

THE BRITISH REPORTING IN NEWSPAPERS ON THE BOSNIAN UPRISING OF 1831-1832

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Introduction

During the 19th century, when the Ottoman Empire was starting to face its end, the Empire started to implement reforms. The need for these reforms was mostly advocated by the different colonial powers, especially the British Empire. The general decaying situation in the Ottoman Empire, as well as the new charge for reforms, led to the creation of an unstable environment in the Empire. This instability led to numerous uprisings across the Empire during the 19th century. One of these uprisings was the Bosnian uprising of 1831 also known as the Great Bosnian Uprising. While the events of the Uprising are for the most part explored in historiography, the influence and perception of these events in the other empires are seldom explored. The aim of this paper is to explore the British reporting in contemporary newspapers on the Bosnian uprising of 1831-1832. The importance of this topic lies in the fact that the newspapers helped form public perception and, thus, public opinion on certain questions in the Empires of the time. The foreign powers, especially the British Empire, were becoming more and more involved with Ottoman internal affairs. The beginning of these intrusions started at the beginning of the 19th century and slowly progressed until the Congress of Vienna, when it escalated. The culmination of this was during the early 20th century, and it came to the point where these empires decided the fate of the Ottoman Empire.

The Ottoman Empire during times of reform and its reflection on Bosnia

During the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the Ottoman Empire underwent a period of significant territorial expansion. This expansion extended westward across the Balkan Peninsula, pushing the boundaries of the empire almost to the gates of Vienna. While many of the conquered territories were incorporated for relatively brief periods, others, like Bosnia, experienced extended periods of Ottoman rule. In 1463, following several years of escalating conflict, the Ottoman Empire decisively defeated the Kingdom of Bosnia, culminating in its occupation and subsequent annexation. This marked the beginning of a prolonged period of Ottoman dominance in the region, lasting over four centuries. (E. O. Filipović 2019). The Ottoman Empire formally ruled in Bosnia until 1908, when the Austro-Hungarian Empire annexed Bosnia. While Bosnia was nominally ruled by the Ottoman Empire until 1908, their rule genuinely lasted until 1878, when Bosnia was occupied by the Austro-Hungarian Empire after the Herzegovina uprising of 1875–1878 (Malcolm 1996). This uprising was not the only one that happened in Bosnia during the 19th century, since, as previously mentioned, there were instabilities caused by the constant war fought between the Ottoman Empire and other European powers, especially in Southeast Europe. Besides this, the general state in which the Ottoman Empire found itself in the late 18th and early 19th centuries left the empire in need of reforms if it wanted to still exist at the end of the century.

These reforms were not only planned by the Ottoman state, but they were also, to an extent, imposed by the European powers. These reforms were not well received by the conservative and traditional parts of society, especially in the military, the upper class, and religious circles. The reforms that were started in the 1820s aimed at modernizing the army and ending the Janissaries, as well as modernizing the education system and ending privileges, especially those of the Muslim population (Inal 2011). In 1826, the Janissaries were disbanded by force by Sultan Mahmud II. He did this so that the Ottoman Empire could implement a modern military force that would be modeled on other European armies (Goodwin 2013). The Sultan sought help from other military units as well as his newly formed modern army. After Mahmud disbanded the Janissaries, he brought his attention to other military units like the Janissaries.

The next unit that he disbanded was the Sipahi, which helped the Sultan end the Janissary resistance with force. Contrary to the Janissaries, the Sipahi dissolved more or less without major resistance, and they accepted the new military order

(Uyar and Erickson 2009). Most of the resistance came from the European regions of the Ottoman Empire, especially Bosnia, since the Spahi there had a privileged status as *ocaklık timar* (N. Filipović 1987). This meant that Sipahis in Bosnia were able to pass their lands on to their descendants, which was not the case in the rest of the Ottoman Empire where only the rank of Spahi was hereditary and not the land. Since the Bosnian Sipahis were able to pass on their estates to their children, this meant that an opportunity to establish a sizable generational wealth was presented to the local leaders (Turhan 2014). These leaders strongly opposed the reforms the Sultan wanted to impose, and soon enough, the locals started to revolt.

