

The Cretan Insurrection of 1866-1869 as reported in the New York Times

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The period 1866-69 was one of political crises, wars, and rumors of war in the Americas and Europe. For the United States, it was the time for reconstruction and healing the wounds of its bloody civil war 1861-65. A number of international issues close to the United States and in distant Europe attracted the attention of the *New York Times* who published such articles emanating from a variety of news sources.^[1] It was in August 1866 when the Cretans staged an insurrection against the Ottoman government and called upon the support of the United States and major European powers in its struggle for independence. The Cretans wanted union with Greece which also raised the scepter of a Greco-Turkish conflict.^[2] The major European powers: Great Britain, France, Austria and Russia all had their own motives in preserving the Ottoman Empire and sought to prevent a major conflagration upsetting the balance of power in Europe.

Whilst the United States should sympathy for the plight of the Cretans, it wasn't prepared to embroil itself in the problems of Europe. American foreign policy in the post Civil War period rested on the Monroe doctrine something which the *New York Times* emphasized strongly in its editorials.^[3] The Cretan insurrection is best understood within the context of US domestic politics and the Monroe doctrine as reported in the *Times*. This newspaper was very sympathetic to the cause of the Cretan insurrectionists and believed in the imminent collapse of the Ottoman Empire. It showed empathy for the plight of Cretan women and children refugees who sought refuge in Greece and endorsed the efforts of American Philhellenes in New York City and Boston who raised funds for these destitute people.

1. A brief history the *New York Times* 1851-1869

The *Times* was established by Henry J. Raymond, George Jones and E.B. Wesley in 1851. From its beginning, this newspaper aimed at “excellence in news service, avoidance of fantastic extremes in editorial opinion, and a general sobriety in manner.” Both Raymond and Jones were journalists having worked for *New York Tribune* during the 1840s.^[4] Other aims that shaped it were “to include all that was good in both conservatism and radicalism, whereby avoiding the defects of either; it announced in firm tones its belief in the doctrines of Christianity and Republicanism” and “is not established for the advancement of any party, sect or person.”^[5]

Raymond remained as editor until his untimely death in June 1869 and clung to these principles till the end of his life. He made the *Times* the most successful paper in New York with daily circulation figures of 40,000 and about 75,000 copies in 1857 and during the US Civil War 1861-65 respectively.^[6] Raymond was very close to President Abraham Lincoln and “acted as Chairman of the New York delegation at the national convention” for the Republican Party in 1864. In March 1865, he won a seat in Congress and during his absence the *Times* suffered a temporary setback. Andrew Johnson became President after the assassination of Lincoln in 1865 and his style of leadership did not help his relations with Congress regarding the issue of reconstruction. Whilst Raymond found it difficult to work with Johnson but stood up for the latter against his enemies. The *Times* defended Johnson during his impeachment.^[7]

The first column of front page displayed ‘The New from Europe’ was then followed by a short summary. Most of the foreign news was taken from London and Paris newspapers. During the period 1851-1858, all foreign news reports came via mail steamers from Europe which took up to 10-14 days to arrive in New York.^[8] In August 1858, the first transatlantic telegraph cable linking Europe and North America came into operation promising a new era of communications between the old and new world. Queen Victoria sent the first transatlantic message to the US President who replied within a short time. Within a few weeks the cable ceased working until a new one replaced it in 1866.^[9]

During the period 1866-69, The *Times* received its foreign news from two sources: via telegraph and from its European correspondents including reproduction of articles from major European newspapers.^[10] Some of foreign news sources that *the Times* quoted or reproduced included: *Pall Mall Gazette*, *London Herald*, *London Times*, *Saturday Review*, *Daily News*, *Manchester Examiner*, *Morning Post* and *Manchester Guardian* (Britain), *Moscow Gazette* (Russia), and *Memorial Diplomatique*, *Moniteur*, *Journal des Debats* (France).^[11]

2. The causes of the revolt

The first news reports on the Cretan insurrection were very brief but indicated that a serious situation was unfolding on the island. The reports emanating from Constantinople, Athens, Ragusa and London can be broken down into four themes. They describe the consulates of the US, Holland and Sweden having been damaged, the insurrectionists possessed a force of 25,000 men, many Cretan families were emigrating to Greece and that the Turkish government had refused the demands of the insurrectionists.^[12]

The briefness of the news report on the consulates warrants an explanation. It is difficult to ascertain the veracity of the information as to why some consulates and not others sustained damage. No explanation is offered as to the type of damage and the culprits are unidentified. Targeting the American, Dutch and Swedish

consulates seems somewhat strange when the Greek consulate would have been the obvious target for the Turks. However the US Consul in Canea, William J. Stillman divulges that the Russian, Italian, Swedish and American consulates “were besieged by terror-stricken crowds without means of emigrating to Greece.”^[13]

As more information became available on the insurrection, *the Times* was in a better position to offer its readers more details on the origins and causes of the revolt. Quoting details from the *Augsberg Gazette* of August 30, 1866 it reported that the Cretans had staged a peaceful assembly some four months earlier where they requested the Sultan “to abolish certain taxes, improve the roads, schools, hospitals and the election of demogerontes-the magistrates of the districts.” In the meantime, Cretan delegates met at Prosnoro to discuss their grievances against the Ottoman government. On learning of this gathering, the Grand Vizier forwarded a dispatch on July 19 to Ismail Pasha, the Governor of Candia, expressing his disapproval and ordering Ismail Pasha to disperse the Cretan delegates. Next day, Ismail Pasha communicated the Porte’s dispatch to the Cretan delegates who voted to send their own official response regarding their grievances. However the Governor refused to receive their petition. The Cretans believed their legitimate grievances had been ignored by Ismail Pasha and the Porte in Constantinople. This resulted in the Cretans taking up arms against the Turkish government and believed they had the right to defend themselves. They notified “the foreign consuls and the treaty powers” of their intended action.^[14]

The report also mentioned that Cretan Turks in the interior flocked to the cities of Canea, Rethymno and Candia (Heraclion) for protection which were under Turkish garrison. Furthermore, the Greeks could exploit the inaccessible mountain passes to its advantage by waging a guerilla campaign against a numerically superior foe. Alongside the Turkish force was some 5,000 Egyptian troops commanded by Saim Pasha who were “not that far from the camp of the Christians.” The article concludes that “the Candians have selected a flag with our Saviour upon it, and are imbued with a very warlike spirit.”^[15] It is interesting that placing an image “with our Saviour” introduces a religious element into the conflict Islam v. Christianity and that the Cretans were prepared to die for their cause.

On September 20, a letter sent to the editor of *the Times* signed by an individual using the pseudonym Philhellene appeared on the front page which contained two translated proclamations from Athens. The Greek residents of New York and Boston responded to a request from the Central Committee of Athens “to raise funds for relief of the suffering Cretes.” A three member committee composed of Court P.Ralli, George D. Pitzijio and D.N Psomadis was established in New York for the purpose of raising funds and all “contributions would be received at the counting room of Ralli Franghiadi & Co 72 Beaver Street.” It was hoped that this letter might “find a responsive echo in the hearts of the American nation” who might provide aid to the Cretans in their struggle for liberation from Ottoman rule. On the other hand, the letter writer possibly wanted to remind Americans that they too had achieved their independence by overthrowing British authority.^[16]

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The two proclamations dated July 20 and August 10, 1866 were originally published in the *Independence Hellenique*, a French newspaper, in Athens. The first one is addressed to the Foreign Consuls by the ‘General Assembly of Cretans’ which is the same assembly that met at Prosnero as reported in the *Augsberg Gazette*. The one important thing that this proclamation mentions is the “Sultan’s Hatti-Humayoun.”^[17] This Imperial edict of February 1856 formed a part of the Tanzimat reforms guaranteeing equality between Muslims and non-Muslims in political, religious, educational, administration, judicial and economic affairs of the Ottoman Empire. Many of these reforms were never implemented which lay at the heart of the Cretan grievances.^[18]

In the second item, the Central Committee of Athens whose members included L.Mela, GP Scouze, DS Mavrogordato, Jean Scaltzouni, Chas Christopoulo and A.Ph Pappadaki issued a circular to raise funds for “the suffering Cretans” by appealing “to the Hellenes and Philellenes of all countries.” The circular raised the issue of Turkey failing to observe “its promises and commitments for equality and good administration” where the Cretans had exhibited their peaceful intentions via petitions to the Ottoman government. However the Porte responded by dispatching a Turco-Egyptian force to suppress the revolt in Crete.^[19]

The Cretans considered themselves “by origin and religion, by language and tradition [as belonging] to the Greek race, and our proper place is a part of the Kingdom of Greece.” So long as Crete remained a part of the Ottoman Empire, constant troubles would continue into the future. In order to bolster their cause, they appealed to the President of the United States to use his influence with the major European Powers.

The Cretan plea is quoted in full below:

Mr. President, if injustice in your mother land was set right by the sacred struggle which through Divine blessing was conducted to triumph by the ever-to-be remembered WASHINGTON how is ours justified? We should be happy if we had only the shadow of the benefits which your country gained in that epoch. Being in such a condition, we, the respectfully undersigned representatives of the Cretan people dare to ask, Mr. President, the intercession of the great democracy one which you happily reside, in order that our matters may obtain attention from the cabinets of the great European Powers. Blessing the highest for the prospects and strength of the glorious democracy of the United States of America, we take the liberty of subscribing ourselves the humble servants of your Excellency, the representatives of the Cretan People.^[20]

It would appear that the Cretans trusted the United States more than the European powers as the former was in a position to understand the struggle of the Greeks. On the other hand, the major European powers such as Britain and France had propped up the ailing Ottoman State for their own political, diplomatic and economic motives.

