



Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences
English Language and Literature
British Cultural Studies

**THE REFLECTIONS OF PROTESTANT BRITISH IDENTITY IN
SELECTED WORKS FROM THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY
BRITISH TRAVEL WRITING ON ASIA MINOR**

Selim ERDEM

Master's Thesis

Ankara, 2018

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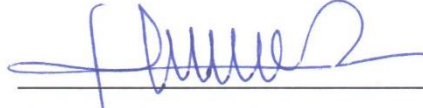
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KABUL VE ONAY

Selim ERDEM tarafından hazırlanan “The Reflections of Protestant British Identity in Selected Works from the Nineteenth-Century British Travel Writing on Asia Minor” başlıklı bu çalışma, 3 Aralık 2018 tarihinde yapılan savunma sınavı sonucunda başarılı bulunarak jürimiz tarafından Yüksek Lisans tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.



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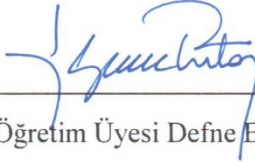
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Tezimin/Raporumun tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılabilir ve bir kısmı veya tamamının fotokopisi alınabilir.

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Tezimin/Raporumuntarihine kadar erişime açılmasını ve fotokopi alınmasını (İç Kapak, Özet, İçindekiler ve Kaynakça hariç) istemiyorum.

(Bu sürenin sonunda uzatma için başvuruda bulunmadığım takdirde, tezimin/raporumun tamamı her yerden erişime açılabilir, kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla bir kısmı veya tamamının fotokopisi alınabilir)

Tezimin/Raporumun.....tarihine kadar erişime açılmasını istemiyorum ancak kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla bir kısmı veya tamamının fotokopisinin alınmasını onaylıyorum.

Serbest Seçenek/Yazarın Seçimi

03/12/2018



Selim ERDEM

ETİK BEYAN

Bu alıřmadaki bütn bilgi ve belgeleri akademik kurallar erevesinde elde ettiđimi, grsel, iřitsel ve yazılı tm bilgi ve sonuları bilimsel ahlak kurallarına uygun olarak sunduđumu, kullandıđım verilerde herhangi bir tahrifat yapmadıđımı, yararlandıđım kaynaklara bilimsel normlara uygun olarak atıfta bulunduđumu, tezimin kaynak gsterilen durumlar dıřında zgn olduđunu, Tez Danıřmanının **Dr. đretim yesi Alev KARADUMAN** danıřmanlıđında tarafımdan retildiđini ve Hacettepe niversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstits Tez Yazım Ynergesine gre yazıldıđını beyan ederim.

**SELİM ERDEM**

ÖZET

ERDEM, Selim. Küçük Asya Üzerine Yazılmış On Dokuzuncu Yüzyıl İngiliz Gezi Edebiyatından Seçilmiş Eserlerde Protestan İngiliz Kimliğinin Yansımaları. Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2018.

Anadolu veya diğer adıyla Küçük Asya, on dokuzuncu yüzyılın başından sonuna kadar birçok İngiliz seyyah için ilgi çekici bir coğrafya olmuştur. Her ne kadar İngiliz seyyahlar yaptıkları seyahatler için kendi meslekleri ve ilgi alanlarına uygun bir sebep öne sürmüş olsalar da, yüzyıl başından Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na kadar süren ve *Great Game* (Büyük Oyun) olarak da bilinen Rusya-İngiltere emperyalist rekabetinin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun merkezi sayılan Küçük Asya'yı daha ilgi çekici hale getirdiği de bir gerçektir. Etnik ve dini azınlıklar açısından çok zengin olan Anadolu, İngiliz seyyahların çok çeşitli gözlemler yapmalarına olanak sağlamıştır. Bu bağlamda İngiliz seyyahların bahsedilen coğrafyada yaşayan Hristiyan azınlıklarla ilgili yaptığı yorumlar ayrı bir önem arz etmektedir, zira kendi Protestan kimliklerinin farkında olan ve bu kimliğin bir ayrıcalık olduğuna inanan İngiliz seyyahlar bu dini azınlıklara karşı ötekileştirici ifadeler kullanmaktan kaçınmamışlardır. Böylece, bu tezin amacı, on dokuzuncu yüzyılda Anadolu'ya gelen İngiliz seyyahlardan Robert Curzon'un *Armenia: A Year in Erzeroom, and on the Frontiers of Russia, Turkey, and Persia* (1854), Frederick Gustavus Burnaby'nin *On Horseback through Asia Minor* (1877), John Hartley'nin *Researches in Greece and the Levant* (1831) ve Alicia Blackwood'un *A Narrative of Personal Experiences and Impressions during a Residence on the Bosphorus throughout the Crimean War* (1881) eserlerinde Anadolu'nun Hristiyan azınlıkları ve emperyalist rakipleri Ruslar ile ilgili yapılan gözlemlerin ve sergiledikleri davranışların Protestan İngiliz kimliğini yansıtmada nasıl kullanıldığını göstermektir. Çalışmanın giriş bölümünde kısa bir Hristiyanlık tarihinden sonra, Protestanlığın İngiliz emperyalist kimliğindeki yeri ve önemi açıklanarak on beşinci yüzyılda ortaya çıkan ve İngiliz toplumunu derinden etkileyen Protestanlığın on dokuzuncu yüzyılda bile hâlâ bu kimlikte etkin bir rol oynadığı ifade edilmiştir. Giriş bölümünün sonunda ise bu kimliğin oluşturulma ve pekiştirilme sürecini açıklamak için bazı kuramsal kavramlardan söz

edilmiştir. Tezin ilk bölümünde Robert Curzon'un *Armenia: A Year in Erzeroom, and on the Frontiers of Russia, Turkey, and Persia* (1854), ve Frederick Gustavus Burnaby'nin *On Horseback through Asia Minor* (1877) eserleri incelenerek seyyahların Doğu Anadolu'da yoğunlukta yaşayan Ermeniler ile ilgili yaptığı ötekileştirici yorumlar incelenmiştir. İkinci bölümde ise John Hartley'nin *Researches in Greece and the Levant* (1831) ve Alicia Blackwood'un *A Narrative of Personal Experiences and Impressions during a Residence on the Bosphorus throughout the Crimean War* (1881) eserleri seyyahların ziyaret ettikleri Batı Anadolu'daki Rum azınlıklara olan bakış açıları ele alınarak incelenmiştir. Ayrıca iki bölüm boyunca yeri geldikçe tüm seyyahların emperyalist rakip Rusya ile ilgili siyasi ve dini yorumlarına da yer verilmiştir. Sonuç bölümünde ise seyyahların hem emperyalist rakipleri Rusya ile hem de Hristiyan azınlıklarla ilgili yorumlar yaparak Protestan İngiliz kimliğini eserlerinde yansıttıkları sonucuna varılmıştır. Daha da önemlisi uzun zamandır var olan ve birçok çalışmaya konu olan Müslüman/Hristiyan benzeri ayrışmanın ve ötekileştirmenin tek bir din içerisinde de meydana gelebileceği ve "öteki" kavramının bu anlamda yeniden tartışılması gerektiği sonucuna varılmıştır.

Anahtar Sözcükler

Protestanlık, İngilizlik, kimlik, Ermeni, Rum, seyahat edebiyatı, emperyalizm, ötekileştirme, mezhep, Ortodoksluk, Doğu Hristiyanlığı, Rusya, Robert Curzon, *Armenia: A Year in Erzeroom, and on the Frontiers of Russia, Turkey, and Persia*, Frederick Gustavus Burnaby, *On Horseback through Asia Minor*, John Hartley, *Researches in Greece and the Levant*, Alicia Blackwood, *A Narrative of Personal Experiences and Impressions during a Residence on the Bosphorus throughout the Crimean War*

ABSTRACT

ERDEM, Selim. *The Reflections of Protestant British Identity in Selected Works from the Nineteenth-Century British Travel Writing on Asia Minor*. Master's Thesis, Ankara, 2018.

Asia Minor, or Anatolia, was an attractive geography for many British travellers from the beginning to the end of the nineteenth century. Although British travellers put forward a different reason for their journeys depending on their professions and interests, it is true that the imperial rivalry between Russia and Britain, also known as the Great Game, rendered Anatolia (the centre of the Ottoman Empire) more attractive. Asia Minor which was rich in terms of ethnic and religious minorities enabled British travellers to make various observations. In this context, the comments the British travellers make on the Christian minorities in the above mentioned region are of importance because British travellers, who were aware of their Protestant identity and believed in its privilege, did not abstain from using othering statements against the Christian minorities. Therefore, the aim of this thesis is to show how the British travellers' observations about the Anatolian Christian minorities of Anatolia as well as Britain's imperial rival, the Russians, and their actions are utilized in reflecting Protestant British identity in Robert Curzon's *Armenia: A Year in Erzeroom, and on the Frontiers of Russia, Turkey, and Persia* (1854), Frederick Gustavus Burnaby's *On Horseback through Asia Minor* (1877), John Hartley's *Researches in Greece and the Levant* (1831) and Alicia Blackwood's *A Narrative of Personal Experiences and Impressions during a Residence on the Bosphorus throughout the Crimean War* (1881). In the Introduction of this study, the place of Protestantism in the British imperial identity is explained after a brief history of Christianity, and it is stated that Protestantism, which was originated in the fifteenth century and affected the English society in depth, played an active role in this identity even in the nineteenth century. At the end of the introductory part, some theoretical concepts are mentioned in order to explain the process of identity construction and reinforcement. In the first chapter of the thesis, the othering comments of the travellers concerning the Armenians who mainly lived in Eastern Asia Minor are analysed in Robert

Curzon's *Armenia: A Year in Erzeroom, and on the Frontiers of Russia, Turkey, and Persia* (1854) and Frederick Gustavus Burnaby's *On Horseback through Asia Minor* (1877). In the second chapter, John Hartley's *Researches in Greece and the Levant* (1831) and Alicia Blackwood's *A Narrative of Personal Experiences and Impressions during a Residence on the Bosphorus throughout the Crimean War* (1881) are analysed in the framework of the travellers' attitude towards the Greek minorities of western Asia Minor. In addition, the travellers' political and religious comments on their imperial rival, Russia, are mentioned in both chapters. In conclusion, it is stated that the British travellers reflected their Protestant identity by making statements on both the Russians and the Christian minorities of Asia Minor. More importantly, it is concluded that a dichotomy, similar to the long-standing Muslim/Christian dichotomy that has been the subject of many scholarly studies, can be found even within the same religion, and the concept of the Other should be re-considered from this perspective.

Key Words

Protestantism, Britishness, identity, Armenian, Greek, travel writing, imperialism, othering, sect, Orthodoxy, Eastern Christianity, Russia, Robert Curzon, *Armenia: A Year in Erzeroom, and on the Frontiers of Russia, Turkey, and Persia*, Frederick Gustavus Burnaby, *On Horseback through Asia Minor*, John Hartley, *Researches in Greece and the Levant*, Alicia Blackwood, *A Narrative of Personal Experiences and Impressions during a Residence on the Bosphorus throughout the Crimean War*

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INTRODUCTION¹

Since 1974, the primary collection of the National Portrait Gallery in London features a portrait titled “The Secret of England’s Greatness” based on a popular anecdote well-known in the 1850s (“Secret of England’s Greatness”). In this oil painting put on the canvas by Thomas Jones Barker circa 1863, Queen Victoria is depicted as presenting a Bible to an ambassador from East Africa whom she receives at Windsor Castle. As the explanatory note about the portrait reports, this imaginary scene set in 1861 and depicting real historical characters – such as Prince Albert, Prime Minister Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount Palmerston, Foreign Secretary John Russell, 1st Earl Russell and Elizabeth Wellesley, Duchess of Wellington – around the Queen is a representation of how

when asked by [the] diplomatic delegation how Britain had become powerful in the world, ‘our beloved Queen sent him, not the number of her fleet, not the number of her armies, not the account of her boundless merchandise, not the details of her inexhaustible wealth [...] but handing him a beautifully bound copy of the Bible, [and] . . . said ‘Tell the Prince that this is the Secret of England’s Greatness.’ (“Secret of England’s Greatness”)

The painting as well as the popular anecdote that was the inspiration for it point to the fact that one of the most fundamental building blocks of the British imperial ideology and identity was Christianity. However, what Queen Victoria prioritizes among the other advantages of the British Empire was not only Christianity but also the British adherence to the Protestant sect of Christianity that gave Britain a special place among the other major European imperial powers by means of the enterprising energy and dynamism that came from the Protestant worldview. In an attempt to formulate a definition of British identity, British sociologist Krishan Kumar also attributes a major role to Protestantism as he states:

In the first place, there was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Protestantism. This was not, it should be noted, a ‘national’ cause in the narrow sense of that term. Protestantism was an international movement, as international as the Catholicism it opposed in every quarter. But, especially

¹ Since the nature of travel literature is ambiguous in terms of factuality and fictionality, within this thesis, the past tenses are preferred for the factual historical events, and the present tenses are preferred for the events narrated in the four travel books and for their interpretations.

after the defeat of the Spanish Armada of 1588, the English had a surge of confidence that made them see themselves as leading the Protestant crusade on behalf of Protestants everywhere. England became a refuge for persecuted Protestants from the Continent – not for the last time in its history, making it a home for many skilled craftsmen and a haven for many distinguished scholars, scientists and artists. (7)

The victory against “Catholic” Spanish Armada was an early milestone for the emergence of British imperialism later in time by significantly strengthening the British in the colonial rivalry. Coupled with the naval superiority by marked the defeat of Spanish Armada, the Protestant Reformation in England in the sixteenth century provided the country with a solid ideology, the principles of which were deeply embedded in mercantilism, commercialism and colonialism. These principles were seen as the main motives for the first explorations in the sixteenth century and the centuries to come because they represented the opposite of Catholic fears such as worldliness and greed (Weber 36-37). Such a historic development as the emergence of British colonialism and imperialism had considerable impact on literature by inspiring the idea of journey and by providing a great deal of material for literary genres such as travel writing. As one of the most popular destinations, the Ottoman territories attracted a great number of British travel writers for centuries. Hence, there are several studies on the nineteenth-century British travel writing in Turkish academia in the form of dissertations, books and articles².

Since those studies pursued by the Turkish academicians generally deal with the representation of the Turks/Muslims as opposed to the British/Christians in the travel books, the lack of focus on the role of Protestantism as defined against non-Protestant

² Some of these studies on the nineteenth-century British travel writing are Kamil Aydın’s *Images of Turkey in Western Literature* (1999), Aslı Kutluk’s MA dissertation titled “The Self and the Other: Representations of Turkey and the Turks in the Travel Writings of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Richard Chandler” (2006), Gürsoy Şahin’s book titled *İngiliz Seyahatnamelerinde Osmanlı Toplumunu ve Türk İmajı* (2007), Atalay Gündüz’s PhD dissertation titled “Turkey and Turks in British and American travel writing from 1850 to the present” (2007), Ahmet İpşirli’s MA dissertation, “The image of Jerusalem in the Nineteenth-Century Travel Books” (2009), Hasan Serkan Kırca’s MA dissertation titled “Turkey and the image of Turks according to the work of Traveller Sir Charles Fellows” (2010), Orkun Kocabıyık’s PhD dissertation titled “Imperial Adventures: Izmir as the Oriental Other in British Travel Writing Tradition” (2011), Alev Karaduman’s article “İngiliz Seyyah Alexander Kinglake’in Osmanlı Türkiyesine Ötekileştirici Bakışı” (2013).

Christians in British travel writing is apparent. In this respect, the travelogues written as literary reflections of the nineteenth-century British expeditions to Anatolia, where Christian minorities composed a substantial part of the population, provide a scholarly opportunity for the examination of British travellers' attitudes towards non-Protestant Christians. In the light of these preliminary remarks, the main aim of this thesis is to analyse how Protestant British identity is reflected through the othering statements on the non-Protestant Christians of Asia Minor as well as on the Russians, Britain's nineteenth-century imperial rival in relation to the actions/performances of the travellers in Robert Curzon's *Armenia: A Year in Erzerum, and on the Frontiers of Russia, Turkey, and Persia* (1854), Frederick Burnaby's *On Horseback through Asia Minor* (1877), John Hartley's *Researches in Greece and the Levant* (1831), and Lady Alicia Blackwood's *A Narrative of Personal Experiences and Impressions during a Residence on the Bosphorus throughout the Crimean War* (1881). Considerable parts of these travel accounts are dedicated to the imperial/political concerns for Russia and to the description of non-Protestant Christians of Asia Minor (mainly the Greeks and the Armenians) in terms of religious education, cleanliness, morals, customs, relations with the Turks and daily habits/conduct, and above all, their spiritual and religious lives. As one of the primary concerns of the current study is to examine the sectarian divisions in Christianity and its function in identity construction as represented in the travel writing of Robert Curzon, Frederick Burnaby, John Hartley and Alicia Blackwood, it is proper to begin with a brief historical development of Christianity by referring to some highly crucial events that eventually led to the emergence of the major Christian denominations such as Catholicism, Orthodoxy and Protestantism.

Although Christianity was to take an important part in relation to the East/West dichotomy as an essential component of the West, it is safe to state that it was originally an Eastern religion. Furthermore, there is an undeniable dependence of Christianity on Judaism in terms of doctrine and holy texts; and Jesus Christ, being obviously Oriental himself, was the Messiah prophesied in the Old Testament according to Christian belief (Stephenson 20-21). As a further example of the oriental origins of Christianity, the geographical location where it came into existence is also of significance as it began to spread in Jerusalem, the holy centre for all three Abrahamic religions. In this respect,

British ecclesiastical historian Diarmaid MacCulloch refers to the common origins of Judaism and Christianity as follows: “Christians have their own name for Palestine or Israel: they call it the Holy Land, because Jesus Christ was born and died here [...] The name of Jerusalem echoes through the sacred songs of the Jews, in the ancient longing or joy, and Christians have sung the same texts” (47). In this sense, Christianity is not a new religion, but as French orientalist Ernest Renan suggests, a sect of Judaism which succeeded in becoming a religion (qtd. in Vermes 220). The relevance of the geographical and doctrinal genesis of Christianity for this study is that Christianity was an Eastern religion long before its adoption by the West (i.e. Europe) as one of the most essential components of European identity. In particular, for the British case, long before the Isles’ gradual conversion to Christianity in the fifth and sixth centuries and even longer before its conversion to Protestantism in the sixteenth century, which was believed to be the “true” form of Christianity by its followers, Christianity had already begun to influence the Orient in a fundamental way. In Etherington’s words, “Christianity originated in Palestine and spread through the Middle East and North Africa before it reached Scandinavia and eastern Europe. The religion flourished in Tunisia, Ethiopia, Sudan, south India before there was a British Empire” (2). Hence, the British travellers’ othering remarks on the non-Protestant Christians of Anatolia point to the fact that even if they adopted Christianity later, they would still feel superior in terms of sectarian belief, and therefore orientalise the non-Protestant Christians from a Western/European point of view.

In fact, the first imperial domain in which Christianity flourished – and in this case, into which Christianity was born – was those of the Romans. According to the Christian belief, after the death and resurrection of Christ, his apostles began to spread Christianity in the Middle East and Anatolia, both of which used to be Roman territories. Initially, Christianity was not welcomed by the Roman Empire, and therefore the early history of Christianity was recorded as a series of violent conflicts and oppression towards the pioneers of Christianity. Considering this new form of religious belief to be a threat to their pagan culture, the Roman Empire and its pagan elites antagonized Christianity so harshly that perpetual persecution of the Christian subjects was a very common characteristic of the first centuries of the first millennium (MacCulloch 155-156).

However, with the succession of Constantine I (c. 280–337) to the throne of the Western Roman Empire in 306 AD, the attitude towards Christianity and Christians within the Empire was to change in a dramatic way. By the time of Constantine’s enthronement, the Empire had already been split into two (i.e. Eastern and Western) administrative realms, each with a distinct ruler called Augustus (Bainton 87). As Judith Coffin and Robert E. Lerner point out, the exact reason why Constantine I converted to Christianity remains a mystery (206). The legend, however, has it that Constantine the Great, before going into a very crucial battle at Milvian Bridge, saw the symbol of the cross in the sky and read *In hoc signo vinces* which means “in this sign conquer” (MacCulloch 191). Moreover, it is believed that the night before the battle Constantine had a dream of Christ who suggested him to use this symbol in order to dishearten his enemies, and the battle resulted in Constantine’s victory. In the fusion of history and legend, perhaps the most credible explanation for Constantine’s conversion is that he was in search of a unifying force for his disintegrating empire that was vulnerable to attacks by Germanic tribes from the western frontier (Coffin and Lerner 206).

Although Constantine I proved to be a great military and political leader, his endeavours did not help him save the Western domain of the Empire from collapse. In sight of the resistance from the pagan elites of Rome to the introduction of a new monotheistic religion and foreseeing the inevitable end of the Western Roman Empire, he decided to re-orient the centre of the Empire to the East by founding a new capital, which would have been known as Constantinople³ until 1453. The naming of this new capital was an issue of great importance as “the newly founded city was officially called Nova Roma,” but “in popular speech it was from the beginning known in Greek as Constantinopolis, the city of Constantine, or in English, Constantinople” (Freely 37). In a sense, the new capital was officially “the second Rome”⁴ which openly posed an alternative to the religious and political authority of “the first Rome.” Apart from these religious and

³ For the rest of this study, the city of İstanbul will be mentioned as Constantinople appertaining to the historical period before the Turkish Conquest of the city in 1453, and as İstanbul concerning the period after the conquest.

⁴ After Constantin the Great’s decision to move to Constantinople, the city began to be called “the second Rome” alluding to the historical importance of the city of Rome. By the same logic, after the fall of Constantinople to Ottoman Turks in 1453, the centre of Orthodoxy moved to Moscow which was also known as “the third Rome” (Gerd x).

political reasons, there were several economic necessities for the re-orientation of the Empire because Constantinople “was an ancient city enjoying a superb strategic site in the entrance of the Black Sea and the command of trade routes east and west” (MacCulloch 192).