Local uprisings in the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 19th century

Numerous internal factors, some of which were mentioned earlier, in the Ottoman Empire led to an unstable situation in several Ottoman regions. This instability, combined with foreign intervention by European powers as well as the will of the people, especially in Europe and Egypt, for independence from the Ottoman Empire, led to numerous revolts and uprisings in the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 19th century. In Egypt, Muhammad Ali was able to establish himself as ruler of Egypt after the fall of Napoleon Bonaparte in the early 19th century. After numerous years of fighting the Ottomans, Muhammad Ali was able to become nominally the ruler of Egypt, with some obligations to the Sultan (Fahmy 1998).

At the same time, Đorđe Petrović, better known as Karađorđe, started the First Serbian Uprising, which lasted from 1804 up until 1813 and was supported by the Russian Empire. The First Uprising failed to give the satisfactory results that the Serbian leaders hoped for (Meriage 1978). And because of this, shortly after the end of the First Serbian Uprising, the Second Serbian Uprising started. The uprising lasted from 1815 up until 1817, and the Serbs were able to secure victory. As a result, Smederevo Sanjak received its autonomy and became the Principality of Serbia (Mitev 2010).

A couple of years after that, the Greek War of Independence started. In 1821, Greek émigrés from the Russian Empire, with the help of wealthy Greeks living in the Ottoman Empire, started a war against the Sultan, which lasted until 1829. In the end, the Greeks were able to receive autonomy and later independence from the Ottoman Empire (Vogli 2010). This autonomy and independence officially came after the Russo-Turkish War of 1828–29, in which the Ottoman Empire lost

and was forced to sign the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829. The treaty guaranteed, among other things, that Serbia and Greece would receive their autonomy as well as territory enlargement, and that Russia would be the one to uphold that these promises would be upheld (Hall 2014). As in the examples mentioned beforehand, some of the European powers partook in helping the revolutionaries and insurgents, while all of them took a keen interest in the events, regularly keeping track by sending state officials to examine the situation as well as having foreign correspondents and writers reporting on the situation. Some of these correspondents, such as Lord Byron, even became celebrities, while others mostly remained anonymous. This was also the case with the Bosnian Uprising of 1831–32, which started shortly after the rest of the Ottoman European provinces received their independence.

The events of the Bosnian Uprising of 1831-32

All these events that occurred at the beginning of the century and lasted until the 1830s destabilized the region and established a disparity between the regions that revolted and those who stayed loyal to the Sultan. This was especially true for Bosnia, whose leaders believed that they, as loyal subjects of the Sultan, were betrayed by the Empire. First, by not receiving any privileges or autonomy in the Ottoman Empire while staying loyal to the Sultan, while at the same time, the regions that revolted and became autonomous principalities and kingdoms received their independence, and, in the case of the Principality of Serbia, it received parts of Bosnia. This immensely angered the Bosnian leaders, who demanded that the six regions that belonged to Bosnia and were promised to Serbia stay in Bosnia's possession. Also, the leading members of Bosnia's society, the Sipahis and Ajani, demanded that the reforms that were slowly being implemented be canceled and that the previous system be brought back. These demands were never fully articulated by the Ottoman Empire, and while the historiography is fairly certain regarding the events of the uprising and the causes behind the revolt, there are still open questions regarding the nature of the uprising. There are two main discourses, the first being that the uprising was a movement for autonomy in Bosnia, while the second emphasizes the antireform elements of the uprising and revolt.

