 Gladstone noted the figure himself in his letter dated 7 September addressed to Lord Granville. See Ramm, p.5.

[80] Matthew, *Gladstone Diaries*, 9 September 1876 p. 153.

contributions to the Agitation; he turned down the offers of more speeches since he 'did not want to seem as rogue and impostor'.[81] Gladstone preferred to 'contribute' to the Agitation rather than leading it.

Gladstone's interpretation of the Bulgarian massacres was in line with the sick-man discourse developed in the first two phases of the Agitaiton. He was truly horrified at the news printed in the British press, and he labelled the massacres as 'unprecedented atrocities'. In his pamphlet, the Bulgarian massacres were defined as 'the basest and blackest outrages upon record within the present century, if not within the memory of man' and this definition was carried throughout the pamphlet: he described the atrocities as 'the unexampled wrongs' and being 'so vast in scale as to exceed all modern examples'[82]. Similarly, in his Blackheath speech, he noted that Britain also committed certain atrocities in the 19th century, such as the siege of Badajoz or the revolt in Jamaica. However, for Gladstone, 'to pretend to compare these proceedings with what we are now dealing with [in Bulgaria] would be an insult to the common-sense of Europe.'[83]

Gladstone defined the *Daily News'* reports as the 'attested fact' which demonstrated the success of the sensationalist news on atrocities in grasping British public opinion. [84] In most cases Gladstone refused to reiterate the examples of the atrocities since he regarded them 'dreadful beyond description.'[85] In other cases he simply repeated the *Daily News* reports: '... the wholesale massacres, the elaborate and refined cruelty- the only refinement of which Turkey boasts!-the utter disregard of sex and age- the

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[81] Matthew, *Gladstone Diaries,* 23 September 1876, p. 157.
[82] Gladstone, *Bulgarian Horrors*, p.8.
[83] Gladstone, W.E., A Speech Delivered at Blackheath on Saturday, 9 September1876, Bristol Selected Pamphlets, p.13. Gladstone carefully chose the examples of British atrocities and mentioned neither about India nor Ireland, probably due to the importance of these locations in British audience's minds.
[84] Gladstone, Bulgarian Horrors, p.23.
[85] Gladstone, *Speech*, p.14.

abominable and bestial lust- ...' [86]

Gladstone's involvement in the Agitation was a result of his politico-religious existence, defined by his 'Catholic Christianity, Liberalism, European sense and democratic sympathies.'[87] All of these elements were used in the sick-man discourse to define the Bulgarian crisis and an alternative foreign policy. The perception of the Ottoman Empire, as constructed in the journalistic stages of the Agitation, which was in line with the perceptions formulated in 1860s, was an alien, anti-European, anti-Christian, despotic power; all of which stood in sharp contrast to Gladstone's political views. The important distinction here was the difference in Gladstone's position in 1876 compared to the 1860s. He was not interested in the Lebanese Civil War or the Cretan Revolt and he hardly made any contributions to the debates on these issues. Moreover, he supported Palmerston's non-interventionist policy throughout the 1860s. His involvement in the Agitation in 1876 was partially a result of the 'atrocities'; like Stead and Non-conformist North, he was moved by the degree of suffering, which far exceeded the 'minor' crises of the 1860s. However, Gladstone did not join the Agitation in the first phase; his speech in Parliament on 31 July hardly made any contributions and his pamphlet came nearly 3 months after the publication of the first reports, 1 month after MacGahan's influential Batak report. Gladstone decided to join the Agitation only after he was convinced that the Eastern Question had presented him 'elements of a 'moral crusade.'[88] Gladstone was moved by the impact of the atrocities on the public, which triggered a moral reaction, rather than the atrocities themselves.[89]

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[86] Gladstone, *Bulgarian Horrors,* p. 22.
[87] Shannon, p. 89.
[88] Shannon, p. 98.
[89] Ibid.

Gladstone's 'sense of moral duty' was at the root of his attacks on the Conservative government. For Gladstone, the Ottoman government was responsible for the atrocities, and as the British government supported the Ottomans, thus they shared the responsibility. Gladstone attacked the Disraeli government and stated they had 'not understood the rights and duties, in regard to … particularly the Christian subjects' and 'they have been remiss when they ought to have been active' in Bulgaria to protect the life of the Christians. [90] Most of his arguments defended a policy to 'protect the Christians from Muslim fanaticism'. Gladstone argued that protecting the Christians in the East was a humanitarian issue as he accused the Government of being 'moved too little *... of the broad and deep interests of humanity.*'[91]

Proponents of the sick-man discourse in the 1860s linked the humanity and Christianity, and this provided a moral high ground the sick-man discourse compared to the pragmatism of the official discourse. Gladstone highlighted this point by stating that the chief object of the policy should be 'humanity, rationally understood, is the first and highest' and the 'this great aim need not to be compromised…by maintaining the territorial integrity of Turkey.'[92] By proposing the interests of humanity as the guiding principle behind the British policy, Gladstone also distanced himself from the traditional British Eastern policy based on the British interests, which for Gladstone was nothing but 'the selfish leanings' which 'set up false lights' and 'disturbed the world.'[93] This was one example of the anti-imperialist element in Gladstone's discourse, which was not upheld by Gladstone's actions in his later Prime Ministry, especially with the invasion of Egypt in 1882.

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[90] Ibid.
[91] Gladstone, *Bulgarian Horrors,* p. 13. Emphasis added.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Gladstone, *Bulgarian Horrors,* p. 28.

The second element in his foreign policy discourse was the myth of the 'United Europe' as the civilising and balancing force in foreign affairs. Gladstone was a known proponent of concerted European action in Eastern affairs and he envisaged the 'civilized Europe' acting together to overcome the problems of non-European societies, such as the Ottoman Empire. Gladstone argued that he had known 'of no case in which Turkey has refused to accede to the counsel of United Europe' and thus, Britain should act with the other European Powers in the Eastern Question. [94]

Concerted action was Gladstone's basic policy for the Eastern Question; he was disillusioned with Ottoman *Tanzimat* reform programs which aimed to improve the Ottoman administration. Gladstone's idea of concerted action towards the Ottoman Empire was, in effect, an imperialist policy which argued that it was the 'duty of Europe, and of the several Powers of Europe, to stop' the atrocities by 'obtaining the extinction of the Turkish power in Bulgaria.'[95] Gladstone's position was in continuation of the fatalist views on the Ottoman Empire, which argued that the Ottoman Empire would collapse if Britain did not support it. For Gladstone, the atrocities were the turning point which would trigger a new policy, which included re-drawing the Balkan map.

Gladstone argued that 'United Europe' could fill the power vacuum created by the withdrawal of the Ottoman administration from Balkans. Gladstone's most famous quotation in the *Bulgarian Horrors,* demonstrated the perception of the 'Turk' as constructed in the Atrocities Agitation: 'Let the Turks now carry away their abuses in the only possible manner, namely by carrying off themselves. ... one and all, bag and baggage, shall, I hope, clear out from the province they have desolated and

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[94] Gladstone, *Bulgarian Horrors,* p. 37.
[95] Gladstone, *Bulgarian Horrors,* p. 19 and p. 38.

profaned.'[96] Gladstone's phrase demonstrated the turn in the alternative policy; Gladstone demanded the expulsion of the Ottoman administration from the Balkans. This was a new demand for the alternative policy and it was also significant in that it was vocalised by Gladstone, who was a supporter of the non-intervention for the 1860s.

Gladstone's use of the term morality was not confined to Eastern policy; according to him, as Parliament stayed in recess until February 1877, the task of preventing further atrocities in Bulgaria was on the British working men who 'in the first instance raised the flag under which we [Agitation] are now marching.'[97] Gladstone noted that the duties of the working men have just begun with attending the meetings, and they needed to keep working since the issue was primarily on the interests of humanity and justice transcending the protection of the interests of their nation: 'I rejoice to think there is much that you can do for the purpose of serving the interests of humanity and justice.'[98]

3.4.1) Perceptions of the 'Turks', 'Muslims' and the Ottoman Empire in *Bulgarian Horrors*

Gladstone's interpretation of the Bulgarian massacres as 'unparalleled crimes', and his moralism on the Eastern policy, affected his views of the Turks and Muslims. Gladstone's perception on the Turks and Muslims demonstrated radicalization of the image of Turks/Muslims during the Agitation under the influence of the massacre stories. In the pamphlet, Gladstone devoted only three of the 32 pages on describing his object, the 'Turk', which to him was different than the 'Muslim': 'It is not a question of simply Mahometanism, but of Mahometanism compounded with the

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[96] Ibid.
[97] Gladstone, *Speech*, p.9.
[98] Ibid, p. 24.

peculiar character of a race.'[99]

The concept of race was rarely used to define the 'Turk' in the previous case studies. It was used to define the Maronites and the Druzes in the Lebanese Civil War; these two groups were defined as 'savage races' which signified their inferiority. Gladstone distinguished the 'Turk' from the 'Muslim' in order to argue that it was the 'Turkish race' who perpetrated the atrocities. This statement was in line with Austen Layard's speech during the Cretan Revolt, where he argued that Britain ruled Muslims in India and therefore needed to be careful about its policy towards the Ottoman Muslims. Gladstone constructed a 'good Muslim v. bad Muslim' dichotomy claiming that the 'Turk' was 'not the mild Mahometans of India, nor the chivalrous Saladins of Syria nor the cultured Moors of Spain', but the 'one great anti-human specimen of humanity'.[100] The Turks were represented as the 'anti-human specimen', the opposite of the civilized European: 'as far as their dominion reached, civilisation disappeared from view. They represented everywhere government by force, as opposed to government by law.'[101] This demonstrated that the concept of race was used to point out the 'savage, uncivilized nature' of a group which placed that group at the bottom of the hierarchy of civilisations.

Gladstone preferred to represent the Turk as 'the barbarian' by depicting the Ottoman administration as lawless despotism in order to construct it as the diametric opposite of the 19th century civilized Europe. The Bulgarian atrocities were explained within this perspective; they were committed by the Turks who knew no other way of governing than 'despotism', the enemy of the liberal European values. For Gladstone, the Ottoman Empire was 'a tremendous incarnation of military power' whose 'curse

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[99] Gladstone, W.E., *Bulgarian Horrors*, p. 10.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Gladstone, W.E., *Bulgarian Horrors*, p. 10.

menaced the whole of Europe' in the Middle Ages.[102] In Gladstone's view, the advance of the Ottoman Empire was stopped 'by the heroism of the European population of those very countries, part of which form at this moment the scene of war' such as Bulgaria.[103]

The view that Ottoman power had spread in Balkans only as a result of military conquest was largely a myth; current scholarship largely refutes these claims by showing that the Ottoman administration spread due to a mixture of reasons, and mostly in cooperation with the local noble families in the Balkans.[104] However, by depicting the Ottomans as an invading military power, the Ottoman Empire could be depicted as the 'other' of Europe. Gladstone further underlined the otherness of the 'Turks' by arguing that the 'Turk represented force as opposed to law', and the lack of 'intellectual element' of the governing race was compensated by the 'race of Greeks' who 'was attracted to Constantinople' in order to make up for 'the deficiencies of Turkish Islam.'[105]

Defining the Turk as an evil military power devoid of any intellectual capacity and the enemy of European civilisation both provided an explanation for the atrocities and paved the way for defining the Ottoman Empire as a weak power, a burden on Britain, or with the famous analogy, the 'sick-man' of Europe. In the words of Gladstone, the Ottoman Empire historically 'stood only upon force' and the contemporary Ottomans 'has lost that force'; as the 'power is gone, and the virtues, such as they are, of power; nothing but its passions and its pride remain.'[106] In this way, the Ottoman Empire was represented as a brutal military power, without any

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[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid.
[104] See H. Inalcik, Ottoman Methods of Conquest, *Studia Islamica,* No:2, 1954, pp. 103-129.
[105] Gladstone, *Bulgarian Horrors,* p.11.
[106] Gladstone, *Bulgarian Horrors*, p.13.

civilisation of its own.

The powerless pride of the Ottomans was at odds with the idea with the 19th century belief in rationality; in contrast with the rational Christians, the Muslims were represented as 'fanatical'. For this reason, Gladstone stated that the 'condition of the Christians in Turkey is now eminently critical' because, should the Ottoman Empire lose the war against Serbia and Montenegro, the 'consequence might be, in various provinces, a new and wide outbreak of fanaticism, and a wholesale massacre' of the Ottoman Christians by the 'Turks'. [107]

These arguments made on the Ottoman Empire in the *Bulgarian Horrors* were not original. They were reproductions of the perceptions constructed in the 1860s by the perpetrators of the sick-man discourse. British Foreign Secretary Lord Russell already warned MPs of the possibility of further attacks on Christians by Muslim in the Ottoman Empire in the Lebanese Civil War. Churchill noted that Islam and Christianity were at odds with each other, and the former imposed its rule on the latter in the Ottoman Empire through military methods. Therefore the contribution of Gladstone's pamphlet was not its content, but its popularity; its immense popularity disseminated these ideas to large numbers in Britain.

Gladstone identified the major perpetrator of the atrocities as the 'Turks', a fanatical Muslim race. The Ottoman Empire was perceived as a visibly collapsing military power that had lost its might. The Christians were represented as the pure victims oppressed in their own land, which was similar to the arguments of the sick-man discourse in all three case studies. In his pamphlet and speech, Gladstone underlined that no Muslim was killed or violated during the Bulgarian revolt and the Muslims

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[107] Gladstone, *Bulgarian Horrors,* p.27.

of the Ottoman Empire were already recessing compared to the Christians; all of these arguments had been constructed in the Cretan Crisis as well.

Gladstone's speeches demonstrated that the main explanations for the Crises and identities of each Ottoman group constructed in the sick-man discourse were in continuity. However, it also showed the transformation of the alternative foreign policy under the impact of the Atrocities Agitation constructed by the *Daily News*. Moreover, the perceptions of the 'Turk' was radicalised during the Agitation under the impact of the atrocities. For instance, for Gladstone, the atrocities committed in Bulgaria had been perpetrated by the 'Turk', the 'anti-human specimen'. The Ottoman Empire was perceived as the enemy of European civilisation which needed to be forced out of Bulgaria and Bosnia-Herzegovina by the United European pressure.

One of the practical problems this perception overlooked, however, was the fact that there was no Bulgaria or Bosnia as a pre-defined space belonging to a single ethnic-religious group. Hence, imagining Balkans as an 'essentially Christian area under Islamic occupation' was in contradiction with the realities of the area and also ultimately paved the way for further conflicts and human rights abuses caused by aggressive nation building attempts.[108]

Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons was significantly different than his Blackheath speech and his pamphlet.[109] Although there were similar elements in his speech, the most remarkable difference was its lack of emotion; Gladstone did not mention the Bulgarian Atrocities in this speech and made no significant proposal to

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[108] Following the Russian intervention and the War, there were massive forced expulsion from independent Bulgaria and Bosnia in to the Ottoman Empire, which further alienated different national/religious/linguistic groups from each other.

[109] See below section 3.4 for an analysis of Gladstone's work.

end the Balkan Crisis. He was content with supporting the amendment proposed by Forsyth, which was the basis of his solution to the Crisis in his later work as well. The lack of emotion in his Parliamentary speech supports the Shannon's view that Gladstone was at best a 'reluctant leader' of the Agitation; far from being a creating force of it. This hints that Gladstone's contribution to the Agitation in September was mainly due to Stead's successful campaigning and the existence of a public reaction to the government's handling of the issue, which was manifested in protest meetings.

Gladstone's views on the Ottoman Empire, his arguments on Russia and Balkans and Europe were all already set in his July speech, and they remained unchanged in his later writings and speeches. His main discursive addition in his pamphlet and speech in the following month was the 'humanitarian' element, which was consistent with the general public mood of late August. His time of intervention and his addition of the humanitarian element demonstrate his reasons for intervention; Gladstone committed himself to the Agitation only after he was convinced that the public was decidedly against Disraeli's policy in an essentially 'humanitarian' issue where he will take the upper-hand against Disraeli due to his 'dirty and anti-humanitarian' policy. The Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation provided the perfect cause for Gladstone to impose his undisputed leadership on a political issue, which can remedy his devastating electoral defeat in 1874.

The Agitation after Gladstone's pamphlet and speech continued to grow. The credibility of the agitator's claims on the atrocities was shaken by Baring Report, the official British inquiry, which was published on 19 September as a supplement to the *London Gazette*. The report was a disappointment for the agitators, since it asserted that some of the newspaper reports exaggerated the facts and put the death toll considerably lower than Schuyler's report, which appeared earlier. Disraeli started to

build on this report and attack the Agitation, which was articulated in the counter-discourse constructed by Conservative papers such as *Morning Post*. One of the weakest points of the Agitation discourse was the ambiguity about Russia, which was portrayed as an imperial threat to Britain since the Crimean War. Gladstone and Stead tried to construct a fresh view on Russia together with his idea of United Europe by proposing that Britain and Russia can and should work together. However, the sick-man discourse failed to articulate a convincing view about Russia's policy and intentions, and Russia's ultimatum to the Ottoman Empire in October 1876 put the Agitation in a difficult position as a result of this ambiguous position. The best platform which demonstrated the weakness of the sick-man discourse because of Russia was the *Punch* cartoons as drawings of the magazine both deployed the sick-man discourse and anti-Russian point of view at the same time.

3.5) Depiction of the Ottoman Empire and Britain in the Cartoon Press

British cartoon magazines did not show any interest to the Lebanese and Cretan Crises. However, these magazines were far more active in the Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation and published a number of cartoons which visualised the perceptions of the 'Ottomans' and the British government in relation to the Ottoman Empire. The *Punch* and the *Fun* were the two magazines especially active in the Agitation, and their cartoons included the clearest depictions of the 'Ottomans' in line with the sick-man discourse and the integrity discourse.

The *Punch* was the most important cartoon magazine in the British press, and it published its first weekly issue on 17 July 1841. Initially, the paper leaned towards the Radicals; however, from 1850s onwards, the editorial policy of the paper changed and became more pro-Conservative. In 1874, Tom Taylor became the editor of the

paper and he steered the paper back to its radical position. [110] During his editorship, which lasted until 1880, the paper had a strong anti-Disraeli position drawing tens of cartoons satirising Disraeli and his policies. Spielmann defined the political position of the paper during Taylor's editorship as 'decidedly Radical, anti-Beaconsfield [Disraeli], anti-Imperial' and, as noted, it became a 'heavy political partisan' against the Conservative government. The *Punch* was also highly critical of the official Eastern policy. [111]

The *Punch's* drawings in principle visualised the sick-man discourse. However, the paper was different from the mainstream anti-Ottoman press in one aspect; it was both anti-Ottoman and Russophobic at the same time. The magazine drew numerous cartoons in 1876 on the Balkan Crisis, and most of these cartoons were the full-page main cartoon of the week. The number of cartoons on the 'Ottomans' started to decline after the spring of 1877; during the second half of the year, there were only a few drawings on the 'Ottomans'.

The *Punch* used a few recurrent themes in the drawings; the Ottoman Empire were presented mostly as untrustworthy, because of failed reform attempts; murderous, due to the Bulgarian atrocities and as a sick-man. Furthermore, it was also presented as subject to European pressure for disintegration and under the attack of numerous enemies at the same time. The Russian Empire emerged as the main enemy of the Ottoman Empire and was depicted as a menace in the Near East. Disraeli and the British government was criticised in the *Punch* for being ineffective and silent in the

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[110] Editor of the paper Tom Taylor (1817-1880) was a famous British dramatist of his time, particularly famous for being the writer of the play *Our American Cousin* which was the play Abraham Lincoln was assassinated while watching. As a classical example of men of his age, he held different posts; he was a civil servant, art critic, academic and a contributor to the *Punch*. He promoted to the editorship upon death of the previous editor Shirley Brooks and at the time he got the promotion, he had already been working for more than ten years.

[111] M.H. Spielmann,, The *History of 'Punch',* Cassell and Company, 1895, p.99 and p. 367.

face of the atrocities committed in the Ottoman Empire.

The *Fun,* which was set up as a rival to the *Punch*, also drew cartoons and published satirical poems about the Ottoman Empire and the Balkan Crisis. The *Fun* had a lower circulation than its rival, but their editorial policy on the Bulgarian Atrocities was identical. For this reason, the drawings of the two magazines can be analysed together since they shared similar themes, although *Punch* published more on the issue. Similarly, 1876 was the only period when the papers devoted significant interest on the issue by publishing numerous cartoons, which is further evidence for the success of the sensationalist strategy of the British press in capturing the interest of the society.

3.5.1) The cartoons depicting the Ottoman Empire

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.—JANUARY 29, 1876.

TURKEY PIE.

AUSTRIA (blandly). " WON'T YOU JOIN US ?"
BRITANNIA (reluctantly). " WELL—REALLY——"   (Aside.) " I SUPPOSE I MUST.   GOOD GRACIOUS!   WHAT WOULD PAM HAVE SAID !!"

Cartoon 1 [112]

The Ottoman Empire was referred as 'Turkey' in the cartoons which made a word play possible: the Ottoman Empire was represented as a 'turkey' ready to be shared or split by different Great Powers. Cartoon 1 and Cartoon 2 demonstrate the persistent view of the Ottoman Empire in the sick-man discourse, which perceived them as a weak power which was kept alive by the support of British diplomacy. In both cartoons, Britain was pictured as an outsider who refused to split the Ottoman Empire. This depiction was in line with the sick-man discourse which constantly portrayed the Ottoman Empire as a crumbling entity throughout three case studies. Both cartoons also highlighted the Russian Empire's role in the possible Ottoman disintegration, which revealed the doubts of the cartoon press of a possible Russian

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[112] *Punch*, 29 January 1876.

expansion. Anti-Russian images were visualisation of the Russophobia, which became more acute during the Agitation by the opponents of the Agitation. After the war broke out between the Ottoman Empire and Russia, Gladstone's residence in London was attacked by an anti-Russian mob, which was a further evidence of the strength of Russophobic thinking. Russian Empire was portrayed as the main power inviting Britain to split the Ottoman Empire up. Alexander II was far more conservative than Catherine or Nicholas I, however in the eyes of the press he was seen as a direct inheritor of the expansionist Russian policy of the earlier decades.