The Byzantine Empire enjoyed prosperity and peace for a long time with the help of Constantine’s insightful political and religious moves, but things were to change with the gradual Turkish conquest of Asia Minor beginning in 1071, which had been the cradle of Christianity since the Great Conversion by Constantine I. As the agents of this widespread conquest, the Muslims were on the agenda of European kingdoms due to their victorious expansionist moves into Asia Minor, and especially the Muslim Turks were of great interest to Christendom since their arrival in Asia Minor at the beginning of the eleventh century (Rice 13-14). This expansionist policy by the Turks left many Christian communities such as the Armenians and the Greeks within the borders of the Turkish lands, which would eventually lead to the multi-religious Ottoman society in the nineteenth century (MacLean 6). The response of Europe to the expansion was embodied in the Crusades as attempts to save the Holy Land and to halt the Islamic expansion. From a wider standpoint, “this contest [between Islam and Christianity] appears as a phase of the age-long contest between Europe and Asia, between East and West” (Newhall 1-2). That is, with the spread of Islam, the rivalry between East and West entered a new phase that was predominantly determined by religious affiliations.

However, there were also times in history when the Crusades became a threat to Christians themselves. Of such incidents, the most striking one occurred during the fourth crusade between 1202-1204 when the crusaders “not only attacked and captured Constantinople, the capital of the Christian Byzantine empire, they had systematically looted its palaces and churches, expelled its rulers and crowned Baldwin as a new emperor of their own” (Harris xiii). The crusaders lost their focus on their primary target, turned their route to Constantinople, and became a threat to a Christian stronghold that they were supposed to protect from occupation by the Muslims. In this respect, this relationship between these two Christian worlds (i.e. Catholic and Orthodox) was based on conflict and disagreement which signalled the ironic aspect of the fourth crusade. According to the ecclesiastical historians “the capture and the sack of Constantinople was the

culmination of mounting incomprehension, intolerance and hostility between the two halves of the Christian world, the Catholic, the western European Latins on the one hand, and the Orthodox, Greek-speaking, eastern Byzantians on the other” (Harris xiv). From this perspective, the attack directed upon Constantinople can be considered an outburst of the fundamental opposition between Eastern and Western Christianit(ies) which is explained in a nutshell by Newhall as follows:

Ever since Constantine’s time there had been fundamental cultural differences between the East and West, which the Teutonic conquest of the West accentuated. The Greeks, with reason, regarded the Latins as barbarians, ignorant of the language of the Gospels and of the greatest Church Fathers [...] Since the ninth century, however, there had formed at Constantinople an anti-Catholic party among the Greek clergy, disposed to oppose papal claims to primacy, to regard certain Western practices and beliefs as heretical, to denounce the Latins as ‘forerunners of apostasy, servants of Antichrist, who deserve a thousand deaths, liars, fighters against God,’ and to foment schism. (21-2)

On the other hand, it should be kept in mind that there exists a view that this deviation in the fourth crusade was the responsibility of only a small group among the crusaders, and it cannot be generalized to the whole mission of the crusade (Harris xv).

The last wave of the Crusades in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries coincided with the foundation of the Ottoman Empire in 1299 as a small *beghlik* that would have substantial authority over Anatolia in a short span of time. The fast-growing Turkish state soon became an influential actor in European politics due to its successful military campaigns on European territory. As a predominantly Muslim power, the growing influence of the Ottomans over the territory once governed by the Romans and the Byzantines caused European Christians to develop an adverse image of the Turks. However, as Filiz Turhan explains in her book titled *The Other Empire*, “what we [found was] that the Ottoman Empire was an Eastern Other whose otherness was always subject to qualification and change, and easily manipulated by writers for their own rhetorical and political purposes” (3). In other words, there was not a fixed and invariant image of the Ottomans in the European mind, and the European sentiments for the Ottomans ranged from hatred to admiration. Aslı Çırakman suggests in her study *From the ‘Terror of the World’ to the ‘Sick Man of Europe’* (2002):

Europeans in the sixteenth and seventh centuries seem to have had quite ambivalent impression that range from sympathy, admiration, amazement and anxiety to fear and hatred. This is due to the perceived Ottoman frugality, unity, and success that stimulated in the West a sense of inferiority and self-criticism. (3)

Donna Landry and Gerald MacLean narrow down Çırakman's overall remarks about "Europeans" and their impression of the Ottomans with a specific focus on the Anglo-Ottoman context and how those encounters could bring about occasions for identity construction. After the Ottomans had evolved from a local *beghlik* to an empire in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there appeared an "imperial envy"⁵ for England due to the fact that the Ottomans pursued very successful military campaigns in Europe, and as a result they set an exemplary empire by their dominance over the conquered territories, and therefore,

By heading East, English and sometimes Scottish travellers also learned new things about their own national and religious identities. They learned to experience representativeness abroad, they learned how insignificant their island kingdom appeared when compared to others, and they were subjected to being viewed by Ottomans and other Eastern people as part of concept-categories alien to themselves. (343)

Landry and MacLean's remarks are significant especially when Anglo-Papal relations of the early sixteenth century are taken into consideration. In the early modern era, England found itself in a fierce struggle against the Vatican and the other Catholic powers in Europe because of religious policies it followed, which would finally result in England's official break from Rome and conversion to Protestantism in 1534. In other words, the "island kingdom" which aspired to have an independent and self-reliant empire like the Ottomans' and to overcome its "imperial envy" was about to make an attempt for that end. While the Ottoman Empire enjoyed a glorious period which was the subject of the European countries' fear and envy, England was on the edge of a great change which

⁵ "Imperial envy" is a phrase coined by Gerald MacLean to explain the urge on the part of the English to emulate the Ottomans in the early modern era when they aspired to become a great empire like the Ottoman Empire. MacLean defines "imperial envy" as "a useful strategy for understanding the growth of imperial fantasies and ambitions that would help to energize and transform an insular people into an imperial nation" (21).

began as a result of Henry VIII's (1491-1547) desire to divorce Catherine of Aragon (1485-1536), the daughter of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain.

Prior to the frictions and conflicts that eventually led to Henry VIII's excommunication by Pope Julius III in 1539, such an exemplary relationship had existed between England and Rome that Pope Leo X granted Henry VIII the title of *Fidei Defensor* ("Defender of the Faith") in 1521 (Rosman 22). The reason why Henry VIII was granted this title was rather ironic as the Pope gave him the title for the sake of his book *Defence of Seven Sacraments* (1521) in which Henry VIII criticizes Protestantism severely (Doran 82). Apart from this religious harmony between England and the Vatican, there was a political harmony as well which was arranged by their cooperation against France and Spain via Thomas Wolsey (1473-1530), a cardinal of the Catholic Church who functioned as the intermediary between Henry VIII and the Vatican (Doran 83). Nevertheless, this compatible relation was interrupted when Henry VIII was desperate to have a male heir in order to guarantee the future of his dynasty, and it was explicit for the King that Catherine of Aragon was unable to produce a male heir for him. Henry VIII's will to get divorced and take a new wife was denied by the Pope who was responsible for the application of Catholic rules that strictly prohibited divorce. Besides, from a political perspective, the Pope could not take a risk offending the king of Spain who was the most important Catholic ally in the Christian world and a protector against France's grip on Rome (Rosman 23).

Though seemingly a religious issue, Henry VIII's "great matter," as it was commonly referred to in that period, turned out to be a strictly political and imperial problem which was directly related to England's independence from and sovereignty against Rome's authority. The political aspect of "the great matter" unfolded more obviously when the Parliament passed a series of acts which granted the king more power, and accordingly, England more independence. In this regard, the first act to be mentioned is the Act of Supremacy (1534) which was a milestone in English ecclesiastical and political history as it declared:

Albeit, the King's Majesty justly and rightfully is and oweth to be the supreme head of the Church of England, and so is recognised by the clergy of this

realm in their Convocations... And that our said sovereign lord, his heirs and successors kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority from time to time to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities, whatsoever they be... (Act of Supremacy)

By declaring Henry VIII and his successors “the supreme head of the Church of England,” the act openly indicated that England was no longer under the authority of the Vatican in any religious matter. When it is taken into account that Rome could get involved in the political issues as the spiritual authority which had the right to ratify the ascension of Catholic monarchs, England’s policy to remove such a religious and political authority above itself was a great step taken towards being a fully independent country with a potential for becoming a great empire.

The Act in Restraints of Appeals (1533) is the second act to be mentioned. Originally written with an intention of giving Henry VIII the power to divorce Catharine of Aragon, the act is one of the momentous texts in English history as it defines England as an “empire” for the first time:

This realm of England is an empire, and so hath been accepted in the world, governed by one supreme head and king having the dignity and royal estate of the imperial crown of the same, unto whom a body politic, compact of all sorts and degrees of people divided in terms and by names of spirituality and temporality, be bounden and owe to bear next to God a natural and humble obedience. (Act in Restraints of Appeals).

Though used to mean “independent,” the word “empire” signified much for English history because England recognized no other superior power above itself with the Act of Restraints of Appeals. While Henry VIII’s reign was marked by the acts that constituted a constitutional and legal basis for independent England, the reign of Elizabeth I (1533-1603) comprised more active policies in order to build a “real” empire. Elizabeth I, who was brought up as a true Protestant unlike Henry VIII who died as a Catholic, chose to engage both Spain and France more directly on the basis of religion and politics. Especially Spain resorted to aggressive policies ranging from plots against Elizabeth I’s life and plans to invade England. These hostilities from Spain were well utilized by the English propagandists of the age as “Spanish involvement in plots against Elizabeth and

the growing expectation of an invasion reinforced the sense that Catholicism meant foreign domination. Increasingly, propagandists associated Protestantism with patriotism” (Strong 35). In effect, these propaganda activities against Catholic Spain strengthened Protestantism’s position in England.

During the Elizabethan age, the propaganda made for the political campaigns against Spain was supported by the active overseas policies such as encouraging the seadogs (English pirates) to plunder Spanish trade ships (Ronald 55). On the other hand, in order to formulate English Protestantism (i.e. Anglicanism) and to create a solid doctrinal basis for the Church of England, a number of religious studies were encouraged, conducted and sponsored by Elizabeth I. To this end, a continental aid was required primarily because the Reformation movement was initiated in German principalities, not in England. A large number of German Protestant scholars who had to take refuge in England due to a heavy defeat of the Protestants by Charles V in Battle at Muhlberg in 1547 provided this aid, and they would have an immense influence over the development of the Church of England and would change English religious life profoundly (Doran 92).

Although the foundation of the Church of England dates back to the sixth century with the first missions of Christianity in the British Isles (Chapman 4), it gained its final shape, as it is known today, in the sixteenth century with the Reformation movement. The first major change in the administrative branch was the declaration of the monarch of England as “the supreme head of the Church of England,” which means that the Church did not accept the rule of any other governor except England’s own ruler (Solt 70). Henry VIII’s intention was overtly political as he was in search of a way of annulling his marriage with Catharine of Aragon. However, this administrative change was also supported and strengthened by several theological changes in the Church with the succession of his son, Edward VI. Especially under the leadership of Thomas Cranmer⁶ (1489-1556), the Church adopted more Protestant-inspired doctrines and new patterns of worship. Cranmer’s time in the office of the Archbishop of Canterbury also witnessed “the wholesale stripping of images and roof-lofts from parish churches” (Guy 288), and the

⁶ Thomas Cranmer was an English clergyman who was also officiated as the Archbishop of Canterbury from 1533 to his deprivation for heresy in 1555. Cranmer is widely known for his contributions to the English Reformation.

publication of *The Common Book of Prayer* in 1549, which would later be revised and edited several times in 1552, 1559 and 1604 (Guy 299). Though interrupted by the reign of Mary I, a strict Catholic, the English Reformation was to be completed and solidified by the rule of Elizabeth I. It was during her reign that the Church of England was given its final shape and organization both administratively and doctrinally with the Elizabethan settlement. Queen Elizabeth I also changed her title from “the Supreme Head” to “the Supreme Governor” as she was afraid of heresy (Solt 72). Even though some services of the Church began to be carried out in English with the introduction of *The Common Book of Prayer*, it was not until the Stuart Dynasty that King James I (1566-1625) ordered an official translation of the Bible into English language, which is widely known and accepted as *the King James Bible*, and with this translation, the Bible became accessible to the laymen (Solt 209).

In Rowan Strong’s words, there was “a connection between a militant new Protestantism and empire, on the basis that trade and colonization would strengthen the position of Protestant monarchs against imperial Catholic Spain” (1) which gained momentum in favour of England after the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. When combined with religious antagonism fuelled by England’s gradual conversion to Protestantism, the rivalry between Spain and England did much for the creation of a national consciousness and created enough encouragement to build an empire. Thus, this victory rendered England an invincible sea power in the Atlantic Ocean. The primary target for both parties was the newly discovered American continent which would be colonized with the charters issued by the English monarchy in order to boost trade, plantation, and exploitation. Therefore, the British Empire had kept growing steadily until the end of the eighteenth century. During this long period, one of the most noteworthy changes England experienced was the official unification of England and Scotland by the Act of Union in 1707. After the passing of this act, it was more common to call the country Britain and its people “British.” This relatively stable and peaceful atmosphere at home had been reflected on the overseas colonies for a long time until the thirteen Anglo-American colonies called for more autonomy from the centre, and demanded more representation in Westminster. After Britain’s efforts to dominate the Anglo-American colonists with a series of acts such as the Stamp Act (1765), Townshend Acts (1767) and the Tea Act

(1773) (Thackeray and Findling 84; Lloyd 89), the American Revolutionary War became inevitable in these circumstances, and eventually led to the independence of the thirteen colonies in 1783. The loss of the American colonies was a blow to the British Empire, and it marked the end of the “first” British Empire that was an “Atlantic Empire” (Canny 25).

The British Empire was not completely helpless in maintaining its leading role as a world power after the loss of the thirteen colonies. All they needed to do was to re-orient the “second” British Empire in the East, namely in India which had already been partially colonized due to the efforts of East India Company founded in 1600 (Ward 44). In this sense, “the loss of the United States to the British Empire seems at worst an awkward but largely irrelevant stumble, and at best a liberation of energies that could now be directed to more distant, less perplexing, and very possibly more profitable imperial and national goals” (Judd 28). A colony like India which was “an enormously profitable, self-financing enterprise, approximating very closely to the Victorian capitalist and imperial ideal” (Moore 402) could not afford to be lost to the other colonial rivals. By taking advantage of its geographical superiority in Asia, the Russian Empire appeared as the most formidable threat to British interests in India especially after the Napoleonic threat was eliminated at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The problem of defending India was more complicated and obligated more involvement in the regional politics because “Russia’s subsequent drive towards both India and Constantinople seemed, to many, confirmation enough, and until very recently there existed a strong belief in Russia’s long-term aim of world domination” (Hopkirk 20). In this sense, the re-oriented second British Empire began to focus on the East and the rivalry between Britain and Russia in the nineteenth century was commonly named as the Great Game⁷. The Great Game was primarily concerned with

[...] a problem of guarding the frontiers of India both against the incursions of border people like Afghans and Tibetans, and more seriously against the threat of potentially hostile and expanding power of Russia. A good deal of

⁷ The term “Great Game” was coined by Arthur Conolly who was an officer in the British Army charged in the regiment responsible for the defence of India. The term was later used by Rudyard Kipling in his novel *Kim* (1901) (Hopkirk 1).

energy and money was spent on discerning and then countering Russian influence on the borders of India. (Judd 79)

Judd's short but comprehensive summary of the Great Game can also be taken as the summary of the British imperial politics concerning India in the nineteenth century. When India's long land border to Central Asia was taken into consideration, the British authorities required other security precautions intensely because, as Andrew Porter argues, Russia intended to be dominant in the Black Sea, the Mediterranean Sea, Persia and the Ottoman territories ("Introduction" 25). The only case in which Britain and Russia engaged each other in a war was caused by a disagreement on the future of the Ottoman Empire. The main reason for this direct engagement was that British imperial politics was not only related to direct control and exploitation of colonies but in many other cases "[o]fficials and merchants began to cast covetous eyes on places on the map that should be brought under the British Crown" which "were strategically important for the maintenance and development of existing colonies and trading routes across the globe" (Canny 22). In this respect, the Ottoman Empire and its heartland, Asia Minor, meant much from the beginning of the nineteenth century onward when the British Empire was re-oriented in India after the loss of the Anglo-American colonies.

Historically speaking, the nineteenth century abounded with military, diplomatic, political and imperial confrontations for European powers to protect their interests. In this sense, as John Seeley suggests in *The Expansion of England*, even the imperial power struggles within Europe reached far beyond the official territories of the imperial powers as it happened in the Great Game politics in which the British and the Russians rivalled each other for the dominance in Central Asia. Therefore, it was inevitable for Britain and Russia to invite all the neighbouring states such as the Ottoman Empire, Afghanistan and Persia into the Game. On this political background, three most significant events, which entailed the intervention of Russia, Britain and the Ottoman Empire in terms of military action and diplomacy, might be listed in chronological order as the Greek War of Independence (1821-1832), the Crimean War (1853-1856), and the Russo-Turkish war (1877-1878) including the Balkan Rebellions. Each of the three was a turning point in the Great Game politics, and each had a significant place in the triple relation of Russia, Britain and the Ottoman Empire (Laisram 15). More importantly, the travel books to be

evaluated in this thesis were written during, right before or right after these three significant events and were highly influenced by the atmosphere they created in the British public. Chronologically speaking, John Hartley's *Researches* was written during and after the Greek War of Independence; Robert Curzon's work was penned before the Crimean War, Lady Blackwood's memories were directly from the years of the Crimean War; and Burnaby's travel book was written right before the Russo-Turkish war (1877-1878). Considering the tense relations between Russia and Britain, it was inevitable for the British travellers to deliver political statements on Russia in their travel accounts, and these four travel books contain this kind of political statements on the Russians alongside the religious observations about the non-Protestant Christians of Asia Minor.

Although the Greeks under the Ottoman rule were treated in a relatively better way than the other imperial subjects all around the world due to officially granted religious liberties, the desire for freedom was not away from the mind and heart of the Greeks (Koliopoulos and Veremis 16). Consequently, the Greeks launched a war of independence in 1821 that consisted of a series of rebellions and battles. Several leading European powers such as Britain, France, Italy and Russia took an active part in favour of the Greek insurgents during the rebellions and the battles. Beginning in 1821, the war ended with the Greek Independence in 1832. Russia's claims for leadership in the Orthodox world and Britain's liberating attitude towards Christians under the rule of the Ottoman Empire were very influential in the context of the Greek War of Independence (Armaoğlu 181). However, Britain's policy throughout the war was subject to change depending on the political requirements of the time. For instance, at the very beginning the rebellion gained a great deal of support from Europe that nostalgically saw the ancient Greek civilization as a building block of the western civilization, and Britain was no exception. Therefore,

[f]orgotten were all the negative stereotypes about the Greeks' past religious quarrels and political antagonisms with the West. Western philanthropy, Classicism, and Romanticism contributed to the growth of the powerful ideological and political movement of Philhellenism, which outlasted the Greek war of independence, but not in the form of a secure endowment for the Greeks to draw upon, as the latter hoped. (Koliopoulos and Veremis 23)

Nevertheless, this affirmative attitude towards the Greek War of Independence did not apply to all British political circles, and various ideas related to the Greek cause could be heard at that time. For example, the Duke of Wellington's way of evaluating the Battle of Navarino (1827), a milestone on the way leading to Greek independence, as "an untoward event" was quite telling about the fact that anti-Hellenism was also present as a discourse among British political circles (Holland and Markides 2). Moreover, there was a common fear that an independent Greece would easily cooperate with Russia on a religious basis, and this possibility was never ignored by Britain as "British ministers feared making a 'working state' out of a Greek polity which it was soon anticipated would be 'if not wholly under the influence of Russia, then at least sufficiently so to be irrevocably hostile to England'" (Holland and Markides 2). Hence, Britain held a position between Greece and the Ottoman Empire to avoid an independent Greece that would be too powerful and likely to align itself with Russia. Even in the context of the Greek War of Independence, Britain acted according to the larger plane of global imperial politics to outfight Russia in the Great Game.

The Crimean War (1853-1856) was the historical event which obligated direct British involvement against Russia. The main cause for the Crimean War was to keep the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire against Russian expansionism so that Britain could have an ally on the routes to India as a buffer zone. Although the war gained political aspects such as the security of the Black Sea and the integrity of the Ottoman Empire in the upcoming stages, initially sectarian difference among the European powers played an important role as the cause for the war. As a matter of fact, Jerusalem, which was an Ottoman territory in that period, is a fundamental city for all Abrahamic religions as a holy place for pilgrimage. The Ottomans had granted some privileges to the French Catholics for Jerusalem since the Capitulations of 1535 and 1673 (Macfie 27). Russia, as the approved protector of the Orthodox subjects of the Ottoman Empire with the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca in 1774, demanded the same rights the Catholics were entitled to. Upon this crisis, the Ottoman authorities decided to convene a commission with the representatives of the Orthodox and the Catholic minorities in İstanbul. However, Russia, feeling that the provisions of the commission would not be in its favour, escalated the crisis and began to threaten the integrity of the Ottoman Empire as it had done since the

eighteenth century (Armaoğlu 241-2). Britain could not help getting involved in the war as Russia militarized the Black Sea and openly threatened the Straits for a passage to the Mediterranean Sea. Although the British involvement in the Crimean War helped the Ottoman Empire stand against the Russian aggression, the Empire's problems were not meant to end with the favourable result of the Crimean War. For this reason, British involvement in the Eastern Question⁸ was inevitably extended to the end of the nineteenth century.

The third event that created a controversy in British politics in the late nineteenth century was the revolt of the Balkan nations against Ottoman authority. At this point, it is noteworthy that Balkan nations were generally known for their strong adherence to Orthodox Christianity, which was utilized as pan-Slavist and pan-Orthodox discourses by Russia. The above-mentioned controversy polarized the British Liberals and the Conservatives into two camps who disagreed on the future of the Ottoman Empire. Most notably, William Gladstone⁹ argued in "Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East" (1876), if the Balkan nations declared their independence, that would lead to the total disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, which was traditionally seen as the counter-balance against the Russian expansion, but this situation would still alleviate the Russian threat on British interests. The British Conservatives, however, did not take this view favourably (Lloyd 200). In short, the Conservative section in British politics supported the integrity of the Ottoman Empire while the Liberal section argued that allowing the Balkan nations to rule themselves might constitute a hindrance against Russia's expansionist policy in the Balkan Peninsula, thereby stopping it from being a threat to British imperialist intentions. More significantly, both Disraeli and Gladstone were against Russia's possible expansion in the Ottoman territories, but the point on which they did not agree was the policy about the Christian minorities under Ottoman control. The British concern for the Christian minorities was also reflected in the nineteenth-century British travel writing on

⁸ Eastern Question is the "diplomatic problem posed in the 19th and early 20th centuries by the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, centring on the contest for control of former Ottoman territories." ("Eastern Question")

⁹ William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898) was a British liberal politician, known for his anti-Turkish sentiment.