Of course, whatever their primary demands were, they were unacceptable to the Ottoman Empire. This was known to the leaders of the Bosnian upper class, who met two times. First, they gathered in December 1830, and their host and future leader of the revolt was Husein-kapetan Gradašević in his hometown of Gradačac. The second meeting was held in the neighboring city of Tuzla between

January and February 1931. Soon after this meeting, the leaders of the revolt decided to go to the capital of Bosnia, the city of Travnik, to hold another meeting and confront the Vizir Namik-pasha. When the forces of Husein-kapetan came to Travnik they clashed with Namik-pasha and his allies. The rebel forces were victorious in the clash, and Namik-pasha was forced to flee. This all led the Sultan to send the Grand Vizir Mehmed Rashid-pasha to quench the rebellion. In July of 1831, Husein-kapetan and Mehmed Rashid-pasha confronted each other in Kosovo. Again, the Bosnian forces were victorious and even Rashid-pasha was badly wounded.

After these victories, Husein-kapetan returned to Bosnia, where he, along with other Bosnian noblemen, established a regional government. While the Bosnian noblemen were for the most part united, the leading men from Herzegovina, especially Ali-pasha Rizvanbegović, predominantly sided with the Vizir and the Sultan. With their help, by provoking numerous clashes in Herzegovina, the Grand Vizir was able to develop a new counterattack in May of 1832. He was also helped by forces from Serbia. The deciding confrontation happened on June 4, 1832, in the village of Stupe, near Sarajevo. While at one point, the forces of Husein-kapetan forces held the upper hand, the Grand Vizir with the help of Ali-pasha Rizvanbegović was able to break the line of Husein-kapetan forces. This defeat forced the Bosnian forces to organize a retreat to the neighboring town of Sarajevo and, at the same time, Husein-kapetan fled to his hometown of Gradačac to his family. After careful consideration, the leaders of the Bosnian forces concluded that future resistance was futile, and they surrendered on June 5th.

Shortly after this, Husein-kapetan decided to leave Bosnia with his family and entourage and to seek refuge in the neighboring Habsburg Empire. There he stayed until the end of the year, when he received a royal pardon from the Sultan in the event that he returned to the Ottoman Empire, after which he would be refused to ever go back to his homeland of Bosnia. Husein-kapetan spent the next two years in Istanbul, where he died at age 32. As a result of the revolt, Bosnia was forced to comply with all the concessions the Ottoman Empire gave to Serbia as well as accept the reforms that were already underway. The last blow came in the form of Omer-pasha Latas who, in 1850, came to power as governor of Bosnia and started to prosecute all the leading members of Bosnian society and their families. Not even Ali-pasha Rizvanbegović who was instrumental in helping to end the rebellion and was an old man at that point, was spared. In the end, the backbone of the Bosnian elites was neutralized, which led to the acceleration of instability in Bosnia.

The British reporting in contemporary newspapers on the Bosnian uprising of 1831-1832

As previously stated, other European powers observed events in the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century with great interest. While this interest was especially present in the British Empire during the later half of the century, most notably after the Crimean War, the government, as well as the public followed the events in the Ottoman Empire even before. We can track the interest of these two groups in two historical sources. The first being the newspapers of the time, while the second being the official transcripts of Parliamentary debates in Britain called the Hansard. While there is an abundance of contemporary newspapers of the time that deal with the events and fate of the Ottoman Empire, even more precisely that of Bosnia, the later historical source, the Hansard does not hold any relative information for the events of the Bosnian Uprising of 1831-32. The most probable cause for this can be traced to a news article published in *Age* (London) on December 23rd, 1832. In it, the author states that this matter will only be of interest to the British Empire if the 'English interest is injured by the Russian interference, then, but not till then, will it be time for us to stir' (*Age* (London) 1832). Seeing that only the interests of the British Empire came under threat later on in the century, they did not have the need to debate these issues as they did later on, most notably in the events of the Herzegovina Uprising of 1875–1878 (Radušić 2019).