The *Times* decided to examine the Cretan insurrection in its editorial from two perspectives. In the first case, there was a gross disparity with a Turkish army of 400,000 men against an island population of 200,000 in Crete and the leaders of the revolt were not in a position to defeat such a force. However the island’s topog-

raphy of high mountains and inaccessible mountain passes gave the rebels some advantage to use guerilla tactics to harass the Turco-Egyptian forces. As long as they could hold out, the greater chance of the revolt spreading to Greece “where the King would be powerless to stem the national tide for Greeks to rally behind their Cretan brothers.”

The *Times* offered its own solution to the revolt that “the shortest and cheapest way out of her danger is for Turkey to concede ...her rebellious provinces and bid them go in peace. Besides as political expediency but also showing a semblance of generosity.”^[21]

Another *Times* editorial pointed out that the Cretans were receiving support from Greece and that the revolt had the potential of spreading to other Ottoman provinces where Greeks lived. This raised the issue of the great idea (megali idea) one of the central planks of Greek foreign policy during the 19th century which aimed to incorporate the unredeemed Greeks who resided outside the borders of the small Greek Kingdom.

In the same editorial, *the Times* addressed the recent approach of the Cretans to the United States. It was difficult for the United States to become involved in the Cretan revolt; however, there was nothing to stop ordinary Americans from taking a personal interest in this unfolding drama.^[22] American Philhellenes would take up the plight of the Cretans in early 1868.

The great idea was broached in articles that discussed the possible collapse and revolts in other provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Young George 1 of Greece faced the difficult task of trying to curb his impulsive subjects who desired to see their unredeemed compatriots liberated from Ottoman rule in Epirus, Thessaly, Crete, Chios, Cyprus and Constantinople. Some even dreamed of Constantinople becoming the capital, with St Sophia, the cathedral, of a new Greek empire. In Athens, the political parties had their own idea of achieving the great idea. The radicals quick solution was war with Turkey whereas the conservatives would be a patient by striking at a time of their own choosing with the support of the Allies. King George 1 knew that his country lacked the financial resources and troops to fight a war against Turkey. He reassured the Turkish Minister in Athens, Photiades Bey that Greece would remain neutral and let the three great European powers (Britain, France and Russia) to resolve the Cretan insurrection.^[23]

It is difficult to ascertain how serious these rumors of revolt were as reported in *the Times* from information derived from British and French sources. Whether these accounts were true or not, one would suspect that the Turkish government was very eager to crush the Cretan revolt before it spread to other part of its empire.

Besides the Cretans heroism, dogged determination and persistency against a superior opponent, the *Times'* accounts also focused on some of the battles. On October 12, it reported of two battles that happened on August 16 and 17 at Selinos and Stravos in the latter one both sides had lost 50 men each after a two hour encounter. There are other accounts of fighting at Apocoronea near Canea between the insurgents and Egyptian contingents where the result was unknown. Another communication intimated that the Turks had been de-

feated at Condanne and Rhetymmo.^[24] Even though brief they give a picture of the insurgents achieving success over the Turks.

There are three detailed pieces published on October 26 and December 27 and 30 that the *Times*' regarding the fighting at Ghorgoladi and Crounone, Arkadi and the organization of the insurgent army. In the first piece, the Cretan insurgents had captured a number of weapons from the Turco-Egyptian forces and escaped into the gorges of Ghorgoladi and Crounone to avoid coming into contact with an advancing army. The difficult terrain did not provide the security which the rebels thought it would. They were ill-trained, lacked discipline and squabbling among themselves.

The Turkish commander, Ibrahim Pasha learning of these internal divisions decided to “inflict a severe blow.” He positioned his forces with artillery on the western side of the Ghorgoladi Mountain by sending some of his soldiers to engage the insurgents in their stronghold. The Cretans repulsed the enemy by pursuing them down the mountainside where Ibrahim Pasha was hiding with his forces. Turkish bullets and Turkish cavalry mowed down “the undisciplined and disorganized insurgents” where some one thousand men died and the survivors escaped into the mountains. It appears that Turkish losses were paltry.^[25] The article does not reveal the total number of the Turco-Egyptian and insurgent forces and how did correspondent learn of the high casualty number of the Cretans.

On December 27, the *Times* correspondent in Canea provided a figure of the Ottoman army in Crete which was composed of 40,000 regular troops, Egyptians, several thousand Albanians and 5-6,000 Cretan Muslims. Such a large force wasn't able to break the determination of the insurgents. He provides information on the organization of the insurgents who are divided into two principal bodies under competent Greek leadership.

The first was located at Arkadi near Mt Ida and “in the neighborhood of the Aspro Vonna, the great chain of mountains which encircle Sphaki.” Coroneos commanded the former region who was a veteran of the 1821 Greek revolution and latter under Zimbrabaki. Both commanders were experienced, well-trained and courageous Greek officers. Some 1,000 volunteers had arrived from Greece to fight alongside their Cretan compatriots.^[26]

He pointed out to his readers that the Ottoman forces were responsible for the deaths of men, women and children, burning houses, destroying property and accusing Britain and France of supporting Turkey. Furthermore he argued that the American press despite “the confused and contradictory accounts of the European press” was more accurate and discernible in its presentation of the Cretan insurrection than its European counterparts.

He suggested that some news stories from some unnamed French and Turkish newspapers were based ‘falsehoods’ and ‘exaggeration’ where the Cretan revolt had been crushed. The Cretans divided into small fighting

units continued its guerilla campaign and blockade runners brought war materiel from the nearby Greek islands.^[27]

The *Times* correspondent account was favorable to the Cretan cause and presented a negative picture of the Ottoman army.

The most important battle reported was the siege at monastery of Arkadi derived from the French newspaper, *Moniteur*. The *Times* continued to point out that the conflicting news reports had shown that the insurrection had not been crushed. The siege and final capture of the monastery of Arkadi in November 1866 could be described as a hollow victory for the Turks led by Mustapha Pasha, the new Governor of Crete, who had replaced Ismail Pasha.^[28]

The actual monastery is reported as a solid structure designed to withstand “

a serious attack.” It was also the seat of the Revolutionary Committee who spearheaded the insurrection. However the monastery was defended by some four hundred Cretans who fought with great tenacity and heroism against a superior foe. There were “a number of women and children [who] sought refuge within its walls.” Mustapha Pasha’s army achieved a victory “but a terrible cost.”^[29]

The *Times*’ account does not state the total strength of the Ottoman force, the number of Turkish casualties and how victory was achieved. However, the US Consul at Canea, William J. Stillman, provides some details to the siege at Arkadi. Mustapha Pasha “summoned the convent to surrender” but the insurgents distrusted his promises and would fight to the bitter end. He ordered an attack on the monastery using mountains guns which did not breach its wall. His army of 23,000 men included local Cretan Muslims. The two day siege finally ended with the use of heavy artillery ordered from Rethymno which destroyed the outer wall allowing Ottoman troops to enter the courtyard of the monastery. Upon entering the Cretans opened fired where the combatants would be engaged in ferocious fighting till the bitter end. A priest witnessing the carnage around him decided to up the powder magazine “which again saved the insurrection from the jaws of failure.” The Turkish casualties were around 1500 wounded and killed.^[30]

Skirmishes would continue sporadically between the insurrectionists and the Ottoman army over the eighteen months. 1867.

3. American Philhellenes mobilize 1867-68

The American Philhellenes of New York and Boston mobilized into action from appeals of the Greek government and Cretan representatives to raise funds for the suffering Cretan women and children. On January

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27, 1867 the *Times* reported of a large meeting held at the Cooper Institute in New York attended by 2,500 men and women. On entering the hall, the American and Greek flags stood side-by-side signaling the American Philhellenes support for the Cretans who were fighting for their freedom from Turkish rule. An executive committee composed of John T. Hoffman (President), Charles K. Tuckerman (Secretary), Samuel G. Ward (Treasurer) , Joseph Thoron, Frank E. Howe, Robert L. Cutting, Joseph B. Choate, John A. Ralli, Theodore Roosevelt, George Bliss Jr. and WT Blodgett was established to raise and coordinate the sending of relief to the Cretans.^[31]

The meeting was opened officially by Mayor John T. Hoffman who pointed out that whilst charity began at home but Americans should look beyond the shores of America to show “our sympathy and enlarge our charity for the suffering everywhere.”

Henry Ward Beecher was the first speaker to address the audience speaking in Christian terms of Americans aiding the Cretans “in their hour of need.” Americans understood the struggle for freedom and independence and could sympathize with the Cretans in their battle. Beecher didn’t recommend an armed intervention but for the US President who “might speak one strong, generous word for liberty, so it was only abroad.” It was important that George Washington’s (the first US president) view that America should not establish alliances with foreign nations. However this didn’t stop Americans in showing sympathy for other people who were fighting for their liberty.

The next two speakers Rev. Roswell C. Hitchcock and Rev Dr. Crosby raised some interesting points in their addresses. The latter suggested direct action should be taken by the US where “our government should without delay, order Admiral Goldsborough to proceed with his fleet to the waters of Greece and interfere in behalf of the oppressed people” whereas the former argued that all Christian denominations (Greek Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant) should unite “against the Crescent.” Hitchcock praised the efforts of Dr Samuel G. Howe for his past deeds in helping the Greeks in their struggle of 1821 and that “New York did her part then; she will do her part now.”