Asia Minor where British travellers were most likely to meet and observe their fellow Christians.

Russia's adherence to Orthodox Christianity as a part of its national identity and its policy concerning the Orthodox minorities in the Ottoman Empire was a long-term consequence of the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 because, as MacCulloch explains, "the final collapse of the Byzantine Empire in 1453 had an ambiguous resonance in Moscow. To lose the holy places of Constantinople was a bitter blow, but the catastrophe did leave a useful vacuum in Orthodox leadership" which would be filled by Russia in the centuries to come (522). The Russian claim of Orthodox leadership exceeded the limits of religious belief and gained a political and imperialistic dimension in its relations to the Ottoman Empire and Britain. Hence, it is not surprising to see Russia interfering in the Ottoman domestic politics about Christian minorities living in Anatolia and the Balkans in terms of their security and freedom. Alongside its rich culture, its hosting many Christian churches of Antiquity and its being the heartland of the Ottoman Empire, Asia Minor attracted a number of British travel writers in the nineteenth century because of the aforementioned tense situation between Russia and the Ottoman Empire as well as Britain's own interests in the region.

No matter where the setting is (Anatolia or somewhere else), travel writing, as a literary genre, is available for the discussion of Self and Other as it basically takes its subject matter from "difference" which results in the creation of binary oppositions. The question of Other as it relates to travel writing is taken into consideration with reference to several stereotypical constructions such as West/East, colonizer/colonized, Christian/Muslim, and civilized/savage and the like. This binary approach has been adopted by the academia mainly due to Edward Said's influential work *Orientalism* (1978) which brought a new perspective into East/West studies. While fundamentally changing the paradigm of East/West studies, Said mainly benefits from literary works and travel books of several western cultures and his work, *Orientalism*, is "the first work of contemporary criticism to take travel writing as a major part of its corpus, seeing it as a body of work which offered particular insight into the question of colonial discourse" (Hulme and Youngs 8). It was after the publication of *Orientalism* that travel writing, with its availability for textual analysis of the Self/Other dichotomy, began to receive academic appreciation in

academic circles as a fresh field of study. Although Said's work has paved the way for numerous studies on travel writing and has been much appreciated in academic circles, it is not fully invulnerable to criticism. First, it is commonly claimed that *Orientalism* is essentialist in its critical style, and it only gives weight to the conflict between Islam and Christianity by almost ignoring the other types of conflicts such as the one between Eastern and Western Christians, which the present study modestly tries to illuminate. Said is conscious of this restrictedness as he clearly explains in the introduction to *Orientalism* and states:

For reasons I shall discuss presently I limited that already limited (but still inordinately large) set of questions to the Anglo-French-American experience of the Arabs and Islam, which for almost a thousand years together stood for the Orient. Immediately upon doing that, a large part of the Orient seemed to have been eliminated—India, Japan, China, and other sections of the Far East—not because these regions were not important (they obviously have been) but because one could discuss Europe's experience of the Near Orient, or of Islam, apart from its experience of the Far Orient. (16-17)

While explaining the reasons for this exclusion, Said openly indicates that his main concern is with the way the Near East (by which Said addresses Arabs and Islam) was experienced by “Anglo-French-American” writers. However, the question of East/West dichotomy is more complicated and more diverse than the way Said reveals in his prominent book because the term “Other” is a slippery concept changing from time to time and from place to place. For instance, Said totally overlooks the fact that the geography with which he was concerned was not only controlled by the Ottomans but it also hosted a religious diversity (Umunç 298). There are several reasons for Said to reduce the opposition between East and West to the framework of Islam and Christianity. For example, Pallavi Pandit Laisram asserts in *Viewing the Islamic Orient* that Islam constituted a perfect counter-part to Christianity by conquering the lands in which Christianity dominated for centuries, and presented an open threat to Christendom at both political and religious levels (3). Nevertheless, this strict stratification between East and West through religious affiliations¹⁰ misses a very critical point in the debate; that is, the groups affiliated with different religions within these “separate civilizations,” namely the Muslims (though relatively fewer in number) living within the West, and the Christians

¹⁰ Most notably, Samuel Huntington suggests this view in his famous article “the Clash of Civilizations?”

living within the East. Evidently, Said was not the first scholar to associate the West with Christianity as the West traditionally came to be defined as opposed to “heathen” or with a more general term “non-Christian” Other. This Christian identity was defined even more strongly during the age of exploration (roughly between 1500s-1700s) because encountering with “difference” became more frequent with the exploration of new continents. In fact, even after the age of discovery, “the West has never lost touch with its Christian roots. The encounter with the new worlds – with difference – actually reinforced this new identity” (Hall 291).

When travel writing and identity construction are taken into consideration, some theoretical input might be useful at this point. Most basically, identity is the sum of answers given to the question “who am I,” and those answers basically rely on “a socially constructed, socially recognizable complex of attributes deriving from an individual’s membership in such collectivities as nation, class, race, gender, sexuality, profession, generation, region, ethnicity, or religion” (Schick 14). However, identity is not fixed all the time, and its construction is always underway by means of alterity and difference. In this sense, if identity refers to the Self, alterity/difference refers to the Other, both of which are dialectic concepts. In other words, each statement which is made as opposed to an “Other” is a contribution to the construction of “Self.” As Schick states,

[t]he construction of identity, therefore, is contingent upon the positing of a negative identity, an Other as the repository of opposites. Acknowledged qualities, whether real or imagined, are centered and taken as the norm; simultaneously, rejected qualities, whether real or imagined, are marginalized or exoticized. Collectively, these latter form a ‘constitutive outside’ that delimits the Self and thereby defines it. (15)

Furthermore, it is not only the act of making statements about the Other, but also the way in which statements are made is an important constituent of identity construction in that “we choose the techniques to describe the Other and ourselves, determine the angle, the displayed details, the depth, the focus, use different filters, sharpen the contrasts or soften them (Fludernik qtd. in Agai 105). To put it differently, presentation of the Other is not totally objective but embedded in one’s choice of the techniques of re-presentation.

However, construction of identity is not limited to reflections about the Other or representations of an opposing entity which constitutes a counter-part to the Self. Gerald MacLean, by borrowing from Judith Butler's theory of performativity of gender, argues that national identity, like gender, is also performative. According to MacLean, "being male or female, English or Scottish, is a performative act in a particular language, the result of being in the world" (97). In a sense, identity construction does not merely include one's statements (i.e. sayings) about oneself or the Other, but it also involves one's performances (i.e. actions) which are internalized as a part of one's identity. When the theoretical insight into identity/alterity is combined with what Stuart Hall contends about the relation between explorations and Christian identity, it can be safely argued that the Christian West's encounter with the religious Other was not limited to newly discovered lands and their "heathen" population. An encounter of the religious kind may also apply to the already known lands such as Asia Minor that used to host a great religious diversity with its Christian, Muslim, Jewish population in the nineteenth century when the Great Game was played between Orthodox Russia and Protestant Britain.

Anatolia or Asia Minor, as the primary setting of the travelogues in the present study, was one of the first domains where Christianity began to gain acceptance among the public. Even after the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453, there was not a significant decline in the Christian population of Asia Minor. Moreover, the toleration policies adopted by the Ottomans to Protestant and Catholic missions helped increase the number of the Christian sects in Asia Minor, and therefore led to the multiplicity of Christians in the region (Braude 8). In view of the fact that Anatolia was a home of Christian diversity in the nineteenth century, British travellers who had the opportunity to visit Asia Minor came across various Christian "Others." In order to fully evaluate their experiences in Anatolia, a new aspect of the Self/Other dichotomy needs to be added to the already existing Muslim/Christian dichotomy. As "perhaps the most fertile source of information" (Hall 298) about foreign lands, travel books provide a framework through which news of alterity/Other could be communicated to homeland, which mainly draws on the representation of difference, opposition and polarization (Woodward 2). However, the representation of the Other is not completely immune to the political context of the age when it is written and thereby "the narration of cultural [in this study particularly

religious] encounter never takes place without a context, influencing the traveler, his experience and his narration as it is processed for his audience” (Agai 109). In this regard, the travel books on Asia Minor of the nineteenth century were no exception.

After a survey of the nineteenth-century British travel literature on Asia Minor, four travel books have come to the fore with their particular attention paid to the Christians (mainly the Greeks and the Armenians) of Asia Minor providing a variety of their writers’ profession and gender as well. Since the parts dedicated to the non-Protestant Other are limited in number and dispersed throughout the travel books, and more importantly these four books abound in many other topics than the observations about the Greeks, the Armenians and the Russians such as geography, demography, personal opinions and nature, only relevant parts will be interpreted within the aim of the present study, which is to explain the relationship between sectarian division and identity construction. The first chapter of this thesis will mainly deal with Frederick Burnaby’s *On Horseback through Asia Minor* the main setting of which is Eastern Asia Minor that was a domain in Ancient Armenia. Burnaby meets a large number of Armenians, and he does not avoid using an othering discourse against them. The first chapter will also discuss Robert Curzon’s *Armenia: A Year in Erzeroom, and on the Frontiers of Russia, Turkey, and Persia* which is set at the same location as Burnaby’s *On Horseback* where Curzon was on a mission. Similar to Burnaby, Curzon uses a negative discourse in describing the Armenians and the Russians as the Orthodox Other to a Protestant Self. The second chapter will focus on John Hartley’s *Researches in Greece and the Levant* which is the sum of the author’s missionary work in Greece and Western Asia Minor during the Greek War of Independence. Interestingly enough, John Hartley and his fellow missionaries were in pain to convert an already-Christianized society, namely the Greeks whose religion, they believed, had fallen in the hands of superstition and ignorance. The second chapter will end with the analysis of Alicia Blackwood’s *A Narrative of Personal Experiences and Impressions during a Residence on the Bosphorus throughout the Crimean War* which is a book of her memoirs from her voluntary stay in İstanbul during the Crimean War. Historically speaking, at that time in İstanbul, there was an anti-Orthodox sentiment because the enemy in Crimea was Russia, and Lady Blackwood is

no exception in the expression of this anti-Orthodox sentiment, but this time from the perspective of a Protestant British woman.

CHAPTER I

CLOSE TO THE BATTLEFIELD: ROBERT CURZON'S AND FREDERICK GUSTAVUS BURNABY'S TRAVELS TO EASTERN ASIA MINOR

The nineteenth century witnessed a series of Russo-Ottoman military conflicts that might be regarded as the backdrops of the Great Game. The two foremost regions of these military conflicts were the Balkans and the Caucasus. Although both Russia and the Ottoman Empire prioritized the Balkans, the Caucasus was no less important (Badem 222). Another neighbouring empire to Central Asia, Persia, also suffered from the Russian expansion in its territory. Especially in the early nineteenth century, Russia and Persia confronted each other three times (1801, 1812 and 1828); and as a result of these wars, Persia “was reduced to little more than a Russian protectorate, a status which was not to change significantly over subsequent years” (Ewans 5). In the early nineteenth century, what was more alarming for the British imperial interests was that France and Russia were working on a joint plan to invade India by uniting their armies in Astrabad¹¹ (Ewans 7). In this joint effort, Russia’s domination over Persia and the Ottoman Empire was essential because it would ensure a safe passage for the French troops through the Balkans, the Black Sea, and the Caucasus to India (Ewans 7). Thus, it was quite reasonable for Britain to adopt an imperial policy of preserving the integrity (or at least the strength) of the Ottoman Empire and that of Persia against the proliferation of Russia. In the nineteenth-century political context, Eastern Asia Minor became a centre of attention for various British travellers due to its proximity to the Caucasus, one of the battlefields in the Russo-Ottoman military conflicts. As a result of this growing interest, a number of significant travel books came out such as *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Armenia* (1842) by William Francis Ainsworth, a geologist who wrote the above-mentioned book as a result of his scientific interest in the geography of Eastern Asia Minor, *Turkish Armenia and Eastern Asia Minor* (1881) by Henry Fanshawe Tozer who desired to see “the objects of greatest interest in the east of Asia Minor” (Tozer viii), *Under the Red Crescent: Adventures of an English Surgeon with the Turkish Army at Plevna and Erzeroum, 1877-1878* (1897) by Charles S. Ryan

¹¹ While referring to the place names, the original usage within these four travel books is preserved, but a glossary for the current usage of the place names can be found at the end of this study.

which relates to the memories of an Australian army surgeon who served in Plevne and Erzurum during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78. What distinguishes Robert Curzon’s travelogue from the other travel books and makes it suitable for this thesis is the relatively more attention paid to the Armenians who lived in that region and the book’s specific political focus on the Russian Empire which is almost absent in the other works listed above.

1.1. ROBERT CURZON’S *ARMENIA: A YEAR IN ERZERROOM, AND ON THE FRONTIERS OF RUSSIA, TURKEY, AND PERSIA* (1854)

Robert Curzon, 14th Baron Zouche (1810-1873), a British diplomat, traveller, author, and a great enthusiast of the Holy Manuscripts of the Near East, was from a noble family. Born on 16 March 1810 in London, he began his education at the Charterhouse and then attended Christ Church, Oxford¹². However, his election as the MP for Clitheroe in 1831 forced him to leave Christ Church without a degree. One year later, in 1832, his borough was “disfranchised” and “Curzon never sat for another” (“Curzon, Robert” 354). Thus, it was this fact that led Robert Curzon to make a life-changing decision as he set off for Egypt and Jerusalem in 1834, which was a stepping-stone for his travel books. Later on, he extended these travels to Greece and Albania mainly because of his interest in biblical manuscripts and Eastern churches of the Levant. As a literary reflection of these travels, he published his first travel book titled *Visit to the Monasteries in the Levant* (1849) which was “one of the most charming books of travel ever written and a worthy companion even to ‘Eothen¹³’” (“Curzon, Robert” 354). Experienced in the Levant and Levantine culture with his recent expeditions, Robert Curzon undertook a new mission when “he was appointed attaché at the embassy at Constantinople and private secretary to Sir Stratford Canning” in 1841 (“Curzon, Robert” 354).

As such, when Curzon started his new mission, there was a set of complex power relations among Britain, Russia, Persia, and the Ottoman Empire in Central Asia. As a new

¹² Christ Church was founded by Cardinal Wolsey and after his execution, was turned into “a place of scholarship” by Henry VIII in 1546. (“Christ Church, A Brief History”)

¹³ *Eothen; or Traces of Travel Brought Home from the East* is a travel book by Alexander William Kinglake. The work is mainly about the author’s travel to Middle East in the nineteenth century.

dimension of these problematic relations, a border conflict occurred between the Ottoman Empire and Persia. In order to solve the matter, it was decided to convene a commission in Erzeroom, and the agreement efforts concerning the border issue began with the attendance of Britain, Russia, Persia and the Ottoman Empire in 1842. Since Colonel Williams,¹⁴ who was to represent the British side, was not well enough to travel to Erzeroom in the harsh weather conditions, Robert Curzon was appointed as commissioner on the British side (Curzon vii). As a result of the negotiations, an agreement was reached in June, 1847. However, another issue concerning the accuracy of the earlier maps and naming within them arose because they copied each other's mistakes, and therefore fell out of date. Since the reliability of the traditional maps was put into question, it was decided to commence a new commission in 1848 (Masters 9). In order "to define the actual positions of the spots" in the disputed area, a new party started a journey from Baghdad in 1848 and arrived at Mount Ararat on 16 September 1852 (Curzon vii-viii). It was Curzon's one-year residence in Erzeroom that inspired him to write his second travel book, *Armenia: A Year in Erzeroom, and on the Frontiers of Russia, Turkey, and Persia* (1854). Curzon's work was written in the middle of the nineteenth century, and it chronicles the traveller's one-year residence in the Eastern Asia Minor town, Erzeroom. The book consists of a preface, eighteen chapters and eight illustrations, and it follows a chronological narration with some exceptions. Curzon's *Armenia* mainly mirrors the traveller's experiences, observations concerning the Turks and the Armenians in Erzeroom by intermingling them with his political opinions on the British Empire, Russia and the Ottoman Empire.

Although Russia and Britain seemed to be neutral intermediators between Persia and the Ottoman Empire on the above-mentioned commission, Curzon was politically experienced to recognize the ongoing problems between Russia and the Ottoman Empire. At the very beginning of his travel account, before setting sail for Trebizond Curzon exemplifies the Turks' adverse sentiment against Russia by quoting from the Turks in Istanbul: "everything that is bad comes from the Black Sea: the plague, the Russians, the

¹⁴ Sir William Fenwick Williams (1880-1883) was a "soldier and military and colonial administrator" who was appointed to Constantinople in 1841 with Robert Curzon, and served during the Crimean war for the defence of Kars against the Russians. After having recovered from his illness, he joined Robert Curzon for the border negotiations between Persia and the Ottoman Empire (Waite).

fogs, and the cold, all come from thence” (Curzon 17-18). Evidently, Curzon makes an obvious reference to the centuries-old conflicts between Russia and the Ottoman Empire and how these conflicts led the Turkish people to have hostile feelings towards the Russians. Curzon is so interested in the Russo-Ottoman history that he adds a further example from his earlier memories to shed light on the current situation in the Balkans. While travelling from İstanbul to Vienna in 1838, Curzon had a chance to visit Varna (today in the Republic of Bulgaria) where he was able to observe the significance of the city in the context of the Russo-Ottoman conflict. Varna was the place where the Russian army encamped before and during the war of 1829 and the Greek War of Independence. However, one particular event caught Curzon’s attention, as Varna was also the city where more than 100.000 Russian soldiers had died only because of sickness during the war (Curzon 27). In relating his opinion about this particular episode in history, Curzon starts questioning the Russians’ morality because they allowed their very own soldiers to die without a valid reason. In the end, his humanitarian criticism begins to gain a religious tone against the Russian Orthodoxy, and Curzon asks:

What, then, shall be thought of that individual who, without reason, without the slightest show of justice, right, or justifiable pretense, from his own caprice, to satisfy his own feelings, and lust of pride, and arrogance, destroys for his amusement, in two years, more than 100,000 of his fellow-creatures? Shall not their blood cry out for vengeance? Had not each of these men a soul, immortal as their butcher's? Had not many of them, many thousands of them perhaps, more faith, more trust in God, higher talents than their destroyer? (Curzon 27)

Although his name is never mentioned explicitly in the passage above, Curzon’s criticism is aimed at Tsar Nicholas I (1796-1855), who was the monarch of the Russian Empire in that period. Tsar Nicholas I led the Russian army against the Ottomans in person, but met a dramatic failure not because of the Ottoman military success but of “the sickly season” as Curzon recalls it (81). After harshly questioning Tsar Nicholas’ morals because he “kills his fellow creatures without just cause” (Curzon 27), Curzon strengthens his argument by quoting a passage from “an ancient Bulgarian or Russian manuscript, written [...] in 1355”:

The Judge seated, and the apostle standing before him, and the trumpet sounding, and the fire burning, what wilt thou do, O my soul, when thou art

carried to the judgement? for then all thy evil will appear, and all thy secret sins will be made manifest. Therefore, now, beforehand, endeavor to pray to Jesus Christ our Lord. Oh, do not thou reject me, but save me. (Curzon 27)

Curzon's quotation sounds more like a threat to Tsar Nicholas I because his sins will become known on the Judgement Day, and he skilfully makes use of the above-quoted Russian prayer as a religious reference which signifies that the Tsar's deeds will not be welcomed by God since they are not favourable for a true Christian. Therefore, at the very beginning of his travel book, Curzon hints at his upcoming criticism and negative stereotyping towards Russia and Russian Orthodoxy.

Before proceeding with Curzon's statements on the imperial rival, the Russians, and the Armenians and how those statements serve in identity construction, it is proper to give a few examples to the performativity of national identity in Curzon's work, which also shows that Robert Curzon is conscious of his national belonging. The theoretical framework given in the introduction concerning the performativity of identity is applicable to Curzon's adventures on his way to Erzerum and his residence there because there are several cases in which he is observed "doing" British. To begin with, after Curzon and other negotiating parties arrive at Trebizond by ship, they start a journey to Erzerum on horseback. It is a tough journey because of the harsh weather so the Pasha of Erzerum sends thirty horses to help them. To Curzon's surprise, the chief of the village where they are supposed to spend the night begins to ride his horse at a full gallop, and the Russian commissioner follows without hesitation. Curzon's reaction to this unexpected race is quite telling about his sense of Britishness: "I, thinking that it would not do for an Englishman to be beat by a Russian or a Turk, threw my bridle on my horse's neck and galloped after them" (Curzon 41). Hence, Curzon is quite enthusiastic about representing his nation not only on the above-mentioned commission but also in this sort of unexpected horse race. When read against the nineteenth-century background, Curzon's enthusiasm is not surprising because "the sporting culture of hunting and racing, and the artistic culture of equine portraiture and sporting art, served imaginatively to express Britain's 'gentlemanly capitalist' version of mercantilism" (Landry, *Noble Brutes* 3). In other words, through its constitutive role in the creation of the (Protestant) British gentleman, the equestrian culture of contemporary Britain was also constitutive of

Britishness, and Curzon, as a member of this culture, does not hesitate to show his skills in horse-racing.