In total there were more than 500 articles published on the topic of the Bosnian Uprising. Most of these articles are just repetition of articles written by bigger newspapers, located in London and other cities, by smaller local newspapers in the rest of the British Empire. For the purposes of this paper 50 articles from various newspapers, totalling 24 individual newspapers, were taken into account. Most of these newspapers,¹ precisely 15 only published one article, the *Globe* and the *Morning Post* published two articles, the *True Sun*, *Morning Herald*, *English Chronicle* and *Whitehall Evening Post* three each, *Evening Mail* published 4, and the *Sun*, *Public Ledger* and *Daily Advertiser*, and the *London Evening Standard* five, six, and seven articles respectively. While again most of these articles were short inserts covering peculiar events and which were covered by numerous other newspapers,² the Pub-

1 These were the *The Constitution or Cork Advertiser*, *Dorset County Chronicle*, *Yorkshire Gazette*, *Atlas*, *Northampton Mercury*, *Saint James's Chronicle*, *Durham County Advertiser*, *Huntingdon*, *Bedford & Peterborough Gazette*, *London Packet* and *New Lloyd's Evening Post*, *Albion and the Star*, *Age* (London), *Lancaster Gazette*, and *The Scotsman*

2 The criteria, by which some newspapers were included in this paper and were taken into account with regard to articles published in numerous newspapers, is the publication date. These articles in this paper were the ones that were published the first.

lic Ledger and Daily Advertiser, English Chronicle and Whitehall Evening Post, and Evening Mail were the newspapers which most extensively covered the uprising and relayed most of the information which can not be found in other newspapers.

That being said, the first news regarding a possible uprising and revolt in Bosnia can be traced in articles dated at the beginning of 1830, almost a full year before the uprising. On January 9th the Morning Chronicle concluded in one of their articles that 'as soon as the Ottomans retreat from Serbia the authority of the Sultan in Bosnia will diminish'. This coupled with the fact that a mass mobilisation in Bosnia and the arrival of the Pasha on a special mission regarding the modernisation of the Bosnian troops as reported by the New Times (London) on February 4th meant that the British were aware early on about the main causes of the uprising. They were also able to determine the key trigger behind the dissatisfaction in Bosnia lies in the terms of the Treaty of Adrianople. The Morning Herald of April 26th reported that the compulsory mention of the reigning Sultans name after the 'public prayers'³ was stopped (*The Morning Herald* 1830a). As it was reported by the same newspapers on May 7th that Serbia will receive six districts⁴ from Bosnia, and this means that unrest in Bosnia is inevitable (*The Morning Herald* 1830b). Especially since the British believed that the uprising in Albania threatens to spill into Bosnia.⁵ Especially since as how the London Evening Standard reported on July 10th the 'Albanians are actively trying to win over the Bosniaks' (*The London Evening Standard* 1830b).⁶ These newspapers of course had their own understandings why these unrests were happening, and they were for the most part rooted in a deep ignorance towards the events taking place. For example, the London Evening Standard on June 15th wrote that the expected unrest has happened, and it is understandable since 'at least another generation is needed to civilize these districts' (*The London Evening Standard* 1830a). While an article published by the Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser on

3 The 'public prayer' in question is the collective prayer held every Friday called the Jummah prayer, one of the most important prayers in Islam.

4 These districts in case were officially called Nahija and were on the river Drina, the border between the newly founded Principality of Serbia and the Eyalet of Bosnia.

5 Evening Mail 05. July 1830

6 The connection between the uprisings in Bosnia and Albania was heavily emphasised by the newspapers. English Chronicle and Whitehall Evening Post noted on July 15th that the uprising in Albania is seriously threatening Bosnia and that the two forces could be strong enough to threaten the Sultan (*English Chronicle and Whitehall Evening Post* 1830a). And the same paper later on August 3rd stated that the rebellion in Albania and the 'obstinacy' of the Bosniaks have become quite serious (*English Chronicle and Whitehall Evening Post* 1830b).