Resolutions were passed unanimously endorsing material aid to the Cretan women and children and a Charles O’Conor forwarded a check for \$250 as his contribution towards the relief fund.^[32]

In Boston, a concert organized in February by the concert committee of the Harvard Musical Association raised \$2249.22 in aid of the Cretans. The artists and members of the orchestra offered their services for free and the directors did not charge for the use of the music hall. The concert proceeds were forwarded to the Greek Relief Committee who thanked “the public response to its appeal for aid.” The Boston executive relief committee included Samuel G. Howe, John A. Andrew, Amos A. Lawrence, Herman J. Warner and Horatio Woodman. A Garrett Smith of Boston sent a donation of \$400 for the Cretan women and children.^[33]

On March 12, the *Times* published a letter dated January 29 from the US Consul, William J. Stillman addressed to Dr. Samuel G. Howe. In the interim period, Dr Howe was preparing to sail for Greece from Boston to see how he might distribute funds to the destitute Cretans. Stillman was elated to hear that a relief committee has been established in Boston. Whether Dr. Howe read this letter or not, it provided valuable details as to what was happening in Crete for the Boston relief committee and for potential subscribers.^[34]

On August 5, Dr. Howe's letter dated July 6 from Athens addressed to the Greek relief committee in Boston mentioned that he took every precaution to guarantee that the aid reached those families suffering in the mountains of Crete. His main concern was that the intended relief did not fall into the hands of Greek soldiers or Turks. The cargo was sent with the *Arcadian* to the island. In Athens, he was concerned to see many children dependent for their daily rations of food and clothing. To combat idleness, he organized a system of work for women and girls to be employed in knitting and sewing. Howe wanted to visit Crete to see things first hand for himself and was informed that he would not be permitted "to land at the fortresses."^[35]

In its editorial of August 11, the *Times* quoted an excerpt of a letter written by Dr. Howe published in the London *Times* appealing to the people of Britain and America to assist the poor Cretans with food and clothing. The editorial describes the usual fighting between the insurgents and the destruction of property and villages. It mentions that the aid shipment into Sphakia "was received with tears of joy and shouts of gratitude."^[36]

Dr Howe's pamphlet titled *The Cretan Refugees and their American helpers* outlines that the Cretan struggle was not simply about a few thousand Christians dying from "hunger and cold, rather than submit to Mohammedans;...[but] they are in reality fighting for the progress of Christianity and civilization in the East."^[37] There was much praise for supposed assistance from the English who "in reality [had lent] their names on committees. The funds ...mainly [came from] Greek merchants resident in England."^[38]

Similar to his brief letter quoted above, Howe describes in greater detail the suffering, misery and poverty of the Cretan refugees mainly women and children in Athens and surrounding towns. Howe sought to solve this problem by creating employment for women and girls would be paid an allowance for their sewing and knitting. The produced items would be for a profit to cover such expenses as purchasing materials and paying allowances. Some of the women or girls who did not know how to sew or knit would be trained in schools for this purpose. Quoting extracts from letters he received since returning to Boston showed the value of these schools in training women and girls to become self-sufficient.^[39]

Many individuals and private businesses contributed funds towards the Cretan fund. In Boston, the following Greek contributors appear on the list: Franghiadi and Rodocanachi \$27-50 (proceeds from cotton samples) and GA Perdicaris \$100 whereas in New York: Ralli and Co \$500, Zizinia and Co \$250, Rodocanachi and Franghiadi of New York \$500.00 and S. Coras \$150. The only other Greek name that appears on the list

from outside these two major US cities was a George A. Caridis from New Orleans, Louisiana who contributed \$100. A total of \$37,264.01 was raised with Boston contributing \$24,900.41 and New York \$12,364.01. Howe indicated all monies received by the treasurer, Amos L. Lawrence was open to all contributors for inspection.^[40] Despite efforts of the Boston and New York relief committees, other cities in Cincinnati, Detroit, Chicago and Detroit could not offer aid.^[41]

On March 11, 1868 J. E. Hilary Skinner, an English Philhellene, visiting New York gave a public lecture detailing his experiences and observations amongst the Cretan people. He presented a brief description of the geography and composition of the population and Cretan's strong determination to resist "the yoke of their tyrannical rulers." The Turks blockade of the island failed to stop the "swift little vessel" in delivering their "food, clothing and ammunition to the insurgents." He stated that his purpose was to raise funds for the provision of ambulances to ferry the wounded Cretans away from the scene of battle. Such a generous act would help to save many Cretan insurgents. In a letter to the editor of *Times*, he appealed to the generosity of Americans where "a few hundred dollars" would be enough to provide "an ambulance mule train." His appeal was endorsed by Americans: Gerrit Smith, Henry Ward Beecher, Horace Greeley, Dr. Samuel G. Howe and William Cullen. All subscriptions were handled by Samuel G. Ward of New York. The *Times* editor noted that Skinners comments on the conditions in Crete were totally true.^[42]

Another public lecture was delivered by Lieutenant-Governor Woodford of New York in Steinway Hall. He pointed out that the Crete's exports had fallen from \$2.4 million to \$1.6 million in gold whilst the annual taxes had increased from \$640,000 to \$1.4 million over the past decade. In fact 1865 and 1866 were years that paid taxes surpassed the entire "gross amount of their incomes for one year." One could understand the Cretans petitioning the Sultan to have him ameliorate their financial burden and other concerns. However their plea was rejected by the Porte who dispatched a Turco-Egyptian force to destroy the insurrection. The Cretans responded by taking arms to liberate themselves from Ottoman rule. Woodford mentions Mustapha and Omar Pashas suffering severe losses at the hands of the Cretans. The Grand Vizier was dispatched to take charge of the entire military operation to crush the revolt permanently. Woodford supported the notion of "a united Greece." He cited similarities between the Cretans struggle for independence and the battles of Gettysburg and Five Forks of the American Civil War as examples of freedom.^[43] There is no doubt that Woodford was a Philhellene in the way he described the Cretans military efforts against the Turks.

In the late 1868-early 1869, the potential for a Greco-Turkish war was a real possibility. However this did not stop Greeks, Philhellene and opposing voices expressing their views. On December 22, 1868 a letter signed by Pericles was published in the *Times* where the author sought to portray Greece in a positive light. He believed the *Times* article 'Turkey and Greece' was completely unfair to Greece. Pericles' arguments can be broken up into five parts. Firstly, the Cretan insurrection had not deteriorated into guerilla warfare and was "thoroughly organized as possible" with a functional provisional administration at Omalos; secondly,

Greece did not war with the Turkey and “remained a passive spectator of atrocities committed by the Turks in Crete.”; thirdly, If Europeans traveled outside Constantinople or Smyrna and visited Adrianople, Bagdad Aleppo and “other interior towns”, they would “hear the Christian called dog and infidel and his testimony inadmissible in the Turkish court.”; fourth, the Greek blockade steamers *Enosis* and *Crete* including some smaller craft made a mockery of the so-called Turkish ships “who pretend to keep a sort of paper blockade.”; and finally, Greece did nothing more than provide assistance to the Cretan refugees in her care. ^[44] Whether the author changed attitudes of *Times*' readers is difficult to ascertain, however, he defended Greece admirably.

The American Philhellenes were planning another public meeting at the Cooper Institute in early January 1869. A letter addressed to the editor of the *Times* signed an Osmanli dissented at the proposed public meeting where he defended Turkey. The author pointed out that the assembly would have more “of a religious than a diplomatic appeal.” He advanced some interesting arguments to support his position. Firstly, the Cretan issue was purely a European matter which did not concern the United States; secondly, If Crete did not belong to Turkey why was it generating so much agitation; thirdly, the idea that some 15 million Greeks lived inside Turkey and Greece was a purely an exaggeration. This figure included Bulgarians, Serbs, Bosnians and Rumanians. Only 3 million lived in Greece and Turkey; fourth, the meeting raised issues that the monies collected might used to fund and maintain Greek agents in Washington and arms dealers seeking contracts for “a few iron-clad and monitors”; and finally Greek agents “had outwitted the Turks with lying dispatches concocted in Athens.” It was important that Ottoman agents operating overseas, many of whom were Greeks performed their duties honestly on behalf of their government. ^[45] Osmanli letter was highly critical of the proposed meeting and the role played by Greek agents in the Cretan issue.

What proved to be the final meeting staged by American Philhellenes occurred at the Cooper Institute on January 8. The Mayor of New York, A. Oakey Hall opened the meeting officially by indicating his support and sympathy for the Cretans. William Cullen Bryant's main message was that the island had been depopulated since it became part of the Ottoman Empire and that the proposed Paris conference had to find a solution addressing Cretan independence in the interests of civilization. The next three speakers were Christian clergymen which Osmanli had raised in his letter to the *Times* editor.