As the second example to the performativity of national identity, Curzon's "hunting adventure" might be referred to as a supporting point. Curzon dedicates the end of chapter nine and the beginning of chapter ten of *Armenia* to the hunting potentials available around Erzerum. Curzon gives a detailed description of the game reserve with a wide range of animals such as bear, fox, lynx, lemming, *cara guz* ('karagöz' in Turkish), and wild sheep. Therefore, it is typical of a nineteenth century Englishman to be willing to benefit from the rich game variety around, and Curzon himself is no exception. Though sometimes proving dangerous, Curzon goes out hunting several times during his residence in Erzerum, but the most significant of them is the one when he succeeds in shooting a crane:

I had more success with the great cinereous Crane, which runs much faster than a horse. I shot one at full gallop with a rifle, in a place overgrown with reeds. This was a mighty triumph, for, though my game was about five feet high, he was so very long in the legs and neck, that the body offered but a small mark to be brought down under such circumstances, and the pace he was going at the time, and I after him, was, as they say, "a caution." (Curzon 133-134)

Unlike the horse race on the way to Erzerum, Curzon is not challenged by any Russians or Turks on this particular occasion, but he still feels competitive as he regards his prey as "a mighty triumph." This hunting adventure is an occasion when Curzon has a chance to display his talent not only in hunting but also in horse riding since he hunts the crane while at a gallop, which is a noteworthy quality for a nineteenth century English gentleman (Landry, *Invention* 12-13). With this awareness of British identity reflected through his actions, Curzon turns back to his initial criticism of Russia, but this time with a more political tone when he states

Russia is altogether a military power, and, as in the Dark Ages, the Czar and his nobles affect to despise the mercantile class, and, instead of doing what they can to promote industry and commerce, by opening communications, making roads and harbors, establishing steamers on rivers, and giving facility to the interchange of various commodities, the productions of distant quarters of her own enormous empire, she throws every obstacle in the way of her

internal trade, and by heavy import duties, exactions of many oppressive kinds, and the universal plunder and cheating carried on by all the government officials in the lower grades of employment, she has paralyzed both her foreign and domestic resources. (Curzon 180-181)

Curzon makes a long analysis of Russia with all its negative qualities that are utilized as reverse images of Britain. With this passage, Curzon attempts to reveal what Britain stands for by mentioning the infrastructural deficiencies of Russia. Each point mentioned in the passage above refers to one of British imperial successes such as mercantilism, industry, commerce, communication, and transportation, each of which is a crucial component of the British Empire. First, mercantilism was one of the foremost motivations in the construction of the British Empire. As Kenneth J. Panton states, “[c]ommercial gain, rather than acquisition of land, was the driving force of English exploration” (2); and to this end, the British monarchs granted a great number of charters to commercial companies such as the East India Company (1600), the Virginia Company (1606), and the Royal African Company (1660). Therefore, one of the founding principles of the British Empire was commerce, and Curzon’s criticism of Russia in terms of commerce should in fact be read as an assertion of Britishness by othering Russia as a negative example. Interestingly enough, the granting of these charters coincided with England’s gradual conversion to Protestantism, which was highly compatible with the Protestant ideals of commerce and mercantilism.

The second point that should be emphasized here is industry (i.e. the Industrial Revolution) which is, needless to say, one of the milestones in British history. Although the Industrial Revolution seems to be a domestic development within the British Isles, its ties to imperialism and colonialism are undeniable. Beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, the Industrial Revolution changed the mode of production in a drastic way by introducing machinery in the place of manual labour. As regards its connection to imperialism and colonialism, as J. R. Ward argues, the colonies’ over-supply of raw materials gave way to the Industrial Revolution because raw materials needed to be processed at home in a faster and more productive way, and exported back to the colonies as finished products. In this sense, the relationship between the Indian colony and Britain was also noteworthy because similar attempts at industrialization were made in India at about the same time in Britain, which would lead to the destruction of local wool

production in India (Ward 44). In other words, Britain did not keep its industrial advantages to itself, but tried to convey them to the colonies as well.

By benefiting from the superiority of the British imperial successes, Curzon regards himself eligible to give advice to the Russian Tsar concerning what he should do with his colonies. Yet his reference for this advice is noteworthy as he uses his own country (i.e. Britain) which represents, to Curzon, a perfect example of successful and profitable colonial expansion. Moreover, as mentioned above, even in India the British merchants were able to initiate a wool industry in the nineteenth century. After advising the Tsar on the colonial ways and informing him of what is deficient in Russian colonialism, Curzon gives a list of the wrongdoings in the Russian Empire such as “heavy import duties, exactions of many oppressive kinds, and the universal plunder and cheating carried on by all the government officials in the lower grades of employment” (Curzon 181). In other words, Curzon not only mentions the ideal situation (Britain) but also brings up the hindrances before Russia that keep it away from the possibility of having a great empire like Britain.

Robert Curzon’s criticism towards Russia is not restricted to the infrastructural deficiency, but he strengthens his argument by adding a moral and religious aspect to it. The example Curzon chooses to this end is relevant for this study because it is directly related to the relationship between the Eastern Christians themselves. At this point, Robert Curzon refers to the Treaty of Adrianople (signed between the Ottoman Empire and the Russian Empire in 1829) concerning the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire. With this treaty, the Armenians were granted right to leave the Ottoman territory for Russia. However, as Curzon reports, the result of this emigration was very unfortunate because

[t]rusting to the protestations of a Christian emperor, sixty-nine thousand Christian Armenian families were beguiled into the folly of leaving Mohammedan dominions, and sitting in peace under the paternal protection of the Czar. Over their ruined houses I have ridden, and surveyed with sorrow their ancient churches in the valleys of Armenia, desecrated and injured, as far as their solid construction permitted, by the sacrilegious hands of the Russian soldiers, who tried to destroy those temples of their own religion

which the Turks had spared, and under whose rule many of the more recent had been rebuilt on their old foundations. (Curzon 188)

Similar to the moral questioning of the death of more than one hundred thousand soldiers without a just cause in Varna, Curzon again targets the Russians, but this time with an argument concerning their fellow Christians: the Armenians. By calling the Russian Tsar “a Christian Emperor” Curzon especially draws attention to the fact that the Armenians and the Russians adhere to the same religion: Christianity. Accordingly, the Russian soldiers are expected to show respect to the Armenian churches, but to Curzon’s disappointment, they plundered and desecrated “those temples of their own religion.” In order to emphasize the Russians’ intolerance towards their co-religionists, Curzon adds that even the Turks, as Muslims, take active part in the re-construction of these churches let alone destroying them. Apart from the destruction of the Armenian churches, the treatment of the Armenians is even more brutal as “[t]he greater part of these Armenians perish [...] from want and starvation” in the hands of the Russians (Curzon 188). Although the Armenians had their own national church and they were not Orthodox in their belief, the Russians exploited their Christian sentiments in the nineteenth century. Instead of dealing with the laymen, Russia targeted at gaining the support of the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople and the Armenian Patriarch of Etchmiadzin. Robert Curzon proves to be aware of the Russian policy concerning the Christians of the Ottoman Empire, and he is highly critical of it as observed in the following statement:

[...] the chiefs [the patriarchs] of these mighty institutions [the Armenian Churches] are old, ignorant men, whose minds have not the energy, or their hands the power, to work the tremendous engine committed to their care. That the Czar is perfectly aware of the uses to be made of the religious feelings of the inhabitants of other governments to further his own ends, we see from the numerous magnificent presents ostentatiously forwarded by him to churches in Greece and Turkey, where the monks and priests by these means are gained over to his interests. (191)

Curzon’s first criticism is directed at the Armenian patriarchs who are vulnerable to Tsar Nicholas I’s deceptive policies, and he continues with the Tsar who is experienced enough to take advantage of such weaknesses of the Armenian clergy for his own political ends; that is, to destabilize the Ottoman Empire by “the awakening of religious zeal, or [...] the fanaticism of religious hatred” (Curzon 192) created among the Christian subjects of the

Ottoman Empire. The term that Curzon chooses to describe the Russian policy towards the Ottoman Empire is “crusade.” Like the previous crusades, this new movement also involves the collaboration of different Christian communities like the Armenians against a Muslim opponent, the Ottoman Empire. However, to Curzon,

[...] this crusade is carried on in direct contradiction to truth, justice, honor, and every principle of the Christian religion, whose pure and sacred precepts are violated at every turn. On the other hand, the Mohammedan, or infidel, as he is called, displays, under the most difficult and insulting circumstances, the highest Christian virtues of integrity, moderation, and strict adherence to his word in treaties granted by himself or his predecessors. (193)

Although Curzon begins his comments in an affirmative tone with word “crusade,” his disappointment occurs as soon as he claims that this new crusade, which is led by Orthodox Russia and supported by other Eastern Christian communities, violates Christianity’s own tenets. On the other hand, Curzon describes the Turks’ reaction to this new crusade with more favourable words. In this sense, Curzon, as a Protestant Christian, is so critical of the Orthodox crusade that he sides with the Muslim Turks against it. However, even for the praise of the Turks, Curzon still prefers to use the real Christian values such as “integrity, moderation, and strict adherence to his word,” and therefore, he keeps his distance with Islam. Furthermore, Curzon strengthens his argument against Russia by drawing an interesting parallelism between the deeds of the Roman Catholic Church and the Spanish colonizers, and the nineteenth-century Russian aggressions. He states that “the savage atrocities of the Holy Inquisition, the cruel massacres by the Spaniards in America” were all done in the same manner and in the name of Christianity (193). By simultaneously othering the Orthodox and the Catholic Christians who abuse their own religion for their material ends, Curzon highlights his Protestant superiority, accuses Russia of not possessing “the light of true Christianity,” and claims that Orthodox Christianity is “a nominal Christianity [...] which would disgrace the records of the Dark Ages” (Curzon 193).

Although Curzon considers the Armenians as the victims of the Russian policy accorded with its “nominal Christianity,” his criticism also extends to their religious conduct as well. Different from the political criticism directed at Russia and specifically at Tsar Nicholas I, the criticism towards the Armenians is more concerned with religious

ignorance, superstition, and idolatry that are claimed to be prevalent among them by Curzon. The first example regarding Curzon's negative stereotypical description of the Armenians and their conduct appears in the passage in which he informs the reader of the number of Christian churches in Erzerum with "one or two Greek churches and two Armenian churches" (49). According to Curzon's gaze, these buildings are "very small, dark, cramped" and "appear to be of great antiquity, but can boast of no other merit" (49). The construction story of one of these Armenian churches is worth narrating for Curzon, and he describes it in detail:

They [Armenian clergy] told their flock that, as the ancient tomb-stones were of no use to the departed, it would be a meritorious act in the living to bring them to assist in the erection of the church. They managed this so well, that everyone brought on his own back, or at his own expense, the tombstones of his ancestors, and those were grieved and offended who could not gain admission for the tombstones of their families to complete a window or support a wall. (49-50)

Although Curzon appreciates that the construction made a rapid progress with the help of the "flock," he does not abstain from using a critical language for the Armenian clergy because they "offended those who could not" bring their ancestors' tombstones for the construction. For Curzon, the clergy show signs of discrimination against their flock in terms of their contribution to the construction of the new church. Therefore, Curzon concludes that even within an Armenian church that is supposed to be a place of perfect equality, there is inequality for those who could not bring stones for the construction.

Curzon's criticism of the Armenians, or, in general, the Christians of Asia Minor, often makes use of comparison with the Muslim Turks. Curzon uses the conduct of the Muslim population of Asia Minor as exemplary references in his criticism of the Armenians. While making religious comments on the Christians of Asia Minor, Curzon states:

The Turk implicitly believes the tenets of his religion; he keeps its precepts and obeys its laws; he is proud of his faith, and prays in public when the hour of prayer arrives. How different, alas! is the manner in which the divine laws of Christianity are kept! The Christian seems ashamed of his religion; as for obeying the doctrines of the Gospel, they have no perceptible effect upon the mass of the people, among whom drunkenness, dishonesty, and immorality prevail almost unchecked, except by the fear of punishment in this world;

while in Turkey not one tenth part of the crime exists which is annually committed in Christendom. (97)

First, the Turks are praised for their strong adherence to Islam and for their willingness to follow the orders of Islam as strictly as possible in their daily life. On the other hand, the Christians are accused of ignoring “the divine laws” and “the doctrines of the Gospel” (Curzon 97). Therefore, for the Christians it is inevitable to live in sins of “drunkenness, dishonesty, and immorality” (Curzon 97). At this point, Curzon uses more general terms such as “Christian,” “Christendom,” and “Christianity,” and it is not clear to whom he refers with these terms: the Armenians or Christians in general. However, in chapter sixteen of his travelogue, Curzon’s criticism of the Armenians becomes more obvious since this time he directly refers to the Armenians:

Their [Armenians’] manners and customs are the same as those of the Turks, whom they copy in dress and in their general way of living; so much is this the case, that it is frequently difficult to distinguish the Turkish from the Armenian family, both in Armenia and at Constantinople; only the Armenian is the inferior in all respects; he would be called in China a second-chop Turk. He is more quick and restless in his motions, and wants the dignity and straightforward bearing of the Osmanli. (Curzon 210)

Thus, in Erzeroom, a sort of uniformity exists among the Turks and the Armenians in terms of physical appearance, outfit and customs, but Curzon is more interested in the issue of morals in which the Turks are depicted through apparently more favourable words. In this respect, Curzon is very consistent in his observation and depiction of the Armenians with negative associations. He continues his criticism of the Armenians by stating that “the Turk obeys the dictates of his religion, the Christian does not; the Turk does not drink, the Christian gets drunk; the Turk is honest, the Turkish peasant is a pattern of quiet, good-humored honesty; the Christian is a liar and a cheat” (Curzon 212). At this point, Curzon’s use of the words “Armenian” and “Christian” interchangeably is significant because it reveals that Curzon accepts Armenian more as a religious categorization than an ethnic and national one, which signifies that he prioritizes one’s religion, or more specifically one’s denomination, over one’s race and ethnicity in his statements regarding the Armenians. Curzon’s prioritization of religion is of great importance in that he is conscious that he is from a Protestant nation and it is Protestantism which gives way to the sense of superiority against a religion which is “so

overgrown with the rank weeds of superstition that it no longer serves to guide his mind in the right way” (Curzon 212). Even when Curzon tries to draw attention to the religious difference between the Ottomans and the Persians, he benefits from the conflict between the Protestant and the Catholic and explains that the sectarian differences within Islam (Sunni/Shias) are similar to those existing in Christianity (Curzon 64). Apparently, Curzon is historically informed of the initial struggles between Protestantism and Catholicism which served as a consolidating power for a Protestant British identity as mentioned in the introduction of this study.

As mentioned in his biography, Robert Curzon has a deep interest in ancient manuscripts and churches. Therefore, it is possible to find passages narrating his observations of the Armenian churches and monasteries in and around Erzerum. Regarding the visits he paid to the Armenian churches in that area, Curzon states that

Nothing worth stealing remains in the various monasteries which I have visited. A few dirty and imperfect church-books, some faded vestments and poor furniture for the altar, and the cells of three or four peasant-monks, were all the wealth that they displayed. Very few appear to have contained a library—none that I have seen. (Curzon 201)

The first point that Curzon draws attention to is the lack of library in the churches and monasteries, which is regarded as a sign of the lack of knowledge among the Armenian clergy by Curzon. As the social reflection of the uneducated clergy, “[i]gnorance and superstition contend for the mastery among the lower classes of Armenia, whose religion shows that tendency to sink into a kind of idolatry which is common among other branches of the Church of Christ in warmer climates” (Curzon 201). On the one hand, Curzon criticizes the ignorance of the Armenian clergy and the Armenian people, but on the other hand, he generalizes this opinion to all the Christian communities living outside Europe with the phrase “the Church of Christ in warmer climates.” This phrase also enables Curzon to mention the discrepancies within Christianity. Therefore, the Armenians of “warmer climates” constitute a sectarian “Other” to Curzon and British Protestantism with their strong adherence to the Gregorian Church of Christianity that is a part of Eastern Christianity (Nersessian 23). In order to better illustrate the religious ignorance of the Armenians for his readers, Curzon ends his remarks with a satirical

anecdote about a Roman Catholic servant he brings to Erzeroom with him. During their stay in Erzeroom, Curzon's servant suffers from toothache and he superstitiously believes that his toothache can be cured if he presents a gift to St. George of Smyrna, but an Armenian friend of his claims that St. George of Smyrna has no authority in Erzeroom, and he should make his vow to St. George of Erzeroom. Heeding this advice, the servant presents a silver mouth to St. George of Erzeroom, and he believes that his pain ended due to his friend's advice. Before ending his anecdote, Curzon adds, "[i]n the same manner, the pictures or images of Our Lady of Loretto, Guadaloupe, or del Pilar are believed to be endowed with peculiar powers, and are, in fact, worshiped for their own merits, and not for what they represent" (Curzon 202). By representing the Armenians as ignorant and superstitious, Curzon contributes to the image of the Protestant British as educated and enlightened.

1.2. FREDRICK GUSTAVUS BURNABY'S *ON HORSEBACK THROUGH ASIA MINOR* (1877)

Thirty-three years after Robert Curzon's one-year stay in Erzeroom, another British traveller took a trip to Anatolia, mainly to Eastern Asia Minor. Frederick Gustavus Burnaby was born in Bedford on 8 March 1842 as the son of Reverend Gustavus Andrew Burnaby and Harriet Burnaby. Although his father wanted a religious career for Burnaby, he chose a military career (Wright 11). He was educated at Bedford School, Harrow School, and then at Oswestry School in Britain. After his formal education, his stay in Dresden, Germany, enabled him to learn Italian, French and German (Wright 26). When he came back from Germany, he was fully determined to become a soldier and sat for the exams. In September 1859, he was initiated in the Royal Horse Guards, known as Blues (Wright 26). Because his initiation in the army did not coincide with any significant warfare, his frustration led him to take up aeronautics in 1864 as a second occupation apart from his military career. His interest in aeronautics was a good indication of his adventurous spirit that led him travel to, first, Khiva, a Russian-controlled area in Central Asia in November 1875 and, one year later, to Asia Minor, both of which were significant spots in the rivalry between Russia and Britain, known as the Great Game. As a result of these two travels, Burnaby published two famous travel books titled *A Ride to Khiva: Travels and Adventures in Central Asia* (1876) and *On Horseback through Asia Minor*

(1877). What was so appealing about Khiva above all was that the region was geographically in the heart of the Great Game, and secondly the area Burnaby wished to visit was closed to foreigners, especially the British because the Russians were aware that the British intelligence service was active in the region (Burnaby, *A Ride to Khiva* 10).

Burnaby's second travelogue, *On Horseback Through Asia Minor*, was originally published in two volumes in 1877. It is a lengthy work consisting of an introduction and sixty-nine chapters with seventeen appendices in which Burnaby gives additional information and documents as testimonies for his arguments in the book. Similar to Curzon's work *Armenia, On Horseback* also includes a wide range of observations and statements on the Christians of Asia Minor, especially on the Armenians. Burnaby had two initial motives for undertaking this journey to Asia Minor; first, he wanted to see for himself if the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire were truly exposed to persecution as claimed by the European press especially after the news of the Balkan uprisings in 1875. Secondly, Burnaby wished to check the military capabilities of the Ottoman troops in case of a Russian invasion from the eastern frontiers, namely the Caucasus (Akıllı 2). In accordance with his initial motivations, Burnaby's *On Horseback* also includes political arguments about Russia, the Ottoman Empire and Britain.

As Robert Curzon, Fredrick Burnaby starts his travel to Asia Minor with an awareness of his religious and national "difference" from the natives of Asia Minor, which is made clear by his own statements and through his own actions, in other words, his "performances," in *On Horse Back Through Asia Minor*. For instance, when Burnaby visits Nalihan on his way to Ankara, he has a chance to learn the Turks' opinions about the upcoming war against Russia. When he inquires why the government does not arm the Christians of Asia Minor against the Russians, the answer from the Imam of Nalihan is suggestive of the Turks' attitude towards the Armenians because, to the Imam, "[t]hey are friends with the Russians" (Burnaby, Vol. I 98). After giving Burnaby a hint at his feelings for the Armenians, the Imam asks Burnaby about his attitude in the following exchange:

“[...] Have you [got] Armenians in your country?”

“No.”

“But you are a Christian, and they are Christians — you must be the same.”

I now had to explain to the company that there is as much difference between an English Protestant and an Armenian Christian, as between a Sunnite and a Shiite. (Burnaby, Vol. I 98)

Although the Imam is right in his assumption that British Protestants and Armenian Christians adhere to the same religion, Burnaby feels obliged to explain the “difference” as he observes that the Turks mention the Armenians in unfavourable terms. Besides, it is noticeable that Burnaby benefits from the same analogy as Robert Curzon does in his *Armenia* between Shiite/Sunnite and Protestant/Gregorian to express his awareness of the Protestant identity. A second example for Burnaby’s assertiveness about his Protestant identity is when he takes up lodging in an inn on his way to Ankara after leaving Nalihan. There Burnaby meets a sick man, and as he carries a box of medicine with him, he decides to help the sick man with some medicine. As a response to Burnaby’s helpful behaviour, the “invalid” asks:

“What countryman are you?”

“I am English.”

“Your religion is not that of Islam?”

“No.”

“What are you?”

“I am a Protestant.”

“Protestant,” repeated the poor fellow, “I shall remember that.”

“A Christian,” he continued, “even if he had the medicine, would have let me die like a dog.” (Burnaby, Vol. I 103)

In this exchange with the Turkish “invalid,” Burnaby’s choice of words is significant because this time he prefers “Protestant” to “Christian” to define his identity. In the former case with the Imam of Nalihan, he is almost categorized along with the Armenians in terms of religion. Burnaby’s avoidance of being religiously associated with the Armenians becomes more understandable when he comes to the opinion that the Greeks and Armenians who are “the votaries of Christianity in the East” are responsible for

“bringing the only pure religion into so great disrepute” (Vol. I 103). This exchange, in one sense, includes the performativity of national identity as well because Burnaby not only expresses his being Protestant in an assertive way, but also performs it by giving medicine to the sick person, which implies that a true British Protestant is responsible for fixing the reputation of Christianity that is downgraded by the Armenians and Greeks of Asia Minor.

Similar to Robert Curzon’s actions in Erzerroom, Burnaby is also capable of performing Britishness in a foreign land with certain qualifications as a hunter and a horse-rider. Although Burnaby expresses his willingness to go hunting throughout the book, he is unable to do so because, by accident, all of his cartridges are soaked in a river; perhaps more importantly he does not have ample time for this sort of leisure. However, there is an occasion for hunting in which Mr.Vankovitch, a Polish engineer in Yuzgat, accompanies him. Though not as successful as Curzon’s “mighty triumph,” Burnaby is also involved in hunting on horseback which is another contribution to the construction and performance of his British identity. In this sense, one may argue that the book itself turns into an expression of Britishness with its title *On Horseback through Asia Minor*, which shows that Burnaby himself is fully capable of horse riding and this is the reason why he could dare to start such a journey on horseback. Even Burnaby’s service in the Household Cavalry of Queen Victoria can be taken into account as a biographical detail that supports the fact that horse riding was a very important occupation in Burnaby’s life (Hastings).