Cartoon 2 [113]

[113] *Fun,* 1 November 1876.

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.—September 9, 1876.

THE STATUS QUO.

Turkey. "WILL YOU NOT STILL BEFRIEND ME?"
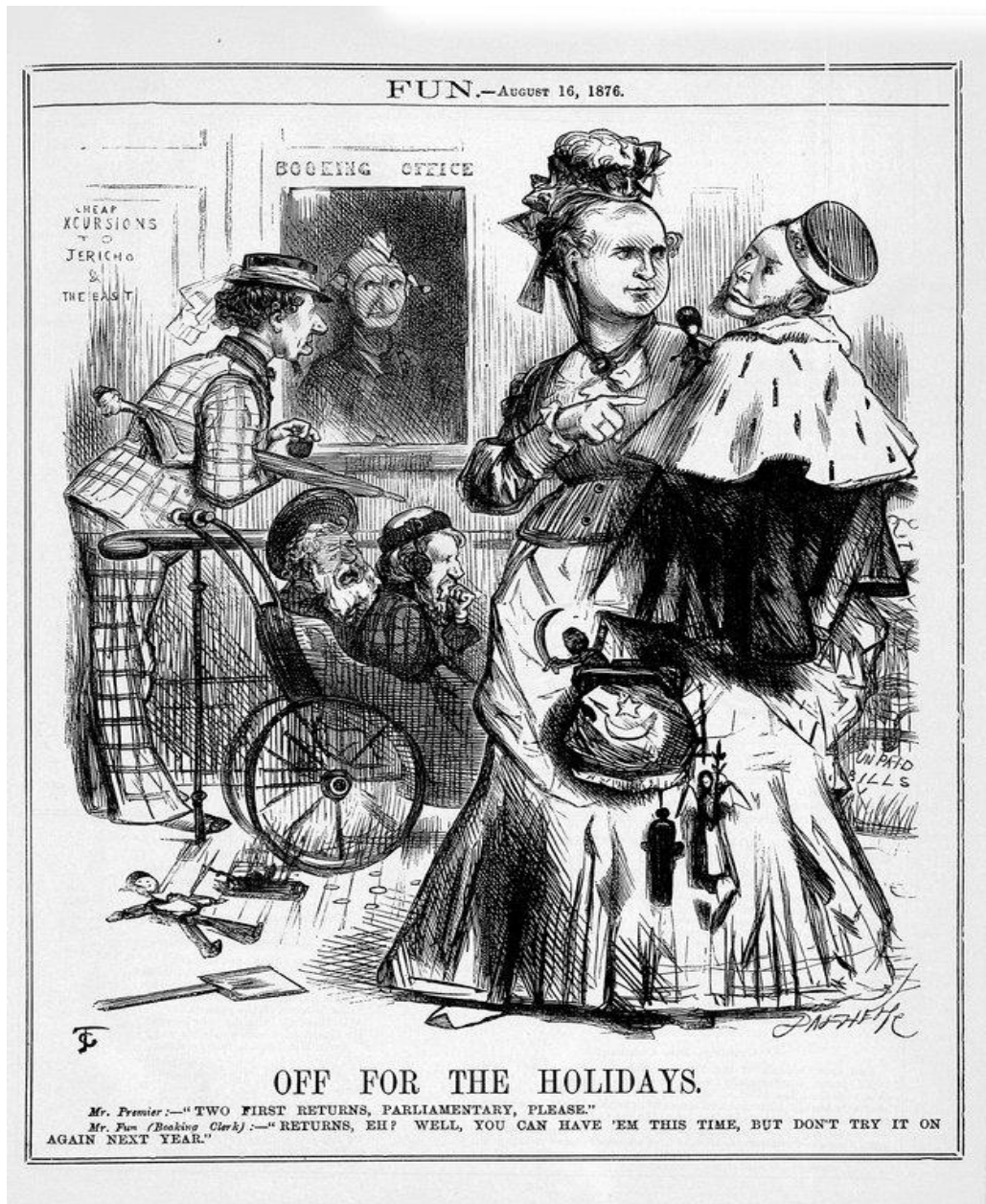Britannia. "BEFRIEND YOU?—NOT WITH YOUR HANDS OF *THAT COLOUR!*"

Cartoon 3 [114]

The most important impact of the Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation on the perceptions of the 'Ottomans' was its role in the radicalisation of the perception of the 'Muslim' in Britain. The Christians were depicted as the 'victims' in the sick-man discourse in the Lebanese and Cretan Crises, while the Muslims were represented as the oppressors of the Oriental Christians. The Agitation further radicalised this view by presenting the Turks as the villains because of the atrocity news. Cartoons explicitly depicted the horrible crimes against humanity such as murdered babies and hanged civilians, proving that the sensationalist strategy succeeded in penetrating the public imagination. Cartoon 4 Cartoon 5 and Cartoon 6 were also published after MacGahan's reports appeared in the press, which proves the impact of MacGahan on capturing public imagination. In these cartoons, the atrocities against the civilians

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[114] *Punch,* 9 September, 1876.

were clearly depicted and the damage it has caused on the Ottoman image in Britain was explicit. All cartoons had a subtle message alongside the explicit messages. Cartoon 3 depicted Britain as a Roman, possibly to signify its 'civilized' nature in comparison with the 'Oriental'. Cartoon 4 portrayed the Ottomans as a British protectorate massacring the Christians under Britain's auspices and Cartoon 5 depicts Britain as desperately trying to establish peace in the East while the Ottomans were killing their victims. Cartoon 3, 4, and 5 were published in August and September 1876, at the peak of the Agitation, demonstrating the radicalisation of the Turkish/ Muslim image in Britain.

Cartoon 4 [115]

Cartoon 5 [116]

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.—October 28, 1876.

A BREAK IN THE GAME.

John Bull. " YOU 'RE NOT PLAYING FAIR !—I THROW UP MY HAND !—BUT I WON'T ALLOW THE STAKES TO BE DIVIDED ! ! "

Cartoon 6 [117]

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[117] *Punch*, 28 October 1876.

"A PILL IN TIME!"

Dr. Bull. "WE ARE ALL AGREED THAT YOU MUST TAKE THIS LITTLE PILL AT ONCE, OR ELSE THERE'S NO KNOWING *WHAT MIGHT HAPPEN!*"

Cartoon 7 [118]

One of the common depictions of the Ottoman Empire in cartoon press was as the 'sick-man', which became the hegemonic view in 1876. In Cartoon 6 and Cartoon 7 the Ottoman Empire was pictured as a sick-man in bed surrounded by the European Powers, which underlined the inferiority of the 'sick' Ottoman Empire against the 'healthier' European states. These two cartoons were published within one week in October at a time when the European Powers were attempting to establish the peace in the Eastern Europe.

Anti-Russian sentiments are also visible in these cartoons; in Cartoon 6, Russia and

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[118] *Punch*, 21 October 1876.

Serbia cheats on a poker game with the sick-man and were watched over by Britain. In this way, the Russian Empire was represented as the main culprit, backing Serbia against the Ottoman Empire, while Britain is depicted as the fair player in the game of diplomacy.

Apart from the sick-man, the Ottoman Empire was also depicted as 'unreliable' due to the Ottoman default on European loans and British distrust in the Ottoman reform programmes. In the Cartoon 8 an angry Britain, represented by John Bull, declined the sponge and balloon offers, which represented loan demands, of an Ottoman Pasha and the Egyptian Khedive. The angry reaction from the British to these demands demonstrates the impact of the City on the Ottoman perceptions; the cartoon was published on May 20, at the height of the financial crisis in the Ottoman Empire, which led to Ottoman government's decision to default on its debt to City creditors. The Ottoman decision to default resulted with strong protests from the City, which was captured in the cartoon.

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.—MAY 20, 1876.

GREAT EASTERNS. "DOWN"!

MR. BULL (to SULTAN). "NO, NO! I'VE HAD QUITE ENOUGH OF YOUR *SPONGES*, THANK YOU." (To KHEDIVE.) "AND I DON'T WANT ANY *BALLOONS!!*"
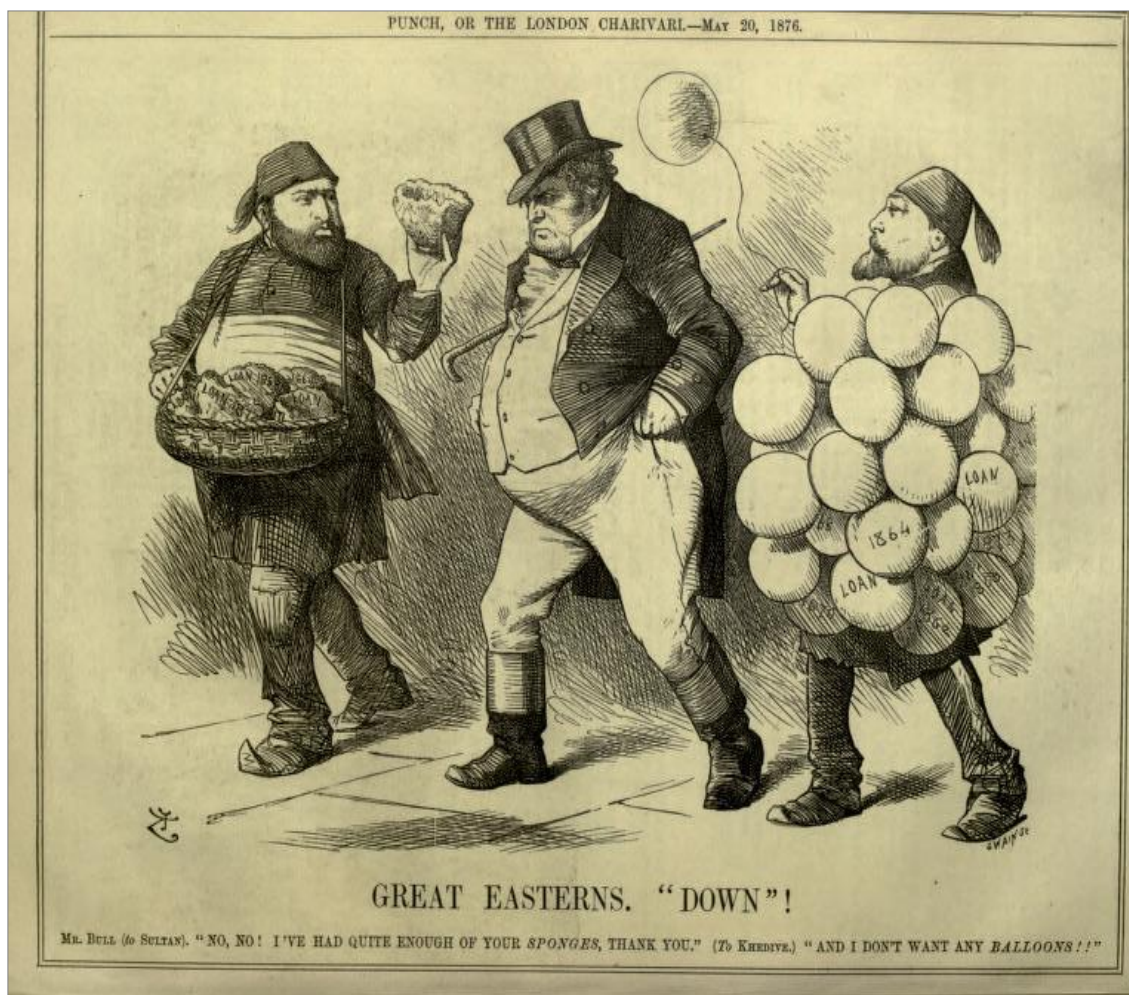
Cartoon 8 [119]

In addition, the Ottoman Reform programmes were another source of the 'unreliable' image as the reforms were no longer taken seriously by the British press. A *Punch* caricature published on January 1876, Cartoon 9 shortly after the proclamation of the Constitution during the opening ceremony of the Constantinople Conference, depicted the Constitution as another futile Ottoman attempt, a bubble. The examples of the other 'bubbles' were the previous Ottoman reform programmes of 1839 (Tanzimat) and Edict of 1856, among others. This depiction ran parallel with the

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[119] These two programmes primarily attempted to create a modern 'Ottoman society' based on citizenship and equality of different religious groups out of the medieval *millet* structure which hierarchically organised religious groups under the domination of Muslims.

European perception of the Ottoman constitution which was hastily declared on December 1876 during the Constantinople Conference.


Cartoon 9 [120]

The smaller bubbles read '*irade*', which were the local reform application attempts of the Ottoman Porte following the Crimean War to address the problems in Balkans and Crete. Although each programme caused significant changes in the Ottoman society, they were overlooked in the sick-man discourse and were presented as an Ottoman tactic aiming to lift the European pressure off the Ottoman government.

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[120] *Punch*, 6 January 1877.

The depictions of the Ottomans as a weak, sick-man, untrustworthy and murderous were all examples of the perceptions created by the proponents of the sick-man discourse. In the cartoon press, the impact of the atrocities was clearly visible, which caused deterioration of the Ottoman Empire's perception in general.

3.5.2) The Cartoons Depicting the British Government

The magazines also published number of cartoons figuring Disraeli and his government's conduct on the Eastern affairs. These drawings support the literature's view that Tom Taylor's *Punch* was significantly anti-Beaconsfield and anti-Conservative. The *Punch* depicted Disraeli as ineffective from the beginning of the Crisis as he either completely ignored or downplayed the atrocity stories published in the *Daily News.* For this reason, Disraeli was either portrayed as the Sphinx or as a sleeping character, which singled out his silence and inactivity in the face of the atrocities. A secondary perception was developed during the Russo-Ottoman War and the aftermath. Disraeli's contemplation to send British warships and troops to support the Ottoman Empire was perceived as a move that threatened the European peace. In general, the outlook of *Punch* on Disraeli was highly critical, which reflected the view of the proponents of the sick-man discourse during the Agitation period.

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.—July 15, 1876.

EASTERN QUEST...

THE SPHINX IS SILENT.
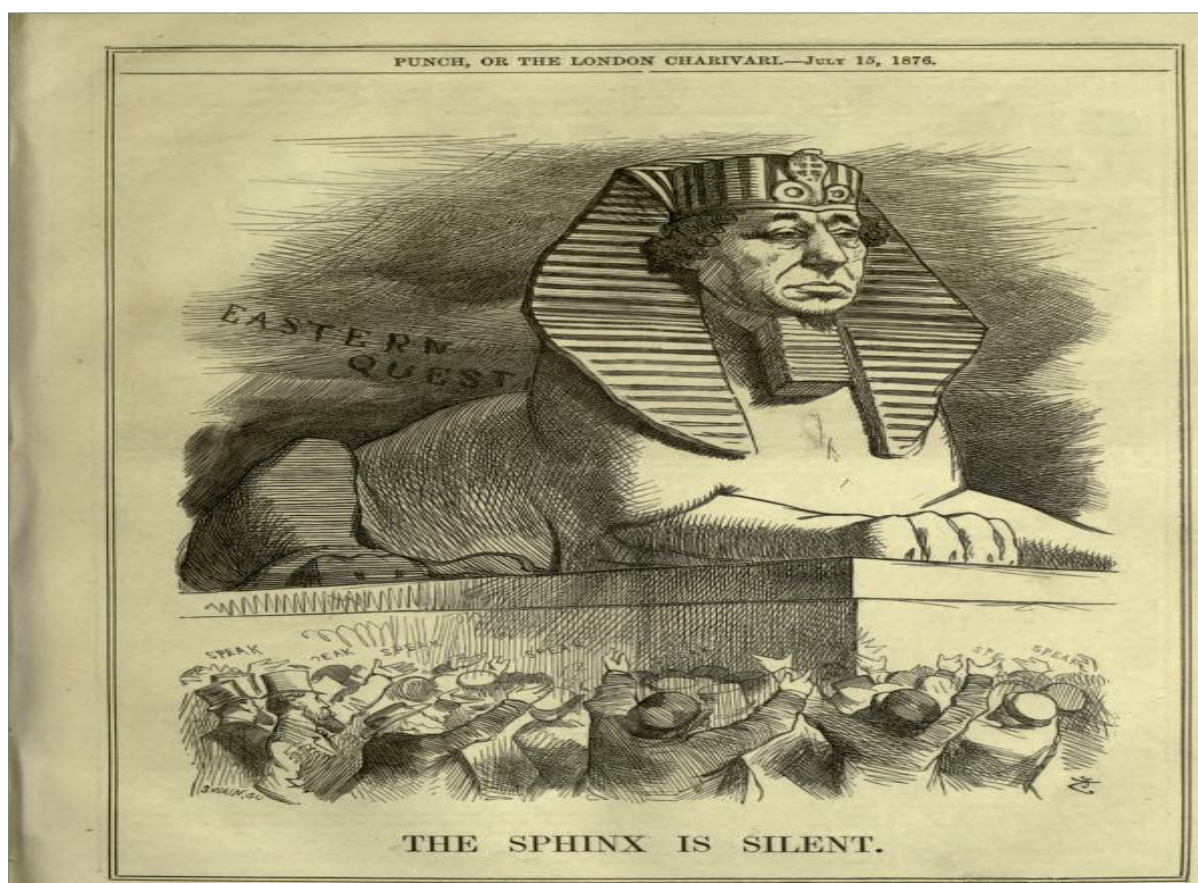
Cartoon 10 [121]

A *Punch* caricature published in July 1876 (Cartoon 10) criticised Disraeli's scorn of the *Daily News'* atrocity reports. Disraeli was pictured as the Sphinx, a sign of his apathy for the atrocities during the first two stages of the Agitation, by the cartoon press. Disraeli and his cabinet spoke little about the atrocity reports until the Agitation meetings started in late August. Cartoon 11 was published in November, after the end of the atrocity meetings. Disraeli was depicted as a sphinx on a background which pictured the atrocities committed in Bulgaria, such as the heads on a stick which demonstrated the link between the atrocity reports and Disraeli's stance. The text under Cartoon 11 clearly demonstrates the political situation Disraeli found himself in; the lion which symbolised the British army refuses to fight for the Ottoman Empire, due to the atrocities committed in Bulgaria. This refusal is another reason
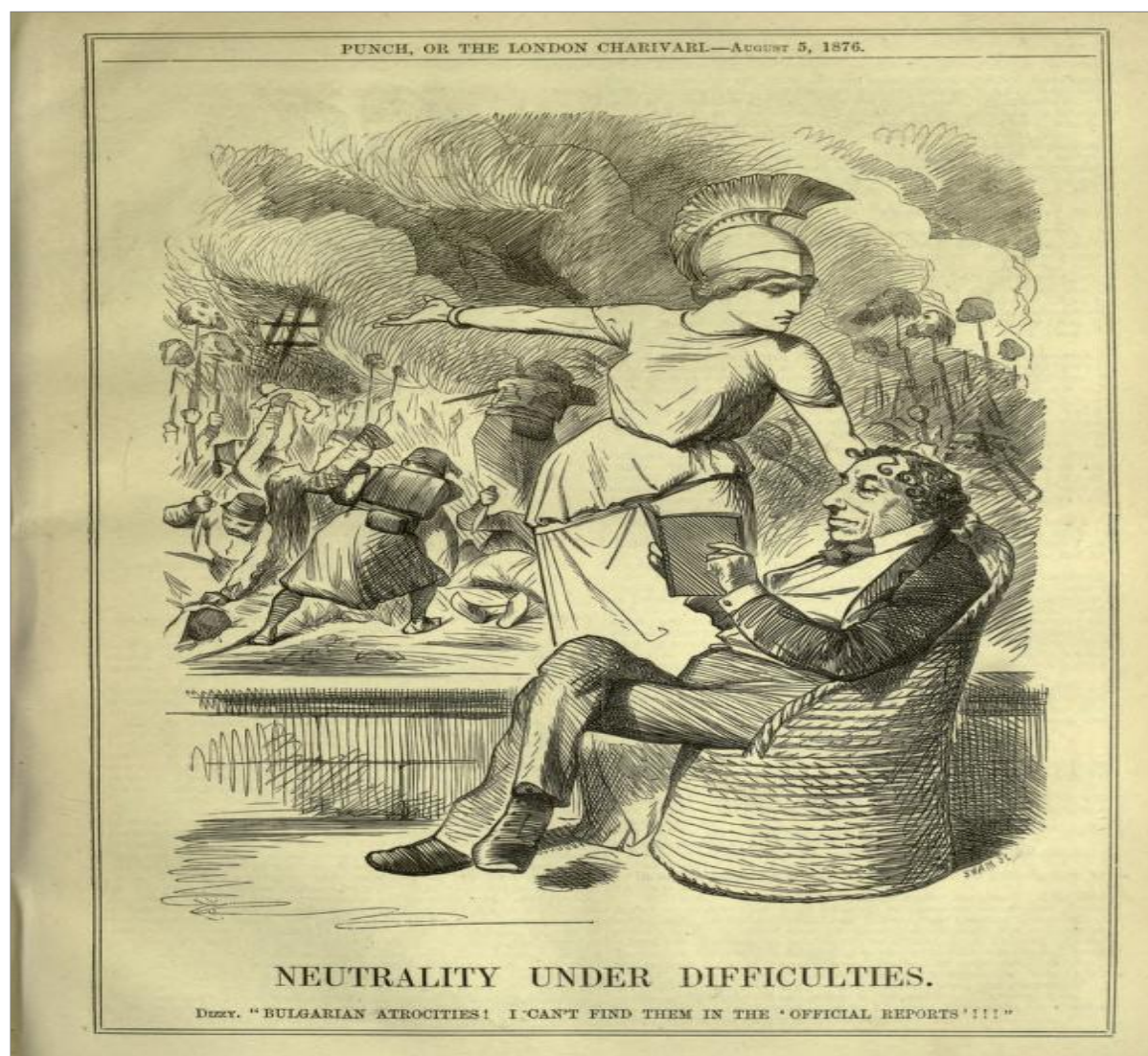
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[121] *Punch*, 15 July 1876.

why Disraeli was pictured as a sphinx; he was pushed into inactivity because of the

public pressure.