May 24th, 1831, openly states that the Albanians and the Bosnians ‘those barbarous tribes have been excited to throw off any appearance of social order’. This worldview goes perfectly with the broader understanding of the World around the European powers which viewed the rest of the World as remnants of the past and the uncivilised part of the World (*Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser* 1831a).

Besides the general misinformation and the underlining Orientalism expressed in the newspapers at the time there were instances where these two elements were combined. For example, in the case of the *Sun* (London) article of April 15th, 1831, the authors intertwine false facts with a degrading view on the ‘Bosniaks’. They first mention that ‘Bosnian tribes gave false oaths of fealty to the Grand Vizier. At the same time the Scutari and Travnik Pasha were preparing to usurp the Sultan right under his nose’. The constant attempt to devalue the revolt by equalising the Bosnians with tribes is quite apparent in articles previously showed. At the same time the fractography is rather skewed since Namik Pasha, the Travnik Pasha at the time, was a close ally to the Grand Vizier and he even fought against the rebels (*The Sun* 1831a).

Besides the British worldview there were numerous technical problems regarding the faithful transmission of information regarding the Bosnian Uprising which even the British and the journalists were aware of. The first problem was the unreliability of the sources, since most of them were either people traveling privately or officially for the British government, most notably soldiers and diplomats, or their sources were other regional newspapers predominantly those from Austria. The second problem was bad infrastructure and the slow transmission of information from the mountainous regions of Bosnia to the rest of the Europe. Third problem lies in the fact that rebellions and wars in general are quite hectic, and it is hard to follow a clear line of events during these uncertain times.

For these reasons, there were numerous examples of disinformation and the transmission of certain false details in stories that were, in general, true. This disinformation sometimes also affects the timeline of events. For example, the *Evening Mail* reported on May 12th that the first skirmishes regarding the six districts took place (*Evening Mail* 1830), while two months later, the *Constitution or Cork Advertiser* wrote on July 10th that Bosniak chiefs threatened to shoot the first person who entered to redraw the boundaries between Bosnia and Serbia in the six districts. More false reports came regarding the start of the uprising (*The Constitution or Cork Advertiser*, 1830). The *London Evening Standard*, in two articles, reported that the revolt had started against the Sultan. The first article did not mention any details, while the second article went more into detail, but backtracked on its previous article, which stated that the uncertainty of the

general situation had led to an outbreak of unreliable news. And it is uncertain what happened to the Grand Vizir and did he actually had a battle after which he left Bosnia. To them one thing is certain 'the situation regarding the six Nahijas has become drastic'.⁷ The same reports were given in a third article of the London Evening Standard on the August 20 where they again reported that an uprising in Bosnia had started, even though they wrote that the uprising had started the previous month (*The London Evening Standard* 1830e).⁸ Again, none of these reports were true since the uprising had not yet started and secondly the Grand Vizir Reşid Mehmed Pasha was at that time stationed in Albania where an earlier uprising started. What is interesting that when the uprising officially started the newspapers did not report on it, only after a couple of months on April 16th did the Yorkshire Gazette call it a 'most formidable rebellion' (*Yorkshire Gazette* 1831).

Some even more ominous mistakes were the reports that the Bosnian rebels captured and then executed the Grand Vizir by beheading him. The first newspaper to publish this was the Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser on May 24th, 1831. These events were later refuted by an article published on June 5th, 1831, by Atlas. These were not the only mistakes in the article, which is the largest and most detailed description of these events. The article mentioned that more than 60 000 men under Ali Bey had already captured Sophia and were marching on Constantinople (Atlas 1831). This was not the case, since the Bosnian forces were not led by any Ali Bey, and they did not go as far as Sophia. Another key element is the fact that Bosnia was not able to muster 60 000 soldiers at that time. Besides that, it is interesting that in this article we are given a list of demands that the rebels proclaimed: 1st. The disbanding of the regular troops; 2nd. The restoration of the Janissaries; 3rd. The restoration of all the confiscated property of all the Janissaries who were executed and of those who are still living; 4th, the restoration of the privileges of which the Ulema have been deprived; 5th, the abolition of new taxes; 6th, indemnity for all the losses sustained since the overthrow of the ancient institutions, as well as the expenses of the present war. What is interesting about the demands is that later authors and historians do not mention these demands, and they list other demands, usually those given in the Austrian newspaper Wiener Zeitung. (Alicic 1996; Basagic 1900; Pavlovic 1913; Sljivo