When compared to Curzon’s work, Burnaby’s *On Horseback through Asia Minor* includes a more systematic way of othering the Christians of Asia Minor. Therefore, it is quite appropriate to employ an analysis based on the thematic levels of the work. Although the reference points of Burnaby’s criticism against the Christians of Asia Minor vary depending on the context, certain themes such as greediness, Armenian institutions (school, church and the like), cleanliness/hygiene, treatment of women, superstition/ignorance, and dishonesty persist throughout the narrative. As regards greediness, Burnaby begins his criticism at the beginning of his journey when he resides

in İstanbul for a short time. After this brief stay, Burnaby, Radford¹⁵, and Osman (Burnaby's Turkish servant) set off from İstanbul; and in Moltepe, they decide to stay in an inn owned by a Greek. Before referring to the proprietor's greediness, Burnaby begins with his appearance, as the proprietor is "a dirty-looking little fellow" whose scar and wen on his face is "a perpetual resort for blue-bottle flies" (Vol. I 63). Using Osman as an interpreter, Burnaby demands a room to sleep in, and in order to better persuade the innkeeper, Osman says that his master is "a great person with gold, not paper" (Vol. I 64). This piece of information works "like a charm upon the Greek": "Gold!" he said. "Gold! Let me see it!" (Burnaby, Vol. I 64). Although the Greek innkeeper seems very interested in gaining a gold coin from Burnaby as he tries to catch it in the air when Burnaby drops it purposefully, he is not very interested in helping them about the accommodation and directs them to a stable where they are supposed to sleep with horses, but fortunately Burnaby gets help from an Turkish corporal in terms of accommodation. The first example is not the only one in explaining Burnaby's critical outlook on the Christians of Asia Minor in terms of their greediness. There are some other examples to indicate that Burnaby views the Christians of Asia Minor as morally and financially corrupt. On his way to Erzeroum, Burnaby and his company stay in Sivas in order to observe the life conditions of the Armenians living there. By the help of a conversation with the Armenians of the town, Burnaby learns that

[...] the Armenian merchants in Sivas employed the telegraph very freely in their monetary speculations. The inhabitants in general only knew of the rise or fall in the value of their paper money by the post, which arrived once every fortnight. The value of *caime*¹⁶ in proportion to gold was reckoned according to the date of the post's delivery. But, as the Turkish bank-notes were becoming more and more depreciated every day, the Armenian merchants who employed the telegraph were able to make large sums by buying up all the gold in the district, and pocketing the difference between the actual exchange and that which passed current at Sivas. (Burnaby, Vol. I 309)

To Burnaby's surprise, the Armenians, let alone being oppressed by the local government as reflected by the British press at that time, are themselves the very oppressors in term

¹⁵ George Radford was a life-long companion to Burnaby in all his late adventures. Radford was taken in Burnaby's service in 1873 (Wright 64).

¹⁶ *Caime* was the name given to Turkish currency during the Ottoman era.

of financial issues. While Burnaby acknowledges the ongoing economic problems in the Ottoman Empire, he also questions the morality of the Armenian merchants who earn money in an undeserved way, and the victims of these monetary speculations are the inhabitants of Sivas, by whom perhaps Burnaby means the Muslim population of Sivas only because they do not have access to telegraph. Likewise, when visiting Divriki of Sivas, Burnaby finds out that the Armenians in the town are “usurers” who lend money to the Muslims and take it back with an intolerable interest rate just like they do “in almost every district” he happens to visit (Burnaby, Vol. I 343). Therefore, it is clear that there exists an oppressor/oppressed relationship between the Turks and the Armenians but this relationship is not the one Burnaby expects because the Armenians are the oppressors and the Turks are the victims.

Apart from the Armenians’ greedy habits concerning the commerce and financial business in Asia Minor, Burnaby puts emphasis on their corrupt institutions (i.e. school and church) and the churchmen who are in charge of these institutions. The first example is when Burnaby visits an Armenian school in Yuzgat, and asks a mathematics question to the students there. The schoolmaster is so confident in his students that he claims that Burnaby “sets them a very easy sum” (Burnaby, Vol. I 209). However, the self-confident schoolmaster is to be proved wrong very soon as the priest (not even the students) gives wrong answers to the question. Burnaby’s reaction is embodied in disappointment with the quality of education in Armenian schools because, to Burnaby, “neither masters nor pupils being at all certain in their minds as to how they ought to set about doing the sum” (Vol. I 209).

Burnaby’s inspection of the Armenian institutions extends to the churches as well. On the same day, Burnaby visits an Armenian church which is covered “with red carpets” on the floor, and therefore looks more like “a mosque” (Burnaby, Vol. I 217). The next observation Burnaby makes about the building is that it is very cold inside because of the lack of stoves. Even more strikingly, Burnaby comments that the church is the very centre of social inequality in that while the upper classes are able to listen to the oration in their warm clothes, the lower classes “must occasionally be half-frozen” (Burnaby, Vol. I 218). Perhaps the most significant example of the negative attitude adopted by Burnaby towards the Armenian institutions, especially the churches, appears on his way to Malattia in

Arabkir where he gets a chance to observe one Armenian church and one Protestant church standing side by side. According to Burnaby's description, the Armenian church is "carpeted with thick Persian rugs like a mosque" (Burnaby, Vol. II 32). Although Burnaby's observations of the Turks and Islam are not the main concern of this study, upon his persistent depiction of the Armenian churches akin to the Muslim mosques, it is inevitable to make some comments on Burnaby's perspective on the mosques. While unfolding his opinions on the Armenian churches, Burnaby expresses his disquiet over the decoration of the Christian churches in a Muslim style. This parallelism drawn between the Armenian churches and the mosques implies an othering process to the mosques as belonging to an Other religion (i.e. Islam) but its main criticism still centres upon the Armenian churches which imitate the mosques, and therefore become oriental in their style. The Armenian churches' imitating the Islamic mosques in their decoration is not the only point of criticism for Burnaby, and the second and perhaps more disagreeable feature of the Armenian churches that draws Burnaby's attention is that there are "[s]everal pictures in gaudy frames" (Burnaby, Vol. II 32). Although Burnaby abstains from using the word "idolatry," his depiction is an indication that the Armenians attribute a religious importance to the images of the Saints because of their faith, which is undeniably intolerable for a true Protestant as Burnaby. Besides the physical features of the building, trustworthiness of the clergy and flock is put into question, too:

Two songs were sung by the choir — first one for the Queen of England, as a sort of compliment to the nationality of the foreign visitor; and then another for the Sultan. The old priest next addressed the congregation, and said that they must do everything in their power to help the Sultan in this war against Russia, who was a mortal enemy to the Armenian religion. (Burnaby, Vol. II 33)

According to Burnaby, the songs by the choir support the British presence against the Russians and welcomes the traveller personally, and present praises for the Ottoman Sultan. The lyrics of the songs as cited by Burnaby are an assurance that the Armenians are fully committed to their fidelity to the Ottoman Empire. Even after the ceremony, an Armenian priest assures his guests that they will support the Ottomans against Russians in case of a military conflict by repeating the promise given in the lyrics of the song. The

*Kaymakam*¹⁷ who accompanies Burnaby during his visits does not seem convinced because he says, “I wonder if the priest means it,” and he adds, “These Armenians are very dirty, they do not wash [...] Let us go” (Burnaby, Vol. II 34). Burnaby remains indifferent to the *Kaymakam*’s remarks, and does not make any further comments. However, his avoidance of making a comment can be read as a kind of silent approval because, as indicated above concerning the commerce and money-lending issues, Burnaby does not have very positive impressions of the Armenians in terms of trustworthiness and honesty. As a perfect counterpart to the Armenian church, there stands a Protestant church in Arabkir. In this Protestant church, Burnaby is welcomed with a hymn in English. Burnaby does not refer to the lyrics of the hymn as he does in the Armenian church, and he comments merely on the pronunciation which is “tolerably well” (Vol. II 34). In contrast to the Armenian church which is embellished with pictures, the Protestant church includes “no pictures or images of any kind” (Burnaby, Vol. II 34), which is quite appropriate for a Protestant church. Similar to the ceremony in the Armenian church, a sermon follows the hymn, but as opposed to the Armenian one,

[...] the clergyman, without putting on any extra vestments, addressed his congregation in a few straightforward and practical sentences, saying that as it was the duty of the Jews to pay tribute to Caesar, it was equally proper for all true Christians to respect the Turkish authorities; that the Turks were on the eve of a great struggle with a power which oppressed all religions but its own, and consequently it was the duty of all Armenian Protestants to aid the Government in the forthcoming struggle, and shed the last drop of their blood for the Padishah. (Burnaby, Vol. II 34)

In the former instance, the Armenian priest employs the same discourse but the *Kaymakam* receives it with suspicion and mistrust, but here the *Kaymakam* (and Burnaby himself as the narrator) makes no comment on the content of the sermon. Furthermore, Burnaby implies that he favours the Protestant sermon that is ideally preached “in a few straightforward and practical sentences” (Vol. II 34). This comparison between the Armenian and the Protestant churches might be interpreted within the concepts of “sameness” and “otherness” because, though not clearly indicated, Burnaby’s narrative tone hints at his favour for the Protestant church and the clergymen within it as his co-religionists or with a more accurate term his “fellow Protestants.” On the other hand,

¹⁷ *Kaymakam* means “local governor of a district” in Turkish.

Burnaby critically judges the Armenian church which constitutes an “Other” not only to the Protestant church nearby in Arabkir, but also to British Protestantism and its values in general. In Van, Burnaby visits another Armenian church whose walls again are covered with “a few tawdry pictures of saints” and whose floor is “carpeted in the same way as the Turkish mosques” (Burnaby, Vol. II 241). After this critical description of the interiors of the building, Burnaby asks for more information about “an inscription in cuneiform characters cut in the stone” (Burnaby, Vol. II 242). However, while the priests are discussing the answer among themselves, the following dialogue develops:

“This part of the building is very old,” he said; “it was formerly a heathen temple.”

“How old?” I inquired.

“One thousand eight hundred years,” said the priest.

“Nonsense, brother,” said another. “It is two thousand.”

“Say three thousand, and you will be nearer the mark,” added a third. (Burnaby, Vol. II 242).

Apparently, Burnaby is not satisfied with such a conversation as he states, “It was evident that none of these gentlemen had any data to go upon for their calculations, I left the church rather disappointed” (Burnaby, Vol. II 242). Nevertheless, this disappointment with the Armenian clergymen does not stem from Burnaby’s high expectations from them because he explains that

The Armenian clergy do not trouble their heads about such matters; their time is so taken up in the performance of idolatrous rites, and in looking after the welfare of the fairer portion of their flock, that they have not a moment to spare for the study of the ancient history of Armenia. (Vol. II 242)

According to Burnaby, this apparent lack of knowledge among the Armenian clergy stems from the lack of proper education and examination within the Armenian Church as an institution. Burnaby states that someone could become a priest without appropriate education and examination in one single day if he has some influence over the Armenian bishops in charge (Vol. II 242). Ideally, a promising clergyman must serve in different positions in the minor orders including “exorcist, porter, reader, sub-deacon, candle-lighter, and deacon” for a certain time before he takes the examination for the

ecclesiastical orders of priesthood and bishopric (“Ordination”). In addition, according to Burnaby, this low level of education among the Armenian clergymen also has a negative impact on the Armenian Christians who “worship pictures; confess to their priests; offer prayers for the dead, and ask for the intercession of their saints” and the Armenian clergy do not bother to edify their flock because “[t]he Catolicos sells the meira [oil used in baptism], and makes a very large sum by the sale of the oil” (Vol. II 243). The other revenues of the Church come from “baptismal and burial fees, prayers for the dead, taxes imposed upon the people by the ecclesiastics, voluntary contributions, and money left in the wills of devotees” (Vol. II 243). With these remarks, Burnaby implies that the religious ignorance of the Armenian people is in the favour of the clergymen for the sustained flow of income.

Burnaby continues to present his perspectives about the religious issues in Sivas where he meets three American missionaries named Perry, Hubbard, and Riggs who welcome him “with that hospitality which an Englishman always receives from Americans, no matter whether they meet him in the States or elsewhere” (Burnaby, Vol. I 301). What Burnaby emphasizes here is the fellowship between American and British peoples in terms of race, culture and, most remarkably, religion which refers to a Protestant solidarity. When Burnaby inquires the future of the Protestant mission in Anatolia in case of a Russian invasion, the missionaries answer, “We should be immediately turned out of the country to make way for the Russian priests [...] The Tzar's Government does not tolerate any religion save its own” (Vol. I 306). Burnaby finds this statement very significant in that the Russians are not tolerant to any other religion than their own. This statement from the missionaries also overlaps with Curzon’s remarks on the fate of the Armenians who took refuge in the Russian land after the Treaty of Adrianople (1829). In Burnaby’s opinion, the Russian religious intolerance stems from the very tenets of Orthodox Christianity itself:

Protestantism implies freedom of thought. The right of investigation would be very displeasing to a despotic set of rulers. The superstitions and debased form of worship attached to the Greek religion have no chance of being replaced by our pure Protestant faith, until such time as the autocratic system of government which prevails throughout Russia is terminated by a revolution. (Vol. I 306)

Clearly, according to Burnaby, Protestantism “implies freedom of thought” as opposed to Orthodoxy rephrased as “Greek religion” which implies “superstitions and debased form of worship” and therefore, it is very likely that Orthodoxy empowers the despotic form of government such as the Russian government. At this point, Burnaby goes beyond the doctrinal conflicts between Protestantism and Orthodoxy, and he makes a comment on how religious (or more accurately sectarian) belief has an influence over the form of government by favouring Protestantism as leading to “freedom of thought” which is strictly connected with democracy and by despising Orthodoxy as leading to “the autocratic system of government.”

Burnaby, as a traveller, is hosted by a number of people in Asia Minor throughout his journey. Therefore, he has many chances to make observations on the daily habits of the Anatolian people including the Armenians and the Turks. In this respect, Burnaby’s negative attitudes towards the Armenians of Anatolia can also be observed in his comments on their hygiene and cleanliness, and his observations work in a comparative way with the Turks. For instance, when he stays in Ankara, Burnaby learns that a fire happened right before his arrival, and the Turks rejected to host the Armenian victims of the fire. At first, Burnaby takes this situation as a sign of Turkish fanaticism and prejudiced attitude towards the Armenians, but later he comments as follows:

However, during my subsequent travels in Armenia, the impression gradually dawned upon my mind that the Turks were, first of all, very wise not to wish to receive the Armenians into their houses; and, secondly, if they had been good-natured enough to do so, to destroy the mattresses after the departure of their guests. The Armenians in their habits of body are filthy to the last degree. Their houses and clothes are infested with vermin. The Turks, on the contrary, are much cleaner, and are most particular about the use of the bath. An Englishman would not be pleased if his house became filled with what it is not here necessary to mention. If he did under such circumstances admit strangers, he would probably destroy their bedding the moment that they departed. (Vol. II 132)

By means of comparison, Burnaby clearly favours the Turks over the Armenians in terms of cleanliness. However, Burnaby supports this comparison between the Turks and the Armenians by adding that an Englishman, who is implicitly clean, would not be happy if his house were filled with vermin because of his guests. In this respect, even while

comparing the Turks and the Armenians, Burnaby has something to say about his own people (i.e. Englishmen) who would act in the same manner as the Turks. Burnaby's inclusion of the Englishmen in the comparison is a clear sign that he is willing to represent himself and his people as exemplary references in such a delicate matter as hygiene. Burnaby is so convinced that the Armenians of Asia Minor are not duly particular about their hygiene and cleanliness that he prefers to stay in the open air instead of staying in "filthily dirty" Armenian houses where "[v]ermin could be seen crawling in all directions on the rugs" after he leaves Ankara (Burnaby, Vol. I 154). Furthermore, Burnaby's statements on the dirtiness of the Armenians reinforced by the *Kaymakam* of Arabkir who states that "These Armenians are very dirty, they do not wash" (Burnaby, Vol. II 33).

The treatment of the Armenian women and their position in the society is yet another concern for Burnaby, as he believes in the liberating function of Protestantism as mentioned above. However, though Christians by birth, the Armenian women seem to have adopted the Islamic traditions such as veiling (Burnaby, Vol. I 148). Apart from veiling themselves, the Armenian women are not allowed to see the strangers as Burnaby observes in Yuzgat where an Armenian wants to host Burnaby and his company. Burnaby accepts the offer as he wishes to see the difference between a Turk and an Armenian in terms of hospitality. However, Burnaby meets a surprising situation, as the Armenian host does not introduce his sisters and mother to Burnaby. Burnaby himself does not elaborate on this unexpected behaviour from the Armenian host, but instead narrates Mr. Vankotich's observations as follows:

"They are a set of fools," said Vankovitch to me in Russian, this language not being understood by the proprietor. "They think that by shutting up their wives, they can keep them out of mischief, but the husbands are very much mistaken."

"We need not be surprised at it," he continued; "an Armenian lady is in no way educated. She is confined in a harem. She is the slave of her husband, and has to do all sorts of menial work for him — wash his feet, rub them dry, and wait at table. From her earliest childhood a girl is brought up to consider herself as a slave in her father's house; until the Armenians abandon these barbarous customs, their so-called Christianity will not do them much good [...]" (Burnaby, Vol. II 189-190)

Thus, Burnaby allows his friend to present his observations since “making a direct statement to that end would probably not be good for his assumed objectivity and impartiality” (Akilli 6). Therefore, Burnaby prefers to make use of Vankovich’s statements as testimony to his own arguments. The way Vankovitch associates Christianity with freedom of women is significant as he names the Armenians’ religion “so-called” Christianity that does not allow the fair treatment of women. However, there are also examples that show that not all Armenian women have adopted the oriental ways of living. When in Arabkir, Burnaby is hosted by an Armenian, and to his surprise, the Armenian’s wife and mother want to meet him in person contrary to the former situations he encounters in other parts of Anatolia. Moreover, Burnaby’s host is also aware of the poor treatment of Armenian women in Asia Minor, and he explains his motivation to introduce his wife and mother to Burnaby as “I am not like the other Armenians in Anatolia [...] I have determined to shut up my female relations no longer” (Burnaby, Vol. II 4). Although these mentioned women are relatively free when compared to the other Armenian women in Asia Minor, they still require more freedom as they inquire:

“Do English ladies ride?”

“Yes.”

“And why should they ride?” observed my host's wife. “Have they not carriages and railways in your country, so that when a man travels he can take a woman with him without any difficulty?”

“Yes, but they ride for pleasure. Our Queen is very fond of riding, and often does so when she is in Scotland.”

“Your Queen likes riding! That is a miracle!” said the old lady. “I do not like it at all — it makes me so sore,” said her companion; “but you Franks are wonderful people, and your women seem to do what they like!” (Burnaby, Vol. II 5)

In this passage, it is evident that Queen Victoria herself is utilized as a figure who also benefits from the advantages of true Christianity that dictates the fair treatment of women. Apart from that, although the Armenian women enjoy freedom to a certain degree, liking horse riding for women still looks like “a miracle” to them.

Burnaby's criticism mainly concerns the Armenians, as he happens to meet them more frequently during his journey, but in some parts of the book Burnaby does not hold back from criticising the Russians themselves. For this kind of criticism, Burnaby again uses the reporting technique by putting himself in the background as a narrator. For instance, in Divriki where Burnaby meets the usurious Armenians, he has a chance to learn about the Armenians' opinions on the Russians in case of a possible invasion of the region by Russia. As mentioned above, the Turks' opinions are quite negative towards the Russians for the obvious reasons. Nonetheless, when Burnaby inquires about the possibility of an independent Armenia in case of a Russian invasion, he learns that the Armenians' opinions are also negative:

“Russia will very likely be here in a year or two, and then we shall be much more oppressed than we are at present. Why, the Russian Government will not allow this song to be sung in our schools at Tiflis. Everything is done to make my fellow-countrymen in the Caucasus forget their own language and nationality, and to thoroughly Russify them. If the Russians were to come here, our religion would soon disappear,” he continued.

“But some of your priests rather like the Russians?”

“Some people would sell their souls to obtain a cross or an order,” said another Armenian. “But every patriot amongst us who has read of what our country once was will scorn the idea of being degraded into a Muscovite.”

“Are the Russians so very degraded?” I remarked.

“They possess all the vices of the Turks, and none of their good qualities. They drink like swine; many of their officials embezzle the public money; and as to lying, they can even outdo the Greeks in this respect.”

“You have not a high opinion of the Tzar's people?” I observed.

“No, Effendi; better a hundred times remain as we are than be forced to submit to his rule.” (Burnaby, Vol. II 12-13)

In this case, the Armenians, disregarding the fact that they and the Russians are of the same religion, prefer the Turkish rule instead of the Russian one. Arguably, keeping in mind Curzon's remarks on the Armenians' sentiment on a possible Russian rule in *A Year in Erzeroom*, there is a uniformity in the Armenians' discourse on Russia as an oppressive power even for their fellow Christians. Moreover, the passage includes a very harsh

criticism of the Armenian clergy as well because they are accused of being ready for cooperation with the Russians for “a cross or an order.” The Armenians’ criticism of the Russians turns into compassion for the Turks, and apparently, they prefer the Turkish rule to that of the Russians who have “all the vices of the Turks, and none of their good qualities.” In this respect, the non-Protestant Other is also divided within itself as the Armenians accuse the Russians of having vices such as oppression, lying, corruption and alcoholism. After reporting the Armenians’ and the Turks’ negativity towards the Russians, Burnaby begins to express his own opinions on Russia and the Russian way of governing. At this point, Burnaby refers to his work *A Ride to Khiva*:

Some people who call themselves Christians, and who sympathize, or for political motives pretend to sympathize with Russia, attempt to gloss over these facts by observing that the Circassians are a nation of freebooters, and that it is necessary to rule them with a rod of iron, and through their fears. So in order to strike terror into thieves and other malefactors, it is justifiable to murder pregnant women, and fire upon little children! (Vol. II 88)

While the Turks’ way of fighting the Bulgarian insurgents is a topic of propaganda in Britain especially for the Liberals, Russia’s way of dealing with the Circassians and the reaction of “[s]ome people who call themselves Christians” to that massacre are also well worth attention for Burnaby. Later on, Burnaby reveals who these “some people” are when he states, “I cannot help thinking of some few Clergymen of the Church of England who, secretly hankering after the superstitions attached to the Greek faith, put themselves forward as champions of Holy Russia. But we need not be surprised” (Vol. II 280). Obviously, Burnaby extends his criticism to his own people. Although Burnaby does not directly refer to it in *On Horseback through Asia Minor*, James Long¹⁸’s paper titled “The Position of Turkey in Relation to British Interests in India” (1875) is quite telling about whom Burnaby means by “some few Clergymen of the Church of England.” In the abstract of the paper, James Long states:

That Russia, as a rising Empire, requires a wide field for expansion abroad, and all efforts made to fix it within boundaries have been vain, the pent-up energies must find a vent; but Central Asia, with its sparse population and few resources, does not afford an adequate sphere in this respect. The stream of Russian conquest now flows with full force in that direction, dashing up in

¹⁸ James Long was an Anglican priest and a missionary of the Church Mission Society stationed in India.

its way against the Indian frontiers; it cannot be embanked, but it may be partially diverted. Does not Asia Minor present such a sphere of partial division, in accordance with the national aspirations of Russia, that regard the acquisition of Turkey as its manifest destiny? (3)

James Long's attitude towards Russia fits into Burnaby's description of "[s]ome people who call themselves Christians, and who sympathize, or for political motives pretend to sympathize with Russia" (Vol II 88) as Long sees the lands of the Ottoman Empire as "a sphere of partial division" and therefore regards the Ottoman Empire as a sacrifice to feed the Russian expansionist policy. By bringing forward the position of the British clergymen such as James Long in the Eastern Question, Burnaby shows that he does not content himself with the criticism of the Russians and the Armenians and extends his disproving attitudes towards his own people. Thus, Burnaby is self-critical enough to question his own religious and national belonging.