Cartoon 11 [122]

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.—August 5, 1876.

NEUTRALITY UNDER DIFFICULTIES.

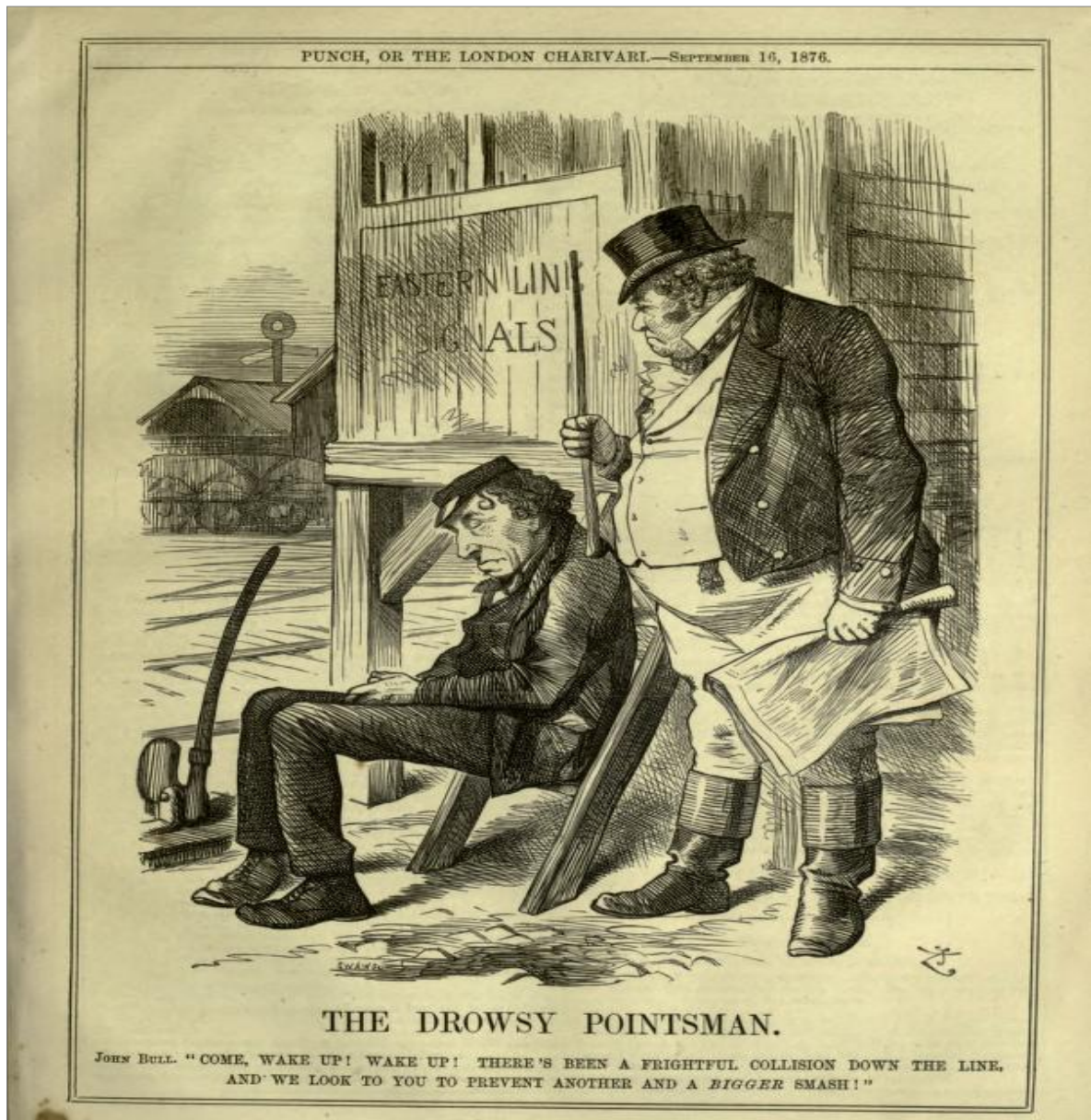Dizzy. "BULGARIAN ATROCITIES! I CAN'T FIND THEM IN THE 'OFFICIAL REPORTS'!!!"

Cartoon 12 [123]

Similar to the sphinx image, other depictions of Disraeli which criticised his pro-Ottoman policy depicted him as sleeping or indifferent to the Bulgarian suffering. These cartoons revealed the foreign policy aspect of the sick-man discourse. The discourse always produced its own alternative policy option for the East, and with the radicalisation of the perceptions on the Ottoman Empire as a result of the sensational reports during the Agitation, the demand for a change in policy became more vocal. Although the proponents of the sick-man discourse produced their own policy during the Lebanese and Cretan crises, neither Palmerston nor other leaders were not

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[123] *Punch*, 5 August 1876.

targeted as much as Disraeli was during the Agitation. This was partly because of Disraeli's perception in press as the 'most' pro-Ottoman politician, and also his general unpopularity in the cartoon press as both cartoon magazines pictured him in the exact same way in Cartoon 12 Cartoon 13 and Cartoon 14. In Cartoon 12, the Ottoman atrocities were drawn at the background while Disraeli was searching for those in the 'official papers'. British public, again painted as the Roman in order to signify their civilized nature, points the atrocities to him. This cartoon was published in August 1876 during the second phase of the Agitation, proving that the verity of the news were accepted by the majority of the media. In Cartoon 13 published in September 1876, British public, this time depicted as John Bull, calls Disraeli into diplomatic action to prevent the 'bigger crash', which would be a general European conflict similar to the Crimean War. In a *Fun* cartoon published at a similar time, Disraeli was pictured as a sleeping merchant who was closing his shop down. This clearly symbolised the demands that Disraeli should resign and even retire from politics.

THE DROWSY POINTSMAN.

John Bull. "COME, WAKE UP! WAKE UP! THERE'S BEEN A FRIGHTFUL COLLISION DOWN THE LINE, AND WE LOOK TO YOU TO PREVENT ANOTHER AND A *BIGGER* SMASH!"

Cartoon 13 [124]

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[124] *Punch*, 16 September 1876.

FUN.—August 30, 1876.

RETIRING FROM BUSINESS.

Cartoon 14 [125]

Compared to Disraeli, Gladstone's image in the cartoon press was far more positive. In the cartoon press, the former was the symbol of the existing Eastern policy, and the latter was the symbol of the alternative policy developed by the proponents of the sick-man discourse. In both magazines, Gladstone was depicted as the 'saviour' of

[125] *Fun,* 30 August 1876.

Bulgarians civilians and Britain which was in contrast with Disraeli's image.

Cartoon 16 published on 13 September, just a few days after the publication of Gladstone's pamphlet, depicted him as a 'rescuer', demonstrating the approval of Gladstone's stance by the cartoon press. In comparison, Cartoon 15 depicted Disraeli and Foreign Secretary Derby as the supporters of the Ottoman Empire and their atrocities, which demonstrated the sharp contrast between the perceptions of the two leaders and the two policies they represented. The *Fun* was even sharper in their criticism of the government compared to the *Punch*. Cartoon 15 depicted the Conservative government's two leading politicians as clowns on whose support the Ottomans built their atrocities. The Ottoman figure standing on the heads of Disraeli and Derby had a bloody sword hanging from his belt, which was drawn to point out to British government's role in Ottoman war crimes. This cartoon was in sharp contrast to the Cartoon 16 in where Gladstone was pictured as whipping the 'Ottoman' in order to punish him for the atrocities he committed.
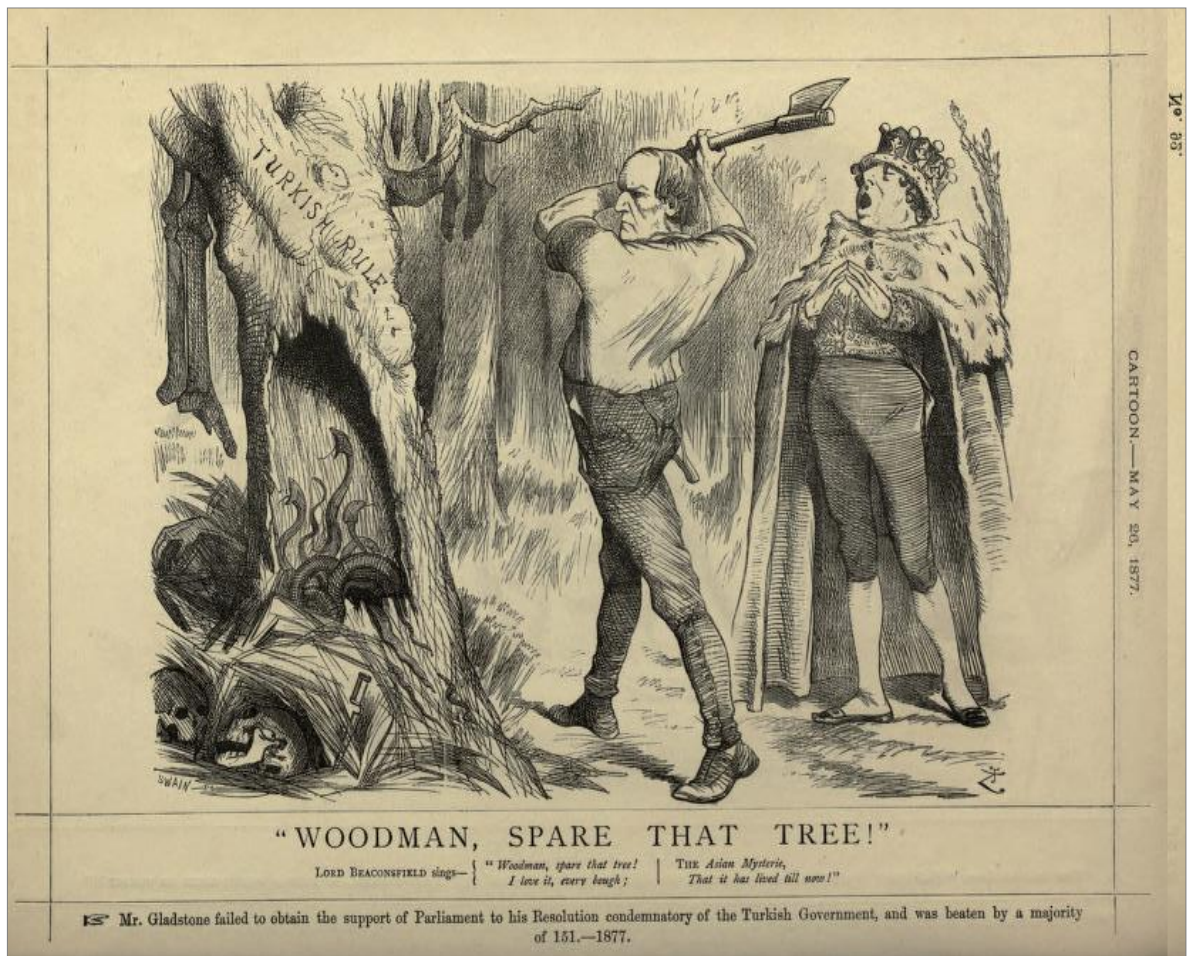
"NOT ASSISTED BY US."

Scene from the New Ministerial Burlesque at the Theatre de l'Europe.

Cartoon 15 [126]

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[126] *Fun,* October 4, 1876.

FUN.—September 13, 1876.

GLADSTONE TO THE RESCUE!
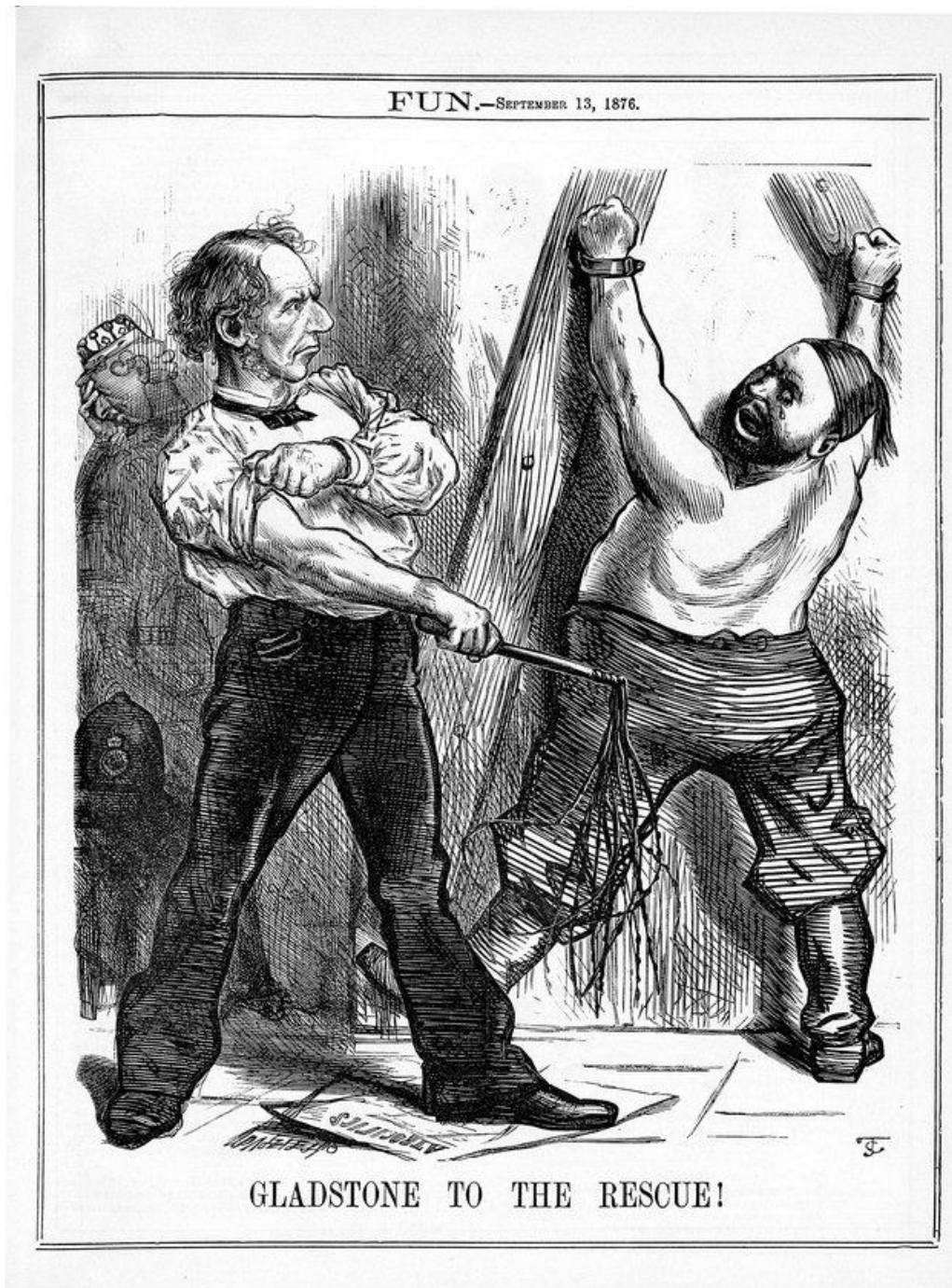
Cartoon 16 [127]

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[127] *Fun,* 13 September 1876.

"WOODMAN, SPARE THAT TREE!"

LORD BEACONSFIELD sings— { *"Woodman, spare that tree! / I love it, every bough ;* | THE *Asian Mysterie, / That it has lived till now!"* }

☞ Mr. Gladstone failed to obtain the support of Parliament to his Resolution condemnatory of the Turkish Government, and was beaten by a majority of 151.—1877.

Cartoon 17 [128]

Cartoon 17 published in May 1877, months after the Agitation ended, demonstrated the perceptions of Disraeli, Gladstone and the Ottoman Empire in relation to one another. Although the Ottoman-Russo War had already started by this time, and the public opinion swung against Gladstone and the Russian Empire, the image of the Ottomans as decadent and murderous and Gladstone as the saviour and Disraeli as the supporter of the Ottomans still persisted, which demonstrates the success of the sick-man discourse of the Agitation period. The cartoon depicted the Ottoman Empire as a rotten empire, Disraeli as the protector of said empire and Gladstone as the rescuer who would bring an end to the Ottoman rule.

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[128] Unknown Author, Rt. Hon. W.E. G*ladstone M.P., Cartoons from the Collection of Mr. Punch,* Punch Office, 1878, p. 41.

3.5.3) The Depictions of the Russian Empire

Cartoon 18 [129]

The cartoon press had a clear anti-Russian stance during the Crisis. The official discourse presented the Russian Empire as the source of the revolts in the region in Lebanon, Crete and Bulgarian Crises. Although Gladstone and some Liberal MPs attempted to formulate a more pro-Russian discourse, the dominant view on the Russian Empire continued to be negative in the Agitation. Russia was depicted as the power which controlled smaller Balkan states such as Serbia and Montenegro, and hence was embarking on a proxy war with the Ottoman Empire. These arguments were in contrast with the alternative proposed view by Gladstone, and although the

[129] *Punch*, 14 October 1876.

two cartoon magazines were strictly pro-Gladstone in their Eastern policy, they did not adhere to Gladstonian view on Russia. Russophobia became more explicit in time, especially after the Russian Empire gave an ultimatum to the Ottoman Empire in late 1876. The two cartoons, Cartoon 18 and

Cartoon 20, which were drawn in October and November 1876 after the rapid deterioration of the Russo-Ottoman relations, depicted Russia as the main instigator. Cartoon 18 made a clear reference to the perceived hypocrisy of the Russian Empire. Serbia was drawn as a sitting character next to the Russian Czar which symbolised the power relations between the two. Standing and stronger Russia was controlling the sitting, childish Serbia although in the text under the cartoon Russians claimed that they exerted no power on Serbians. Similarly in Cartoon 20, Russia was pictured as in full control of the smaller Balkan states, such as Serbia, Montenegro and Herzegovina which were prepared to attack the Ottoman walking in front. The smaller states were drawn as dogs, the Ottoman Empire as an old man while the Russian Empire and Britain, who was looking over the fence, as younger and able-bodied man. This was another symbolism used to distinguish the 'Great Powers' from the rest.

In Cartoon 21, which was published in July 1876 when the Ottoman-Serbian war broke out, the same dogs were pictured in fight with the Ottoman man while the rest of the European Powers were looking on the situation from far.
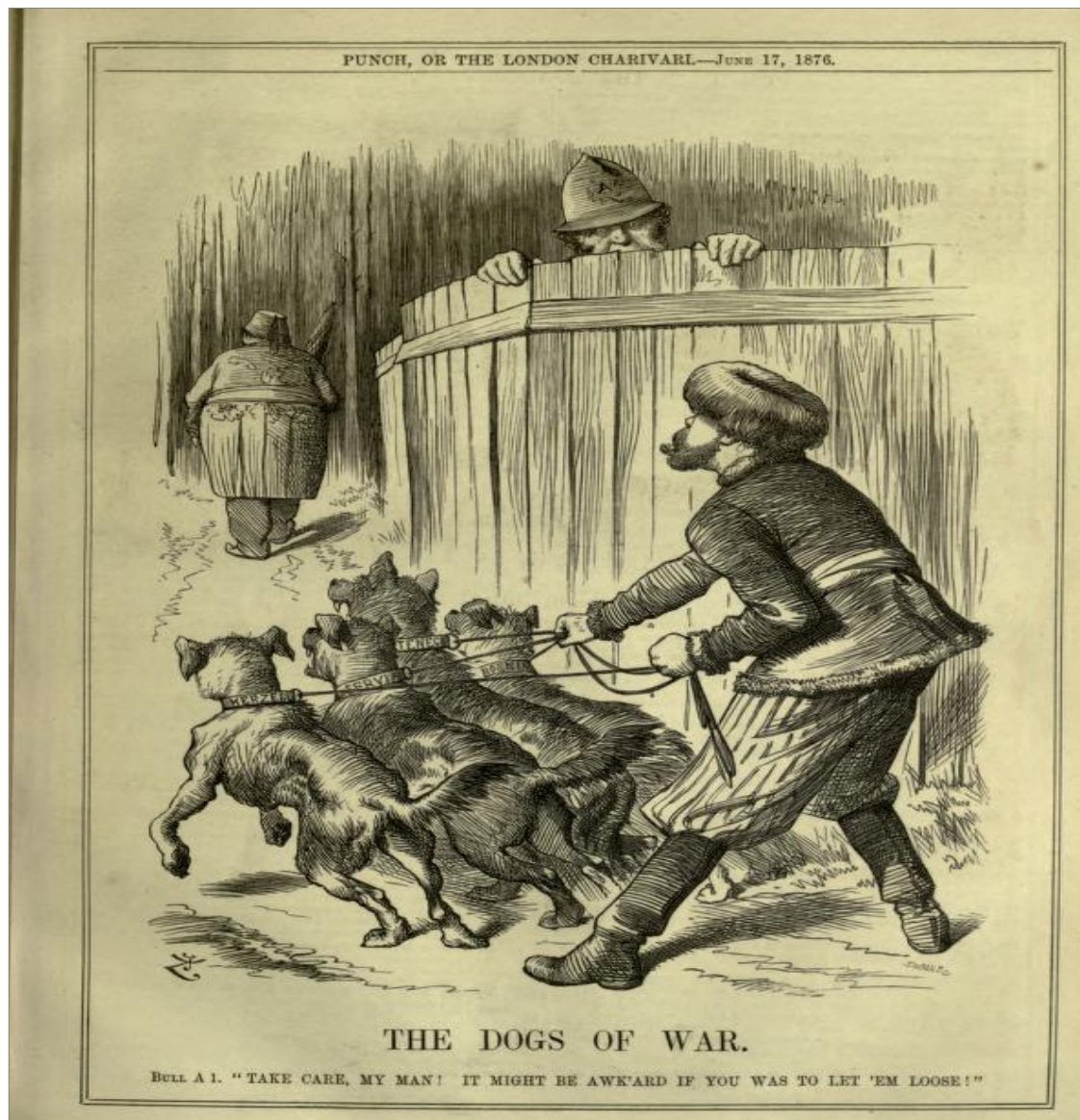
Cartoon 19 published in November 1876 during the Constantinople Conference, also underlined the Russian role in the crisis. The puppet Russian man holding in his hand was Serbia and Russia was in complete control of the situation comfortably playing with the Ottoman Empire. The Conference was drawn as a Russian design, who

already decided to push the Ottomans aside in the Balkans.