Rev Howard Crosby read out a cable from the Provincial Government of Crete where the latter expressed its satisfaction at the support received from the American public who proved to be “true friends of Cretan liberty.” On the other hand, Dr Bellows was highly critical of the “selfish indifference of France and Great Britain which involved the future of the Christian church; and of civilization.” These two major European powers indifference contributed to the difficulties faced by the Cretans in their struggle for freedom. Bellows hoped that Russia would hold “Hellespont as it showed some sign of civilization in freeing its serfs.” The final speech by Rev Henry Ward Beecher focused on role the United States could play as “the patron of lib-

erty the world around” for people who were fighting for their freedom like America. Resolutions were passed supporting the Cretan people and urging the U.S government “to use its influence to stop the warfare in Crete.” An appeal was made to the American public for the provision of money and clothing to aid some 60,000 destitute refugees in Athens.^[46]

Despite all the exertions of American Philhellenes to assist the Cretan cause through fundraising and coverage in the *Times*; the overall response from the American public was disappointing and U.S avoiding to become embroiled in a conflict very distant from its shores.

4. US Congress and American diplomacy 1867-69^[47]

During the period 1866-69, the reactions of the US Congress and American foreign policy to the Cretan insurrection is best understood within the context of US domestic politics, political upheavals close to the US border and European power politics.

At a domestic level, the US faced the serious problems of reconstruction, healing the wounds of a bloody civil war, the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson and re-admitting the southern states into the Union.^[48]

On the international front, the US was concerned by the presence of French troops in Mexico and Maximilian as claimant to the Mexican throne, the Alabama claims that impacted on US-British relations arising out of civil war, conflict between Spain and South American republics, the Austro-Prussian war and the emergence of Bismarck as an important political figure in Europe and the rumors of a Franco-Prussian war. The most important achievement for American diplomacy was the purchase of Alaska from Russia.^[49]

The Monroe Doctrine 1823 was the cornerstone of U.S foreign policy in the period covered in this article. It rested on the principle of opposing European colonization anywhere in the Americas. The U.S supported nations who sought freedom from tyrannical rule, avoided entanglements in European problems, and championed freedom on the seas both in times of war and peace.^[50] During and especially after the civil war, US Secretary of State, William H. Seward (1861-1869) was looking to extend his country’s influence beyond its borders into Mexico, Cuba, Santo Domingo, Canada, Danish West Indies and Puerto Rico. His only success was the purchase of Alaska in 1867. There was also a major tussle between the Congress and the White House regarding domestic and foreign policy with the former firmly in control.^[51]

The *Times* in its editorials supported Seward’s diplomatic efforts in the Americas for example when he proposed a conference in Washington to resolve the differences between Spain and Chile. Furthermore his diplomacy was clearly based on the Monroe Doctrine where the U.S sought to remove European encroachment in its sphere of influence. Seward laid the foundations for the emergence of the U.S as a future global power.

Many European liberal statesmen were impressed with his diplomatic skills where he raised the image of the US on the international stage.^[52]

The resolutions of the US Congress and State Legislatures, reports of US diplomats in Canea and Constantinople and pressure from Philhellenes did not persuade Seward's to involve the US in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire. The Treaties of Commerce and Amity 1830 and Commerce and Navigation 1862 regulated US-Ottoman affairs in the period under examination. As can be seen the U.S was very keen to develop and expand its commerce in the Near East and gain access to the Black Sea trade.^[53]

There are two *Times* reports published on September 15 and 27, 1866 quoting *Journal des Debats* (Paris) and *De Bathe* (Vienna) claiming the United States had acquired an island in the Gulf of Osina and Egina. Britain and France protested to the Sultan over the supposed U.S action.^[54] It seems these reports may have had some substance to them with the British Ambassadors in Constantinople and Berlin, Sir Henry Elliot and Lord Augustus Loftus informing the Foreign Office that the U.S considered "the island of Crete or Melos as a naval base." In his memoirs, Lord Loftus states that "an [unnamed] American traveller of distinction" declared that America was interested in establishing a coaling station and not a naval base in the Mediterranean. The American painted US-Russian relations in glowing terms and that eventually Russia would seek "to annul the provisions of the Treaty of Paris, which hampered the freedom of her maritime action in the Black Sea and Mediterranean."^[55] It should be noted that the Gulf of Aegina belonged to the Greek Kingdom and not to the Ottoman Empire and any negotiations for acquisition would have been conducted between Athens and Washington. The Gulf of Osine appears to be a typographical error. Obviously Britain and France would have viewed a U.S naval station with some suspicion and as a potential rival, especially, since both of them had major interests in the Levant. There suspicions would have been further heightened with the friendly relations between U.S and Russia.

News reports continued to appear in the *Times* on the Cretan revolt.^[56] Stillman at Canea was concerned about the plight of Cretan women and children on the island who sought refuge in the neighboring Greek islands or in Athens. As stated earlier, the Cretans appealed to the U.S for aid which is something that both Stillman and the American Minister in Constantinople, Edward Joy Morris sought to raise with Seward in Washington. Both of them were very keen to help the Cretans. In his dispatch to the State Department, Stillman mentions his correspondence with Morris requesting that the USS Canandaigua be sent to assist with the removal of women and children similarly to the proposed action by the Russian Consul.^[57]

On November 22, 1866 Morris inquired whether an American merchant ship could be dispatched to aid the Cretans which "would be a noble act of Christian charity" on the part of the U.S. He wanted permission via telegraph to utilize "such a vessel ... [and] if it would give equivalent instruction to Admiral Goldsborough." Seward pointed out that the European powers remained neutral and that the "civil war in Candia has not

largely moved the public mind in the United States.” He wished to say nothing regarding this issue.^[58] It can be seen that Seward’s silence indicated a neutral stance on the part of the U.S in this conflict.

The *Times* reported briefly on January 1, 1867 that Admiral Goldsborough, the Commander of the European Squadron based at Lisbon, had requested “permission of his government to transport Cretan refugees in a war steamer.”^[59] Admiral Goldsborough refused “to violate neutral obligations”, since he would require the permission of the Turkish government to remove the destitute Cretan women and children. If the Turkish authorities granted Morris the authority, then the U.S would not object to the employment of a steamer.^[60]

Meanwhile, Admiral Goldsborough dispatched Captain Strong of the USS Canandigua with instructions to outline the purpose of his mission with Turkish authorities in Crete. His visit was of a friendly nature as he explained to the Governor of Crete, Omar Pasha and sought the latter’s permission to remove the suffering women and children. Permission was declined as the Turkish government was taking care of these destitute individuals. However Strong visited Rhethymno to see first hand how men, women and children were being treated by the Turks. He saw that they “appeared to be comfortably clad and fed” and these poor souls were being maintained by good-hearted individuals “without the knowledge of the authorities.” Strong’s second appeal was flatly rejected by the Turkish Governor.^[61] The U.S failed in its mission to remove the Cretan refugees off the island.

The *Times* reported on February 5, 1867 that Morris had been instructed by Washington to approach his diplomatic colleagues in Constantinople to “make a collective friendly appeal to the Sublime Porte in favor of the insurgents but they all gave the cold shoulder to his friendly proposition.” Morris’s appeal was rebuffed by ambassadors of the major European powers who claimed they had not received any instructions from their respective governments. In its editorial, the *Times* wanted to know the exact nature of Morris’s instructions regarding his cooperation with his counterparts in their collective approach to the Ottoman Government. The *Times* claimed that Seward’s instruction may have been the first formal “expression of ...interest of any important government in the cause of the Cretans.” Furthermore Britain and France were pessimistic whereas Russia had shown sympathy. In due time, Seward would be required to furnish Congress with all the relevant documents pertaining to Crete.^[62]

In 1867 and 1868, resolutions expressing sympathy for the Cretans were passed in State Legislatures and U.S Congress. Maine, New York and Massachusetts were the only states to pass resolutions on behalf of the Cretans and with Maine’s being forwarded to Washington to be laid before Congress.^[63] On February 13, 1867 New York State legislature (Senate and Assembly) passed unanimously a joint resolution on behalf of the Cretan people. In the issuing debate, no information was provided as to the cause of the revolt. Next day the *Times*, editorial ‘The Cretans in New York’ commented on the joint resolution. It mentioned that the Cretans and Turks would not be able to differentiate “between a State Senator and Senator of the United States.” Furthermore the editorial mentioned that it did not expect the US to wage war against Turkey on behalf of the

Cretans despite public meetings and actions of legislatures.^[64] The *Times* editorial was sympathetic to the plight of the Cretans, and that the US would not embroil itself in the problems of Europe.

On March 18, 1868 Mr. Adams introduced a resolution into the Massachusetts House of Representatives conveying sympathy for the Cretans which was then forwarded to the committee on Federal relations. It eventually came to the State Senate where it supported the resolution in terms of comparing it to its own historical struggle for independence and condemning the Turks cruel war against the Cretans. The last part of the resolution urged the “national government, as is compatible with the obligations of public law, would be beneficent in its influence, and acceptable to our whole people.”^[65]

Both New York and Massachusetts resolutions were never forwarded to Washington.

At a national level, both the House of Representatives and Senate passed joint resolutions on July 20, 1867 and July 25, 1868 appealing to the Turkish government on behalf of the Cretans. The former expressed sympathy for Cretans and directed President Johnson to transmit “a copy of the resolution to the [Turkish Government].” It is interesting that Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Welles noted in his diary that the July 20th, 1867 resolution was “embarrassing... [and] it was one of those loose, indiscreet, measures which an inconsiderate Congress enacts.” Welles informed Seward that Morris was the instigator behind the resolution and favored the recall of the latter from Constantinople. Morris was accused of “trying to induce our naval officers to break through neutrality and interfere in the insurrection.”^[66]

On August 29, 1867 the *Times* reported in a very brief article that Morris had seen the Sultan without any further explanation. An undated August dispatch from Morris to Seward where the former remarked that he had seen the Grand Vizier, Aali Pasha who was completely astonished at the tone of the resolution and made no comment at all.^[67]

It could appear that the Grand Vizier’s silence expresses disapproval with the US seeking to meddle in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire.