By means of the analysis of these travel books by Robert Curzon and Frederick Burnaby, it can be concluded that at the very beginning of their journeys to Anatolia, both Curzon and Burnaby have an awareness of their British Protestant identity, and they try to reflect this identity by using different narrative strategies. Moreover, both Curzon and Burnaby are sometimes observed "doing" British, which refers to the performative aspect of identity construction. Though not directly related to the Protestant identity, Curzon's and Burnaby's performances in a foreign land turn into an assertion of Britishness through hunting and horse-riding which are the definitive features of the nineteenth-century British gentlemen. The first strategy pursued by these travel writers is to make negative statements about the "Other" Christians of Eastern Asia Minor (mainly the Armenians). With the help of negative and othering qualities attributed to the Armenians, Curzon and Burnaby try to draw 'outside borders' which help them to define themselves in a more positive way. By doing so, both writers make political and imperial inferences about the Russian Empire, which again serves as an "Other" to the British Empire with its negative qualities.

CHAPTER II

AROUND THE CAPITAL: JOHN HARTLEY'S AND ALICIA BLACKWOOD'S TRAVELS TO WESTERN ASIA MINOR

During the Greek War of Independence, Britain seemingly took sides with the Greeks against the Ottoman authority because of the philhellenism that was common in Britain, but it was also at pains to balance Russia's ascendancy in case an independent Greek state appeared. This was basically because of the fear that the new Greek state might be under the influence of the Russian officials, which was already the case even before the war of independence (Jelavich 50). The way Russia was able to keep contact with the Greeks under the Ottoman authority stemmed from the fact that the Russians and the Greeks had a religious affiliation in common: Orthodox Christianity (Jelavich 49). In order to interrupt these close ties between Russia and the Greeks in terms of religious sect, Britain employed Protestant missionaries to create a Protestant community among the Greek subjects of the Ottoman Empire because "there were more Greeks outside the frontiers of the new state than within it" after the foundation of independent Greece (Augustinos 131). Although scholars tend to interpret the Protestant missionary efforts from Britain and the United States in various ways by considering them "imperial, anti-imperial, and ecclesiastical" (Cox 4), in the case of the Greeks of the Ottoman Empire, they had more of an imperial vision against Russia and Russian Orthodoxy. More importantly, as Andrew Porter argues, the peak of British imperialism coincided with that of the missionary activities in the nineteenth century ("Cultural Imperialism" 2).

As regards Greece and Western Asia Minor, the missionary attempts date back to the beginning of the nineteenth century with the Church Mission Society, also known as the Church Missionary Society, founded in London on 12 April 1799. The three primary targets of the Society were "abolition of the slave trade, social reform at home and world evangelization" ("A brief history of CMS"). The Society began to operate actively in 1804 in Sierra Leone, and this initiation was followed by the missionary activities in "India, Canada, New Zealand and the area around the Mediterranean" ("A brief history of CMS") including Greece and Asia Minor. The missionaries who worked for the

Society wrote a number of letters, articles, diaries, and reports about their experiences and their observations about the areas they visited as well as the inhabitants of these areas.

2.1. JOHN HARTLEY'S *RESEARCHES IN GREECE AND THE LEVANT* (1831)

John Hartley, the author of the travel book titled *Researches in Greece and the Levant* (1831), was one of the missionaries employed in Greece and Asia Minor. Although Hartley's life and career as a missionary in the Levant and Greece are "shadowy" as Schiffer calls it (378), his travel book reveals much about his time in Greece and Asia Minor. The book also constitutes a rich source for the analysis of the perceptions of the missionaries on the Orthodox Greeks in Greece and Asia Minor. Consisting of three parts as "Researches in Greece and the Levant," "Visit to the Apocalyptic Churches, in the year 1826," and "Tour in the Morea, in the year of 1828," *Researches in Greece and the Levant* begins with Hartley's brief explanation concerning the reasons why this region was chosen for the missionary work. He states, "Each spot trodden by an Apostle must be regarded by Christians with those feelings of solemn and serious delight, and which none but themselves can understand" (3), which refers to the fact that Asia Minor was one of the first areas where Christianity was accepted and practiced.

Even if Hartley, as a missionary, seemingly disregards his national belonging by using some encompassing terms such as "Christians" and "Christianity" at the beginning of his book, he does not deny the advantages of being British in a foreign land. His following statements on this subject can be taken as the indication of his pride in being British: "Nor is the favour of God to England confined within the shores of our island, or limited to the shadow of our national flag. Even on Turkish ground, the expression, 'I am an Englishman,' is certain to ensure respect" (31). Through this expression, Hartley clarifies that the centre of the British Empire is an island which is seemingly isolated from the rest of the world but its power and influence, which is provided by "the favour of God," is felt and respected all over the world. Besides, Hartley likens the advantages of being English to those of being a Roman citizen by stating that:

I have often been reminded of the privileges possessed by Roman citizens on this identical soil, by the immunities conferred on Englishmen. *Then they*

feared, when they knew he was a Roman. This was the experience of antiquity. Now they fear when they know we are Englishmen. (italics original 31)

With this comparison with the Roman Empire, Hartley once again stresses his pride in being English and expresses that he is from a prominent imperial power of the nineteenth century which is to create “fear” when its name is heard. He also states that he is not the only Englishman to enjoy these advantages, and later on, he adds that “multitudes of Englishmen” visited the Levant as a result of “curiosity and science” (198). Hartley does not confine himself to the explanation of the reasons to travel to this region as “curiosity and science,” but makes a long list of the undertakings, or, with in own words, “accomplishments” of English travellers. The English travellers began their ventures into the Levant in order to

[...] ascertain the site of ancient cities, to measure the dimensions of ancient temples, to trace ancient rivers to their sources, to make collections of medals, to discover manuscripts, to bring to light concealed statuary, to examine the plants, the minerals, and natural productions of those lands, and to accomplish other objects of a scientific character. (198)

As commented above, according to Hartley, these are the various accomplishments of the British travellers, and therefore he implies that the British travellers had to undertake all these scientific endeavours because the natives of these lands, primarily the Greeks, are not capable of such scientific occupations. In this sense, John Hartley is the first of the travellers discussed so far in the present study who attributes a great deal of importance to science and scientific pursuits and defines Englishness accordingly.

As Hartley’s references to the lack of proper education and scientific capabilities in Greece and Asia Minor support, one of the main concerns for the missionaries in Western Asia Minor is to tackle the problem of ignorance among the Greeks by establishing schools. When Hartley visits İzmir, he finds out that only the Evangelical School is the only one which survived the Greek War of Independence because the school “owes its perpetuity to English protection” (Hartley 202). Therefore, one can argue that the British influence was still felt in the Ottoman Empire at that time, and by stating this fact, Hartley expresses his pride in the British Empire once more because the Empire renders the missionary work possible in this part of Asia Minor. Hartley’s appreciation of the

influence of the British Empire in Asia Minor is quite understandable because several schools in “Chios, Ayvalik and Smyrna” were closed during the Greek War of Independence since they primarily served the education of the Greek students (Augustinos 132). Apart from its intervention which helped the survival of the school, Great Britain receives religious acclaim from Hartley because “by means of efforts from Great Britain, once more the language is beginning to be applicable to the theatre of Apostolic labour” (Hartley 202). In other words, due to British protection, it is possible to spread, or, more accurately, teach true Christianity, in Asia Minor that was once a homeland for the pioneers of Christianity.

John Hartley’s complimentary statements for the power and influence of Great Britain in Asia Minor are certainly the statements about the British Self which is a source of pride for him, but they also point to the fact that Hartley is completely aware of his national and sectarian identity that is manifested in his actions as well. In addition to these positive statements about the Self, there are also several cases in which Hartley is observed “doing” Protestant British. The most striking example is when he is invited to a Greek church “to unfold the truths of Religion” in Hydra, an island close to the Greek mainland (Hartley 157). However, when it is time to cross himself in front of a picture like a Greek Orthodox, Hartley’s reaction is noteworthy in the following passage:

It was not merely by what I said, or what I did, that I preached on such occasions; but, also, *by what I left unsaid, and left undone*. The Greek preachers, as soon as they arrive in the pulpit, turn to the pictures, and make the sign of the Cross towards them. I made no cross; I bowed to no pictures; I addressed no prayer to Saints. I offered up a short extempore prayer to God, in the name of Christ, imploring His blessing. (*italics mine 157*)

On this particular occasion, Hartley adds a new aspect to the performativity of identity by stating that it is not only one’s sayings and actions, but also things one avoids to do are also constitutive of the identity. Therefore, he rejects the Orthodox Greek reverences such as crossing oneself before pictures, bowing to them and addressing prayers to Saints, and he acts in accordance with the tenets of Protestantism which strictly forbid all these idolatrous acts. By applying this principle to a religious ceremony, Hartley apparently asserts that he is “undoing” Greek Orthodox Other, therefore “doing” Protestant British Self.

Before making statements about the modern Greeks and their religious conduct, Hartley, at the very beginning of his narrative, prefers to inform the reader about what Ancient Greece and its culture mean for the British people:

What a perpetual tribute of respect is paid to Ancient Greece, by the study which is given to her language! The mind of youth is moulded and formed by the models of Greek Literature which are left us; and, in this manner, the influence of Greece is co-extensive with the magnitude, and will perhaps be perpetual as the duration, of the world. (2)

According to Hartley, the Ancient Greek Civilization constituted an important component of the British curriculum at the beginning of the nineteenth century; thus, he reveals the importance of teaching the Greek language and literature to the young students. Moreover, he believes in the perpetuity of Ancient Greek culture so heartily that it will coexist with the world. With these complimentary statements about Ancient Greece, Hartley tries to create a basis on which his negative arguments about the modern Greeks will build. After idealizing the Ancient Greeks as role models for the British youth, Hartley turns to the modern Greeks only to get frustrated.

As Hartley's travelogue covers the period of the Greek War of Independence, it is proper to begin with his comments on the violent character of the Greeks that is made manifest especially against the Turks. Hartley's first observation regarding this issue is that the primary intolerant, if not violent, policy pursued by the Greeks during the war was to erase the religious traces of the Turkish rule by demolishing the mosques. In Morea Peninsula, he observes that

[t]he religion of Mahomet has of course disappeared with those who professed it. For ages, the cry had resounded, five times each day, from the minarets of the Morea, "There is no God but God, and Mahomet is the prophet of God." Now that cry is unheard. The very minarets, from which those words were proclaimed are, in great part, laid in the dust; and the mosques, which formerly were adorned by them, are become Christian churches. (18)

Even if Hartley keeps his distance from Islam by naming it "the religion of Mahomet," this distance does not make him any closer to his fellow Christians, namely the Orthodox Greeks. With the incidents listed above, Hartley hints at the lack of religious tolerance among the Greeks. According to his observation, they turned the mosques into Christian

churches, but did not spare the minarets that are the powerful symbols of Islam. The Greeks' lack of tolerance towards the Muslim Turks is also present for the Protestant Christians as personally experienced by Hartley. Without giving temporal or spatial details, he gives an example to this intolerant attitude as follows:

I have made voyages with Greeks of the most vicious character. They were men who seemed to indulge, without restraint, in profaneness, falsehood, and licentiousness; and yet these very persons, when they observed me partaking of animal food on their fastdays, have turned from me as a person guilty of a sin to which they were happily strangers (59).

Even if Hartley does not report any kind of physical violence towards himself, it is quite evident that he is rather disappointed with his fellow Christians because when someone does not follow their religious codes such as fasting, the Greeks become ugly even towards their co-religionists (i.e. the British Protestants), let alone the Muslim Turks. Besides, Hartley points out the hypocrisy of the Greeks who “indulge, without restraint, in profaneness, falsehood, and licentiousness” and still pretend that they were pious people. As regards the violent character of the Greeks, Hartley gives a more vivid example when he learns about the fate of twenty Turks who fell in the hands of the Greeks during the early times of the Revolution on the island of Spezzie (Hartley 87). He informs the reader that the Greeks executed nineteen of the Turkish prisoners on Sunday, but one of them was able to run away. During the search for the Turk,

[...] one of those who had been employed in the work of death entered the church, his hands dyed with the blood of his victims. He proceeded to the officiating priests, and demanded of them if the Turk, who had escaped, were there concealed. On their disclaiming all knowledge of his place of refuge, he proceeded to search for him throughout the building, even entering into the place only allotted to priests, and styled, from its use in the Lord's Supper, the Holy Table. On finding his search fruitless, he PERFORMED HIS DEVOTIONS BEFORE THE PICTURES, CROSSING HIMSELF ACCORDING TO CUSTOM, and then left the church. Soon afterwards he discovered the Mahomedan, and dispatched him. (capitals original Hartley 87-88)

Hartley's depiction of the Greek, who is in search for the Turk, is an important contribution to the violent image of the Greeks, as he prefers phrases such as “hands dyed with the blood,” and “work of death.” Despite Hartley's depiction of the Greek as violent

and ruthless, the Greek man does not ignore his superstitious religious duties by paying respect to the pictures and by crossing himself before them. Hartley ironically draws attention to the paradoxical situation in which a Greek, who is about to commit a crime against humanity, is also conscious of his religious duties. Hartley concludes, “in what an extraordinary manner attention to Religion may be intermingled with the most ruthless deeds” (87). For Hartley, even the outfit of the Greeks is a sign of their violent character as he observes the Greeks who come into church to listen to his sermons as follows:

The *pistols* and *yataghans*¹⁹ which appeared in their belts were not the ornament of a parade ground, or the simple decorations of their persons, but instruments which had fatally exercised their destructive qualities. How often had death followed the flash of those pistols! How copious had been the effusion of blood, at the point of those yataghans! (italics mine, 159)

In this passage, Hartley is particularly concerned with the weapons carried by the Greeks. Commenting on the passage above, one may argue that the violent image of the Greeks, which is created through the Greek in search of the Turk, is turned into a stereotypical one by Hartley when he mentions the Greeks who come to the church with their weapons. Consistently, Hartley draws attention to the paradoxical situation in which the Greeks visit a sacred Christian church equipped with their weapons that are “not the ornament of a parade ground.” The perceived Greek violence acquires a new dimension when Hartley chances to visit several Greek schools in İzmir and in other parts of Western Asia Minor. Hartley states that the Greeks have an “instrument for inflicting the punishment of the bastinado [foot whipping]” which is “an appendage of Greek schools” (140). His observations in those schools mirror his consistency in depicting the Greek character in terms of tendency towards violence. Furthermore, it is not only the Greek pupils and the Turks who suffer from Greek violence, but the Jews in Tripolitza were also exposed to this violence during the war of independence, as Hartley states, “[...] did Jewish blood, mingled with Turkish, flow down the streets of the captured city” (186). Hartley’s various comments on the vicious nature of the Greeks show that the Greek violence and intolerance target almost everybody except themselves including the Jews, even at times Hartley himself and, above all, the Turks.

¹⁹ *Yataghan* refers to an Ottoman machete.

Alongside his derogatory comments on the violent character of the Greeks, Hartley comments on the religious character of the Greeks as an expected result of his profession as a Protestant missionary. From the very beginning of his travel account, he makes it obvious that he is not very optimistic about the current state of the Greeks and Christianity practiced by them because in Greece and Asia Minor,

[...] for age after age Christianity has worn a very different aspect. Doctrine has become corrupt, discipline has disappeared; morality is no more. Apostacy is stamped upon the Christian Churches. Where idol-temples once fell, and where they still attest, by their ruins, the resistless force of primitive Christianity, the visible temple of God has fallen; and *great has been the fall of it!* So total has been the demolition, that the very language of Our Saviour, descriptive of the ruin of another Temple, has become too applicable to the edifice; - *not one stone left upon another, that is not thrown down.* (italics original, Hartley 37)

Actually, through his remarks Hartley explains the very nature of his mission in Greece and Asia Minor, which is to convert the Orthodox Greeks into “enlightened Christians,” namely Protestants (Hartley 39). Hartley also makes use of the description of the Greek churches to shed light on the current state of the Greek religion. For instance, he visits a Greek Orthodox church in Isbarta, and his depiction of the building presents his attitude towards the Greek Orthodoxy. He states, “[t]he Church is a very dark place, not even having, as is usual, a lamp burning, and being almost half underground. Its condition is, I fear, but too apt an emblem of the minds of its habitual visitants” (Hartley 274). For Hartley, this dark church turns into a symbol of the minds of the Greek churchgoers. Hence, he justifies his missionary work in Greece and Asia Minor by attributing a negative quality to the Other Greek Orthodox as ignorant and uneducated in religious matters. On the other hand, the Greek clergy who are supposed to edify their flock and enlighten the aforementioned “darkness” are no better than the Greek churchgoers. The apparent disfavoured approach to the Greek Orthodox churches and their visitors is also applied to the Greek clergy as can be seen in the following extract:

[...] What is the character of the Greek Clergy? Do the successors of the Chrysostoms and Gregorys of better days inherit any of the zeal and piety of their distinguished precursors? What are the distinctive qualities of the modern ANGELS OF THE SEVEN CHURCHES? Answers, we own, of a very painful nature must be given to these questions. But, instead of indulging

in censure, it is more charitable to recollect, that to the Clergy of the Greek Church no advantages like our own have been afforded. Not only are they strangers to Academic tuition, but to the simple doctrines and precepts of Christianity. (capitals original, Hartley 99)

As Hartley expresses clearly, the Greek clergy are not adequately trained in religious matters. However, his comparison is made against not only the enlightened Protestant Christians such as himself, but also the precursors of Christianity who lived and spread Christianity in Asia Minor. While acknowledging the lack of proper knowledge of Christianity among the Greek priests, Hartley also points to the lack of educational advantages enjoyed by the Protestant priests in Britain (99). In this sense, once more Hartley puts emphasis on the superiority of British Protestantism which equips its priests with the proper education of true Christianity. Apart from their ignorance and insufficient knowledge, the Greek clergy are also accused of making use of, or more properly exploiting, their position as clergymen. For instance, Hartley claims that the Greek clergymen demand money in return for the confession, and he adds with a harsher tone that “[t]he more frequently men confess, the larger the income of the priests. The higher the fee, the more advantageous for them” (70). According to Hartley, this perceived lack of knowledge and ignorance of the Greek clergy also leads to the superstitious practices among the Greek people, the most notorious of which is picture worshipping. It is an undeniable fact that the Greek War of Independence witnessed a great number of casualties on the Greek and the Turkish sides. However, the way the Greeks treat their casualties is of much interest for Hartley in that they consider all their casualties as “martyrs” without any specific regard. Hartley gives an example as follows:

A person of whose veracity I have no doubt, informed me, that he saw a Greek at Tzesme, named Gabriel Sandalges, hanged by the Turks. His countrymen, from a cause which I cannot recall, believed that he died a martyr. In consequence, an artist was employed to sketch his features, whilst he was still hanging; and the portrait was forthwith suspended in the church, and worship paid him under the name of Stratolates. (50)

The lack of knowledge about the issue of martyrdom is apparent for Hartley, but at the same time, picture worshipping constitutes a more important point of criticism, and it immediately catches Hartley’s attention. He suggests that the Greeks have a double fault in the issue of martyrdom; first, they call a war casualty a martyr under the name of

Stratolates who was a patron saint of early Christianity in Asia Minor in the fourth century (Krey 292); second, they make a picture of him by attributing a religious power to it, which indicates the high level of ignorance and idolatry among the Greeks. He makes an overall statement about the Greek churches and their decorations when he states that “the first object which attracts notice is the immense multitude of pictures, attached to all parts of the building” (55) and he continues with his depiction as follows:

When a Greek enters a church, he instantly advances to the principal pictures, crosses himself; bows very frequently before them, and kisses them. That kissing may not soil and deface the large pictures, there are often small ones attached to the larger, which are taken in the hand and pressed to the lips. During service, many bring wax-tapers, and burn them in front of a particular picture, in order to do it honour. These are only a few of the melancholy absurdities of picture worship, which are prevalent. (55)

Hartley asserts that the picture worshipping is not restricted to the preservation of a great number of pictures in the Greek churches. The Greek clergy and people also display behaviours such as kissing and bowing to pictures in accordance with the superstitious habits when they enter a church. No matter how sacred these reverences are for the Greeks, Hartley regards them only as “melancholy absurdities.” With his choice of words, he openly indicates his feeling of Protestant superiority over the Greeks who profess a false form of Christianity. One of the most “absurd” examples of picture worshipping occurs when an unidentified friend of Hartley’s travels from İzmir to İstanbul. Hartley’s friend reports that while spending the night in a painter’s shop, a Greek villager comes to the shop and asks for a picture of St. Nicholas as follows:

“What kind of a picture do you want?” inquired the painter. “Is it a miracle-working St. Nicholas, or a plain St. Nicholas?” The countryman begged to see both. They were accordingly produced; and, in answer to inquiries, the painter informed his customer, that the miracle-working picture had leaped the night preceding from the station which it occupied, had marched along the floor to a considerable distance, and had then resumed its original position. The price of this picture was, in consequence, nearly double that of the plain St. Nicholas. The purchaser seemed anxious to obtain what appeared so valuable a treasure; but his poverty only permitted him to buy the plain St. Nicholas. (Hartley 57)

Although Hartley ridicules the religious ignorance of the customer, which is his main concern in this specific situation, he implicitly directs his criticism at the shopkeeper who tries to take advantage of his customer's religious ignorance. He uses a satirical tone in the narration of the event as he talks about walking pictures, cheating shopkeepers and so on. However, ignorance and corruption prevalent among the Greeks as seen in the above mentioned instance urges Hartley seriously to formulate a Greek Reformation in the following and he says:

Our simple intention is, to bring back to the truths of the Gospel those who have swerved from them to a melancholy extent; to raise up, by Divine assistance. Oriental Luthers, Cranmers, Latimers, and Ridleys, who may be instrumental in restoring to the East that pure light which originally emanated from it; and thus, instead of present errors and corruptions, to aim at exhibiting in those countries a pure and spiritual Church. (112)

After revealing all the ills of the Greeks in terms of religious issues, Hartley once again explains the nature of his missionary work in Asia Minor and Greece as “to bring back to the truths of the Gospel.” This time, however, he refers to the prominent figures of Protestant Reformation such as Martin Luther (1483-1546), Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556), Hugh Latimer (1487-1555), and Nicholas Ridley (1550-1555). With this reference to the outstanding Protestant scholars, Hartley stresses the importance of education and scholarship for religious enlightenment. Nevertheless, by qualifying these historical figures as “Oriental,” he implies that the “difference” between British Protestants and the Greeks will last even in the case of a Greek Reformation. As regards the results of his demand for a Greek Reformation, Hartley is quite hopeful as he asks “Is there, then, anything chimerical in the expectation, that, by the blessing of God, our efforts in the present day will, eventually, have success equal to that of the English Reformation?” (115). It is quite evident that Hartley is not only hopeful about the results of the missionary efforts but also proud of the English Reformation that marks also the beginning of Britain's imperial aspirations.