7 The first article was on July 15th while the second is on July 27th. On the same day as the second Strand article the Sun (London) also published that the Grand Vizir had to flee (*The London Evening Standard* 1830c; *The London Evening Standard* 1830d).

8 These reports were later transmitted by the Dorset County Chronicle in an article on October 7th where they concluded that 'the end of the Turkish Empire is rapidly approaching because the numerous uprisings' (*Dorset County Chronicle* 1830).

1988).⁹ Besides that, a couple of intriguing observations have been made in the article. The first one is that the Sultan does not fear the rebels in Bosnia for their military might but rather the consequences if they become too powerful, since there are numerous high-ranking people in Constantinople who also despise the new reforms. The second observation regards the help and intervention of other European powers, or, rather, a lack of, since, after the Treaty of Adrianople, the European powers were not that interested in helping the Sultan in the smaller revolts in the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, the authors of the article believe that it is 'generally affirmed that foreign influence is at work', but they do not specify how or who is helping the 'Bosniaks' or even if somebody is helping the Sultan. The *Durham County Advertiser*, in its article from November 4th, 1831, gives a little bit more information. They state that 10,000 Russian soldiers were preparing to go and secure the six districts, which were the stumbling blocks, and for which actions they had a right. To them, there were 'important' events preparing in the region. (*Durham County Advertiser* 1831).

The first concrete and reliable sources were published in the *Sun* (London) on June 18th, 1831, and in the *Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser* on June 20th, 1831. In these articles, it is presented that Bosnia is now in a state of complete revolt against the Sultan and that the Bosnian captains have mustered 20 000 men, which are aimed at being given to the Pasha of Scutari at his disposal. (*The Sun* 1831b; *Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser* 1831b).¹⁰ At the same time, the Janisaries were restored, and the border on the river Drina was heavily reinforced. The *London Evening Standard* later noted on January 13, 1832, that the Grand Vizir was able to conquer Skadar, but he had to set camp in Monastir for the winter, and the confrontation with the Bosnian rebels would have to wait until the spring (*The London Evening Standard* 1832a). The same information is given by the *True Sun* on April 10th, 1832, while emphasizing the importance of the region to the Sultan (*The True Sun* 1832a). While they do not give the reason for this, the *Morning Post* on January 24, 1832, states that the port was able to secure 8.000.000 Kurush from the rebellious regions, but Bosnia was still in its uprising,

9 The demands these authors, except Alicic believe to be true are as follows: To cancel the privileges given to Serbia, and especially to return the six old Bosnian districts; suspend the implementation of Ottoman military reforms; end the administration of Bosnia and accept the formation of an autonomous Bosnian government headed by a local leader; in return, Bosnia would pay an annual contribution. On the other hand, Alicic believes that there were eight different demands.

10 The same information was given in the *Northampton Mercury* of the 25th of June 1831 (*Northampton Mercury* 1831). While a later article in the *Saint James's Chronicle* on 16th of August 1831, states that 15 000 men were amassed and that they are rapidly advancing towards Albania (*Saint James's Chronicle* 1831).

which prevented the Ottoman Empire from reclaiming its position among the other European states. Seeing that this is the case and that future military actions have to wait until spring poses a severe problem for the Grand Vizir. One of the consequences of this is the decomposition of Ibrahim Pasha, Vizir of Bosnia, who replaced Namik Pasha. He was replaced by Mehmed Hamdi Pasha.