FUN.—NOVEMBER 22, 1876.

AN IMPERIAL PLAYTHING.

Alexander:—"DON'T WANT TO DO ANY HARM, BUT I'M AFRAID I SHALL HAVE TO KNOCK YOU OVER BEFORE I'VE DONE WITH YOU."
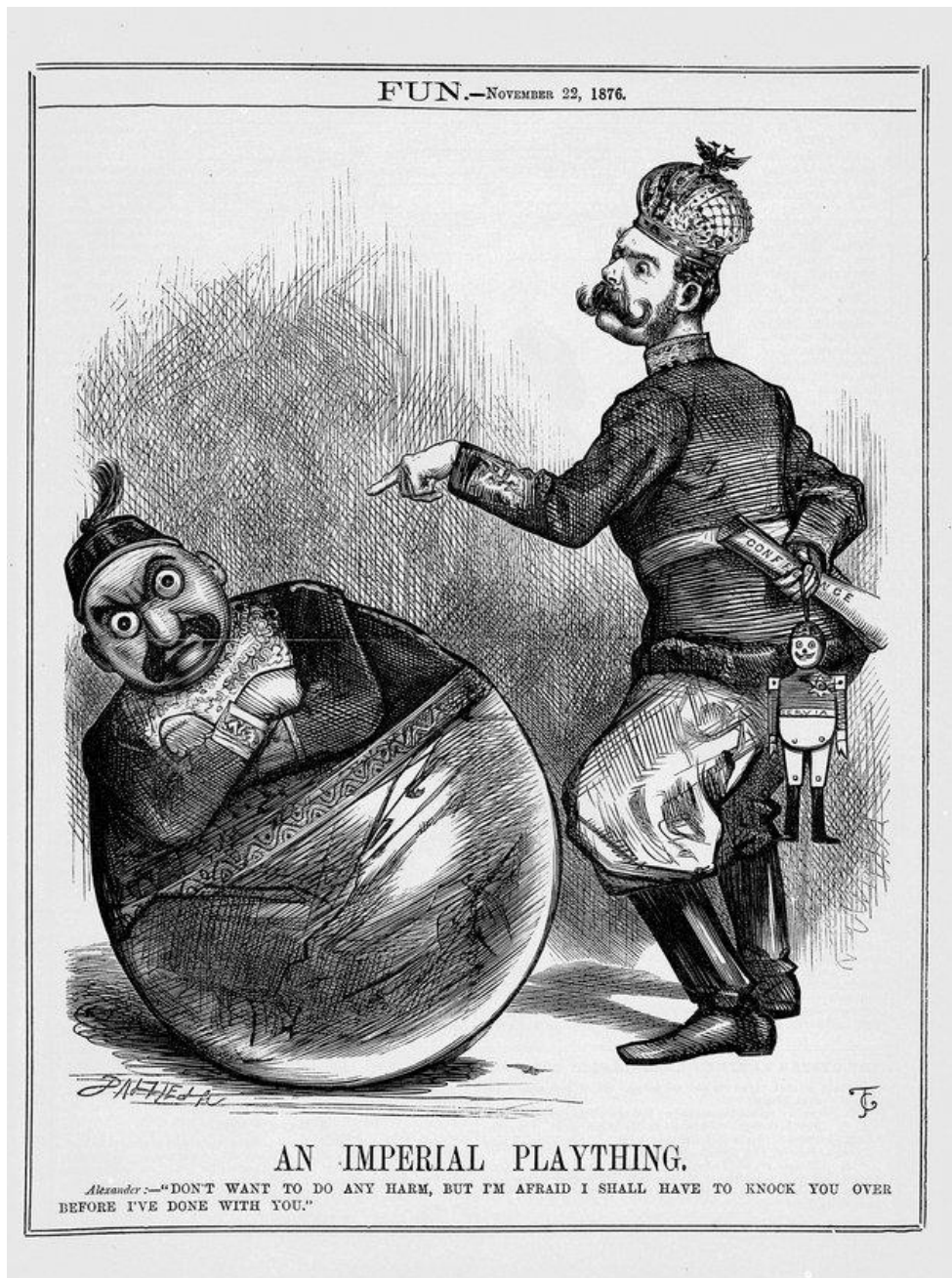
Cartoon 19 [130]

[130] *Fun*, 22 November 1876.

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.—June 17, 1876.

THE DOGS OF WAR.

BULL A 1. "TAKE CARE, MY MAN! IT MIGHT BE AWK'ARD IF YOU WAS TO LET 'EM LOOSE!"

Cartoon 20 [131]

These cartoons demonstrated two perceptions of Russia as the main troublemaker in the region and as attempting to break up the Ottoman territorial integrity. For this reason, Russia was always portrayed as the Great Power who was controlling the smaller Balkan states, which transferred the partial blame of the Eastern Crisis to Russian interventionism. Different cartoons published in various times persistently

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[131] *Punch, 17* June, 1876.

demonstrated examples of these perceptions, which were used by adherents of the integrity discourse from 1860s onwards. The penetration of the anti-Russian line in the cartoon press demarcated the cartoon press from the newspapers and was partly shared by the Liberal MPs in Hansard debates as well.

KEEPING THE RING.
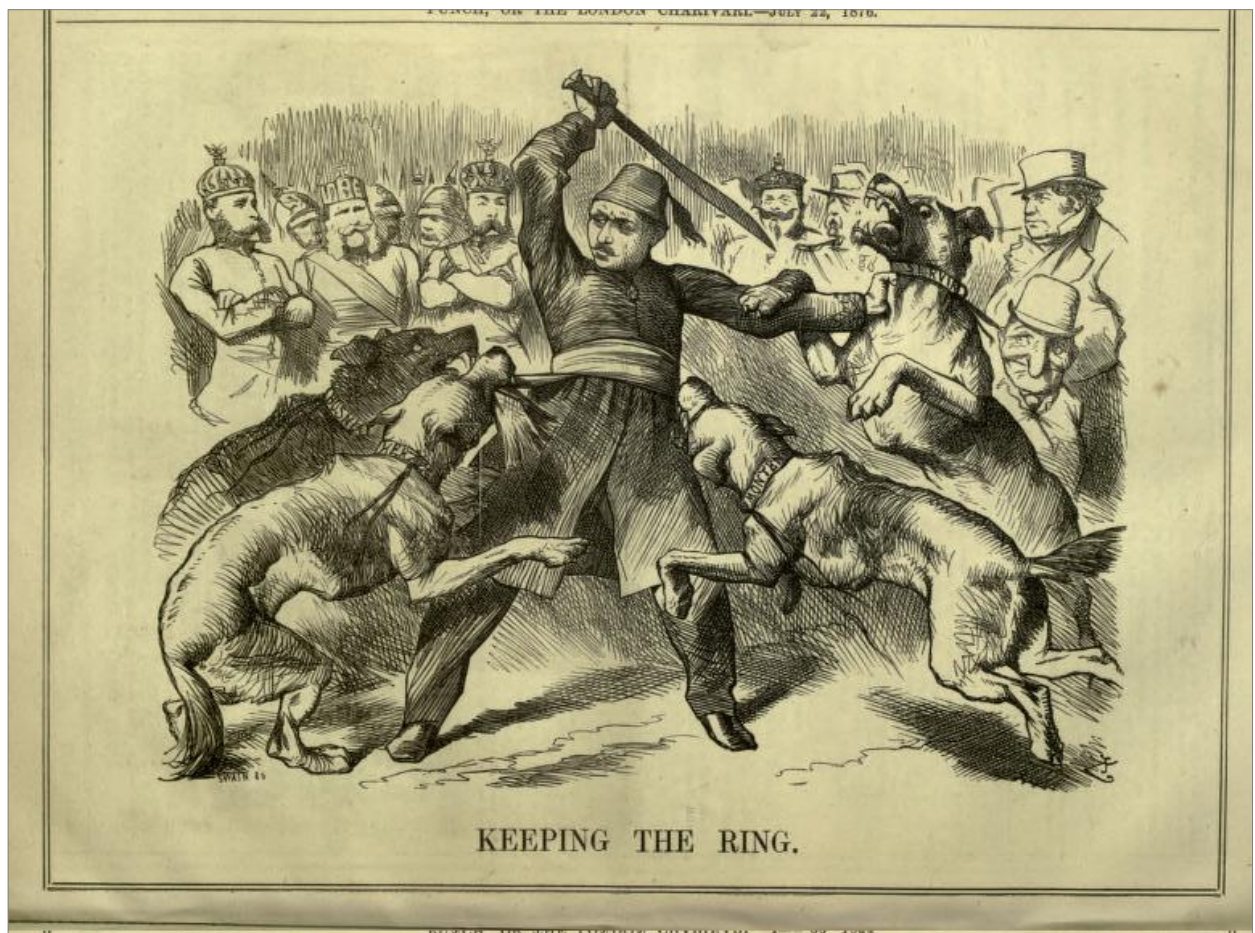
Cartoon 21 [132]

Overall, the *Punch* and the *Fun* had drawn various cartoons depicting the Ottomans, the British government *vis-a-vis* the Crisis and the Russian Empire. The basic Ottoman perceptions was the sick-man, or the murderer, which were widely reproduced in the *Punch* drawings. The cartoons also reflected an aspect of

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[132] *Punch¸* 23 July 1876.

sensationalism by drawing heads on sticks, dead babies or hanged civilians rather than drawing conventional armed insurgents of warring bands or armies against each other. This preference was also a direct impact of the transformation of the sick-man discourse during the Balkan Crisis as a result of the Agitation. The cartoons also demonstrated the weakness of the sick-man discourse against the integrity discourse, which was the anti-Russian element. During the Agitation, the sick-man discourse was unable to articulate a new identity for Russia, which has been exploited by the integrity discourse since the previous decade. Although the *Punch* and the Fun visualized the sick-man discourse's image of the Ottomans, it also reproduced the susceptible image of the Russia as well. This was one of the major signifiers of the integrity discourse during the Agitation.

4.)   The Integrity Discourse during the Agitation Period

The Atrocities Agitation was developed by the proponents of the sick-man discourse. Similar to the Lebanese and Cretan cases, the official view differed from this 'popular' view. The integrity discourse was constructed in the British press mainly by the *Telegraph* and *The Morning Post,* which were criticised by Gladstone for their pro-Ottoman stance in his Blackheath speech. *The Morning Post* was the most outspoken paper in the Eastern affairs as it published the most number of articles, double than that of the *Daily News,* on the Ottoman Empire during the Agitation, but it had less impact on public opinion due to its low circulation, which was around only 5,000 copies per day compared to the *Daily News'* 90,000. Moreover, its news were not reproduced in the provincial press, which reprinted the *Daily News* and *The Times* much more frequently. *The Telegraph*, on the other hand, was a far more important newspaper. It was the best-selling paper of the day with over 150,000 copies per day,

and was accepted as the mainstream conservative newspaper. It was one of the three major London dailies of the 1870s with the *Daily News* and *The Times.*

The first reaction of *The Morning Post* and *The Telegraph* on the news of massacres in Bulgaria completely ignored these news; while the Agitation was being built by the *Daily News* and *The Times, The Morning Post* and *The Telegraph* preferred to focus on the war between the Ottoman Empire and Serbia and Montenegro and published short telegraphic news on this war. However, as time progressed and the Agitation began to grow in the press, these papers also started to publish articles, analysing both the Bosnian and Herzegovinian revolts and the Bulgarian massacres. Their depiction of these events was in line with the arguments of the Disraeli government's official discourse, which was in continuity with British official discourse during the Lebanese and Cretan Crises.

4.1)   The Integrity Discourse in the First Phase

Parliamentary debates on the Bulgarian Atrocities started on 26 June and ended at the beginning of August, and it took place entirely during the first phase of the Agitation. The debates in Parliament demonstrated the success of the sick-man discourse that was built by the *Daily News* and *The Times* in the first phase of the Agitation in influencing the MPs' opinions. Both the Liberal members and the government members referred to these papers as reliable sources of the evidences of the massacres committed in Bulgaria. The immediate success of the reports was both due to the sensational style of news, as evidenced from the questions raised in the Parliament, and the increased circulation figures of newspapers, which increased the influence of British press.

The first question was raised in the Commons on 26 June by the Liberal MP William

Forster.[133] He specifically questioned the government on the authenticity of the news which 'described with much detail the total destruction of many villages and the massacre of their inhabitants, men, women, and children, by Turkish troops' and asked Prime Minister Disraeli to give information 'with regard to the truth of the statements which have recently appeared in the public papers, and especially in the '*Daily News*' of June 23rd.'[134]

Forster submitted a similar question on 10 July, when the issue was debated for the second time, and made a motion, demanding an official explanation on the authenticity of the reports published in the *Daily News*. As Disraeli declared that they were yet to confirm the allegations, other Liberal MPs also joined the debate, forcing the government to examine the authenticity of massacre news by sending an official representative to Bulgaria. For example, George Anderson, a Liberal backbencher from Glasgow, made a short speech in the Commons which demonstrated the impact of the sensational news on the MPs. Anderson noted that the *Daily News*, 'on the 23rd of June, showed that the Foreign Office appeared to be in ignorance of the atrocities committed by the Turks in Bulgaria' where '20,000 to 30,000 people had been brutally murdered.'[135] He further added that the British 'blood curdles' on the 'atrocities upon women and children' and stated that the atrocities committed in Bulgaria were 'a disgrace to humanity' and 'will form one of the bloodiest pages of history.'[136]

The debates in Parliament were connected to the newspaper discourse, and as the

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[133] William Edward Forster (1818-1886), MP from Bradford between years 1861-1886. He was a Quaker who was excommunicated and became a member of the Church of England in 1850. He was a manufacturer from the northern town Bradford and served as the Under Secretary of State for Colonies between years 1865-1866 under Lord Russell and later as the Secretary of Ireland between years 1880-1882 under Gladstone.
[134] HC Deb, 26 June, 1876, columns 424-425.
[135] HC Deb, 31 July, 1876, columns 170-171.
[136] HC Deb, 10 July, 1876, columns 1185-1186.

sensationalist news in the press were reproduced, the opposition's condemnation of Disraeli's policy became more explicit. On the day of the publication of MacGahan's massacre news on 7 August, a motion was put in the House of Commons by Anderson who stated that the British people would not consent 'any longer to be on any terms with Turkey either of friendship or alliance'[137]. The reason for this motion was explained by him where he phrased numerous examples of the sensational news produced in the press:

> 'At Pavics 12 women were cut to pieces and thrown to the dogs. At Ratklovo 60 children were stoned by the Turks ... At Sokelovo 180 young girls taken from the neighbouring villages were penned in a field, and after the prettiest had been picked out for the harems of Fechim and Stocsvic, the others were abandoned to the soldiery, and violated and murdered.' [138]

In replying to these claims, Disraeli noted that the atrocities were 'normal' occurrences of insurrections. He contested both defining the Bulgarian atrocities as 'unparalleled crimes' by stating that the 'wars of insurrection [were] always atrocious' because they are carried on by the 'armed population' instead of the 'regular troops'.[139] For Disraeli, the atrocities were normal and not even very different from the scenes that had happened in Jamaica, 'the ancient Colony of England' which 'no one can look back upon without horror.'[140] Disraeli's comparison of the Bulgarian Revolt with the Jamaican Revolt of 1865, which created a great controversy in Britain, was significant; Disraeli was the first Prime Minister to compare Britain and the Ottoman Empire on equal level.[141] In addition, Disraeli also questioned the

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[137] HC Deb, 31 July, 1876, columns 728-729.
[138] HC Deb, 7 August, 1876, columns 726-727.
[139] HC Deb, 10 July, 1876, columns 1181-1182.
[140] Ibid.
[141] For Jamaican Revolt see, A.B. Erikson, Empire or Anarchy: The Jamaica Rebellion of 1865, *The Journal of Negro History,* Vol 44, No.2, 1959 pp. 99-122, J. P. Smith, Liberals, Race and Political

authenticity of the reports and stated that although he could not 'doubt that atrocities have been committed in Bulgaria', some stories such as the 'girls were sold into slavery, or that more than 10,000 persons have been imprisoned' were doubtful. [142]

The official discourse placed the blame of the Cretan Revolt mainly on the foreign agents such as Russia and Greece. Disraeli reproduced similar claims for the Bulgarian Revolt and stated that the atrocities 'appear to have begun by strangers entering the country and burning the villages without reference to religion or race.'[143] For him, these outsiders were 'pursuing the same atrocious policy… in Herzegovina by burning and ravaging all villages, whether Mussulman or Christian' and hence were the main culprits behind the atrocities. [144]

In Disraeli's view, the Bulgarian Revolt was a war between the Slavic fighters who came to Bulgaria from Bosnia, Herzegovina and Serbia and Muslim Circassians who were settled in Bulgaria decades before the revolt by the Ottoman authorities. *The Telegraph* also pointed out that the Bulgarian Revolt was because of the 'Servian intruders' who 'were really responsible for the grave crime of initiating an indefensible mode of conflict which brought ruin and misery upon peaceful and industrious communities.'[145]

This interpretation considerably reduced the Ottoman government's responsibility in the massacres, since the revolt was portrayed as an armed struggle 'between the invaders and the Bashi-Bazouks and Circassians' and the two parties 'carried on with

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Reform in the British West Indies, 1866-1874, *Journal of Negro History,* Vol. 79, No.2, 1994, pp. 131-146 and G. Heuman, *"The Killing Time": The Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica,* University of Tenessee Press, 1994.
[142] HC Deb, 10 July, 1876, columns 1181-1182.
[143] HC Deb, 26 June, 1876, columns 424-425.
[144] HC Deb, 17 July, 1876, columns 1487-1488.
[145] The Daily Telegraph, July 18, 1876.

great ferocity.'[146] Moreover, the Prime Minister stated that the Circassians, contrary to the newspaper reports which described them as the irregular troops of the Ottoman government, were in fact 'not irregular troops of the Turkish Government, or of any other Government.'[147]

4.2)   The perceptions of the Muslims and the Eastern Christians

This interpretation articulated a different image of Muslims and Circassians which stand in opposition to the sick-man discourse's portrayal of the Muslims as barbaric, fanatical subjects. Similar to *The Morning Post*'s representation, the Circassians who were Muslim were portrayed as 'a courageous and an armed population' who avenged themselves because 'their villages were burnt and their farms ravaged.'[148] In comparison, the Bulgarians were represented in some articles as 'mere savages', 'who were in reality not much civilized thans the Indian Americans.'[149]

Blaming the 'foreign intruders' led to presenting both the Christians and the Muslim civilians as the victims of the Balkan Crisis. According to one article, the 'Christian and Moslem alike fled their [rebel fighters] approach and sought refuge in towns and fortresses.'[150] In another article, it was argued that Bulgaria suffered greatly from the fighting 'both Christian and Mussulman alike' and the 'Moslem homes were burnt to the ground, the man murdered or mutilated, the women outaged, the children trampled underfoot, and in some instances, young girls pitched screaming for mercy upon the blazing ruins.'[151] In this way, the Muslims were also presented as the victims of the fighting which contradicted the accounts produced in the other

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[146] HC Deb, 26 June, 1876, columns 424-425.
[147] HC Deb, 17 July, 1876, columns 1487-1488.
[148] Ibid.
[149] Ibid.
[150] The Insurrection in Turkey, *The Morning Post,* July 11, 1876, p. 5.
[151] The Real Position of Christians in Turkey, *The Morning Post,* August 02, 1876, p. 3. The Insurrection in Turkey, *The Morning Post,* July 13, 1876, p. 6.

newspapers that victimised the Christians and presented the Muslims as the villain.

Although some reports underlined the 'equal suffering' of the Christians and the Muslims, some others depicted the Muslims of Bulgaria as the real victims. For instance, an article published in *The Morning Post* argued that 'the Christians were the aggressors and the Mussulmans had to spring to arms for bare life', which caused 'great animosity against the Christians' among the Muslim population. [152] According to the author, the atrocities took place because 'the outrages committed upon peaceful Mussulmans, especially women and children, provoked a spirit of revenge and retaliation.'[153] *The Morning Post* reported that the Muslim 'cruelties paraded as the acts of beasts; while those equally atrocious acts of the Christians are passed over as scarcely deserving of censure' in the British press. [154]

The official discourse also portrayed a 'balanced' position of the Christians and the Muslims in the Ottoman Empire outside the context of the Bulgarian atrocities. In the case of taxation, which was one of the causes of the Herzegovinian revolt, *The Morning Post* contested the dominant view which focused only on the Christian peasants' suffering: 'The taxes, upon which so much has been written, weighed as heavily on Moslem as Christian and were evaded by both when possible.'[155]

Similar to the newspaper discourses, Parliamentary debates on the causes of the Bulgarian Atrocities were explained on a religious axis, which depended on the dichotomy of Christianity versus Islam. The longest debate on the Bulgarian Atrocities was held on 31 July when both major representatives of the two parties, such as Gladstone and Disraeli as well as the backbenchers of the two parties,

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[152] The Bulgarian 'Atrocity' Agitation, *The Morning Post,* August 30, 1876, p. 4.
[153] The Atrocities in Bulgaria, *The Morning Post,* September 19, 1876, p. 5.
[154] Ibid.
[155] The Insurrection in Turkey, *The Morning Post,* July 11, 1876, p. 5.

participated in the discussions. [156] The split between the Conservative and Liberal MPs perception of the Christians and Muslims of the Ottoman Empire became more evident in this debate.