While expressing his hopes for the future, Hartley does not neglect giving information about the current state of the missionary work in Western Asia Minor. First, Hartley is quite optimistic about the future of the Oriental church as he states in a prayer: “May the Oriental Church, my Greek friends, soon recover its ancient splendor! May it soon have

men not inferior to Chrysostom, to Basil, and to Gregory!” (150). As regards the attitudes of the Greeks towards him and the missionary work, Hartley is satisfied that his work is usually welcomed by the Greeks who “certainly did permit an English Missionary to preach on these and several other occasions; and thus clearly displayed the liberality of their minds to Englishmen and Protestants, and their willingness to hear, from their lips, truths the most important which can be brought to the notice of man” (Hartley 166-7). Because of these endeavours, he and his fellow missionaries manage to convert, or at least correct, the Greeks in terms of superstition and ignorance. Hartley positively says that “I have seen many abandon superstition and infidelity; I have seen many embrace correct views of the Christian Religion; and of some, I have ventured to hope that they really had experienced a total renovation of disposition and character” (169). In order to make his success more visible for the reader, Hartley mentions an occasion when an old Greek “picture-maker” and his son host him. Although the old Greek man is reluctant to the correct views of Christianity on picture-worshipping and idolatry,

[...] his son, a young man about twenty-five years of age, had become so enlightened, that he had totally forsaken this superstition. Not only did he join me, daily, with two other Greeks, in the reading of the Scriptures, and in social prayer, but, on asking him to give me one of the pictures which he had formerly worshipped, that I might send it as an object of curiosity to England, his reply was this: ' I have shivered all my pictures to atoms long ago.' (169-170)

While expressing his sorrow for the old Greek man who is still attached to the superstitions of idolatry and picture worshipping, the son’s tendency towards the true form of Christianity is quite satisfying for Hartley. He especially finds the difference between the son and the father pleasing because it signals that the new generation of the Greeks, which is represented by the son, is more likely to abandon the old superstitions than the old generation, which is represented by the old Greek “picture-maker.” More strikingly in this passage, Hartley calls the picture “an object of curiosity,” which indicates that he sees the Greek Orthodoxy as an exotic, marginal and mysterious religion that is likely to spark curiosity among the “enlightened” British Protestants.

The main target of the missionaries is the Orthodox Greeks but at times, it is inevitable for Hartley to observe the Turks as well. From an overall reading of his travel book, one

may argue that Hartley is aware of the glorious days of the Ottoman Empire, which is obvious in the following passage:

[w]hat a remarkable difference between the Turks of the days of Muhammed II. or Suleyman the Magnificent, and of the present reign of Mahmud! Once, they were the very terror of Europe: they laid siege to the capital of Germany: they caused the most distant Christian monarchs to tremble in their capitals. (Hartley 34)

In this sense, Hartley's historical evaluation of the Turks and the Ottoman Empire can be named as retrospective "imperial envy." It is an imperial envy because he states that once the glorious days of the Ottoman Empire existed, but it is also retrospective because now they are far behind. This contrast between the past and the present days of the Ottoman Empire is of interest for Hartley because he is aware that the Ottoman Empire is on the brink of collapse as he quotes from the Bible "The kingdom which will not serve me shall perish" (Isaiah 60:12 qtd. in Hartley 35). Considering the fact that Hartley's work was mostly composed during the Greek War of Independence (1821-1830), his othering attitude towards the Ottoman Empire as a Muslim power was consistent with the British policy of affirmation of the Greek independence that would eventually be achieved in 1830, two years before the publication of Hartley's travel book.

2.2. ALICIA BLACKWOOD'S A NARRATIVE OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCES AND IMPRESSIONS DURING A RESIDENCE ON THE BOSPHORUS THROUGHOUT THE CRIMEAN WAR (1881)

Despite the fact that Britain supported the idea of an independent Greek state during the Greek War of Independence, its policy of preserving the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire was still a priority, and Britain's position during the Crimean War was an indicator of this policy. In order to prevent any Russian move towards İstanbul, the gateway to its routes to India, Britain mobilized its Mediterranean fleet to the Black Sea after the Russian navy had destroyed the Ottoman fleet in Sinope in 1853 (Macfie 30). The main threat to the Ottoman lands was from the Black Sea direction, but Russia also mobilized the land troops towards the Balkan principalities for a land siege of İstanbul (Macfie 31). This military move to the Balkans by the Russians forced Britain to declare war on Russia for the protection of the Ottoman Empire on 28 March 1854. For Britain,

the goal of the war was the neutralization of the Black Sea, and the only way to achieve this was to capture “the great naval fortress of Sevastopol” and annihilate “Russian naval power in the Black Sea” (Macfie 31). However, fighting in Crimea was an uphill task for the British Army because of the harsh weather conditions and epidemics (Armaoğlu 254). This situation compelled Britain to construct a barracks hospital in İstanbul that was designed to serve the injured throughout the Crimean war.

The echoes of the Crimean War started to be heard and sparked the patriotic feelings of the British public against Russia. This nationalist enthusiasm heartened legendary figures such as Florence Nightingale who played an active role in the Haida Pasha, or the Palace, Hospital during the Crimean War (McDonald xi; Shepherd 343). Due to her diligent efforts during the war, Nightingale was recognized a national heroine, and she inspired a number of British people to take part in the voluntary work in İstanbul Barracks hospital (McDonald xi-xii). One of those was Lady Alicia Blackwood, a nurse and a philanthropist. She was born on 29 November 1818 at Eaglehurst, Hampshire in England as daughter to George Frederick Augustus, Lambart Viscount Kilcoursie and Sarah Coppin (Rickard). After her mother, Sarah Coppin, died in 1828, Alicia Blackwood was raised by her relatives, and she received a domestic education (Rickard). On 3 April 1849, Alicia got married to James Stevenson Blackwood who was a clergyman and accompanied his wife as an army chaplain during their stay in İstanbul (Schiffer 360). Even before their move to İstanbul for voluntary work, the Blackwoods were familiar with charity work and “took an active part in London’s religious and philanthropic life” (Rickard). Lady Blackwood’s stay in İstanbul was a part of the above-mentioned voluntary work as she mentions at the very beginning of her work, *A Narrative*:

When the news reached England of the battle of Inkerman, that terribly hard-fought struggle which took place on the 5th of November 1854, and wherein so many lost relatives and friends, and from whence came calls for help to the sick and wounded, my husband and I were deeply moved to go out [...] (2)

However, Lady Blackwood’s life in İstanbul was not restricted to charity work. She also kept a diary about her daily work, her relations with the Turks, the Greeks and the Armenians, her meeting with Florence Nightingale, and finally her travel to Crimea after the British victory against the Russians. Although Lady Blackwood kept these diaries

during her stay in İstanbul, they remained “undisturbed” until her Turkish horse, named *Sultan*, died in 1880 (Blackwood 2). After the loss of her beloved Turkish horse, Lady Blackwood made a decision to arrange these diaries into a travel book titled *A Narrative of Personal Experiences and Impressions during a Residence on the Bosphorus throughout the Crimean War* (1881). After the Crimean War, the Blackwoods returned to Yorkshire where Lady Blackwood dedicated the rest of her life to philanthropy until James Blackwood retired, and then they moved to Hertfordshire in 1876. Ten years after James Blackwood’s death, Lady Blackwood wrote another book named *Six in the Fold, and One: Narratives Drawn from Life* in 1892. Lady Alicia Blackwood died at Boxmoor House in 1913 (Rickard).

A Narrative of Personal Experiences consists of twenty-two chapters and an appendix, with several illustrations drawn by Lady Blackwood herself. Similar to the other travelogues analysed in this study, *A Narrative of Personal Experiences* is also concerned with the Christians of Asia Minor. From the very beginning of the work, Lady Blackwood’s adverse representation of the Greeks is obvious from her narrative style used for the description of the Christians, especially of the Greeks of İstanbul. Though a fact mostly overlooked by the historians, the Greeks took sides with the Russians against the Ottomans in the Crimean War in order to expand their territorial control over the Greek peninsula gained in the Greek War of Independence (Todorova 540). Therefore, Lady Blackwood’s negative representation of the Greeks can be explained to some extent by the political context of the Crimean War. For instance, when Lady Blackwood and her crew first arrive in İstanbul, they need a place to spend the night before they find a permanent residence. Therefore, they knock on the door of a “horrible-looking khan or inn,” (Blackwood 10) and are welcomed by “[a] ruffian-looking pair” (Blackwood 11). The place where they want to spend the night turns out to be “a Greek eating or drinking house” (Blackwood 10-11). However, the most striking comment on this unfortunate choice comes from Lady Blackwood herself when she regretfully admits that they made a mistake “[in their] ignorance of Turkish hotels and khans” and she prefers a Turkish house instead (11).

Lady Blackwood’s very first prejudiced impression of the Greeks that they are not reliable people is followed and supported by some further examples in terms of their superstitious

and idolatrous conduct. On a trip to the Prince Islands of İstanbul, Lady Blackwood and her crew visit a Greek church. The first impression of the church is that it is “notably clean in the interior, for some were very much the reverse, especially those in Constantinople” (Blackwood 127), by which she implies that the Greek churches in İstanbul are not particularly clean. She continues her description of the church as follows:

The usual amount of pictures and gilding was there, but of course no statuary. The young priest who showed us all its treasures strongly deprecated the idea of images as belonging in any way to the Greek Church; but I must confess that I can see very little difference between a painted face and hands encased in thickly embossed gilt representing drapery, and a piece of statuary, when it comes to be an object of veneration, not to say worship. The priest then showed us, with great reverence, some cases containing relics, very precious no doubt; but I could not sympathise in his apparently deep interest in them, having no respect whatever for nasty teeth, bones, hair, or rags, of which we found no lack in any of the Greek churches we inspected, either at Constantinople or in Russia [...] (127)

Apart from the cleanliness of the church, what attracts Lady Blackwood in the second place is the preservation of pictures in it, but she does not seem surprised at all, as she calls them “the usual amount of pictures and gilding.” Therefore, Lady Blackwood tries to create a stereotype of the Orthodox Christians in İstanbul, if not the entire Orthodox world, as well as believing in “nasty teeth, bones, hair, or rags” for which Lady Blackwood and the Protestants in general have “no respect” (127). Moreover, her stereotypical representation of the Greeks stretches beyond the borders of İstanbul because this kind of objects might be found “in any of the Greek churches we inspected, either at Constantinople or in Russia” (127). Lady Blackwood continues to dwell upon the subject of idolatry and picture worshiping by comparing the Muslims and the Greeks of İstanbul. The setting she chooses for this comparison is Hagia Sophia which used to be a Christian patriarchal cathedral before the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. Similar to the observations she makes in the Greek church on the Prince Islands, Lady Blackwood is quite interested in the interior decoration of Hagia Sophia. She observes that “so much has been left of painting on the plaster and so much of mosaic work, especially that the figure of Christ, which is quite traceable on the ceiling” (145-6) which, to Lady Blackwood’s surprise, could survive the Turkish conquest of the city. As regards the issue of idolatry and picture worshiping, Lady Blackwood draws a favourable

parallelism between Islam and Protestant Christianity because Islam, in Lady Blackwood's words, "permits no representation in the form of a picture or image in their mosques, as a rule" like Protestantism and "[i]n this they are a great contrast to the Greek and Roman temples" (146). With this remark, she emphasises the identity between Islam and Protestant Christianity in terms of their common opposition to idolatry by othering Orthodox Christianity represented by the Greeks of İstanbul. She favours Islam against Orthodoxy as a religion without picture and idol worshipping by finally stating, "There is in a mosque a total absence of this offensive idolatry" like an ideal Protestant church (146). However, Lady Blackwood's contentment with Islam's opposition to idolatry does not connote that she is totally content with Islam itself. She comments, "could Mahometans once be persuaded that Christianity in its purity does not admit of such things, many would readily embrace it" (146). That is to say, the Muslim people should be converted to Christianity, preferably to Protestantism that is rephrased as "Christianity in its purity." In this sense, Lady Blackwood implies that the Greek Orthodoxy, with which the Turks are more frequently acquainted than with Protestantism, lost its purity and Protestantism might be a tool for the conversion of the Turks. She puts the blame on the Greeks because they are responsible for the false presentation of Christianity that makes the Muslims "turn from it with loathing and hatred" (Blackwood 146).

Lady Blackwood's sectarian othering towards the Greeks of İstanbul gains a different aspect when she begins to make comments on the Greeks' hostility towards herself and the French and British people in İstanbul. She does not draw this conclusion from one single event as she narrates a list of ill-doings by the Greeks as illustrated in the extract:

The Greeks were so disaffected towards us that, lately at Prinkipo (the chief of the Princes Islands), they made effigies of the French and English officers, and then offered them every imaginable indignity; this was done at midnight to avoid detection. Indeed, it was recently that they attempted to burn the Haida Pasha, or Palace Hospital. Mercifully, in the kind providence of God, it was discovered in time, and no more than part of the flooring in one end was consumed. One of our storehouses also was set on fire maliciously, when a large quantity of goods was destroyed. (Blackwood 148)

If there is hostility towards the Greeks on the British side because of the political atmosphere of the Crimean War, those feelings are clearly mutual as Lady Blackwood

reports several insults directed at the English and French officials. However, the Greeks' hostility becomes a fatal threat to the British existence in İstanbul when they attempt to sabotage the Barracks Hospital and storehouses. At this point of her narrative, Lady Blackwood reveals her religious personality once again when she states that "the kind providence of God" saved them from a greater disaster. In this respect, even the concept of God becomes a tool of othering the Orthodox Greeks of İstanbul because God is an ally of the Protestants. Lady Blackwood's statements about the arson attempts by the Greeks is yet another contribution to the creation of a violent Greek stereotype exemplified by John Hartley with a number of instances in his book. Hence, one may suggest that there is a consistent way of depicting the Greeks as vicious in both travel books by Hartley and Blackwood. Apart from these direct attacks on the British establishments in İstanbul such as the hospital and storehouses, the Greeks are also responsible for selling "dreadful poison, arrack" (Blackwood 56) to which the patients from the Barrack Hospital resort in order to soothe their pain. Lady Blackwood and her crew are uncomfortable with the fact that this poisonous spirit is sold by the Greeks from "every small available shed in the surroundings of the Barrack" (Blackwood 56). However, the British in İstanbul do not allow the Greeks to maintain this business, and eventually "a raid had been made on the dreadful spirit-shops kept by the Greeks, in which almost poisonous alcoholic mixtures were sold" (Blackwood 179).

While othering the Greeks as superstitious, idolatrous, vicious and violent, Lady Blackwood has a favourable opinion of the Turks in general as she expresses in the case of the Greek eating and drinking house at the very beginning of her narrative. Although she acknowledges that there is a counter-stereotyping towards the British people among the Turks such as calling the British people in İstanbul "Johnny" without making any distinction, Lady Blackwood expresses her positive opinions on the Turks throughout her work. The first trait Lady Blackwood admires in the Turks is the way they treat their horses as she suggests that "[...] our English grooms could take a lesson from them [the Turkish grooms]; for I do not believe that it is so much the evil disposition of the English horse, or the good disposition of the Turkish horse, as the way in which they are treated which makes them so different" (103). In the same manner as Burnaby's *On Horseback* and Curzon's *A Year in Erzeroom*, Lady Blackwood's interest in horses and horse training

is quite noticeable. Moreover, her appreciation of the Turkish horse raising habits is so high that Lady Blackwood suggests that the English grooms should take an example of the Turkish grooms. According to Lady Blackwood, the attentive horse raising is not the only favourable characteristic of the Turks. Although the Ottoman Empire lost immense territories to the rival empires such as the Austria-Hungary Empire and Russia, it still had a considerable number of Christian subjects under its rule in the mid-nineteenth century when Lady Blackwood resided in İstanbul. Therefore, these Christian minorities were an important concern for Christian Europe both for political and religious reasons. However, Lady Blackwood's comments on the status of the Christians within the Ottoman Empire presents a challenge to the dominant discourse of nineteenth-century Europe as can be seen in the following comment:

[...] though the Turks are Mohammedans, and their religion inculcates persecution, there is scarcely a kingdom in Europe which allows more religious liberty than is enjoyed in many parts of the dominions of the Sultan. At this very time religious persecutions are being carried on in Sweden. It is but a few years since the same were to be reprobated in many, even of the Protestant principalities of Germany. Russia admits of scarcely any toleration; and the liberty accorded in Austria is of a very dubious nature. What may be said of Spain? And yet all these nations profess Christianity, whose weapons are commanded not to be carnal, and whose worshipped Head is the Prince of Peace! (225)

Lady Blackwood employs a comparative narrative strategy in order to favour the Ottoman Empire against the major European countries in terms of religious toleration and liberty. By Lady Blackwood's logic, professing Christianity does not suffice to be a religiously tolerant country as perfectly exemplified by a predominantly Muslim country: the Ottoman Empire. All the countries Lady Blackwood lists in the passage above "profess Christianity," but their policies towards the religious minorities are worse than the Ottoman Empire's. However, Lady Blackwood argues that

[...] when we consider how many years it took England to arrive at that conclusion; how many waves ebbing and flowing of religious persecutions passed over our own island, and this, with all we had to enlighten us; and if the Word of God, freely circulated and open to all, did not, nay, I had almost said does not yet, fully influence us to tolerate differences of opinion. (223-224)

While making use of Christian countries such as Sweden, Germany, Austria, Russia and Spain as negative examples for her argument about religious tolerance, Lady Blackwood spares her own nation, Britain, because she strongly believes that Britain is the cradle of religious liberty. At this point, she refers to the sectarian wars and rebellions that plagued England after the Protestant reformation with Henry VIII, and she concludes that Britain is the “land of Christians and land of liberty” due to the wars fought for this end (221). With this inference, Lady Blackwood implies that not only the sectarian struggles but also Protestantism itself fortunately rendered Britain a tolerant country in terms of religious beliefs because it allowed the free circulation of “the Word of God” (Blackwood 224). Even the other Protestant countries such as Germany and Sweden could not enjoy the privileges of British Protestantism (i.e. Anglicanism).

While Lady Blackwood employs this sort of favourable depiction for the Turkish character, the Turks do not abstain from showing their gratitude to the British in İstanbul because, in Lady Blackwood’s words, “one great idea was at that time fixed in the Turkish mind, that the English were good, the work in the Hospital was good, nursing the sickly women was good” (228). This “good” image of the British was secured in the Turkish mind because the Turks were also taken care of in the Barrack Hospital which was originally constructed to serve the British soldiers. Lady Blackwood informs the reader that apart from the health care provided to the Turks, there were also some charity work for the Turkish people during which gifts were distributed to them (228). She believes that these benevolent actions by the British in İstanbul are “quite a novelty to [the Turks]” (228) because they do not expect such well-intentioned behaviours from the British who believe in a religion different from theirs, but Lady Blackwood expresses her pleasure in the good representation of Christianity and British benevolence in a foreign land as she notes that “[...] if our religion differed from theirs, it was at least shown to be practical” (228). Her remarks indicate that Lady Blackwood regards her mission in İstanbul more than simple charity work because she believes in her representative role in the Ottoman capital. Namely, she represents Britishness with good characteristics such as benevolence and compassion. Furthermore, Dr. Blackwood, appointed as the army chaplain after their arrival in İstanbul, accompanies his wife in this representative role. However, Dr. Blackwood’s role as an army chaplain differs from Lady Blackwood’s in that he is more

interested in the religious equality among the residents of İstanbul. After he is introduced to the Protestant American missionaries in İstanbul, Dr. Blackwood takes an active part in a noteworthy incident as follows:

Dr. Blackwood having a little more leisure than usual went over to Pera to a committee meeting of the Evangelical Alliance on the subject of Religious Persecution; and strange to say he received tidings there of an occurrence which took place here, of which we knew nothing whatever, viz., that two Protestant Armenians of good character, both well known to the American missionaries, had been mistaken for Greeks, and were in custody at Scutari on a charge of stabbing and maiming an English soldier, who swore to one of them, who was therefore under sentence by martial law to be hung. (Blackwood 116)

First, it should be emphasized that the Evangelical Alliance²⁰ functions as an observer of religious equality and tolerance in the Ottoman Empire. However, in this case, the victims of religious inequality are two Protestant Armenians acquainted with the American missionaries. The crime attributed to them is of much significance because they are accused of having stabbed an English soldier. At this point, it is obvious that Dr. Blackwood and the Protestant missionaries act on behalf of the Armenians due to their common belief, that is, Protestantism (Blackwood 116). In other words, there exists a Protestant solidarity among the converted Armenians and the British and American Protestants in İstanbul. More critically, the Armenians are mistaken for Greeks who are believed to have committed this crime against the English soldier. Lady Blackwood's unfavourable attitude towards the Orthodox Greeks of İstanbul is brought into sight once again when she states, "Unhappily the town was full of Greeks, who were constantly perpetrating all kinds of mischief and evil (117)." Dr. Wright, one of the principal American missionaries, is also concerned about the charges against the Protestant Armenians because he believes that "being Protestants they had been exposed to much trial from the unconverted Armenians and the Greeks" (Blackwood 117-118). By means of Dr. Wright's statements, Lady Blackwood claims that the religious toleration does not exist even among the Armenians and the Greeks who discriminate against the converted Protestant Armenians and Greeks. Her comments indicate that her perspective on the

²⁰ The Evangelical Alliance is the organization of Evangelical Christians in Britain, founded in 1846. The organization is "the largest and oldest body representing the UK's two million evangelical Christians" as they indicate in their official website (*Evangelical Alliance*).