At the same time the newspapers were very keenly following the preparations of the two armies, especially the Ottoman side. The *Huntingdon, Bedford, & Peterborough Gazettes* reported on April 14, 1832, that the Sultan ordered Milos Obrenovic to muster up 10,000 soldiers to stop the 'independence movement'. At the same time, the Sultan would send 15 000 troops from Vidin (*Huntingdon, Bedford & Peterborough Gazette*, 1832). More details were given in an article by the *Evening Mail* from April 13th, 1832, in which the Dragoman of the Grand Vizier negotiated with Milos Obrenovic that he would gather 10,000 troops to be ready and to help with the provisions for any Ottoman or even Russian troops that might cross over his lands (*Evening Mail* 1832a). This is the first time the term independence movement or struggle for resistance has been used in any of the articles. Another article from the *Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser* on February 27, 1832, states that a general arming has been decreed and all males between 12 and 70 years of age are called on to take up arms at the command of the Vizier. What is interesting is that this article mentions that the Vizir has received the title of 'Sheh' or sheikh and that his troops have become extremely loyal to him. It is probably the case of Mehmed Hamdi Pasha, who was celebrated for his valor, but it is not clear why the emphasis was given by the authors on this fact (*Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser* 1832a).

One important element that was sidelined in the papers were the people involved in the uprising. Even the leader, Husein Captain, was not mentioned that often, and other people who actively participated were not mentioned at all. He was first mentioned by the *Morning Post and Morning Herald* on August 3rd, 1830, regarding a conflict in Bosnia between two brothers, Mehmed Pasha and Ali Pasha. The loser in this conflict was Ali Pasha who was imprisoned by Husein Captain Gradasevic in his fort. The Vizir demanded that the Captains of Gradacac, Doboje and Derвента come to him in the city of Vranduk, but these men did not trust the Vizir (*The Morning Herald* 1830c). This shows that even months before the uprising, the leading men of Bosnia did not trust the Vizir and were starting to oppose him. While these actions were generally frowned upon by the newspapers, who were predominantly on the side of the Sultan and agitating on his behalf, the *English Chronicle and Whitehall Evening Post* published on January 14, 1832, that 'the Bosnians, a Mahometan race of approved courage, have not

been frightened by these threats' made by the Sultan. This article also gives the most detailed account of Husein Captain in a form of a letter between him and Milos Obrenovic. A fragment of the letter is as follows:

"Though I did not expect any letter, or any advice from you, you have, however, sent me, by your messenger Feiz, a letter in the Turkish language, that I might read myself. I have read it and perfectly understand the contents. You are in great error in affirming that we have taken up arms against our Sultan and great Emperor, and this very assertion proves how incapable you are of comprehending the greatness and nobleness of our enterprise. Know, then, the whole world shall know it—that we have not risen against the Sultan (which God forbid);—we love him, as our mighty and lawful Sovereign, with heart and soul. We have, it is true, marched against Romelia, not, however, against him, but to combat our enemies, who, as liars and deceivers, would compel us to lay aside our true Mahometan faith, and embrace each other (*English Chronicle and Whitehall Evening Post* 1832).

This letter is not mentioned by the previous authors, and it is uncertain if it is indeed authentic. There are reports that Husein Captain and Milos Obrenovic did indeed exchange some letters, but this letter was not one of them. Another important article was published in the *Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser* on 1st of September 1832. In the article a list containing some of the 40 leaders of the uprising was given. The first named was Mahmoud Pasha Fedaich from Zoom-ik,¹¹ the commandants Cuyla, Dernenta, Mazlar, Dobei,¹² the Imzaga Gurievich, of Benjaluka,¹³ the brothers Sireich, one whom was Chiaja to the rebel chief Hussein, of Gradachaat, the commandant of Taize,¹⁴ and all those of Krania, with the exception those of Gradisca, Biaoh, and Glubimchi.¹⁵ All of them were sent to prison while Husein Captain Gradašević left for his hometown and later to the Habsburg Empire. The last leader of the uprising to be caught was Hasan Aga Pečki. The *Albion* and the *Star* reported on September 6th, 1832, that 150 Arnauts¹⁶ were sent to capture Hasan Aga in his castle. After Hasan Aga was captured, he too was sent to Sarajevo to be imprisoned (*Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser* 1832b; *Albion and the Star* 1832).