Robert Hanbury, another conservative backbencher claimed that 'both the Christian and Mussulman were to blame' for the atrocities and 'hostilities were carried on by both sides with the greatest barbarity.'[157] Moreover, for Hanbury the 'insurgents' or Christians were to first to commit atrocities 'in the earlier stages of the war' which were 'retaliated' by the 'Turks in return.'[158] Similarly, *The Telegraph* reported on 28 July that the 'cruelties practised [in Bulgaria] were begun by the Christians' and the Muslims 'revenged themselves afterwards.'[159] The paper published articles and news reports in this vein continuously in August 1876, claiming that the Christians in Bulgaria 'began a wholesale massacre of Moslems wherever found and did not fail to ill-treat both woman and children', resembling the sensational reports of the Agitation. [160]

For the Conservative MPs, the cause of the Bulgarian Revolt was not 'religious' or 'civilizational' but economics; 'The poor Christians and poor Mahomedans lived in peace and unity together, but poor men were persecuted equally by rich Christians and rich Mahomedan.'[161] Similarly, Ernst Bruce, a Tory backbencher, claimed that there 'there was not a very great difference between the state of the Christian peasant

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[156] 31 July was the session where the Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation was discussed in length and detail. The backbone of Parliamentary debates was this session, which provides us the most valuable source. The sessions started with a resolution forwarded by the Tory MP Bruce: "That this House is of opinion that Her Majesty's Government, while maintaining the respect due to existing Treaties, should exercise all their influence with the view of securing the common welfare and equal treatment of the various races and religions which are under the authority of the Sublime Porte". Gladstone made his first speech on the issue during this session, which was followed by a reply from Disraeli, and finally the motion was withdrawn due to the objections raised by Liberal MPs.
[157] HC Deb, 31 July 1876, columns 133-134.
[158] HC Deb, 31 July 1876, columns 133-134.
[159] *The Daily Telegraph*, 28 July 1876.
[160] *The Daily Telegraph*, 1 August 1876.
[161] HC Deb, 31 July 1876, columns 133-134.

and the Mahomedan peasant' in the Ottoman Empire, who 'were subject to all the evils of the Turkish Government—its arbitrariness, its exactions, its monstrous system of taxation' equally. [162] All these examples demonstrated the continuity of the official discourse in explaining the cause of the revolt which also constructed an alternative perception of the Muslim and the Christian.

The Conservative perception of the Muslims was different than the Liberal perception because it did not argue for the supremacy of the Christians in the Ottoman Empire, which was a key element of the sick-man discourse. This belief was constructed by presenting the Christians as the pure victims and the Muslims as the culprits in all three cases. In contrast to this view, Bruce and Hanbury noted that the Muslims also have good qualities such as 'sobriety, honesty, and regard for truth were almost universally practised' in contrast with 'the Christian population of Turkey' who 'lamentably failed in these qualities.'[163] Bruce set out that the 'fanaticism' of the Muslims and the Turks, a common theme used by the sick-man discourse throughout the two decades 'took a far less active shape than in a good many countries in the West' when 'the Turks is left alone'.[164] An article published in *The Telegraph* pointed out that the Muslims of the Balkans 'would require strong guarantees against Christian fanaticism.'[165]

The rejection of the Christian superiority against Muslims in the integrity-discourse became more visible once it was compared with the sick-man discourse's construction of the two identities. For example, in the same session, Gladstone stressed that the Muslims in Balkans were 'a dwindling' 'and likewise a backward

[162] HC Deb, 31 July 1876, columns 129-130.
[163] HC Deb, 31 July 1876, columns 142-143.
[164] HC Deb, 31 July 1876, columns 141-142.
[165] *Daily Telegraph*, 18 July 1876.

race' with 'no element of progress among them'.[166] For Gladstone, this was a reason to propose an autonomous or independent government for the Balkan Christians, a view which was shared by other Liberals, such as Fitzmaurice, who added that supporting an Islamic power had no impact on Indian Muslims, thus did not have any visible benefit to the British Empire.[167] Similar to the discussions during the Lebanon and Cretan Crises, Indian Muslims were not of a major concern for the British MPs. The Muslims of the Ottoman Empire were perceived on their own, without any link to the Muslims living under the British Empire.

Disraeli's cabinet was highly divided on the Ottoman policy, and the disagreement between the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary resulted in the latter's, Lord Derby's, resignation in 1877. The basis of the disagreement in the Eastern policy was rooted in the Conservative discourse, and already in July 1876, an opposition to Disraeli's policy and discourse was emerging within the ranks of the Conservative Party. William Forsyth, a long time MP for the Party disagreed with Bruce and demanded an amendment to his proposal by suggesting that Serbia and Montenegro should be made independent.[168]

This amendment proposal was wholeheartedly supported by Gladstone and other Liberals in the same session. The difference between two Conservatives proposals of Bruce and Forsyth to end the conflict was caused by their opposite views on the causes of the revolt; in contrast with Bruce, Forsyth believed that the main cause of the Balkan Crisis was the Ottoman Empire's oppression of its Christian population. Forsyth proposed to 'put a stop to the barbarities of an oppressive Power' and

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[166] HC Deb, 31 July 1876, columns 181-182.
[167] HC Deb, 31 July 1876, columns 172-173.
[168] Forsyth's exact demands was: 'I should have liked to point out in my Amendment that the true solution of the question is not by enforcing the policy of Turkey or getting guarantees, but by endeavouring to obtain the practical independence of those provinces.'

'alleviate the sufferings of an afflicted and unhappy people' with his motion which was supported by a Liberal MP, Edmond Fitzmaurice, who stated that 'the reign of violence, tempered by corruption, is complete' in the Ottoman Empire, and hence the Christian populations should be freed from the Ottoman rule. [169]

This similarity between some Conservative MPs and Liberals, as well as the split of opinion between the MPs of the Conservatives, demonstrated the internal pressure Disraeli faced to continue with the status-quo by hanging on to the 'traditional' official discourse.

4.3)   Perceptions on Russia

The 'foreign intruders' were presented as one of the main culprits of the Bulgarian Revolt by the official discourse. The Russian Empire emerged as the 'enemy of the Ottoman Empire', as the 'major' foreign instigator of the Balkan revolts, which was blamed for the atrocities. This was a persistent perception of Russia in all three Crises in which the Russian Empire was portrayed as the main culprit. The integrity discourse depicted Russia as the foreign instigator of the revolt and, thus, the major threat to the British interests. The Conservative MPs argued that if the Balkan provinces acquired self-government, as proposed by the proponents of the sick-man discourse, the Russian Empire would become more influential in the region and pose a great danger to British strategic interests.

Pan-Slavic sentiment in Serbia, Montenegro and Russia contributed both to the revolt and the consequent Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-78. The Russian Ambassador to the Porte, Ignatieff, was also known to be working for the Pan-Slavic cause during the Balkan Crisis, which made him the enemy of the moderates in the Russian Empire

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[169] See Appendix 3 for a biography of Fitzmaurice. HC Deb, 31 July 1876, columns 146-147 and 158-159.

like the Foreign Minister Gorchakov and the Ambassador to Britain Shuvalov, which in the end resulted in his dismissal from his post in Constantinople following the Berlin Treaty. However, Pan-Slavic impact on the Crisis did not feature in the sick-man discourse; there was hardly any mentioning of it in the Agitation. The integrity discourse, on the other hand, focused mainly on Russia and other foreign influences as the main reason for the Crisis. The two discourses clashed on the 'cause' of the revolt which also impacted their perceptions of the Muslims and Christians. As the integrity discourse focused more on the foreign factors rather than the internal antagonisms of the Ottoman society, it became possible to contest the victimisation of the Christians within the integrity discourse.

For some Conservative MPs, Bulgaria was quiet for centuries and 'different races lived together in comparatively tolerable harmony' in the past, which was upset by the Christian population who were under the power and influence of Russia.'[170] Articles published in the pro-government newspapers also supported this view by stating that the Balkan Revolt was 'indeed, an attack upon Turkey by Servians, Montenegrins and Dalmatians, with whom the Herzegovinan Christians were obliged to cast in their lot' and the 'vast numbers of lawless and idle men poured in from neighbouring countries' to Bosnia, where the revolution started, in order to 'plunder.'[171] The Russian Empire was portrayed as the imperial power behind this influx of foreign fighters to Balkans, whose aim was to undermine the Ottoman integrity in the end:

> 'This assistance and patronage [by Russia] confirmed the insurgents in their belief that Russian bayonets would sooner or later flash in their cause … the ulterior intentions of Russia, her attitude and Austria's, undoubtedly contributed greatly to the spread of the

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[170] HC Deb, 31 July 1876, columns 130-131.
[171] The Insurrection in Turkey, *The Morning Post,* July 13, 1876, p. 6.

insurrection and the more decided hostility of Servia and Montenegro.'[172]

Similarly, Conservative MPs argued that the disintegration of the Ottoman power in Balkans would be a threat to the British interests specifically because the outcome would be a stronger Russian influence in the region. For the MPs if the Ottoman Empire collapsed, '20 different nationalities', which would become 'stepping stones to Russian ambitions' would 'emerge in the Balkans.'[173] Therefore, Bruce, a Conservative MP, declared that 'Turkey was, at the present moment, the only Power to which we were prepared to trust the keys of Asia' because any other Power, particularly Russia, 'would not only keep them for her own purpose, but might use them to break into the house.'[174] These arguments demonstrated the 'traditional' mistrust towards Russia, which was perceived as the main threat towards the Ottoman Empire and the British interests.

Although Russophobia was prevalent in Parliament, especially among the Conservatives, some Tory MPs disagreed with it. The dissident Conservative MP Forsyth was one of the first in Parliament to conclude that his fellow MPs exaggerated the Russian threat: 'It is impossible that we should ever allow Russia to seize on Constantinople, but Russian ambition is a great bugbear.'[175] Most of the Liberal MPs were of the same opinion; Fitzmaurice stated that the 'unworthy suspicion of everything Russian that seems at times to seize hold of this country', although 'Russia and England' did not 'have divergent interests.'[176]

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[172] The Insurrection in Turkey, *The Morning Post,* 20 July, 1876, p. 5.
[173] HC Deb, 31 July 1876, columns 140-141.
[174] HC Deb, 31 July 1876, columns 141-142.
[175] HC Deb, 31 July 1876, columns 150-151.
[176] HC Deb, 31 July 1876, columns 166-167.

Gladstone was among the Liberal speakers who participated in the Commons debates. He attempted to construct an alternative view on Russia which challenged the anti-Russian stance of the official discourse. Gladstone's explained that the Russia of 1876 was not similar to the Russia of 1853 before the Crimean War and thus the Russian fear was exaggerated, and he continued to build his argument on this point in his Blackheath speech in September.

The last speaker of the discussion on 31 July was Disraeli, who built on his previous ministerial statement on 17 July. Disraeli was the only speaker who explicitly spoke about the atrocity stories and he argued that most of the stories were 'fabricated' and 'imaginary'. Disraeli's speech also focused on the diplomatic conduct during the Balkan Crisis, where he gave an explanation on the reasons for his government's conduct in the affair. Disraeli continued with his previous reaction to the atrocity reports until August, by downplaying their significance. His reaction put himself and his government in a more difficult position as MacGahan's reports and Stead's campaigning took place. Many MPs who had not spoken on the issue had started to criticise specifically Disraeli's stance during the last session, where the atrocities were debated in 7 August. The last session was reminiscent of the growing anger in the society against the government's pro-Ottoman policy where various MPs urged government to 'do something' to put an end to the atrocities.

4.4) Perceptions on the Ottoman Empire and the Turks

Similar to the Lebanese and Cretan Crises, the official discourse articulated a different perception of the Ottoman Empire which contrasted with the perception of the 'popular' discourse. Blaming Russia and the 'foreign agents' as the main instigators of the Balkan Crises led to a different interpretation of the Ottoman

Empire in the pro-government press. For instance, an article published in *The Morning Post* noted that for 'some philanthropists' the revolts in the Ottoman Empire was 'a struggle of freedom against tyranny, of civilisation against barbarism, of the Cross against the Crescent'. The article argued that this perception was wrong and stated that in fact 'the strife … was hatched to weaken the Ottoman Empire and make it more accessible to its foes.'[177] Another article compared the civilisation of the Ottoman Empire with Europe asking the readers if the Ottoman Empire was as barbarous as depicted in British press: 'were they so brutal, so blood-thirsty, such monsters, as her accusers would have us believe?' The article asked its readers if 'Do not Mussulmans in some respects at any rate put to shame their Christian neighbours?'[178] as they were massacred in the first place. These questions aimed to re-articulate the concept of civilisation for the 'Ottoman Empire' and tried to challenge the perception of the barbarous 'Ottomans'.

Similarly, the dominant view of the sick-man discourse which represented the Christians as the victims of oppression in the Ottoman Empire was also contested which was done through comparing the condition the Christians who were living in the Ottoman Empire with the ones who 'gained their freedom' from the Empire. In this way, the Ottoman Empire was portrayed as a more civilized and progressive force, compared to its neighbours: 'If we consider the real condition of a Christian under Turkish rule, and compare it with that of a Christian under even the Wallachian rule, we will see the wanton destruction caused by this spurious Bulgarian insurrection in all its horror.'[179] Another example warned the readers that 'if people instead of jumping at the conclusion that because the Government of Turkey is

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[177] The Insurrection in Turkey, *The Morning Post,* July 11, 1876, p. 5.

[178] The Atrocities in Bulgaria, *The Morning Post,* September 19, 1876, p. 5.

[179] The Real Conditions of Christians in Turkey, *The Morning Post,* August 02, 1876, p. 3.

supposed to be Mussulman the Christian subjects of the Sultan are oppressed' they would 'see the difference of position between the condition of masses of Christian subjects of the Porte and compare that comfortable, well-to-do and happy people with misery, wretchedness, and poverty of the masses in the Vassal states [Serbia, Roumania] or with that of the peasantry of Austrian Banat, Hungary or even Gallicia...'[180]

Palmerston constructed a dichotomy of good Ottoman central government versus bad local authorities in the Lebanese Crisis to defend the Ottoman government. This argument continued in the Bulgarian Atrocities agitation by pro-government press. In one article, the poor living conditions of the Christian peasants in Bosnia and Herzegovina were presented as being entirely the fault of the governors and landowners of the region who exploited their 'distance from the capital' to exploit the villagers. In comparison, the Porte (the Ottoman centre) was presented as being 'sincerely desirous of removing grievances and endeavouring to deal equal justice to Musselman and Christian.'[181]

The most important function of the centre versus periphery dichotomy was that it reduced the Ottoman administration's responsibility for the crimes committed in Bulgaria, which was at odds with the sick-man discourse's view as evidenced in Gladstone's insistence on the Ottoman liability for the massacres. Contrary to Gladstone's views, *The Morning Post's* correspondent noted that the Ottoman government knew nothing about the crimes in Bulgaria at the end of July and sent a special commissioner to investigate the situation at the same time as Mr. Baring was sent there by the British government.

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[180] The Real Conditions of Christians in Turkey, *The Morning Post,* August 02, 1876, p. 3.
[181] The Insurrection in Turkey, *The Morning Post,* July 11, 1876, p. 5.

As the press published more reports on the massacres, the proponents of the official discourse downplayed the significance of the 'atrocities' reported by the press through stating that the casualties and massacres in Bulgaria were the 'usual' by-product of 'any' war. This argument was in line with Disraeli's first response in Parliament against the atrocity allegations and similar to his comparison of the Bulgaria with Jamaica, the 'European' atrocities in colonies were presented as relevant examples. This 'rational' arguments stood in contrast with the emotional, sensational accounts of the atrocities depicted in the sick-man discourse which presented the atrocities as 'unparalleled in history', especially evident in Gladstone's speech which was given only a few days after the following report were published in *The Morning Post* and claimed:

> 'We have forgotten, all about the great civil and religious war; we forget Glencoe, the bombardment of Canton, the repression of Indian Mutiny &c; we forgot that Pelissier smoked out Arab women and children in caves … We can forget atrocities committed in Poland almost without interruption for nearly a century.'[182]

The examples of European atrocities were not limited to the 'colonial' repressions; other examples included the Paris Commune in which the French troops 'shot Communards and women and children'. The article claimed that the atrocities were not 'unprecedented' it was happening even in the Western Europe; however, the British press had double standards in reporting the news: 'when we commit atrocities we are heroes; but when others do the same they are assassins.'[183] According to these articles, if the names in the stories are transposed: 'for Turk put English, for

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[182] The Turks in Bulgaria, *The Morning Post,* September 04, 1876, p. 3. (The letter was signed by G B St Clair, from a small town in France across the English Channel).

[183] The Turks in Bulgaria, *The Morning Post,* September 04, 1876, p. 3.

Circassians put Orangemen, for Bulgarians put Germans, and for Russia the put United States' the readers 'will be sobered.'[184]

These rational arguments on the 'ordinary nature' of atrocities were not confined to *The Morning Post and The Telegraph.* Similar explanations were included in an article published in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in August, which was less suspicious of the veracity of the Bulgarian massacres but nonetheless positioned itself away from the Agitation with a pro-Disraeli stance. The *Pall Mall* in this aspect was noteworthy since its position of affirming the atrocities without Agitation showed the success of the sick-man discourse in establishing itself as 'the truth', even though the editorial position of the paper was pro-government.

The integrity discourse directly attacked the agitators and the veracity of their reports in September when the public meetings were being organised across Britain. At the climax of the Agitation, *The Morning Post* became a platform where the Agitation and the reports which built it were contested and criticised. When Consul Schuyler's report was published on 20 September, a reply written by a prominent Ottoman intellectual Ali Suavi was sent to *The Morning Post* and published the following day, contesting the evidence Schuyler set out in his report[185] which also criticised Gladstone and the Liberal Party for their role in the Agitation.[186]

4.5)   Epilogue: Disraeli's views in Private

An analysis of Disraeli's private correspondence to Lady Bradford and Lady Chesterfield in the days of the Agitation reveals his thoughts on the Bulgarian

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[184]The Turks in Bulgaria, *The Morning Post,* September 04, 1876, p. 3.

[185] For example, Consul Schuyler reported that Batak's population was 8,000 before the revolt and 5,000 of these were perished in the massacres where Ali Suavi noted that the population of Batak before the revolt was only 1,414, and thus, his report was grossly exaggerated the Christian death while shrouding the Muslim deaths.

[186] *The Morning Post* directed a few articles on Gladstone accusing him with undermining the interests of Britain in the East; there was a mutual animosity between the paper and Gladstone.

Atrocities Agitation. From the beginning of the Crisis, Disraeli was extremely uncomfortable with the situation, and as the Agitation was built in the summer, his discontent increased even further. Preserving the status quo by maintaining peace between the Ottoman Empire and Russia was his main policy and he evaluated the Agitation in this framework. For this reason, the Agitation was primarily a nuisance for Disraeli, not only because it was critical of his government but also because it was not to the benefit of the British Empire. For Disraeli, the Agitation diminished the chance of preserving the European peace, and it encouraged Russia to disturb the status quo:

> If we don't get peace it will be owing, in no slight degree, to our enlightened public who, as usual, have fallen into the Russian trap, and denouncing 'Bulgarian atrocities' call for the expulsion of the Turks from Europe which would lead to another Thirty Years' War. [187]

> Had it not been for 'Bulgarian atrocities' we should have made a peace satisfactory to Europe and very honorable to England.[188]

> ... [W]ar seems imminent- and a long one. So much for Mr. Gladstone and his friends who will avenge the 'Bulgarian atrocities' by the butchery of the world.[189]

Russian policy was a real concern for Disraeli, which demonstrates the strength of the anti-Russian line. For Disraeli, the Agitation was harmful for Britain since it helped the Russian cause. Similarly, Disraeli had real scepticism of the Russian Empire's designs for the Ottoman Empire. He thought that the Balkan Crisis was 'a

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[187] Letter dated 28 August 1876 to Lady Chesterfield in Marquis de Zetland (ed), *The Letters of Disraeli to Lady Bradford and Lady Chesterfield,* Vol. 2, Ernst Benn Limited, 1929, p. 69.
[188] Letter dated 24 September 1876, *Letters of Disraeli,* p. 75.
[189] Letter dated 29 September 1876, *Letters of Disraeli,* p. 78.

conspiracy of Russia from the beginning'.[190] Throughout the Crisis and into the War, he was always suspicious of Russia and its desire to invade Turkey. In December, he noted that Salisbury, the British representative in the Constantinople Conference, succeeded in his mission to prevent such an invasion from taking place.

One of Disraeli's major concerns was Gladstone's pamphlet, which is examined in the later pages of this chapter, where he proposed 'the expulsion of the Turks from Europe' as a solution to the Balkan Crisis. Disraeli was highly critical of this move, not because of pragmatic reasons, but because of ethical reasons: 'I think Gladstone's pamphlet is outrageous. Its point was, for ethnological reasons no less, to expel the Turks as a race from Europe.'[191] Although Disraeli was perceived as being 'pro-Turkish', his main aim was to maintain the peace; for this reason, he exasperatedly wrote that he wished the Russians and the Turks were at the bottom of the Black Sea, upon learning that the two States opted for war in February 1877.

Disraeli's pro-Ottoman policy, combined with his personal views proves the limits of the ideology in the face of *realpolitik*. Disraeli, similar to Palmerston and other Prime Ministers before him, designed his policy not because of his affection towards the Ottoman Empire but due to political calculations. There was a strong strand of Russophobic thinking in the Foreign Office and British political elite, because of the perceived economic and military threat from Russian Empire to the British interests. Disraeli was true to his words when he claimed it was he, not the Liberal Party, who was the true successor of Palmerston. This was particularly the case when the Eastern policy was concerned. Disraeli's demand to preserve to the Ottoman territorial integrity was primarily because of his suspicion towards Russian desires, which

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[190] Letter dated 1 November 1876, *Letters of Disraeli,* p. 86.
[191] Letter dated 11 September 1876, *Letters of Disraeli,* p. 74.

signifies the importance of the anti-Russian line in the integrity discourse. His negative perception of the Agitation demonstrates the 'pragmatic' aspect of the integrity discourse; he believed that preserving the status quo in the East served the British interests. For this reason, the Agitation for Disraeli was first of all a political nuisance that played into Russia's hands.