Christians of İstanbul is predominantly determined by their denominations (i.e. Orthodoxy or Protestantism). In other words, she favours the Protestant Armenians because of their sectarian sameness while disfavouring the Greeks and the Armenians because of their sectarian otherness. In the end, Dr. Wright and Dr. Blackwood manage to find a witness who is able to prove the innocence of the Protestant Armenians, and that the Greeks stabbed the English soldier. Therefore, the investigation results in the acquittal of the Protestant Armenians, which is, in Lady Blackwood's words, "God's answer to [their] prayer" (119).

Towards the end of their residence in İstanbul, Lady Blackwood decides to go to Crimea because they receive the news of the British victory. Although, geographically speaking, they move out of the Ottoman territories, the observations she makes in Crimea are noteworthy because she has a chance to observe the Russian soldiers and hear the stories related to them from the natives of Crimea. Before unfolding her observations related to the Russians, Lady Blackwood points out the striking British presence in a foreign land. She describes the British camp in Crimea as follows:

I have never seen anything which has struck me so powerfully for a monument of British power, energy, and wealth, as the appearance of things in Balaklava and the camp. It seems as if a part of England had been transported bodily to the Crimea. No picture conveys an idea of it. The railway running along to the harbour with its locomotives is but one item. A capital military road running for miles in several directions is now covered with strings of mules and waggons. Warehouses, shops, cafés — English, French, and Greek — are crowded with customers, and the whole place is alive like a series of populous towns in the industrial regions of England, swarming with people full of energy and work, beyond the ordinary energy of peace at home. (250-251)

It is obvious that Lady Blackwood feels more at home in Crimea than she does in İstanbul. However, her appreciation for this settlement turns into admiration and pride in the British Empire as she states that a small model of Britain was re-constructed in Crimea, that is, a land miles away from the homeland and "no picture conveys an idea of it." Moreover, all these facilities are achieved due to "British power, energy, and wealth." In this sense, Lady Blackwood's appreciation of this settlement can be taken as the most efficacious implementation of Robert Curzon's imperial suggestion to the Russian Empire in terms

of industry, trade, commerce and transportation. Curzon and Lady Blackwood use a similar praising tone to describe British achievements. Unlike Curzon, Lady Blackwood does not mention the British camp in order to give an example to Russia, but she implies that it is after the British acquisition of the land that Crimea turns into a lively place with all these new facilities.

After these very first impressions of the region as a tiny model of Britain, Lady Blackwood discovers the area surrounding the British camp. Within this scope, she visits an Orthodox Christian church “which is of course like other such temples, and furnished with the usual appendages necessary for their kind of worship” (Blackwood 259). Lady Blackwood does not give a detailed description of the church but she tries to keep the distance between the Other Orthodox Christians and herself as a Protestant when she uses the phrase “their kind of worship.” Therefore, Lady Blackwood stresses that British Protestantism and Greek Orthodoxy are different from each other in a significant way. While acknowledging this difference, Lady Blackwood and her crew occasionally take part in missionary activities as well. During one of her excursions around the British camp, Lady Blackwood meets “a few poor Russian soldiers, who were wandering about listlessly, and appeared deplorably miserable” (Blackwood 260). Equipped with “a number of Bibles, Testaments, and tracts in the Russian language” in her carriage, Lady Blackwood delivers them to the Russian soldiers. Since “presenting the Word of God in the common language of the people was a basic tenet of the Protestant ethos” (Augustinos 135), Lady Blackwood, as a Protestant, prefers to deliver them in Russian, which enables the Russian soldiers to read and understand the Bible, the Word of God, directly for themselves without any intervention of the clergy. Lady Blackwood is very hopeful about the result of this distribution because

They [the Bibles, Testaments, and tracts] were always eagerly received by them [the Russians]; and it was very gratifying to us to see, even days after, some of these poor fellows reading them either to each other, or by themselves in a shady nook or corner to which they had resorted. It was our privilege, as well as our duty, to sow the seed; the result may not be known until the great hereafter; we may not here see the blade spring up — but the promise is sure and will be accomplished — “Blessed are ye that sow beside all waters.” (Blackwood 261)

For Lady Blackwood, the first promising sign is that the Russian soldiers, who are determined to read the Bible and the tracts despite the difficult conditions, welcome those distributions eagerly. Her feeling of Protestant superiority over the Russian soldiers is manifested when she describes them as “poor fellows.” In other words, the Russians are so desperate that they require the British missionary and charity work for their salvation. Moreover, this tone of superiority is made even more evident when she regards her missionary efforts as “privilege” and “duty.” While Lady Blackwood expresses her hopes about the result of the seed she sows in the Russians’ hearts, she does not openly indicate any sign of ignorance of the Russians in the passage above. However, later on she gives a more specific account of religious ignorance of the Russians as she states:

The Russian soldiers were marched past our windows on Sunday morning to church, and on their way we saw them presenting arms and offering homage, or obeisance, to two wretched tawdry pictures which were hoisted on poles, and held by a couple of monks at the side of the street as they went by. (Blackwood 293)

With this specific account, Lady Blackwood attempts to explain the motivation behind the delivery of the Bibles, Testaments and tracts to the Russian soldiers who “are presenting arms and offering homage, or obeisance, to two wretched tawdry pictures which were hoisted on poles” (Blackwood 293). According to Lady Blackwood, who is a representative of British Protestantism in a foreign land, the Russian soldiers’ paying homage to the pictures is a clear act of idolatry, and only the Bible itself is able to correct this error. Furthermore, Lady Blackwood believes that Orthodox Christianity downgrades the reputation of Christianity in this part of Asia by indulging in idolatry and picture worshiping. For instance, during a visit to Simferopol, Mr. Stern, who is a Protestant missionary accompanying them, happens to visit a Synagogue, but he meets a violent reaction from the Jews of the city as they declare that the “Christians [are] gross idolaters” (293-294). Like the similarity she finds between Protestantism and Islam on idolatry, Lady Blackwood makes another comparison; but, this time with Judaism. With regard to the Muslims in İstanbul, she does not report any offence to her or other Christians because of idolatry, but the Jews in Simferopol attack Mr. Stern and ask him to be banned from the Synagogue. Upon this unfortunate event, Lady Blackwood concludes that the Jews are very disaffected towards the Christians because they generalize all the Christians

(Orthodox or Protestant) as idolaters simply because “this display [idolatry by the Orthodox Russians] was perpetually before them as inseparable, either in their churches or out of them, from their worship, and this as Christians!” (Blackwood 293-294).

In conclusion, it can be argued that John Hartley’s *Researches in Greece and the Levant* is a travel book in which one can find many examples for the encounters between the British Protestant Self and the Greek Orthodox Other. As a missionary, John Hartley’s target is noteworthy because he and the other fellow missionaries in Greece and Asia Minor aim to convert the Greeks who are already Christians. However, according to Hartley they practice a false form of Christianity. Similarly, in Lady Alicia Blackwood’s *A Narrative of Personal Experiences and Impressions during a Residence on the Bosphorus throughout the Crimean War*, Protestant British identity is reflected in many ways. First, as the other travellers studied in this thesis, Lady Blackwood is aware of her Protestant Christian identity. Even her coming to İstanbul derives from her patriotic and benevolent feelings as with the news of the Crimean War, Lady Blackwood and Dr. Blackwood are “deeply moved to go out” to help (Blackwood 2). Apart from being self-aware, her comments and remarks on the Orthodox Christians she encounters in İstanbul and Crimea contribute to the construction and reinforcement of the Protestant British identity.

CONCLUSION

While the nineteenth century is commonly considered as the pinnacle of British Imperialism, the sixteenth century draws attention as the period of the emergence of the British Imperialism. From a religious point of view, the ties between the emergence of British Imperialism and Protestantism are undeniable because these ties mainly came out of England's struggle against the Catholic powers of Europe such as Spain and France in the sixteenth century. This sectarian struggle turned into a colonial and imperial rivalry as Spain was the prominent colonial sea power in the sixteenth century. Considering the role of Protestantism in the emergence of British identity, it is possible to argue that this Protestant tone is likely to be perceived in literature, especially in travel writing.

Regarding the basic premise that “[a]ll travel writing can be considered political, due, among the other reasons, to the inevitable production of ideology that accompanies most travel experiences” (Cabanas, et al 2), the British travellers to Asia Minor are not immune to the political context of the nineteenth century. Keeping in mind that they are from a great imperial nation, British travellers who ventured into Asia Minor, the heartland of the Ottoman Empire for different purposes, encountered many “others” ranging from the Orthodox Greeks to the Muslim Turks. The accounts of their encounter with the Armenians and the Greeks contribute to Protestant identity in a striking way. By the evaluation of Robert Curzon's *Armenia: A Year in Erzeroom, and on the Frontiers of Russia, Turkey, and Persia* (1854), Frederick Burnaby's *On Horseback through Asia Minor* (1877), John Hartley's *Researches in Greece and the Levant* (1831), and Lady Alicia Blackwood's *A Narrative of Personal Experiences and Impressions during a Residence on the Bosphorus throughout the Crimean War* (1881), it is observed that the books have four main themes; that is, a full awareness of their national and religious belonging, performativity of this identity, othering statements against the Armenians and the Greeks (in comparison with the Turks), and finally political statements on Russia.

The first point all these four travellers have in common is that they have a certain degree of awareness of their British Protestant background, and this awareness is manifested in different ways for each traveller. For Robert Curzon, this awareness is mainly embodied in his mission, that is to say the reason why he travels to the eastern part of Asia Minor

in the name of British. Frederick Burnaby, on the other hand, does not allow himself to be defined in the same category as the Armenians and openly announces that he is a Protestant and there is “difference between an English Protestant and an Armenian Christian” (Vol II 198). Even later when Burnaby is asked what religion he believes in, his answer is not “Christian” but “Protestant” fearing to be classified with the Armenians again. John Hartley, the missionary, prefers a more general definition for himself as “Christian” by seemingly disregarding the national label “British” throughout the work. However, while explaining the origins of his and his society’s missionary efforts in the Levant and Asia Minor, Hartley openly extends his gratitude to the British Empire because he believes that the missionary work is possible in this part of the world due to the prestige and power of the British Empire. In this sense, Hartley also combines his religious identity (Protestant) with his national identity (British). Moreover, Hartley draws a parallelism between the Roman Empire and the British Empire in terms of the privileges they provide their citizens with all over the world. In doing so, Hartley not only praises the country where he comes from, but also indicates his pride in being a British Protestant. Lastly, Lady Alicia Blackwood’s motivation to move to İstanbul is purely patriotic because she makes up her mind to go there when the Crimean War breaks out between Russia and the British Empire mainly because of their lasting disagreement on the fate of the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, she strictly believes in her representative role in İstanbul and Crimea as a benevolent Protestant British lady.

Secondly, it is concluded that identity construction in these travel books has a performative aspect as well; that is to say, the British travellers who are studied in this thesis are also the agents of ‘doing’ Britishness. The performativity of national identity requires a certain degree of the above-mentioned awareness of where they come from, and which nation they belong to. The most striking examples for the performativity of national identity come into sight mainly in the works of male travel writers. For instance, Robert Curzon enjoys a horse-ride against the Russian and Turkish officials on their way to Erzerum. Though at first it seems like an innocent horse race with a Russian, Curzon’s motivation for it adds a nationalistic aspect to it because Curzon insists that he cannot accept a defeat against a Russian in a horse race. Similarly, Curzon enjoys several hunting adventures when he resides in Erzerum. Horse race and hunting are two of the most

defining features of the nineteenth century British gentleman as explained by Donna Landry, and it is in this sense that Curzon is observed “doing” British in a foreign land. Frederick Burnaby is not as fortunate as Curzon in terms of hunting because of the unfortunate event of his cartridges getting soaked. However, in terms of horse riding, Burnaby’s whole journey throughout Anatolia is a vivid performance of his Britishness as it indicates that he is fully capable of undertaking such a difficult way of travel. With his clearly defined duty as a missionary in a foreign land, John Hartley, not surprisingly, does not enjoy hunting or horse riding during his journey. As a part of his mission, Hartley happens to visit a great number of Greek churches on Greek islands and in western Asia Minor, and he is more interested in the religious performances rather than hunting and horse riding. To his disappointment, Hartley observes that many Greeks perform idolatrous acts in their churches such as crossing themselves in front of a picture or paying homage to statues or pictures that are believed to be sacred by them. During his visits, Hartley’s reaction to these idolatrous acts is mostly indifference and he prefers not “performing” as the Greeks do, which reinforces his Protestant stand against Greek Orthodoxy. Among the four travellers, Lady Blackwood stands alone as she does not get involved in the above-mentioned activities that require a certain degree of performativity except that she takes part in charity work in İstanbul as a benevolent Protestant British lady.

Apart from the performative aspect of identity construction, another conclusion drawn from this study is that the statements made on the Other are yet another strong contributor to identity construction. Actually, this type of othering process is even more evident than the performativity of national identity. It is observed that the British travellers in this study do not abstain from making such derogatory statements about the non-Protestant Christians they encounter in Asia Minor. Another point all these four travel writers have in common is that they make use of the Turks as good examples in different issues such as cleanliness, honesty and piety, and in doing so, they compare the Turks with the Armenians and the Greeks and in most cases, the Turks are the better. Robert Curzon focuses more on the lack of religious education among the Armenians of Erzeroom. Curzon also criticizes the Armenian clergy harshly as they are held responsible for the ignorance prevailing among the Armenian people. In Frederick Burnaby’s work, the

criticism gains a more systematic approach and its focus is more diverse. Similar to Curzon's emphasis on education, Burnaby is also interested in the level of education among the Armenian clergy, and he is rather disappointed as he observes that the clergy hardly know about the history of the church where they perform their religious duties. Since Burnaby travels from one place to another throughout Asia Minor, he stays in many different places and many different people host him. This situation allows Burnaby to make a comparison between his Armenian hosts and the Turkish ones in terms of hygiene, and the Turks are depicted more favourably in terms of cleanliness just as they are praised for their being more trustworthy than the Armenians are. For John Hartley, his criticism is more focused on the religious conduct of the Greeks of Asia Minor because of his first and foremost aim is to convert as many Greeks as possible to Protestantism. According to Hartley, the Greeks are highly superstitious and they have moved regrettably away from true Christianity. Another negative point he makes about the Greeks is that they are observed to be violent in character. Since Hartley's visits coincide with the Greek War of Independence, he is able to hear many stories about the violence of the Greeks against the Turks and the Jews. Although he does not make favourable comments about the Turks, he does not avoid stating that the Greeks are no less violent than the Turks are during the war. In the case of Lady Alicia Blackwood, the criticism towards the Greeks begins as soon as she arrives in İstanbul because she and her crew desperately look for a place to sleep for a night but unfortunately lodge in an inn without knowing that it is owned by a Greek. Lady Blackwood continually repeats these very first impressions of the Greeks by adding different aspects such as violence, murder of a British soldier and selling poisonous drinks. Like the other travellers, Lady Blackwood also pays attention to the level of religious education, and she is very disappointed.

Although the travellers in this study mainly dwell on the Christians of Asia Minor (east or west), they are also interested in the imperial politics, as can be understood from their comments on Russia. In a sense, all these four travel writers begin their criticism with the Greeks and the Armenians but go on and finish it with a more political but less religious criticism of Russia and its imperial policies. Lady Alicia Blackwood is the sole traveller who visits a Russian land as she goes to Crimea after the British victory. In this British-occupied region, she gets to meet Russian soldiers who are in a miserable condition in

terms of both living standards and religious conduct. Though not professionally a missionary, Lady Blackwood delivers some Biblical tracts to the Russian soldiers in the hope of teaching them true Christianity. Except for this interaction with the Russian soldiers, Lady Blackwood avoids making political comments unlike the male travellers, but she is still proud of the British establishment in a foreign country (i.e. Russia). John Hartley also avoids making political comments on Russia. Although it might be performed differently from the Orthodox Greeks, his way of criticizing the Greeks in terms of their religious errors can also be applied to the Russians as the Greeks and the Russians adhere to the same sect of Christianity: Orthodoxy. The most striking comments come from Robert Curzon and Frederick Burnaby. Curzon visits Erzerum with purely political purposes on a diplomatic mission explained above, and Burnaby is a soldier whose main motivation is to fact-check the claims of the British press concerning the massacre of the Christians of Asia Minor. Both of the travellers finish their books with a direct political criticism of Russia regarding its imperial aspirations. However, except for Lady Blackwood's visit to Crimea, none of these travellers visits a Russian territory, which makes it very unlikely for them to make religious comments on the Russians as they all do with the Greeks and Armenians of Asia Minor. Instead, they prefer the political comments for Russia and religious comments for the Greeks and the Armenians.

Accordingly, the British travellers make it clear that their real imperial opponent is Russia, not the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire. In this sense, it can be argued that the negative political statements on Russia construct and reinforce one aspect of the British Protestant identity, and the religious ones for the Greeks and the Armenians construct and reinforce another. The analysis of the four travel books in this study reveals a definition of Britishness as the embodiment and the sum of positive qualities such as being educated and enlightened in religious matters by the help of Protestantism; being competitive when challenged by their imperial rivals; being benevolent for those in need of religious or medical help; and, most importantly, being active enough to implement all these good qualities in a foreign land where they are the representatives of Britishness.

The main objective of this thesis is achieved to a certain extent as the texts analysed in this thesis abound in the othering representations of the Greeks and the Armenians of Asia Minor utilized to stress British identity. These representations reflect the reverse image

of British Protestantism, therefore construct and reinforce it in a substantial way. The texts also focus on the negative representation of Russia as an Other Empire to the British Empire. When the adverse images of the Greeks/Armenians and those of the Russians are put together, the reflections of Britishness might well be interpreted from a “theo-political”²¹ perspective in these certain texts.

The final and perhaps the most important conclusion drawn from this study is that the concept of the Other is open to various interpretations. The sectarian breaks within a religion can also be studied within the concepts of Self and Other. Although the Protestant British travellers and the Greeks/Armenians/Russians in this study belong to the same religion, an othering process is also applicable to their encounter as observed in the travel accounts by Robert Curzon, Frederick Burnaby, John Hartley and Alicia Blackwood. Therefore, it can be argued that a new formula concerning the East/West studies intensely need to be added to Edward Said’s *Orientalism* as its essentialist outlook on the historical East/West relationship is not concerned with the evaluation of the position of minorities within each separate civilization (i.e. West and East). This is mainly because Said overlooks the minority identities which are commonly found in nineteenth century Ottoman society. When the British travellers, Curzon, Burnaby, Hartley and Blackwood, set their mind to visit Anatolia, what they encounter there is not one single Muslim Other, but a multiplicity of the Other with the Greeks, the Armenians and the Turks. For each of these Others, they develop different narrative approaches; mostly good ones for the Turks and the othering ones for the Christians.

Considering the fact that approximately a hundred and fifty British travel books were written about Anatolia in the nineteenth century, the field of travel writing is open to many different literary/cultural evaluations and studies. It should be emphasized that the current thesis is a modest attempt to analyse the outlook of the British travellers on the Christians of Asia Minor, but only four of the abovementioned a hundred and fifty travel books are interpreted in terms of identity construction and political context of the nineteenth century. Therefore, it is obvious that many more books are waiting on the

²¹ “Theo-political” is a term to explain the interactive relationship between religion and politics. This term especially suits the current study’s aim as this thesis focuses on the relationship between the imperial politics and the sectarian belonging.

shelves of libraries for prospective studies from different perspectives such as gender and postcolonial studies.

GLOSSARY FOR PLACE NAMES

Original Usage in the Primary Sources	Current Usage
Astrabad	Gorgan in the Islamic Republic of Iran
Erzeroum/Erzeroum	Erzurum in the Republic of Turkey
Trebizond	Trabzon in the Republic of Turkey
Varna	Varna in the Republic of Bulgaria
Etchmiadzin	Vagharshapat in the Republic of Armenia
Smyrna	İzmir in the Republic of Turkey
Khiva	Hive in the Republic of Uzbekistan
Nalihan	Nallıhan of Ankara in the Republic of Turkey
Yuzgat	Yozgat in the Republic of Turkey
Moltepe	Maltepe of Istanbul in the Republic of Turkey
Sivas	Sivas in the Republic of Turkey
Divriki	Divriği of Sivas in the Republic of Turkey
Malattia	Malatya of the Republic of Turkey
Arabkir	Arapgir of Malatya in the Republic of Turkey
Van	Van in the Republic of Turkey
Chios	Chios in the Hellenic Republic of Greece
Ayvalik	Ayvalık of Balıkesir in the Republic of Turkey
Morea	Morea in the Hellenic Republic of Greece
Hydra	İdra in the Hellenic Republic of Greece
Spezzie	Spetses in the Hellenic Republic of Greece
Tripolitza	Tripolitsa in the Hellenic Republic of Greece
Isbarta	Isparta in the Republic of Turkey

Sinope	Sinop in the Republic of Turkey
Haida Pasha	Haydar Paşa of İstanbul in the Republic of Turkey
Simferopol	Simferopol in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea in Ukraine

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İNGİLİZ DİLİ VE EDEBİYATI ANABİLİM DALI BAŞKANLIĞI'NA

Tarih: 25/12/2018

Tez Başlığı: Küçük Asya Üzerine Yazılmış On Dokuzuncu Yüzyıl İngiliz Gezi Edebiyatından Seçilmiş Eserlerde Protestan İngiliz Kimliğinin Yansımaları

Yukarıda başlığı gösterilen tez çalışmam:

1. İnsan ve hayvan üzerinde deney niteliği taşımamaktadır,
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3. Beden bütünlüğüne müdahale içermemektedir.
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Gereğini saygılarımla arz ederim.

25/12/2018

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Anabilim Dalı: İNGİLİZ DİLİ VE EDEBİYATI

Programı: İNGİLİZ KÜLTÜR ARAŞTIRMALRI

Statüsü: Yüksek Lisans Doktora Bütünleşik Doktora

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**HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
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Date: 25/12/2018

Thesis Title: The Reflections of Protestant British Identity in Selected Works from the Nineteenth-Century British Travel Writing on Asia Minor

My thesis work related to the title above:

1. Does not perform experimentation on animals or people.
2. Does not necessitate the use of biological material (blood, urine, biological fluids and samples, etc.).
3. Does not involve any interference of the body's integrity.
4. Is not based on observational and descriptive research (survey, interview, measures/scales, data scanning, system-model development).

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I respectfully submit this for approval.

25/12/2018

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Program: BRITISH CULTURAL STUDIES

Status: MA Ph.D. Combined MA/ Ph.D.

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