On July 22, 1868 the *Times* published the last joint resolution which had three parts to it. Firstly, it sympathized with plight of the Cretan people and that the islanders be granted an autonomous government; secondly, the “civilized powers” should use their combined influence on Turkey to end the conflict; and finally that Morris was “to cooperate with the Ministers of other powers in all good offices” and directed President Johnson to transmit “a copy of the resolution to the [Turkish Government].”^[68] The first American Minister to Athens, Charles C. Tuckerman informed Seward that the U.S resolution was received with “unqualified satisfaction” as it came at very advantageous time when the European powers showed apathy regarding the Cretan issue. He pointed out that rendering assistance to the destitute Cretans was far more important than a political solution. Tuckerman hoped that the Cretans would achieve their independence in due course.^[69]

The visit of Admiral Farragut, the Commander of the European Squadron to Constantinople and Piraeus in August-September 1868 was reported in the *Times*. These articles project a new found American confidence through its European Squadron patrolling the Mediterranean Sea with naval hero Admiral Farragut in command. The articles provide basic information of Farragut meeting royalty and foreign diplomats and attending official banquets given in his honor in Constantinople and Athens.

On August 11 and 18 , 1868 the former article describes that *USS Frolic* arriving in Constantinople under Farragut's command and the flagship *USS Franklin* at Syros, an island located in the Cyclades. The latter story mentions that *USS Franklin* was given permission "to pass through the Dardanelles to Constantinople should the Admiral so desire." Furthermore it mentions the Russian Ambassador to the Porte, General Ignatiev entertaining "Farragut and his officers at a grand banquet given at the Russian Legation."^[70] Some important details were omitted from the accounts which don't diminish the overall veracity of the information.

According to Farragut and Morris's official accounts that prior to the departure of the American ships from Syros, the *Frolic* sailed for the Ottoman capital whereas flagship *Franklin* proceeded onto Smyrna under Commodore Pennock. The Sultan issued a firman (royal decree) allowing the *Frolic* to enter the Dardanelles and arriving finally in Constantinople on August 8. However the *Franklin* waited for eight days at the Dardanelles before a firman was issued giving it permission to sail onto Constantinople.^[71] There are two conventions included in the Treaty of Paris 1856, one regulating the passage of foreign warships through the Dardanelles and Bosphorus and the other limiting Russian and Turkish naval forces in the Black Sea. The former prohibited the entry of foreign warships during the time of peace (Article 1); the Sultan retained the authority to issue royal decrees for light vessels "in the service of Missions of Foreign Powers (Article 2)"; and finally each of the signatories was restricted to two light vessels which would be placed at the mouth of the Danube "in order to secure the execution of the regulations relative to the freedom of that river (Article 3)." In the latter, article 2 restricted steamers to fifty metres in length with maximum of tonnage of 800 whereas light steam or sailing vessels could not exceed 200 tons.^[72]

On August 18, Morris wrote to Ottoman Foreign Minister, Fuad Pasha requesting that the *Franklin* be permitted to enter the Straits whilst acknowledging the warship exceeded the size permitted under the Treaty of Paris. Since the U.S had no hereditary kings, Morris hoped that Farragut could be treated in a similar manner like 'a prince of royal blood.' After all Farragut is described as a Civil War hero whose naval exploits played a very important part in defeating the Confederates and preserving the Union.

The appearance of the *Franklin* was considered a courtesy visit and also an act of maintaining good relations between the U.S and Turkey. Next day Fuad Pasha issued a circular to all the signatory powers of the Treaty of Paris stating that the Sultan issued a firman making an exception this time allowing the *Franklin* to visit Constantinople.^[73]

The most controversial event during Farragut's visit to Constantinople was a Greek-Cretan delegation who "came on board [the flagship], and distributed an address to the officers praying assistance from the United States to the struggling Cretans." It is reported correctly that Farragut with Morris's intervention returned the address to the Greeks. The admiral received them as individuals disallowing any political matters to be discussed and a "friendly conversation ... ensued."^[74]

Morris's two dispatches both dated August 31 to Washington describe the Greeks as "hot-headed" and if Farragut had accepted the address, then that would have put him in an invidious position with the Turkish government. This would have also compromised America's neutrality in the Cretan revolt. Morris stated that soon after Farragut's departure some of the Greeks were arrested by the Ottoman authorities. He wanted to be known that the incident with the Greeks was not reported "mischievously to the public." In his report to the Welles, Farragut stated that Morris and some of his colleagues made representations to the Ottoman authorities on behalf of the arrested Greeks who were released from prison. The Grand Vizier's action was made "exclusively out of deference for the admiral, otherwise they would have been sent into exile."^[75]

It's worth noting that the *Times* never reported the arrest of the Greeks which may indicate that the Ottoman authorities may have kept it secret in order to avoid arousing Greek passions in the capital and withholding such information from foreign correspondents for political purposes. After all, the Turks were negatively portrayed in the *Times* and in so many other American newspapers.^[76]

On October 5, the *Times* reported of Admiral Farragut's arrival in Athens. The news item creates a very positive image of America in the minds of the *Times* readers with the "Greek King and Queen visit[ing] the US steamship Franklin and remain[ing] there over 3 hours under the American flag." The "American flag" highlighted the symbols of freedom, democracy and independence which this young nation had achieved against British rule and also offered hope to the Cretans who were fighting their own war of independence. Furthermore flying the "American flag" projected American naval power in the Eastern Mediterranean and a nation confident in its future destiny.^[77]

Attending the baptism of Crown Prince Constantine, the heir to the Greek throne, by such an eminent Admiral added prestige and honor to the Greek monarchy at a time of political uncertainty regarding the Cretan insurrection. Constantine was the first child of the Greek Royal family to be raised in the Orthodox faith with Farragut and all his officers witnessing the rites of the Orthodox Church.^[78] Montgomery, an officer of the *Franklin*, described the church ceremony as "very imposing, and ...intensely interesting to those concerned" and thought that Constantine "behaved remarkably well during the services, evincing all the attributes that 'dignity that doth hedge a king.'^[79]

The *Times* pointed out that the Athenians "did everything to show their admiration for the naval hero" and appreciated the generosity towards "the American people" for their aid. This part requires some explanation.

The Mayor of Piraeus, D. Montzopouli sent an address to Farragut acknowledging the contributions of American Philhellenes during the Greek war of independence.” He praised Farragut “as a prominent champion in the cause of constitutional liberty and humanity, are peculiarly fitted to appreciate our feelings, and to convey the unfeigned expression of our gratitude to your countrymen.”^[80] Montgomery outlined the hapless state of some 63,000 Cretan woman and children living around Athens who depended on charity for their survival. The work of American missionaries resident in Athens and donations of food and clothing from the US played an important part in helping these destitute people. Officers of the *Franklin* collected some 720 francs which they handed over to a Miss Baldwin.^[81]

It is evident in both newspaper accounts and official American sources that Admiral Farragut’s sojourns to Constantinople and Athens raised America’s prestige and profile during a time of political convulsions in Europe and the Near East. He was warmly received by royalty, diplomatic corps and ordinary citizens wherever he visited.

With 1868 coming to a close, Greece and Turkey were on the verge of war over the Cretan issue. However there were two reports dated on December 9 and 20 stating that the election of Ulysses S. Grant as US president was most welcomed in Greece. He was dubbed “the friend of Hellenism and of Cretan independence.” Quoting the *Independence Hellenique*, the *Times* highlighted “that the public policy of American Government towards the East will receive a fresh impulse under the direction of General Grant.”^[82] Any illusion of Grant involving his nation in the Near Eastern affairs would be dashed. In his inaugural speech, Grant’s main priority was on domestic affairs whereas foreign policy was too broad without naming a particular region or specific nations.^[83]

As stated earlier, a Greek-Turkish war was in the offing with the great European powers having to intervene to contain a potential conflict which had ramifications beyond the borders of the two protagonists. From December 13-20 and 24, 1868 and January 1 and 7, 1869, the *Times* printed a series of news articles highlighting the initial refusal of Athens to accept the Sultan’s ultimatum, the diplomatic rupture between Athens and Constantinople, the sinking of the blockade runner *Enosis* by the Ottoman Admiral Hobart Pasha off Syros, the potential expulsion of Greeks from the Ottoman Empire, the surrender of Cretan insurgents to Turkish authority and the major European powers urging calm.^[84] The actual ultimatum presented to the Greek Government by the Turkish Minister in Athens, Photiades Bey on December 10, 1868 listed 5 conditions. First, the dispersal of volunteer bands and preventing the formation of others on Greek soil; second, disarming the blockade runners *Panhellion* and *Crete* and preventing them from using Greek ports; third, allowing Cretan immigrants to return to their homes; fourth, punishing those responsible for killing or wounding Ottoman soldiers and subjects and compensating the families of these individuals accordingly; and finally the Turkish and Greek ministers requesting their passports effectively closing down their legations in Constantinople and Athens and also the withdrawal of all Greek and Turkish Consuls from each others territory.^[85] It is clear that

the Turkish ultimatum had a sobering effect on Greece indicating the Sultan's determination to resolve the Cretan issue. Despite the clamor for war by ordinary Greeks, King George realised his country's weak financial and military position presented him from waging war. Wise counsel prevailed in the end.