In the longer run however, the same *realpolitik* pragmatism was also valid for the Liberals and Gladstone. Gladstone approved British invasion of Egypt in 1882 after all the anti-interventionist public display of the Agitation, precisely because of the same reasons which made Disraeli a staunch supporter of the pro-Ottoman policy.

5.)   **Conclusion**

The literature examined the Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation as a separate and unique event of the 19th century; however, as this chapter has shown, it was the established political discourses of the earlier decade which made the Agitation possible. Thus, the Atrocities Agitation could only be understood if both the discursive and the political context which enabled it is taken into account.

The political context of the Agitation is well documented in the literature. The emerging political parties, the rivalry between the two prominent figures Gladstone and Disraeli are among the central themes used by the scholars to explain the Agitation. In addition to these, the visible increase in the power of the press demonstrated the emergence of the 'masses' as a political force in mid-Victorian Britain.

The discursive context, on the other hand, has not been taken into account. The discourses used in the Agitation were clearly in continuity with the British

discourses on the Ottomans formulated in the earlier decade. Naturally, these discourses were transformed during the Agitation, especially as a result of the transformation in the journalistic style. The sick-man discourse, which was already popular in the previous decade, was transformed under the influence of the reports on atrocity, which marked the most important difference from the earlier era. The atrocities were reported in a sensationalist style, which in effect caused a radicalisation of the anti-Ottoman discourses Increased newspaper sales and the inclusion of Gladstone in the debate helped the sick-man discourse to further popularise within the masses. Moreover, the official discourse, which was articulated through 'British interests', and Russophobia lost momentum, although the latter was still effective on the society and revived, especially after Russia declared war to the Ottoman Empire. Nonetheless, it became especially difficult for the government and Disraeli to defend the 'traditional' policy because of the increased strength of the anti-Ottoman discourse in Britain. The Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation marked the hitherto peak of the anti-Ottoman discourses in Britain, which had a definitive influence the Anglo-Ottoman relations.

The most important impact of the Agitation was its long-term effect. After the Berlin Treaty, and the fall of Disraeli from power in 1880, the relations between the Ottomans and Britain kept deteriorating. For the Ottomans, the British acquisition of Cyprus in 1878 and invasion of Egypt in 1882 were two major acts that changed the view on the British, and transformed it from a friendly Great Power to a potential enemy. The rise of German Empire in 1890s further lessened Britain's importance both economically and militarily for the Ottoman Empire. For Britain, on the other hand, the domination of the sick-man discourse in both public and official view was supported with the changes in Britain's strategic priorities in Mediterranean. The

Ottomans appeared as a more distant and more 'Islamic' lands for the British, and the latter was important to Britain as far as India was concerned. Even in 1876, Gladstone was extremely careful when talking about the Muslims precisely because of the large Muslim populations living in British India. With that concern apart, the Ottoman realm was perceived in the way constructed by the sick-man discourse in 1860s and 1870s; as an Islamic despotism which was the adversary of the European Christianity and liberal values or, in short, ' European civilisation'.

The discourses on race and religion aimed to define a particular group of people as a united whole and imposed a hierarchy upon them; the Muslim peoples were always considered subordinate to Christians, who were divided into West-East groups in a similar way. In these examples of the sick-man discourse, the Ottoman Empire was described as a tyrannical, barbaric rule outside the 'civilized' Western world, which also pointed to its inferiority. This feature has not changed from 1860s onwards, and although the first phase did not produce much on these categories, the racial discourses became further radicalised, especially after Gladstone's intervention.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

The starting point of this dissertation was the Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation of 1876, but it quickly became apparent that the perceptions of 'the Ottoman', 'the Muslims' and the 'Turk' that dominated this campaign were at least in part rooted in earlier perceptions. While this thesis established the importance of the Agitation, it also demonstrated that the Agitation should be understood as a part of a wider process which constructed the 'Ottomans' as an 'Other' in Britain. The continuities between the perceptions in three separate case studies emerge as the most important evidence of for this point in this thesis, and more importantly, it was this process which demarcated the mid-19th century perceptions from the earlier ones.

The British perceptions on the 'Ottomans' in the 19th century was overlooked by the literature. Until now, there was only one monograph that dealt with the topic, which focused only on the perceptions of the travellers, disregarding other available sources. This dissertation is the first attempt to fill this gap and to provide a better understanding of the nineteenth-century perceptions of the 'Ottomans' in Britain. This thesis has also demonstrated that a study on 'perceptions' raised specific methodological questions. Discourse analytic framework and empirical based case study approach were used to tackle these issues and explore the construction and development of perceptions in depth.

Throughout this thesis, discourse analysis proved to be a useful tool in explaining the British 'perceptions'. Discourse analysis helped to interpret vast amount of sources used in this thesis into consistent and meaningful blocks. Once discourse analysis has been deployed to interpret these sources, it became clear that two discernible and consistent method of thought emerged from the available sources. Each of these was consistently formed, linking various discursive elements together to form an overarching explanation to the events in the Ottoman realm. I have named these two

separate interpretations as discourses because they not only provided an explanation to the crises in question, but also constructed the identities of the people under scrutiny. It was this link between explaining a social event, and constructing the identities of the actors involved in this event which made discourse theory invaluable for this thesis. In each of the three case studies, these two separate and rival discourses were consistently reiterated. During each reiteration, these discourses were not merely reproduced, they were also transformed.

These transformations were due to the 'political' nature of the discourse formation process. In discourses meanings are only partially fixed; they were constantly formed and re-formed depending on the context. This theoretical aspect is very useful in explaining why the meaning of the term 'Turk', 'Muslim' or 'Christian' varied between case studies and between the two discourses.

The study of the British discourses on the Ottomans, 1860-1878, has contributed to our understanding on the construction of the mid-Victorian British perceptions. Exploring many hitherto largely unexplored newspaper and parliamentary sources, and using a case study method to instigate a comparative and evident-based approach, this study looks more in depth at the discursive construction of the Ottomans in mid-Victorian Britain. By utilising a discourse analytic framework, this thesis has demonstrated that the British elite had formulated two distinct political discourses in the mid-19th century. Furthermore, through comparing three case studies, this thesis also demonstrated the connection between the transformations which happened in Britain and the discursive constructions of the Ottomans as an 'Other'. This was particularly done through tracing the debates on the foreign policy where the official policy and the alternative policy were in clear contrast. In this way, this thesis also demonstrated the impact of the public opinion in formulating the foreign policy in

1876, where Disraeli was forced to abandon his traditional policy and alter it to meet the public demands.

The literature on the early modern perceptions has established that the perceptions of the 'Ottomans' were plural. For example, the early modern perceptions of the Ottoman Empire, under the influence of the Ottoman Empire's military might, was more positive in Britain, although some, such as the 16th century scholar Knolles, disagreed with these views, as demonstrated in Chapter 3. The Enlightenment influenced the British perceptions of the Muslims and the Ottoman Empire in a negative way, which was depicted as an Oriental despotism.

These two different perceptions continued to exist side by side in Britain until the 19th century. This thesis has revealed that the mid-19th century British perceptions had differed from the earlier ones due to its 'political' nature. The main difference of the 'modern' period therefore was the 'politicisation' of the perceptions in the 19th century, which transformed the way the 'Other' is perceived in Britain. The Ottomans were perceived as different, an 'Other' in Britain in the earlier centuries; however these perceptions were limited to a small set of educated elite and constructed in the form of 'vague' images. For instance, the Muslims were depicted as 'lazy' or 'indolent' without any further political signification.

The perceptions in the mid-19th century was constructed in two political discourses; the official integrity discourse was contested by the popular sick-man discourse. These two discourses competed for dominance in the British press in the 1860s until the sick-man discourse prevailed in the popular level popularity with the Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation. The most important outcome of the Agitation's success was the 'radicalisation' of the perceptions of the Muslims, Turks and the Ottoman Empire, as

discussed in Chapter 7.

The success of the sick-man discourse through the Agitation was embedded in the transformation of the British society and politics in the mid-century, which was visible in the three cases examined in this thesis. The first important transformation was the increased 'democratisation' of the British politics in this period, as analysed in Chapter 4. The enfranchisement of larger sections of British society and the development of non-parliamentary pressure groups were the examples of the democratisation of the politics, which increased the influence and importance of the public opinion in policy making. The Second important factor was the rise of the press, which went hand in hand with the democratisation of the politics. The press became more important in influencing the public opinion, and hence, its influence on policy making also increased. The rise of the press and public had altered the way politics were constructed in Britain; the politicians became more attentive to public opinion and felt the need to legitimise their actions through creating public consent. The final important transformation was the increased importance of the Near East in British politics, which had brought the British elites into closer contact with the Ottomans society. All these were gradual transformations that started in the mid-19th century and continued into the 20th century, but a comparison of the three case studies demonstrates the changes in British politics and their impact on the perceptions on of the 'Ottomans'.

Britain in 1860 was ruled by Palmerston, who single-handedly dominated the political scene. The political parties were not yet powerful enough to reflect 'public opinion' and the elite read *The Times,* the only newspaper with significant circulation. Britain in 1876, on the other hand, was a much very different place. Three major newspapers, the *Daily News, The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph* with circulations of

over 100,000 copies per day competed to draw the public's interest and increase their circulation in the days of the Agitation. Two major political parties with their internal opposition and local branches were active in exerting pressure on their leadership. The politics was were no longer dominated by one strong leader; there were a number of existing and emerging leaders in both parties. In 1860, Palmerston did not need to be too worried about the public opinion in Britain on the Lebanese Civil War to determine British foreign policy. In comparison, Disraeli was in a far more uncomfortable position in 1876 to decide on British policy in the Near East. He was pressured by an active parliamentary opposition and a far more radical non-parliamentary opposition who directed a sharp criticism of his policy.

In addition to these changes, the changing strategic importance of the Near East also influenced the success of the sick-man discourse. The Near East became more important for Britain in the 19th century due to a number of political reasons which were examined in Chapter 2. The 'Eastern Question' was the context in which the British relations with the Ottomans was determined, which linked the perceptions of the various 'Oriental' people together at this time. For instance, the perceptions of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century was influenced from by the perceptions of the Russia Empire; the perceptions of the Muslims were influenced from by the perceptions of the Eastern Christians; the Turk was influenced from by the perception of the Greek.

All these changes had influenced the way in which the British perceptions were formulated. In 1860, Palmerston viewed the Lebanese Crisis differently than some MPs and the British press. He was supported by the Cabinet members and the *Daily News*, and together they had formulated the official discourse, which perceived the Ottoman Empire as a reforming empire, a valuable ally in the region. The

'Palmerstonian' official perception was criticised by the 'popular' perception which depicted a different view of the 'Ottomans'. In the popular sick-man discourse, the Ottoman Empire was deemed as the main culprit of the Civil War and perceived as a backward, barbaric Empire supported by the 'civilized' British Empire. In contrast with the earlier era, the perceptions were now formulated within two antagonistic discourses which competed with each other to define each political event, such as the Lebanese Civil War or the Cretan Revolt. The debates on these events revealed how the Ottoman Muslims, Christians and state was were understood by British as an outsider, an 'Other'.

From the Lebanese Civil War to the Atrocities Agitation, certain terms were used to define the Muslims/Turks/Christians of the Ottoman Empire by the proponents of the sick-man discourse. The most significant of these was the term 'civilisation', which demarcated the not only the British from the Ottoman, but also the 'European' from the non-European. The term civilized, as demonstrated in Chapter 6, was used specifically to define the Western European people; any other nation that was deemed to be outside Western Europe was regarded by the British elite as 'semi-civilized' or 'uncivilized', depending on their relative position.

The term civilisation was used to delineate the European identity, which was in line with the *Weltanschauung* of the mid-19th century Britain where Social-Darwinist ideas was getting prevalence. Social-Darwinism, as explained in Chapter 4, was on the rise in Britain and this was not limited to the impact of Darwin's studies. The ideas on of 'survival of the fittest' or 'natural selection' were argued by a number of other biologists and anthropologists. The influence of these ideas extended beyond the areas of scientific studies; the establishment of new research areas such as ethnography and anthropology proved that these ideas were also influential on in

'social' studies. Social Darwinist ideas led to the belief on of the Western European or British supremacy over the rest of the world. This thesis demonstrated that these ideas also influenced the perceptions on of the Ottomans. For instance, when the category of 'race' was used to define a particular group, such as the Maronites and Druzes in Chapter 5, or the Turks in Chapter 7, this was done to point out to their distance from the European civilization and, thus, their 'inferiority' in contrast to the Europeans. The case analyses conducted in this thesis demonstrated that both the sick-man and integrity discourse propagated a similar view in terms of the British supremacy on over the 'Oriental' people, proving the prevalence of these ideas in the mid-Victorian British elite.

The focal point of the debates on the Ottomans was the British foreign policy, which became a contested area between the two discourses. This was a result of the 'political' nature of the discourses, which analysed the crises in the Ottoman Empire in order to formulate an appropriate British foreign policy. The proponents of the official discourse focused on preserving the Ottoman territorial integrity, which was believed to be the best way to defend the British interests. Palmerston clearly stated that his policy of non-intervention for the Lebanese Civil War was not stemmed from his 'predilection to the Turk'; it was formulated to protect the British interests. In comparison, the proponents of the sick-man discourse criticised the British policy in the East because they deemed the policy as anti-humane, anti-liberal and anti-Christian. Similar criticisms were directed to consecutive Conservative and Liberal governments who continued Palmerston's foreign policy during the Cretan Revolt. The debates in the 1860s, as analysed in Chapter 5 and 6, demonstrated that the harsh criticism of Disraeli's foreign policy in 1876 was well rooted in the British elite. The difference of the agitators' discourse from their predecessors was not in the content of

their arguments; it was in the presentation.

Analysis on the foreign policy debates in this thesis, demonstrated the turn in the perception of the 'Other' in British society, and the factors influencing the construction of this 'Other'. The sick-man discourse was constructed through a mixture of concepts such as religion, humanitarianism and liberalism. These three concepts were the cornerstones of the British elite's mind set which was used to perceive the outside world. In all three case studies, the Christianity had a central position in determining the foreign policy of Britain. It was argued that the British policy should protect the Christian lives rather than cooperating with the non-Christian powers. Similarly, the concept of humanitarianism had a religious undertone; according to the defenders of the alternative policy, Britain should civilise the uncivilized places as this was a 'religious duty'.

Although there were numerous continuities between the three cases, there was an important distinction. The Agitation 'radicalised' the perceptions on the Ottoman Empire and the Muslims and Turks in Britain due to the impact of the news on the atrocities in the press. The Eastern Christians were depicted as the victims in the Ottoman Empire throughout the Lebanese Civil War and the Cretan Revolt; the Agitation reproduced these perceptions and presented the Christians as the 'pure' victims of the atrocities. The Ottoman Empire was perceived to be a barbaric Islamic power, the traditional enemy of the Christian Europe and the modern enemy of liberalism before the Agitation. The Turks and Muslims were deemed by the Agitators as 'anti-humane specimen', as the complete anti-thesis of the humanitarian and civilized British

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Epilogue

When going through the three case studies, it becomes quickly apparent that some of the perceptions discussed here are not limited to the nineteenth-century. The relevance of these perceptions for our present time is striking. Of course, the main object of these nineteenth century perceptions, the Ottoman Empire and its ruling/dominant ethnic group, does not exist any longer; it collapsed at the end of the First World War after it had decided to enter the war on the side of the Central Powers against the British Empire, and it was replaced, in the 1920s, by the modern Republic of Turkey. However, although the political structures changed in the 20th century, the some of the perceptions constructed in the mid-19th century persisted and resurfaced in the 'new world order' that occurred with the fall of the Soviet Union.

In retrospect, the perceptions constructed on the Ottoman Empire during the Agitation influenced the Anglo-Ottoman relations significantly. British influence in the Porte was at its zenith prior to the Agitation; the British Ambassadors to the Porte exerted great influence on the *Tanzimat* statesmen who were the decision makers in the 1850s and 1860s. The British influence was not limited to the Ottoman statesmen; the Young Ottomans, similar to other Young Europe movements across Europe, argued for a parliamentary monarchy for the Ottoman Empire along the British model in the 1860s, and some had published newspapers in London to defend this cause.

All these changed significantly after the Berlin Treaty which had a significant impact on the Ottoman Empire. The new Sultan Abdulhamid II, whose accession was initiated by the Ottoman bureaucrats, firstly promulgated the Constitution and opened the first Ottoman Parliament and then, after the disastrous war against Russia, dissolved the Parliament and abolished the Constitution. From then on, until his fall with the Young Turk Revolution in 1908, Abdulhamid established a personal rule in the Ottoman Empire and became the sole authority. Abdulhamid was particularly

disillusioned by Britain because of its conduct prior to the Berlin Conference in 1878 when Salisbury negotiated to seize Cyprus, with the Cyprus Convention of 1878, in exchange for British diplomatic support for the Ottoman Empire. Anglo-Ottoman relations deteriorated further in the 1880s with Gladstone's decision to invade Egypt in 1882 and push for more reforms in the Balkans, a policy supported and continued by Salisbury's Conservative governments. In summary, Anglo-Ottoman relations never recovered from the low point reached during the Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation until the final dissolution of the Ottoman Empire.

Britain played a major role in the creation of the post- WWI order in the Near East, which was then referred to as the Middle East, and the British interest in the Middle East continued in the 20th century. The interchangeable usage of the terms Turk and Muslim in the 19th century gave way to a clear demarcation between the two in the 20th century. The formation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, as a successor state to the Ottoman Empire, situated the term 'Turk' clearly within the boundaries of the newly formed secular republic. The Turk no longer meant the 'Muslim' in a wider sense, but it started to signify an ethnic and national identity in the British use of the term.

The meaning of the term 'Muslim', on the other hand, had a more complicated development in the 20th century. Similar to the development of the 19th century perceptions, it was influenced greatly from by the political developments of the 20th century.

The interwar Middle East consisted of a number of states, formed by the British and the French. After the decolonisation in the post-war period, the newly established independent Arab states became more independent of Anglo-French influence. Britain

ceased to be the dominant power in the region and instead became the ally of the United States, which emerged as the new imperial power in the Middle East in competition with the Soviet Union, until the dissolution of the latter in 1990. The rapid development of the oil industry after the Second World War increased the importance of the Arab nations for the West, and most of the Arab states, specifically the oil producers such as Saudi Arabia, UAE, Iraq and Kuwait established close political ties with the US and Britain.[1]

The Muslim identity seemed to be of relatively less importance during the Cold War for the British and the West in general. This was partly because of the political developments in the 'Muslim' states, which pushed religion to the periphery of the society and partly because of the global politics. The Cold War international order was defined by the battle between the opposing ideologies: 'democracy' and 'communism' in which religion was of secondary importance. Secularism and nationalism, sometimes with clear socialist undertones, was on the rise in the 20th century Muslim world. Gamal Abdel Nasser, the architect of the 1952 overthrow of the monarchy in Egypt, defeated the Islamic Muslim Brotherhood organization in the power struggle ensuing the fall of monarchy, and became the second President of the Egyptian Republic in 1956. Nasser was a pan-Arabist and was the chief architect of the Arab socialism, which was defined by his ambitious developmentalism, anti-imperialism and secularism.

Similar developments took place in most of the Muslim world; in Syria and Iraq, secular Baathist movements seized power in the 1950s and 1960s. In countries like

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[1] For the raising importance of the oil see, F. Venn, *Oil Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century,* Palgrave Macmillan, 1986, T. Mitchell, *Carbon Democracy: Political Power in the Age of Oil,* Verso, 2011. See also, W. L. Cleveland, *History of the Modern Middle East,* Westview Press, 1991, R. Owen, *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East,* Routledge, 2004.

Jordan, Iran and Afghanistan, pro-secular and modernist monarchies were in power until late 1970s. In Palestine, Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) was formed in late 1964 as a Palestinian nationalist movement. Most of these regimes sought either Soviet or US support; in some cases they became the area of rivalry between the two superpowers. The establishment of Israel in 1948 and ensuing Arab-Israeli wars were also influenced by the global rivalry; Israel was supported by the US, whereas the Palestinian movement was supported by the Soviets.

Islamism as a political ideology was an undercurrent force in the Middle East throughout most of the 20th century, lurking beneath the US-Soviet opposition. The Muslim Brotherhood continued to be banned in Egypt after 1956. Similarly, Syria, Saudi Arabia and other Gulf monarchies had all banned the Muslim Brotherhood at some point in the 20th century. The influential anti-secularist leader of the Muslim Brotherhood, Sayyid Qutb, whose ideas influenced a vast array of Islamists, was hanged in 1966 by Nasser's regime. A Brotherhood uprising in Syria was suppressed by the Assad regime in 1982. In general, the Islamist identity was pushed to the fringes of the political arena in the Middle East.

The fall of the Soviet bloc in late 1980s was a watershed moment both in the history of the world and for in the history of the Middle East. The end of Cold War had altered the order in the Middle East and Central Asia. The end of communism firstly meant the disappearance of the common enemy of the US-led Western alliance. Similarly, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the 20th century secularist Arab movements, which were influenced from by the Soviet example to a certain degree, suffered an important blow. The decline of secularist movement in the Middle East was coupled with the rise of a new phenomenon, the jihadist Islamic movements, for which Afghanistan played an important role.