11 This is Mahmud paša Fidaić the governor of Zvornik.

12 Cuyla is probably the city of Tuzla, and its Captain was Mahmud Bey Tuzlić. Dernenta is the city of Derventa and the Captain there was Mahmud Bey Begzadić.

13 This is Hifzi Efendi Djumišić from Banja Luka.

14 The brothers Sireich were Hasan Bey Sijeričić and Kasim Alajbey Sijerčić.

15 Krania is the region in Bosnia called Krajina and the cities are Gradiška, Bihać, and last one is unknown.

16 Arnauts is a word for Albanians.

The newspapers did not follow that much the events of the uprising and even when they did there was a significant delay between when the events happened and when the newspapers reported the events. Also compered to the misinformation regarding the start of the uprising the same can be said for the end of the uprising. The first report that the 'Turks' have beaten the insurgents and were chasing them all across Bosnia, comes from a True Sun article from 3rd of May 1832, more than a month before the decisive battle that happened in Stup (*The True Sun* 1832b). Similar to the True Sun article, the London Evening Standard published on 24th of May 1832, that Bosna is finally in tranquillity and the Grand Vizir has sent the Serbian troops back home. This is again multiple days before the end of the uprising when it was still unclear what will happen (*The London Evening Standard* 1832b). Only later on at the end of June did more trustworthy information came to be. The Evening Mail published on 29th of June 1832 that on the 29th and 30th of May the Bosnians lost two battles and had to retreat to the empty Capital Sarajevo,¹⁷ which was taken the very next day (*Evening Mail* 1832b). Later, on the 26th of July 1832, the True Sun published another factually incorrect article. In this article, they did report that the final battle did occur near 'Bosna Serac' or Sarajevo, but in the article, they represent Husein Captain as the leader of Albanians (*The True Sun* 1832c). The battle of Stup was not described by any newspapers the Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser in its article on 3rd September 1832, gave a description of how Husein Captain left for his hometown and later Austria (Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser 1832c). The Sun (London) was the only newspaper to report on the 17th of August 1832 that the capital Travnik had fallen (*The Sun* 1832).

Soon enough, the newspapers were focusing on the future of Bosnia and the possibility of a second uprising. The Sun (London) on September 12, 1832, speculated that if the Grand Vizir took his troops and went after Muhammad Ali in Greece and lost that confrontation, the uprising in Bosnia would just be reignited. This was not the case, but as soon as the first signs of unrest were shown, it was represented in the newspapers as a new general uprising. There were two cases of demonstrations and violent conflicts with regard to the forcible mobilization of the new army. The first one was reported in the London Packet and New Lloyd's Evening Post on October 31st, 1382, and the second in the Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser on November 16th, 1832. Both of these instances were similar, and the reports focused on the casualties and the actions of the 'brave Vizir' (Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser 1832d; London Packet and New Lloyd's Evening Post

17 At this point Sarajevo was not the capital, even though all of the newspaper portrays it as such. The capital from 1697 up until the Uprising was the city of Travnik.

1832). Lastly, while the uprising lasted until June 1832, the reports of the uprising were still being published in June of 1833.¹⁸

In the end, the British reporting on the Bosnian Uprising of 1832–33 is quite important and valuable. This paper explored the various ways the British newspapers reported on the uprising, what information was available at the moment, and how reliable their reporting truly was. As far as their fractography is concerned, there are numerous gaps and false facts that only convolute the timeline while at the same time giving a skewed impression of events. Some of the reason for this lies in the technical difficulties that are connected with the mountainous and secluded geography and nature of Bosnia, as well as the condescending worldview of the leading world power of the time, the British Empire.

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