The *Times* was unaware that the Greek Minister in Constantinople, Deliyanni had approached Morris requesting the Greeks in Turkey to come under the protection of the United States. Morris accepted provisionally subject to authorization from Washington and was very concerned that in the advent of war of the expulsion of some 200,000 Greeks from Turkey, of which 35,000 were resident in Constantinople. In the Ottoman capital, "they are engaged in all kinds of avocations, and contribute much to the prosperity of the city."^[86]

As the great European powers pushed ahead with their idea for a peace conference to resolve Greco-Turkish differences^[87], the *Times* editorial 'Intervention for Greece' of December 28, 1868 had a few things to say about it. There were reports suggesting that Russia wanted the US to become involved in the Eastern Question, meaning to participate at the forthcoming peace talks in Paris. The *Times* argued that "our government exists to promote the welfare of its people,-not to propagate any religious faith nor adjust disputes among other Powers." It continued to call attention that religion had nothing to do with Greek-Turkish differences but the machinations of major European powers in the Near East. Both Great Britain and France opposed Russian ambitions in the Ottoman Empire for their own particular reasons. If assuming the United States accepted the Russian invitation, then she too would become involved in the affairs and decisions of the Near East. The editorial concluded "our government, must, therefore decline to send a representative to the conference."^[88] It is evident the *Times* may have been influenced by George Washington's suggestion of avoiding alliances or entanglements with the old world.

Finally, the Greco-Turkish impasse was resolved with both sides accepting the conditions of the great powers, thus, paving the way for resumption of diplomatic relations between Athens and Constantinople. Whilst the final protocol mentions relief for the Cretans and allowing them to return to their homes without fear of retribution from the Turkish authorities; there was no reference as to the future of the island and the aspirations of its inhabitants.^[89] The major European powers maintained the status quo on the island until the next political eruption in 1878.

In conclusion, the *Times* account of the Cretan insurrection is reliable as seen from a journalistic perspective. Some of the reports were contradictory and sometimes confusing but it managed to provide its readers with a good coverage of the Cretan revolt and its impact on the wider European political and diplomatic scene.

The appeal of the Cretan assembly to President Johnson inspired the American Philhellenes in Boston and New York to organize meetings and to raise money, food and clothing for the destitute Cretan women and children. Despite the sincere efforts of the Philhellenes, it didn't rally large sections of American public opinion to support these unfortunate individuals.

American diplomats William J. Stillman and Edward J. Morris were ardent philhellenes with the former being pro-active in assisting the Cretan cause through his published letters in the *Times*. Despite all his good intentions, Morris at no time advocated directly for the Greeks with the Turkish government. A good example of this was when he intervened to deny the Greek delegation in presenting their address to Admiral Faragut.

The *Times*, generally, was sympathetic to the Cretan cause but as a newspaper did not support or favor direct US intervention in the affairs of the old world. It maintained strongly the George Washington line of no alliances with Europe and Monroe doctrine.

[1] All news articles used in this article are taken from the *New York Times* unless otherwise indicated

[2] The terms Crete and Candia will be used interchangeably and unless otherwise indicated Cretans will mean the Greeks resident on the island.

[3] This paper will be hereafter referred as *The Times*

[4] Elmer Davis, *History of the New York Times*, The New York Times, New York, 1921, pp.3-6; Frank L. Mott, *American Journalism: a history of newspapers in the United States 1690-1940 Vol.5*, Routledge, London, 2000, p.278

[5] Davis, *op cit.*, p.18

[6] Davis, *op cit.*, pp.25 & 64; Mott *op cit.*, p.304

[7] Davis, *op cit.*, pp. 52, 65 & 73; Augustus Maverick, *Henry J. Raymond and the New York Press, for thirty years*, A. S. Hale & Co, Hartford, Conn, 1870, pp.169-70; 'Henry J. Raymond', June 19, 1869 p.4

[8] For e.g. October 16 & December 10; June 17, *The Times*, 1851 & 1852, pp.1, 3 & 3

[9] 'The Ocean Telegraph. Victory at last. The first message. England Greets America' & 'Is the Atlantic Cable Broken?' *The Times* August 17 & September 22, 1858 pp.1 & 4

[10] 'Foreign news by mail', February 15, & 'Telegraph,' March 1, *The Times*, 1867, pp.1 & 5 & 'Telegrams', February 14, & 'Foreign news by mail', March 9, *The Times*, 1868 pp.1 & 5

[11] *The Times*, *passim*, August 1866-March 1869

[12] 'Revolt in Candia, A religious difficulty the cause', August 13, 1866, p.1; 'Candia. Commencement of hostilities-United States Consulate damaged' & 'Protest of Foreign Consuls. Strength of the insurgents', August 24, 1866 p.1; 'Turkey. Deplorable condition of affairs. The Revolt in Candia', August 31, 1866, *New York Times*, p.5

[13] William J. Stillman, *The Cretan Insurrection 1866-7-8*, Henry Holt & Co, New York, 1874, p.57; The British Blue Book contains no documents or even passing reference to the American, Dutch and Swedish consulates having been damaged. See House of Commons, Parliamentary Paper (3771) *Correspondence respecting the disturbances in Crete 1866-67*, Harrison & Son, London, 1867 Hereafter cited as PP.

[14] 'The Revolution in Candia', September 16, *The Times*, 1866, p.4

[15] *Ibid.*,

[16] 'The Trouble in Crete. Movement for Contributions in New York-Documents issued at Athens', September 20, *The Times*, 1866, p.1

- [17] ‘The Trouble in Crete. Movement for Contributions in New York-Documents issued at Athens’, September 20, *The Times*, 1866, p.1
- [18] Roderic H. Davison, Turkish attitudes concerning Christian-Muslim equality in the nineteenth century, *American Historical Review*, Vol.59 no.4 (July), 1954, pp.847-51; Leften S. Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453* (with a new introduction by Traian Stoianovich), C. Hurst & Co, London, 2000 Ch.20 (originally published in 1958); There is an account derived from London papers divided into two parts with one outlining a brief history of the struggles of the Cretans from 1821 till the outbreak of the 1866 revolt and an appeal to the United States. See ‘The Insurrection in Crete. Appeal to the United States’, September 29, 1866, p.1; ‘The Insurrection in Candia. Appeal to the United States’, September 29, *The Times*, 1866, p.1
- [19] ‘The Trouble in Crete. Movement for Contributions in New York-Documents issued at Athens’, September 20, *The Times*, 1866, p.1
- [20] ‘The Insurrection in Crete. Appeal to the United States’, September 29, *The Times*, 1866, p.1
- [21] ‘The Turks and the Greek Christian population of the Empire’, October 9, *The Times*, 1866 p.4
- [22] ‘The Eastern Question-Crete the opening wedge’, October 16, *The Times*, 1866, p.4
- [23] ‘The Eastern Question. The Candian Insurrection spreading to Chios and Cyprus and to Epirus-Reported Advise to the Porte ...’, & ‘Turkey. The revolt in Candia. Disaffection of Epirus-The Turks say no Greek blood has yet been shed’, September 27, 1866, p.1; ‘Turkey. The struggle in Crete-its effects on the future of the ‘sick man’, & ‘Greece and the Ottoman Empire-The days of the “Sick Man” numbered’, October 10, 1866, p.1; ‘Greece. The King of Greece...The Greek Cabinet...Parties in Greece...’ & ‘The Oriental Question. A French Liberal view’, October 12, *The Times*, 1866, p.1
- [24] October 12, *The Times*, 1866, p.1;
- [25] ‘Greece...Ibrahim Pasha meets and defeats the Christians...’, October 26, *The Times*, 1866, p.1
- [26] ‘Candia. The Cretan Insurrection-Gallantry of the People-The inhumanity of the Turkish authorities and Military-Character of the Struggle-Dreadful suffering of the people’, December 27, *The Times*, 1866, p.1
- [27] *Ibid.*, the French paper *L’Opinion Nationale* accused the Athens press of exaggeration. See ‘The Oriental Question. A French Liberal View’, October 12, *The Times*, 1866, p.1
- [28] ‘The revolution of the Greek Christians in Turkey’, December 30, 1866, p.1; ‘The insurrection in Candia. Arrival of Mustapha Kemal in the island’, October 11, 1866, p.1; ‘Greece....The Ex-Governor of Candia and the Sultan’, October 26, *The Times*, 1866, p.1
- [29] ‘The revolution of the Greek Christians in Turkey’, December 30, *The Times*, 1866, p.
- [30] William J. Stillman, *op cit.*, pp.84-88; J.E Hilary Skinner, *Roughing it in Crete in 1867*, Richard Bentley, London, 1868, Ch.8; Enclosure 1 in No.119 Mr. Stillman to Mr. Canfield, US Consulate, Canea, November 24, 1866 in *PP 3771*, pp.111-12
- [31] ‘Aid for the Cretans. Mass meeting at the Cooper Institute’, January 27, *The Times*, 1866, p.8 ; John A Ralli was a trustee of the Oriental Mutual Insurance Company, New York, see *The United States Insurance and magazine of useful knowledge*, Vol.24, no. CXLIV, April 1867, pp.287-88
- [32] *Ibid.*, For the interested reader in Samuel Gridley Howe life (1801-76). This man was social reformer in mental health, prison reform, abolition of slavery, emancipation league, Greek and Polish independence, and founding the Perkins school for the blind. He was also a trained surgeon who used his surgical skills during the 1821 Greek War of Independence. See F.B Sanborn, *Dr. S. G. Howe: The Philanthropist*, Funk & Wagnalls, New York, 1891; Harold Schwartz, *Samuel Gridley Howe: Social Reformer 1801-1876*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1956; Samuel G. Howe’s *The refugees from slavery in Canada West*, Boston, n.p, 1864 & *An historical sketch of the Greek revolution*, White, Gallaher & White, New York, 1828; Herbert Hewitt Stroup, *Welfare Pioneers*, Nelson-Hall Inc Publishers, Chicago, 1986, Ch.6 esp. pp.171-72 (deals with Howe’s involvement in the Cretan revolt 1866-69)