Three major events, which took place in the 1980s, had a decisive role in shaping the Islamic identity in the post-Cold War world. The Iranian Revolution of 1979 and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1980 brought the Islamic identity back to the fore in the Middle Eastern politics. The Iranian Revolution shook the world with theocratic character, the first of its kind in the Middle East. The Iran hostage crisis, where 52 US diplomats were taken hostage by an Islamic organization supported by the new regime, created the first instance where the word 'terror' was used to define the acts of a Muslim group. The third important event was the Gulf War of 1991, where the US-led coalition attacked Iraq as a response to Iraq's decision to invade Kuwait, a US-ally in the region. This war was a watershed event, as it was the first direct confrontation of the Western alliance in a Muslim country, except for the limited French and US participation to in the Lebanese Civil War.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan also had a pivotal role in changing the position of Islam in the Middle East. The *mujahideen* movement sprang in Afghanistan in 1980s as an Islamic resistance movement against the Soviet invasion. The Western alliance supported the Islamic *mujahideen* resistance in Afghanistan against the 'common enemy' while at the same time supported supporting the secular Iraq against the new Iran Islamic Republic in the Iran-Iraq War (1980-88). *Mujahideen* was an Islamic militia force comprised of Muslims from different nationalities, although the majority of the members were from Pakistan and Afghanistan. One of the Arab members of the *mujahideen* was Osama bin Laden, who formed the Al-Qaeda network in 1988 with the aim of pursuing global jihad in Afghanistan.

The Taliban movement, which had its origins in the *mujahideen* movement, seized control of Afghanistan in 1996 and established the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan. The Taliban's rise in Afghanistan was symptomatic; it demonstrated the rise of the

'Islamic' or Muslim identity in the post-Cold War world. The Western media, including the British media, had covered the crimes perpetrated by the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, which brought the perception of the 'Muslim' back to the media attention. Al-Qaeda had started its attacks on US foreign missions in 1990s, bombing several US embassies in Africa.

The turning point in the rise of jihadism for the West was, of course, 11 September 2001, when Islamist militants launched a surprise attack to on the World Trade Centre in New York and the Pentagon in Washington DC, causing some 3000 civilian casualties. The responsibility for what became known as 9-11 was later claimed by Osama bin Laden, the leader of the Al-Qaeda network, and this triggered the invasion of Afghanistan by an US-led coalition in 2002 and subsequently Iraq in 2003. Britain participated to in both invasions to a great degree, sending thousands of troops to both countries to fight against Al-Qaeda and Taliban militants in Afghanistan and the insurgence in Iraq.

Therefore, the 21st century had witnessed a new episode in the perceptions of Muslims in Britain. The Muslims, nearly forgotten in the 20th century world by the British, emerged as the new 'enemy' in the 21st century. The term Islam started to be juxtaposed to 'terror' especially after the events such as 9-11 or the London underground bombings of 7 July 2005. Britain was drawn into a prolonged conflicts against Islamist fighters around the world from 1991 onwards. The first Gulf War in 1991 was followed by the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq and continued with the recent aerial bombardments of Islamic State in Syria and Iraq as of October 2014.

The Muslims therefore, re-entered the public sphere in Britain as the 'new enemy', especially in the context of the 'War on Terror'. The Muslims were perceived as the

'Other' in Britain and replaced the 'communist' of the Cold War. There is constant media interest on the 'Muslim', who are now classified in two groups; as the 'Good Muslims' and the 'Bad Muslims', as noted by Mamdani.[2] The terrorist 'Bad' Muslims were distinguished from the peaceful Muslims, mostly residing in the Western nations; the terror is understood to be the doings of the Bad 'barbaric' Muslims.

The construction of the current perceptions of the Muslims resembles that of the historical British perceptions analysed in this thesis, which increasingly presented the Muslims as the sole culprits of the complicated social antagonisms. The 19th century British elites had failed to understand the impact of modernisation in the Ottoman Empire, which was the major reason behind all the Lebanon, Cretan and Balkan crises. The 19th century Ottoman Empire was caught between the need to modernise the state through increased centralisation and bureaucratisation and the local population's demands for autonomy and independence. This was precisely the reason behind the failure of the *Tanzimat* reforms in fulfilling their aim of preserving the unity of the Ottoman Empire. As the reforms were implemented in the provinces, the local populations became more eager to break-away or to return to the old autonomous state, resulting with in civil wars or revolutions. The British elite, convinced of their own cultural superiority over the 'barbarous East', failed to perceive these process. The Lebanese Civil War, Cretan Revolt and Bulgarian Atrocities were perceived to be the Muslim attack on the Christians or a mutual killing of 'hostile and backward races.'

This is not too far removed from the contemporary understanding of the Islamic terror, which is a product of modernisation and global politics rather than an inherent

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[2] M. Mamdani, Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: A Political Perspective on Culture and Terrorism, American Anthropolist, Vol. 104, No. 3, 2002, pp. 766-775.

part of Islamic culture or the 'Muslim character'. Afghanistan in 1980s was radicalised as it became an area of proxy war between the two superpowers of the Cold War. The *mujahedeen* movement, supported by the US and its allies, led to the creation of Al-Qaeda, which used modern tactics to attack the West. The modern nature of this terrorism was evident in the recent rise of the Islamic State during the summer of 2014; the IS militants who were experts in using social media operated the sophisticated military equipment captured from the Iraqi Army and exploited the political vacuum created by the Iraqi invasion of 2003. All these demonstrates the relevance of the 19th century perceptions in the modern world.

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Appendix 1: Graphs[1]
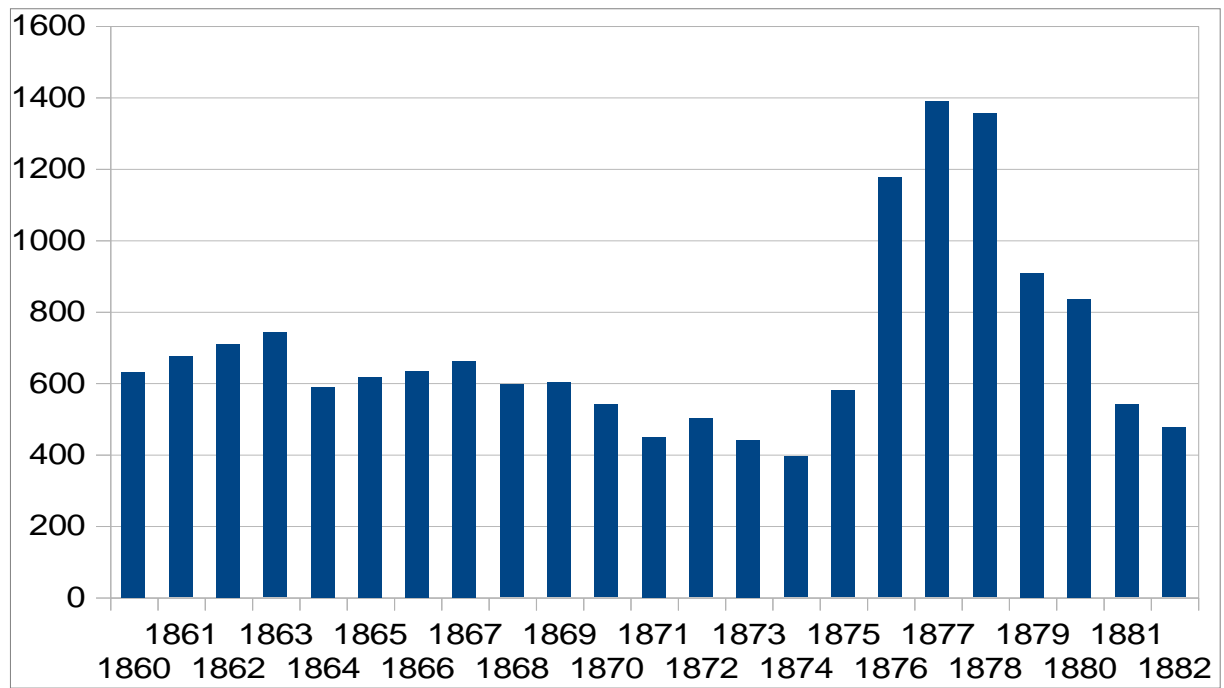
Figure 1: Number of Journal Articles in British Periodicals on Turkey
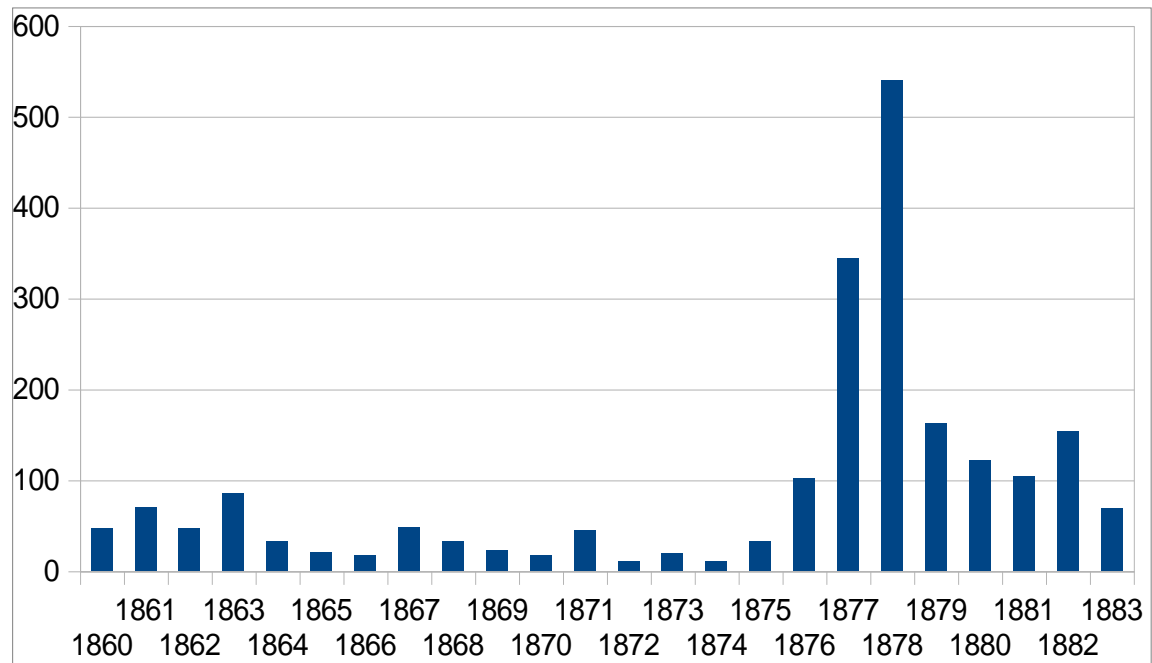
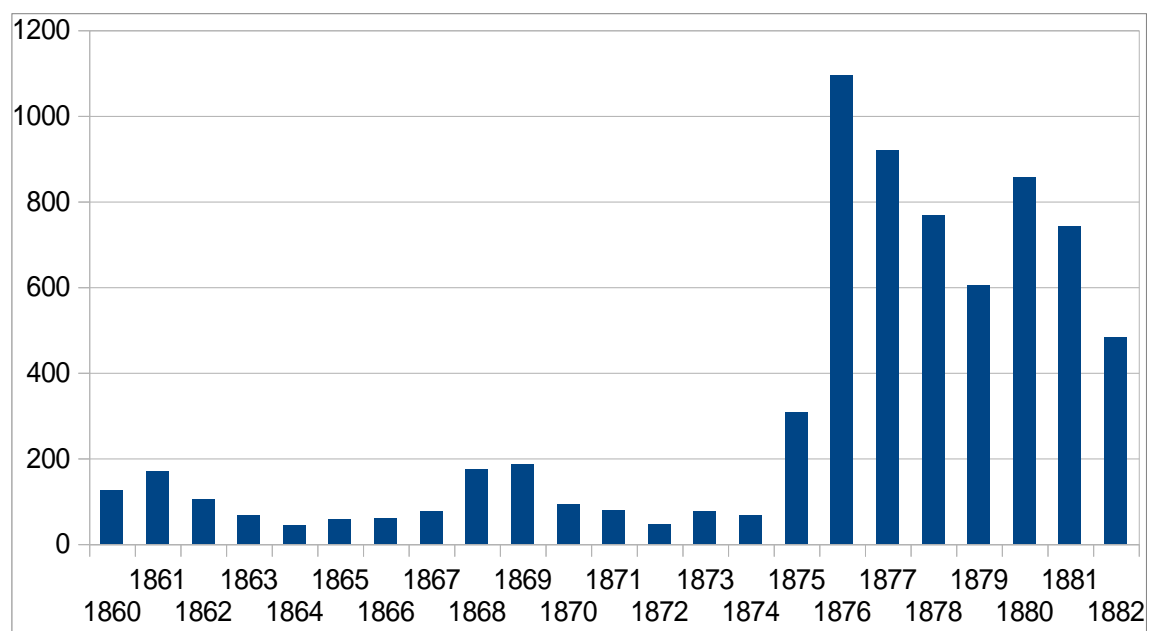*Figure 2: Number of News on Turkey in the British Newspapers*
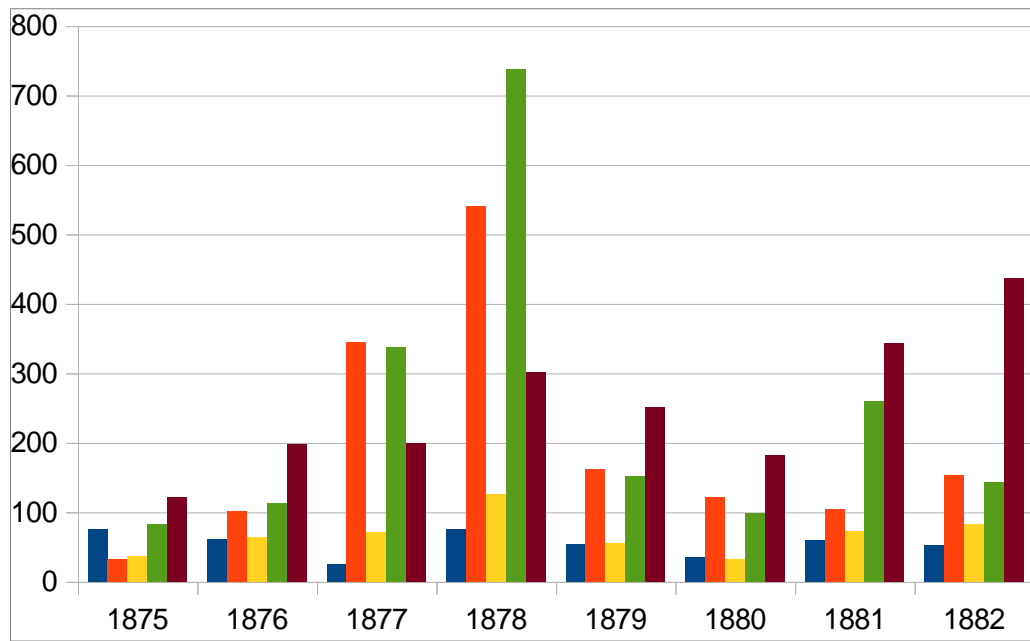

Figure 3: Speeches made on 'Turkey' in Parliament

Figure 4: Speeches made on different countries in Parliament
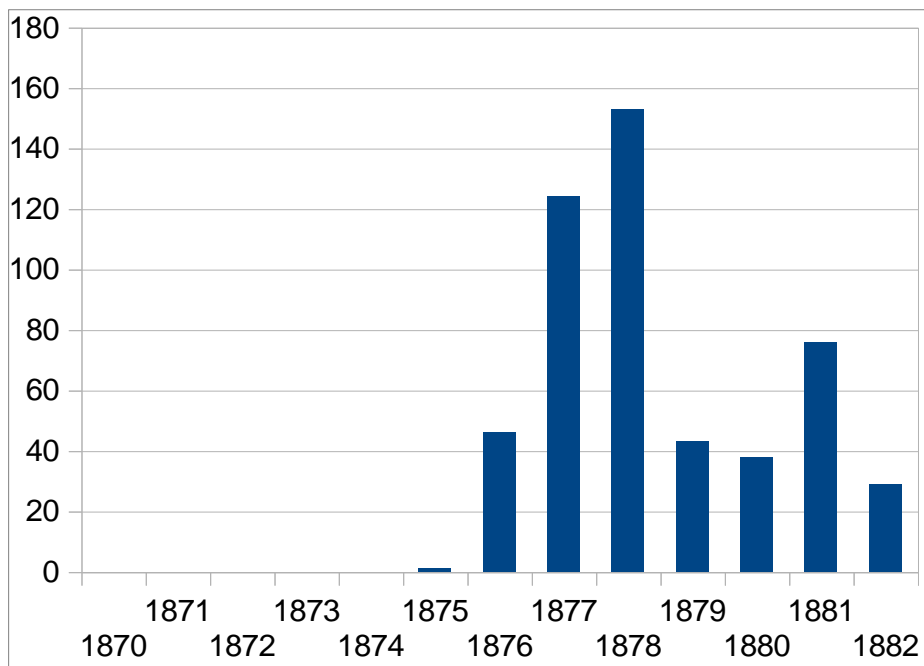
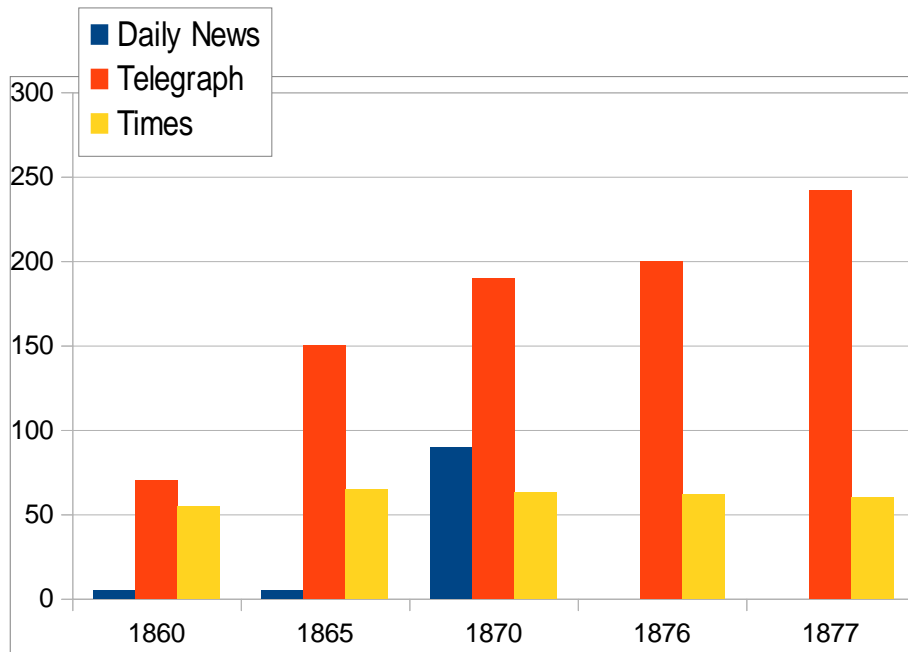Figure 5: Speeches on 'Bulgaria' in Parliament
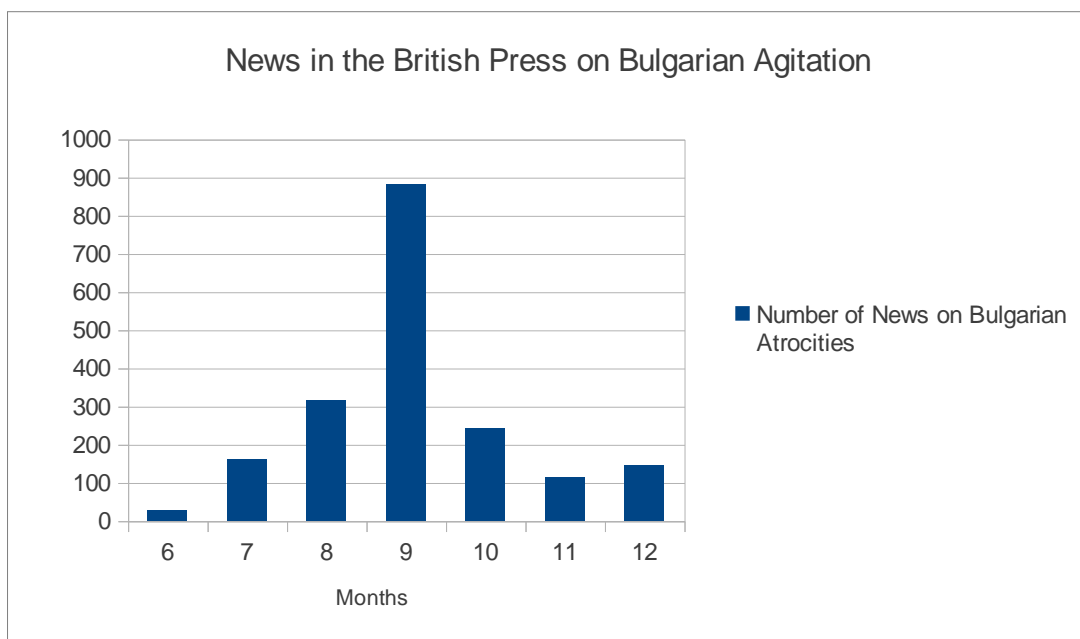
Figure 6: Circulation Figures of Main Newspapers

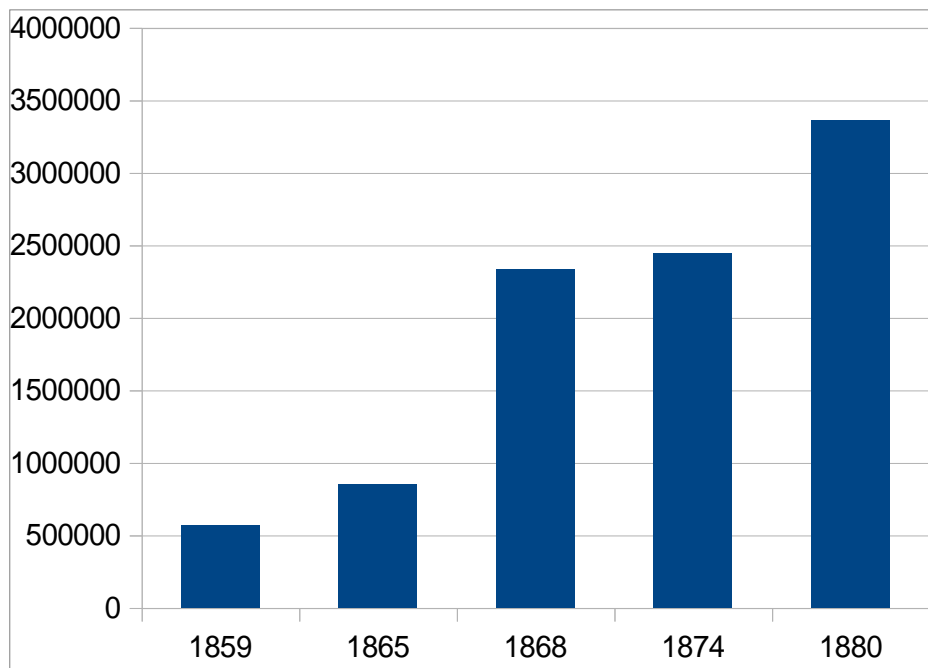*Figure 7: Life Cycle of Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation*

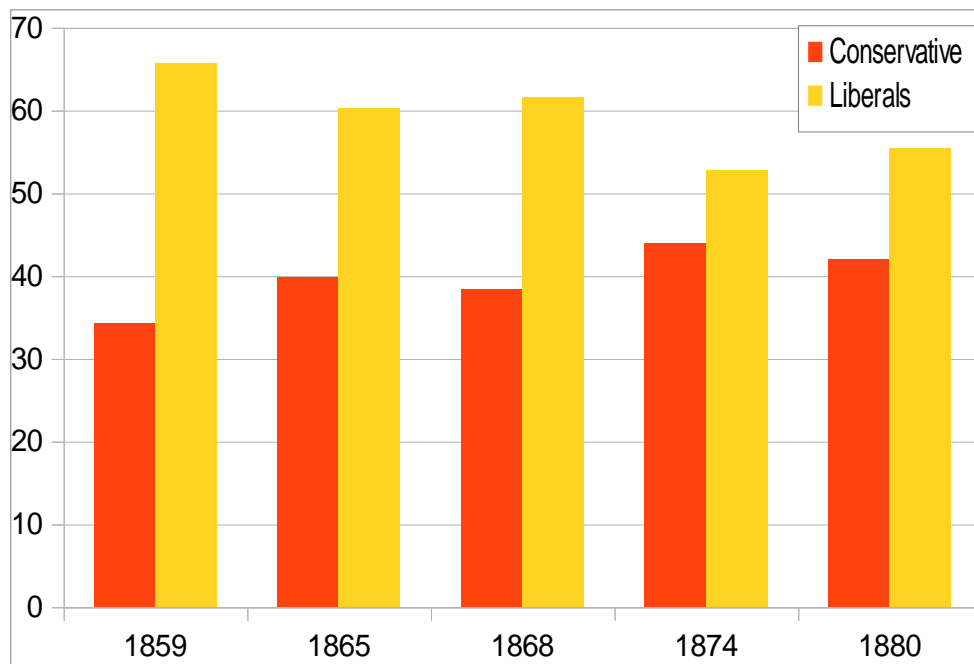*Figure 8: Size of British Electorate*

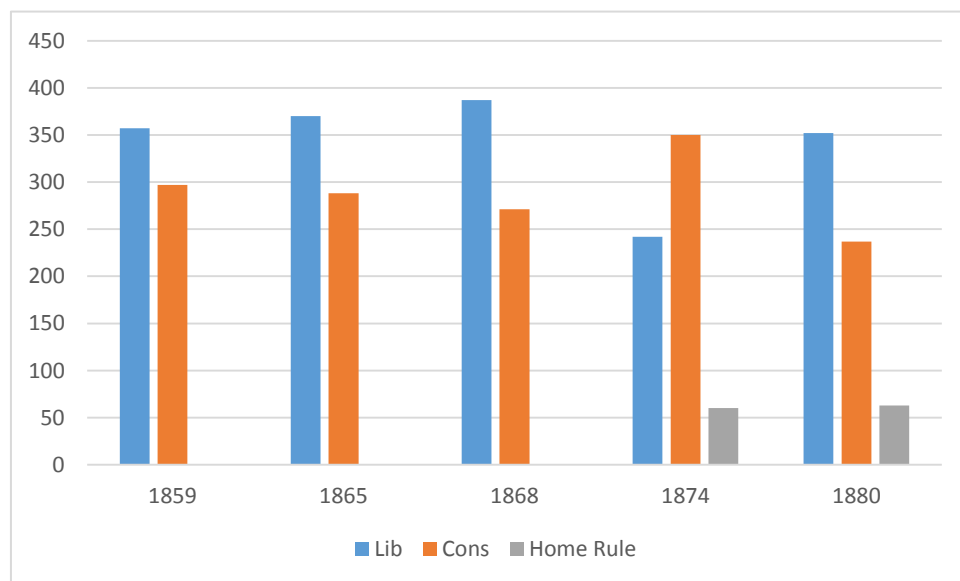*Figure 9: Percentage of Votes Gained by the Parties in the Elections*

Figure 10: Number of Seats Gained in Parliament

Appendix 2: A Chronology of Events during the Balkan Crisis

April-July 1875: The First series of revolt started in Bosnia & Herzegovina.

August 26 1875: The Ottoman Government decreased the Interest payments on loans causing unrest in the financial markets.

December 30 1875: The Andrassy Note was declared by Powers to end the hostilities.

February 13 1876: Porte Declared the Acceptance of Andrass y Note.

May 2 1876: Beginning of the Revolt in Bulgarian towns Filibe and Pazarcik.

May 6 1876: Mob killed French and German consuls in Salonica following an (alleged) incident between Greeks and Muslims, over the Greek attack to a Muslim girl converted from Christianity.

May 8 1876: A revolt in Constantinople by religious students against the unpopular Grand Vizier Nedim Pasha, who was accused of being under Russian influence.

May 11-June 9 1876: The First Phase of the fighting in Bulgaria where most of the massacres took place.

May 26 1876: Prince Milan of Serbia signed an alliance with Montenegro against the Ottomans.

May 30 1876: Deposition of the Ottoman Sultan Abdulaziz by Suleyman Pasha and Midhat Pasha, the head of Military Academy and the most influential politician respectively.

May 30 1876: Serbia and Montenegro declared war on the Ottoman Empire. Apart from a few border clashes no sizeable confrontation happened between two sides.

June 24 1876: Daily News reported the first news on the Bulgarian Atrocities

June 30 1876: Serbia declared War on the Ottomans.

July 2 1876: Montenegro declared war on the Ottomans.

July 8 1876: Russia and Austria signed a pact and decided to intervene if the Serbia & Montenegro to be defeated by the Ottomans. Russian volunteers were sent to the war zone under the control of a general from the Russian army.

August 18-24 1876: Serbian forces were defeated in the battle by the Ottomans and withdrew to inner Serbia.

August 31 1876: A *fatwa* was issued to dethrone Murad V due to his mental illness. Abdulhamid II was throned as the third Ottoman Sultan in three months by Midhat Pasha and his allies.

September 22/28 1876: Serbian forces attacked the Ottoman forces and were routed again. Russian Ambassador to Porte, Igantiev intervened and forced the Ottoman government to retreat from Serbia.

October 7 1876: Abdulhamid II ordered for the establishment of a Constitutional Commission with the aim of preparing a Constitution for the Empire under Midhat Pasha's chairmanship.

October 31 1876: Russian Empire gave an ultimatum to the Porte demanding cease-fire between Serbia and the Ottomans.

November 3 1876: The Ottoman forces in Serbia retreated.

November 4 1876: Bismark offered to convene an international conference in Constantinople after Disraeli's calls to end the Crisis.

December 19 1876: Midhat Pasha was appointed as the Grand Vizier and his cabinet's main task was declared as to promulgate the Constitution.

December 23 1876: The First Ottoman Constitution was promulgated at the official opening day of the Constantinople Conference, the international conference convened with the aim of putting an end to the Crisis.

January 15 1877: Czar had agreed a secret treaty with the Austria where the latter promised neutrality in case of a Russo-Ottoman war in exchange of the right to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina.

January 20 1877: The Conference broke up after Midhat Pasha refused the Great Power plan for Balkans, which included very harsh terms of foreign involvement into the region.

February 5 1877: Midhat was dismissed by the Sultan on the pretext of failing to agree with Powers at the Conference.

February 28 1877: Serbia signed a peace treaty with the Ottomans ending the war. Montenegro refused the Ottoman peace proposal.

March 19 1877: The first Ottoman Parliament was opened in Constantinople with two houses similar to the British Parliament.

April 16 1877: Russians agreed with Roumania, still under Ottoman suzerainity but de facto independent, for the right to pass their armies from their borders.

April 24 1877: The Russian Empire declared war on the Ottomans. Disraeli was

neither able to sign an alliance with the Austrians nor gather Cabinet support for war on the Ottoman side.

June 30 1877: Lord Beaconsfield (Disraeli) secured the Cabinet support to save the Ottomans from Russia but unable to convince a continental power, thus decided to send the British fleet to Bashika Bay close to the Dardanelles.

June/July 1877: Initial Russian advances were halted at Plevna (Bulgaria) and Kars (Eastern Anatolia) by the Ottoman army. British public opinion swung towards the Ottoman successes.

November 1877 / January 1878: Russians finally managed to break the Ottoman defensive lines and started their advance towards Constantinople.

January 1878: Serbia declared war on the Ottomans and joined Montenegro and Russia.

January 31 1878: Armistace was signed between the Russian and the Ottoman Empires.

February 13 1878: The Ottoman Parliament was suspended by Abdulhamid II following harsh criticisms of the MPs on the conduct of the War.

March 3 1878: Treaty of San Stefano was signed with the same terms of armistace between Russians and Ottomans. Serbia, Montenegro and Romania were given independence, a large autonomous Bulgaria with its own army was created, new reforms were promised in Bosnia, Thessaly and Crete. A very large (four times the Ottoman annual budget) indemnity was agreed and the Muslim populated Eastern

Anatolian towns were given to Russia.

May 30 1878: Strong European reaction to the terms resulted with the Berlin Conference where nearly all of the terms of the San Stefano was to be reviewed.

June 4 1878: The Cyprus Convention was signed between Britain and the Ottomans. Britain requested to administer and occupy Cyprus in exchange for their support in the upcoming Berlin Treaty. In this way Britain guaranteed to possess a naval force large enough to check further Russian advances in Eastern Anatolia.

July 13 1878: Berlin Treaty was signed with new terms; much smaller but nonetheless autonomous Bulgaria was declared. Austria occupied Bosnia & Herzegovina, most of the Eastern Anatolian provinces were given back to the Ottomans and the Ottomans gained some of the Russian occupied territory in Balkans back.

Appendix 3: Biographical Information

1.)   **Short Biographies of the British Officials/Statesman**

Edmund Backhouse (1824-1906): Liberal MP for Darlington served two terms, between 1867 and 1880. At the time of the meeting he was the Liberal MP of Darlington. He was a backbencher during his time in the Commons, and he was a member of the Quaker belief, and a member of one of the most powerful Quaker families in Darlington. Mr. Theodore Fry, the Darlington MP after 1880 elections was present in the meeting as well.

George Campbell, 8ᵗʰ Duke of Argyll (1823-1900)**:** A Scottish peer and Liberal politician who was interested in the Eastern Question and became a prominent voice opposing the British support the Ottomans in the Balkan Crisis. He wrote a book titled, *The Eastern Question,* in 1877 on the issue. He also served as Postmaster General in Palmerston's Cabinet (1855-1858) and later appointed as the Secretary of State in India in Gladstone's Cabinet between 1868-1874.

Charles Henry Churchill (1807-1869): He served the British army as a Colonel during the Mehmed Ali Crisis of 1840 in Syria and then lived in Damascus, Mount Lebanon and Beirut throughout the 1840s and 1850s. He was the author of a three volume publication, *Ten Years Residence in Mount Lebanon,* and a book on Abdel-Kader a Muslim who saved many lives during the Damascus massacres of 1860.

Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881) (1ˢᵗ Earl of Beaconsfield): He was one of the prominent figures of the Conservative Party. He served in the HC Deb for over 40 years until he moved to House of Lords in 1876 and served twice as the Prime Minister in 1866-1868 and 1874-1870 and three times as the Chancellor of Exchequer in 1852, 1858-1859 and 1866-1868. He travelled to the Near East in 1830s, and wrote a few novels before starting his political career in 1837. He represented the

protectionist, imperialist part of the Conservative Party, although much of the 'patriotic imperialism' was a myth produced after his death. He was staunchly pro-Palmerstonian and interventionist in terms of his Eastern Policy. The Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation damaged his reputation which was partly repaired with the Treaty of Berlin represented as the 'peace with honour' in Britain. He lost the 1880 elections to Gladstone.

James Lewis Farley (1823-1885): was first appointed to Syria in 1858-1859 and then to Constantinople to work for the Bank of Turkey, a joint-venture between Britain, Ottoman Empire and France formed in 1856 to serve as an Ottoman commercial bank.

James Fergusson (1832-1907): British army officer who served in the Crimean War and retired in 1859 to become a MP for the Conservatives in three occasions between 1854-57, 1859-1868 and 1885-1906. He also served as an imperial administrator in New Zealand and India and as the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs in his later career.

Edmund Fitzmaurice (1846-1935): Liberal politician who served as the Home Secretary in Gladstone government between years 1872-1874. In 1880, he was appointed as the British Commissioner by Gladstone to oversee the Ottoman administrative reorganisation in Bulgaria and Macedonia which was agreed in the Berlin Treaty (1878) and became the Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in 1883.

W.E. Gladstone (1809-1898): British politician who held the Prime Minister's office for four times between 1868-1873, 1880-1885, 1886 and 1892-1894 as well as holding the office of the Chancellor of Exchequer in 1852-1855 (Crimean War

Cabinet), 1859-1866, 1873-1874 and 1880-1882. Gladstone was one of the longest serving MPs who represented five different boroughs in the Commons over a period of sixty years. He started his career in the Conservative Party in 1832, was one of the founders of the Palmerston's Liberal Party in 1859 and later built his fame as the personification of Victorian Liberalism. He was a devout Christian of Anglican Church and this was partly the reason behind his moralistic political discourse. He was in fierce rivalry with Disraeli, who replaced him as the Prime Minister following the 1874 elections. By 1876 Gladstone had already established himself as one of the major political figures of the period, and he especially appealed to working/lower classes where he derived his political popularity.

Austen Henry Layard (1817-1894): English traveller, diplomat, archaeologist and politician. He was the Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs in 1861-1866 under consecutive Palmerston and Russell Cabinets. He was elected to Privy Council in 1868 under Gladstone. He later served as an Ambassador to the Porte at the height of the Balkan Crisis during 1877-1880.

Sir Charles Napier (1786-1860): a Scottish Admiral who participated to Napoleonic Wars, War of 1812, the Mehmed Ali Crisis of 1839-41 and the Crimean War. Following his retirement from the navy, he became a Liberal MP between years 1855-1860.

William Monsell (1812-1894): He was an Irish landowner and Liberal politician who was elected from Limerick Ireland to the House of Commons between years 1848-1874 and raised to the peerage in 1874. He became Catholic in 1850 and he represented a sub-group within the Liberal Party, the Catholic Liberals.

Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount Palmerston (1784-1865): He held the office of

Secretary for Foreign Affairs three times between years 1830-1834, 1835-1841 and 1846-1851. He also served as the Home Secretary between years 1852-1855, during the Crimean War. He was continuously a Member of Parliament after 1807 until his death; first from the ranks of the Conservatives and then Whigs. He formed the Liberal Party in 1859, and became the PM for the second time in 1859 with the Liberal Party following his first term (1855-58) which was from the ranks of the Whigs. He died in 1865 while serving as the Prime Minister of Britain.

Lord John Russell (1792-1878): A Whig and then Liberal politician and statesman who served as the Prime Minister between 1846-1852 and then for a second time after Palmerston's death from 1865-66. He was an MP for Commons from London between years 1813-1861, and then raised to peerage in 1861. He served as the Foreign Secretary in 1855-56 and then in Palmerston's cabinet between years 1859-1865. He was experienced in the foreign policy he served as Imperial Secretary and was the representative of Britain in Vienna Congress in 1855 to end the Crimean War. He was an influential member of the Cabinet and Parliament; and the most experience member of the cabinet in foreign policy making during his period as Secretary.

Edward Stanley, 15th Earl of Derby (1826-1893): Served twice as the Secretary of State for Foreign Office in Disraeli's cabinets between 1866-1868 and 1874-1878. He led the Foreign Office during the Cretan Crisis (1866-1868) and the Eastern Crisis. He was a resolute supporter of the non-interventionist policy and in the latter stages of the Crisis he fell out with Disraeli over the Eastern policy because of his opposition to Prime Minister's interventionist policy and sidelined from late 1877. In order to maintain peace with Russia he transferred the secret Cabinet talks to the Russian pro-peace Ambassador Shuvalov and as a result of this action he was forced to resign from Cabinet in 1878.

John Edwin Hilary Skinner: A *Daily News* correspondent and traveller, who prior to his visit in Crete reported the Austria-Prussia War of 1866. He travelled to the US and Canada and wrote political books about these countries and upon his return visited to Crete and travelled to the island from Greece with a blockade runner steamship, which was carrying reinforcements to the island form the mainland. He published his travel book *Roughing it in Crete* upon his return to the country and argued for the secession of the island to Greece.

William Thomas Stead (1849-1912): English journalist and editor of the *Northern Echo* and *Pall Mall Gazette*. He started to publish in the *Northern Echo* in 1870 and became the editor in 1871. His active role in the Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation made him known across the country and as a result he became the assistant editor of the London *Pall Mall*. He became the editor of the paper in 1883 and his sensationalist style paved the way for the 'New Journalism', the predecessor of the 20th century tabloid press, in Britain in the 1880s and 1890s.

Lord Stratford Canning de Redcliffe (1786-1880)**:** The influential British Ambassador to the Porte between years 1842-1858 to the Ottoman Empire who was deemed as being the main influence behind the Ottoman reforms. He was made a peer in 1852. He was an active participant on the discussions on the Ottoman Empire in the 1860s and 1870s and accepted as the main authority in Britain on the Eastern affairs.

2.)   Biographies of the Ottoman Officials/Statesman

Sultan Abdulaziz (1830-1876): 32nd sultan of the Ottoman Empire who ascended to the throne after the death of his brother Abdulmejid in 1861 and deposed by his ministers on 30 May 1876 during Balkan Crisis. He died on 4 June 1876; reasons of

his death is still debated on the literature. The economic crisis triggered his deposition as extravagant palaces constructed on his orders were blamed as a reason of Ottoman overspending.

Mehmed Emin Ali Pasha (1815-1871)**:** Ottoman statesman and one of the most influential men of the *Tanzimat* period with Fuad Pasha and Reshid Pasha. He started his diplomatic career as the secretary of the Ottoman Embassy in Vienna and then served as the Ottoman Ambassador to Great Britain between 1841-1844. He became the Foreign Minister numerous times; first at 1846, then in 1857-8 and between 1861-1867. He was assigned as the Grand Vizier first in 1852, then in 1858-59 and finally in 1867-71.

Mehmed Fuad Pasha: Mehmed Fuad Pasha (1814-1869) a foremost *Tanzimat* period statesman. He was one of the first in the Porte to have a Western style education and worked in various diplomatic posts in Europe, before becoming the Foreign Affairs Minister during the Crimean War. He assumed the post of the Grand Vizier, highest position in the Ottoman bureaucracy, twice in 1861-1863 and 1863-1866. In his final years he was assigned as the Minister of Foreign Affairs for the second time. He was fluent in French and famous with his wit and skills as a diplomat.

Mustafa Reshid Pasha (1779-1858): The first important statesman of who was the chief architecht of the *Tanzimat* Charter. He rose in the diplomatic service and served as the Ambassador to France (1834-36 and 1841-45) and Britain (1836-1838). He cultivated personal relationship with Palmerston and played a key role during the diplomatic negotiations of 1840 to end the Mehmed Ali Crisis. He served as the Grand Vizier 6 time between 1845-58 and spent 10 years in that position.

Mehmed Ali Pasha (1769-1849)**:** Ottoman commander of Albanian origin who was

sent to Egypt in 1801 to reclaim the territory following the withdrawal of French forces. He was appointed as the governor of Egypt in 1805 and helped the Ottomans in various campaigns in Arabia, Greece and Crete during the 1810s and 1820s. He has embarked upon an ambitious modernisation programme in Egypt, created monopolies to industrialise the country and formed a modern army and navy. As a result of his increasing power and influence in the Near East, he rebelled against the Ottoman Empire in 1831 and defeated the Ottoman forces in 1832, creating the First Mehmed Ali Crisis**.** He concluded a deal with the Porte following Great Power intervention in 1833 which fell short of his ambition to create an independent kingdom in Egypt. He declared war on the Ottomans again in 1838, prompting the Second Mehmed Ali Crisis, which ended after a joint Anglo-Austrian-Ottoman expedition to Egypt. The London Convention (1840) offered Mehmed Ali hereditary rule in Egypt, which he accepted and his family's rule continued until the coup d'etat in 1951 which brought Abdel Nasser in power.

3.) **Others**

Januarius MacGahan (1844-1878): An American war correspondent of Irish descent who reported the Franco-Prussian War of 1871 as the *New York Herald,* correspondent for the French Army. He was sent to St. Petersburg in 1873 and followed the Russian Army's invasion of Khiva. He married to a Russian women of nobility and made acquaintance with the Russian generals. He quit his post at the *New York Herald* in 1876 and left for Constantinople to investigate the Bulgarian massacres with US Consul Schuyler.