- [33] John S. Dwight ltr to Samuel G. Howe , Executive Committee of the Greek Relief Committee, February 22, 1867 & Response from Greek Relief Committee, Boston, February 25, 1867 in John Sullivan Dwight (ed), *Dwight's Journal of Music Vols.25-26*, Oliver Ditson &Co, Boston, 1867, p.416; 'Massachusetts Liberal subscriptions for the Cretans', , January 15, *The Times*, 1867, p.1
- [34] 'Affairs in Crete-Interesting letter from Consul Stillman, US Consulate, Canea, January 29, 1867', March 12, *The Times*, 1867, p.2
- [35] 'Aid for the Cretans-Letter from Dr Howe, Athens to Greek relief committee, Boston', August 5, *The Times*, 1867, p.1
- [36] Ibid.,
- [37] Samuel G. Howe, *The Cretan Refugees and their American helpers: a statement*, Lee and Shepard, Boston, 1868, pp.3-4
- [38] Ibid., p.12
- [39] Ibid., pp.16-24
- [40] Ibid., pp.53-64
- [41] Emmanuel E. Markoglou, *To endiaferon tou Amerikanikou laou dia thn Kritikin epanastasi 1866-69*, Ethnikon Kentron Koinonikon Erevnon, Athens, 1970, p.145
- [42] 'The Cretan struggle', & 'Relief for the Cretan wounded by JEH Skinner', March 11 and 22, *The Times* 1868, pp.8 &1; There is a private letter of JEH Skinner dated June 16, 1868 which the *Times* published on August 24, 1868 for interested individuals who subscribed to his fund for Cretan wounded. It was written from Sphakia, Crete . See 'Affairs in Crete', August 24, *The Times*, 1868, p.1
- [43] 'Crete. A Lecture by Lieut Gov Woodford', April 24, *The Times*, 1868, p.5
- [44] 'Greece and Turkey, ltr to the editor , Pericles', December 22, *The Times*, 1868, p.4
- [45] 'The Grecian Question.' ltr to the editor signed by an Osmanli, January 8, *The Times*, 1869 p.5
- [46] 'The Cretan Struggle. Public meeting at the Cooper Institute', January 9, *The Times*, 1869, p.8
- [47] The following works were very helpful in section of American diplomacy in the post civil war period. See AJ May, Crete and the United States, *Journal of Modern History*, Vol.16, no.4, December 1944, pp.286-93; D. Prior, Crete the opening wedge. Nationalism and international affairs in Post Bellum America, *Journal of Social History*, Vol.42 no.4, Summer 2009, pp.861-87; Ann Pottinger Saab, The doctor's dilemma. Britain and the Cretan Crisis 1866-1869, *Journal of Modern History*, Vol.49, no.4, December 1977, pp.D1383-D.1407; William J. Stillman, *op cit.*, ; Emmanuel E. Markoglou, *op cit.*,
- [48] The *Times* published many articles, editorials and letters to the editor on reconstruction and impeachment proceedings against the President. A small sample is provided for the reader. See, 'The authority of Congress over the reconstruction of the South', & 'Reconstruction', December 15, & May 27, *The Times*, pp. 4 &1; 'Impeachment as a President', & 'Impeachment. Final vote in the Senate...The President Acquitted', March 4 & May 17, *the Times*, 1868, pp. 4 &1; For a discussion on reconstruction and impeachment of Andrew Johnson is vast. See David O. Stewart, *Impeached: The trial of President Andrew Johnson and the fight for Lincoln's legacy*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 2010; Paul H.Bergeron, *Andrew Johnson's Civil War and Reconstruction*, The University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, 2011, Paul A.Cimbala & Randall M. Miller (ed), *The great task remaining before us*, Fordham University Press, New York, 2010; *Proceedings in the trial of Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, Before the United States Senate on articles of Impeachment*, F & J Rivers & Geo A. Bailey, Washington, 1868
- [49] The *Times* has countless articles and editorials on the issues listed in the text. A small sample will be used be for illustration purposes. See, 'France and United States', December 7, *The Times*, 1866, p.7 & 'The history of foreign intervention in Mexico', July 9, *The Times*, p.1; 'The Alabama Claims: official correspondence between the United States and Great Britain', September 11, *The Times*, 1867, p.2; 'Central and South America. More war...with Spain', September 20, *The Times* 1866, p.1 & 'Unfortunate Spain', No-

ember 18, *The Times*, p.4; ‘The lesson of the Austrian defeat’, July 29, *The Times*, 1866, p.4; ‘The threatened war between Prussia and France’, April 24, *The Times*, 1867, p.4; ‘Our new territorial acquisition’, April 11, *The Times*, 1867, p.4; For the interested reader wishing to pursue some of these issues addressed in the newspaper heading. See E. Taylor Peck, ‘Conflict and Challenge:1860-70’ Ch.5 in Harold Eugene Davis et al., *Latin American diplomatic history: an introduction*, Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1977; Geoffrey Wawro, *The Austro-Prussian war*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998; Geoffrey Wawro, *The Franco-Prussian war:1870-71*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003; Adrian Cook, *The Alabama Claims*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1975; Stephen W.Haycox, *Alaska : an American Colony*, C. Hurst & Co, London, 2002

[50] Markoglou, *op cit.*, pp.21-6; An excerpt of the Monroe Doctrine can found in The Avalon project in http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/monroe.asp (accessed October 27, 2011)

[51] Dennis Merrill & Thomas Paterson (ed), *Major problems in American foreign relations: to 1920 Vol.1*, 7th ed , Wadsworth, Boston, pp.325-6

[52] ‘Mr. Seward’s proposal for an American peace conference’, May 20, & ‘Secretary Seward’s diplomacy. The Extension of American power’, December 16, *The Times*, 1867, pp.4; ‘William H.Seward.Appreciation of the Secretary of State abroad’, November 12, *The Times*, 1868, p.2

[53] Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant diplomacy and the Near East*, University of Minnesota, 1971, p.37; The text of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation signed on February 25, 1862 in http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/ot1862.asp (accessed on October 27, 2011)

[54] ‘United States and Turkey. A Singular rumor. Great Britain and France against Yankee annexation’, September 15, & ‘United States and Turkey’, September 27, *The Times* , 1866, p.1; It is worth noting that London *Times* ran similar stories on September 18, 1866 p.8 & October 1, 1866, p.10

[55] Cagri Erhan, ‘Ch.1 Main trends in Ottoman-American relations’ in Mustapha Aydin & Cagri Erhan (ed), *Turkish-American relations: past, present and future*, Routledge, London, 2001, pp.9-10; Lord Augustus Loftus, *The diplomatic reminiscences of Lord Augustus Loftus, 1862-1879 Vol.1*, Cassell & Co, Ltd, London, 1894, pp.136-7; During the 1830s, the US searched to establish a naval base in Crete or Cyprus. In 1836, the U.S charge d’affaires in Constantinople, David Porter and U.S Consul in Salonica “exchanged letters on the possibility of buying an Ottoman Island in the Aegean for naval purposes.” The U.S never established a naval base in the Ottoman Empire. See, Erhan, ‘Ch.1 Main trends in Ottoman-American relations’ in Mustapha Aydin & Cagri Erhan (ed), p.9

[56] A small sample of these *Times* reports. See ‘Turkey disturbances-The people of Crete reject the Sultan’s terms’, September 11, 1866, p.1; ‘The revolt in Candia. The insurrection spreading rapidly’, October 8, 1866, p.1; ‘The King of Greece-Fight between the Christians and the Turks...’, October 12, 1866, p.2 (from Athens, September 15, 1866); ‘The Eastern war. An appeal for the suffering Cretans, United States Consulate, October 8, 1866’, December 17, 1866; ‘The Cretan insurrection. Dreadful suffering of the people’, December 27, 1866 p.1 (Canea Crete, November 18, 1866)

[57] No.30 Mr. Stillman to Mr. Seward, US Consulate, Canea, October 8, 1866, p.11 *U.S. House of Representative Executive Document no.38, 39th Congress, 2nd session*, Revolution in Candia; There is a very brief news report of the movement of the USS Canandaigna in the *Times*, see ‘Admiral Goldsborough Fleet’, October 15, 1866, p.1

[58] No.179 Mr. Morris to Mr. Seward, Legation of the United States of America, Constantinople, November 22, 1866 , p.256 *United States Department of State Executive Documents printed by order of the House of Representativesm 39th Congress, 2nd Session, 1866, Vol.2* , US Government Printing Office, Washington , 1867 in <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS.FRUS186667VO2> (accessed October 31, 2011); Mr Seward to. Mr. Morris, Department of State, Washington, November 28, 1866, p.16 *U.S. House of Representative Executive Document no.38, 39th Congress, 2nd session*, Revolution in Candia

[59] ‘Candia. Admiral Goldsborough and the Cretan refugees’, January 1, *The Times*, 1867, p.1

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[60] *Report of the Secretary of the Navy, December 1867*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1867, p.4

[61] *Ibid.*, pp.4, 39-40; Stillman mentions that the USS Canandaigua arrived in mid-March 1867 whereas Strong's report shows the arrival date as June 16, 1867. The former outlines the discourtesy shown by some of the US naval officers who were sympathetic to the Turkish government. Stillman and Captain Strong visited Rethymno together and got on very well. See Stillman, *op cit.*, pp.116-17

[62] 'The State of affairs in Candia, (Constantinople December 24, 1866), February 5, *The Times*, 1867, p.5; 'Our Government and the Cretans', February 6, *The Times*, 1867, p.4 On September 25, 1866 Seward informed Morris that he saw "no impropriety in your consulting with representatives of other Christian powers at the Porte, with the view, through the use of your good offices, of ameliorating the unhappy condition of the inhabitants of Crete." See No.119 Mr. Seward to Mr. Morris, Department of State, Washington, September 25, 1866, p.253 *United States Department of State Executive Documents printed by order of the House of Representatives 39th Congress, 2nd Session, 1866, Vol.2*, US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1867 in <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS.FRUS186667VO2> (accessed October 31, 2011)

[63] Fortieth Congress, 2nd Session, House of Representatives, Misc Document, Sympathy with the Cretans, State of Maine, February 28, 1867, p.2; Congress of the United States, Fortieth Congress, 2nd Session, Journal of the State, December 17, 1867, p.59

[64] 'New York. Affairs at the State Capital. The Cretans..', February 13, *The Times*, 1867, p.5; 'The Cretans in New York', February 14, *The Times*, 1867, p.4

[65] *Journal of the House of Representative of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts 1868*, Wright & Potter State Printers, Boston, 1868, pp.239, 484 & 492-3 (located using Google book search engine)

[66] 'Proceedings in Congress...Fortieth Congress..', July 20, *The Times*, 1867, p.1; *Congressional Globe*, 40th Congress, 1st Session, July 19, 1867, p.727 (available on Library of Congress website titled :A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774 - 1875); *Diary of Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy under Lincoln and Johnson, Vol.3 Jan 1 1867-June 6, 1869*, with Introduction John T. Morse Jr, Houghton Mifflin Co, Boston & New York, 1911, pp.138-39

[67] 'Turkey. The resolutions of the United States Congress in relation to the war in Candia presented to the Sultan', August 29, *The Times*, 1867, p.1; no.151 Mr. Seward to Mr. Morris, Department of State, Washington, July 22, 1867, pp.14-15 & no.224 Mr. Morris to Mr. Seward, Legation of the United States of America, Constantinople, August 1867, p.15 *United States Department of State Executive Documents printed by order of the House of Representatives 40th Congress, 2nd Session, 1867, Vol.2*, US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1868 in <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS.FRUS186768VO2> (accessed October 31, 2011)

[68] 'Fortieth Congress, Second Session', July 22, *The Times*, 1868, p.1; Public Resolution no.64 A Joint resolution appealing to the Turkish Government in behalf of the people of Crete, *Acts and Resolutions of the United States of America passed at the Second Session of the 40th Congress, December 2, 1867-November 10, 1868*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1868, pp.330-1

[69] No.13 Mr. Tuckerman to Mr. Seward, Legation of the United States, Athens, August 20, 1868, p.131 in *United States Department of State Executive documents provided by the order of the House of Representatives during the 3rd session of the 40th Congress, 1868-69, Vol.2*, US Government Printing Office, 1869, in <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS.FRUS186869v02> (accessed November 1, 2011)

[70] 'Turkey. Arrival of Admiral Farragut at Constantinople' & 'Turkey. Admiral Farragut at Constantinople-His interview with the Sultan', August 11 & 18, *The Times*, 1868, p.1

[71] National Archives and Records Administration, Microcopy no.46 Despatches from the United States Ministers to Turkey 1818-1906, Washington, 1952. No.67 Mr. Morris to Mr. Seward, Legation of the United States of America, Constantinople, August 24, 1868. Hereafter cited *M46*

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[73] No.272 Mr. Morris to Mr. Seward , Legation of the United States , Constantinople, October 29, 1868, with 2 notes Mr. Morris to Fuad Pasha, August 18 & 23, 1868 & Circular dispatch of Fuad Pasha to the representatives of the parties to the Treaty of Paris of 1856, August 19, 1868 pp.117-9 , *United States Department of State Executive documents printed by order of the House of Representatives, during the third session of the fortieth Congress, 1868-'69 Vol. II U.S. Government Printing Office, 1868-1869* in <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS.FRUS186869v02> (accessed November 3, 2011)

[74] 'Crete. Admiral Farragut waited on by a Greek-Cretan deputation', September 12, *The Times*, 1868, p.4

[75] no.268 Mr. Morris to Mr. Seward , Legation of the United States, Constantinople, August 31, 1868 & August 31, 1868, *M46; Report of the Secretary of the Navy, December 1868*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1868, pp.19&21

[76] See Ch.5 The position of the American press during the Cretan insurrection' in Markoglou , *op cit.*,

[77] 'Greece. Splendor of the celebration of the Baptism of the new heir to the throne-Entertainment of Admiral Farragut', October 5, *The Times*, 1868, p.1; no. 14 Mr. Tuckerman to Mr.Seward, Legation of the United States, Athens, September 10, 1868 p.132 , *United States Department of State Executive documents printed by order of the House of Representatives, during the third session of the fortieth Congress, 1868-'69 Vol. II U.S. Government Printing Office, 1868-1869* in <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS.FRUS186869v02> (accessed November 4, 2011); *Report of the Secretary of the Navy, December 1868*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1868, p.20

[78] 'Greece. Splendor of the celebration of the Baptism of the new heir to the throne-Entertainment of Admiral Farragut', October 5, *The Times*, 1868, p.1; no. 14 Mr. Tuckerman to Mr. Seward, Legation of the United States, Athens, September 10, 1868 p.132 , *United States Department of State Executive documents printed by order of the House of Representatives, during the third session of the fortieth Congress, 1868-'69 Vol. II U.S. Government Printing Office, 1868-1869* in <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS.FRUS186869v02> (accessed November 4, 2011); *Report of the Secretary of the Navy, December 1868*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1868, p.20

[79] James Eglinton Montmogery, *Our Admiral's Flag abroad: The cruise of Admiral D.G.Farragut, Putnam & Son, New York, 1869, pp.420-1* this book should be treated with some caution as it was written by someone very close to Farragut. Montgomery was a naval officer who probably looked upon his commanding officer with lots of respect and admiration. Nevertheless it provides a first hand account of Farragut's visit to Constantinople and Athens.

[80] 'Greece. Splendor of the celebration of the Baptism of the new heir to the throne-Entertainment of Admiral Farragut', October 5, *The Times*, 1868, p.1; Montgomery, *op cit.*, p.426

[81] Montgomery , *op cit.*, pp.432-3

[82] 'Grant and Greece', December 9, & 'Greece', December 20, *The Times*, 1868 pp.7 &1;

[83] 'Inauguration. Commencement of the new era of peace and prosperity...', March 5, *The Times*, 1869, p.5; Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies, *Inaugural addresses of the Presidents of the United States*, Cosimo Books, New York, 2008, pp.145-48; no. 23 Mr. Tuckerman to Mr. Seward, Legation of the United States, Athens, September 10, 1868 p.140 , *United States Department of State Executive documents printed by order of the House of Representatives, during the third session of the fortieth Congress, 1868-'69 Vol. II U.S. Government Printing Office, 1868-1869* in <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS.FRUS186869v02> (accessed November 4, 2011)

[84] See Times, December 1868 & early January 1869 *passim*

[85] 'The Eastern Question. Text of the Turkish ultimatum to Greece', January 7, *The Times* , 1869, p.5

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[86] no. 277 Mr. Morris to Mr. Seward, Legation of the United States, Athens, December 14, 1868 p.119 , *United States Department of State Executive documents printed by order of the House of Representatives, during the third session of the fortieth Congress, 1868-'69 Vol. II U.S.* Government Printing Office, 1868-1869 in <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS.FRUS186869v02> (accessed November 4, 2011); *M46* no.282 Mr. Morris to Mr. Seward, Legation of United States, Constantinople, December 23, 1868; No.102 Mr.Elliott to Earl of Clarendon, Constantinople, December 24, 1868, *Great Britain, House of Commons, Parliamentary Papers, 1868-89 [4116] Correspondence respecting the rupture of diplomatic relations between Turkey and Greece*, Harrison &Son, London, 1868, p.82

[87] ‘Prussia asks for a conference of the European Powers’, December 24, *The Times*, 1868, p.1

[88] ‘Intervention for Greece’, December 28, *The Times*, 1868, p.4

[89] ‘The Eastern Question. The Conference of the Great Powers at Paris-satisfactory report from the Grecian Government’, February 19, *The Times*, 1869 p.1; Protocol (no.7) of Conference held at Paris, February 18, 1869 enclosure in no. 209, *Great Britain, House of Commons, Parliamentary Papers, 1868-89 [4116] Correspondence respecting the rupture of diplomatic relations between Turkey and Greece*, Harrison &Son, London, 1868, pp.216-19