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BRITONS IN CYPRUS, 1878-1914

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BRITONS IN CYPRUS, 1878-1914

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BRITONS IN CYPRUS, 1878-1914

Gail Ruth Hook, Ph.D.

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Supervisor: Wm. Roger Louis

Britain occupied Cyprus as a protectorate under the tenets of the Congress of Berlin in July 1878 and annexed the island in 1914. Before 1914, however, despite the legal conditions of the protectorate that the island, still nominally ruled by the Ottomans, could be returned to Turkey, British imperialists transformed this eastern Mediterranean island into a British colonial dependency. The argument of this dissertation is that starting with the formal occupation in 1878, Britain fully intended to develop the island as “British Cyprus” with the expectation that the island would remain in British hands.

The dissertation is organized along on a set of themes that resonated throughout the British Empire, using Cyprus as an example. These included a duty “to protect and improve” all their Imperial subjects; to bring “a rich reward to capitalists and labour”; and to install a sense of “Britishness” synonymous with civilization, moral uprightness, and progress. More specifically, this dissertation examines the role of Britons on Cyprus in the late nineteenth century as agents of the greater British Empire. The dissertation especially focuses on how Britons established a British community while at the same time redeveloping the island’s resources for integration into the Empire. Throughout this process they firmly believed in the superiority and divine right of the British race to rule the island. Their creed of bringing “good government” to subject peoples reflected the imperial mind of the late nineteenth century throughout the Empire and was the underlying philosophy to their own sense of “Britishness.” This is an intriguing and unique case study of British colonial development that has been neglected by historians, but it is important for understanding how the governmental, administrative, and physical infrastructure now in place in Cyprus initially came into being.

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Introduction

Describing the period from 1875 to 1914, at the end of the “long” nineteenth century that began in 1789, Eric Hobsbawm wrote, “It was an era...which provided the small bodies of men who, with almost contemptuous ease, could conquer and rule over vast empires, but which inevitably generated on its outskirts the combined forces of rebellion and revolution that were to engulf it.”¹ He could have been referring to the British occupation of Cyprus, beginning in 1878 when Britain took the island as a protectorate under the tenets of the Congress of Berlin, until rebellion and revolution erupted some fifty years later. “To Government House! To Government House!” the protesters exclaimed on October 21, 1931, and after burning the building and the cars in front of it, and losing the life of an eighteen year old youth, the riotous crowd subsided, but unrest continued throughout the winter and through the subsequent decades.² The British finally abandoned Cyprus in 1960, although Cyprus thereafter remained a member in the British Commonwealth.

Much has been written about the period immediately preceding the 1931 revolt and afterwards. The most notable of these include G. S. Georghallides, *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus 1918-1926* (Nicosia, 1979); George Kelling, *Countdown to Rebellion, British Policy in Cyprus, 1939-1955* (New York and London, 1990); and Robert Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus 1954-1959* (Oxford, 1998). Scholars have neglected, however, to investigate fully how Cyprus reached that point in

¹ Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire* (London, 1987), p. 9-13.

² Robert Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus 1954-1959* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 1-3.

the first place.³ This dissertation covers the years from 1878, when the official occupation began, to 1914, when Britain annexed Cyprus. Although Britain's official possession of Cyprus as a Crown Colony was not established until 1925, the alliance of Turkey with Germany in 1914 essentially negated any protectorate agreements and Britain's obligation of ever returning the island to Turkey. Thus 1914 can be seen as the flashpoint that marks the end of British formal control under Ottoman suzerainty and the defining moment of transition to formal British possession of the island. The argument of this dissertation is that starting with the occupation in 1878, Britain fully intended to develop the island as "British Cyprus" with the expectation that the island would remain in British hands as a colonial dependency. In fact, "British Cyprus" was a *fait accompli*, integrated into the trade and commerce of the British Empire, by 1914.⁴

The dissertation is not, however, an extensive chronological listing of all the events or all the problems encountered by the British in this period. Rather, it is organized along on a set of themes that resonated throughout the British Empire, using Cyprus as an example. More specifically, in contrast to more recent scholarship and popular literature about Cyprus that analyze the ethnic and political divisions in the twentieth century, this dissertation instead examines the role of Britons on Cyprus in the late nineteenth century as agents of the greater British Empire. The dissertation especially focuses on how Britons established a British community while at the same time

³ One notable exception is George Hill, *A History of Cyprus, Vol. IV, The Ottoman Province, The British Colony 1571-1948* (Sir Harry Luke, ed.), Cambridge, 1952. Hill's treatise focuses, however, on political events specific to the island. This dissertation expands that analysis to include descriptions of the British community on the island, trade and commerce, agriculture, the role of science, photography, maps, and so forth, with a view of Cyprus in relation to Britain and the greater Empire.

⁴ W. Hepworth Dixon coined this phrase in 1879 as the title of his book, *British Cyprus* (London, 1879).

redeveloping the island's resources for integration into the British Empire. Throughout this process, this "small body of men" (and women) firmly believed in the superiority and divine right of the British race to rule the island. Their creed of bringing "good government" to subject peoples reflected the imperial mind of the late nineteenth century throughout the Empire and was the underlying philosophy to their own sense of "Britishness" in the Empire.

The themes along which this dissertation is organized emerge from the official documents and unofficial letters to suggest that nineteenth-century British imperialism was promoted and maintained by a certain set of assumptions and informal policies. First, it looks closely at the creation of British Cyprus through the efforts of the Consuls and High Commissioners. It shows that this development was founded not only on the British desire to establish a military presence in the eastern Mediterranean but also on efforts to bring "good government" to its territories, based on British assumptions of the superiority of its own Christian, white race. This good government argument endured to the end of the occupation.⁵ In fact, many Victorians believed they had "a duty to protect and improve"⁶ all their Imperial subjects.

A second theme is that the territories and colonies of the greater Empire were expected to provide resources, trade, and economic opportunities for other parts of the Empire, that is, to quote Prince Albert Edward, to bring "a rich reward to capitalists and

⁵ See J. M. Lee, *Colonial Development and Good Government: A study of the ideas expressed by the British official classes in planning decolonization 1939-1964* (Oxford, 1967).

⁶ This phrase was used by the Marquis of Salisbury in a secret letter to Colonel Biddulph, Confidential, Part II, Correspondence relating to the Island of Cyprus, June to December, No. 57, FO 421/32.

labour”.⁷ Immediately upon occupation in July 1878, entrepreneurs, labor workers and agriculturalists, scientists, archaeologists, and journalists rushed to Cyprus to make their fortunes and careers. Moreover, the British Government viewed the island as a potential source of basic manufactures and luxury goods for domestic use and throughout the Empire, such as wine (to compete with French wines), tobacco, olive oil, silk, American-seed cotton, and the sturdy Cyprus donkey for troops in India.⁸ Cyprus further served the Empire as a site for scientific experimentation in botany, agriculture, and forestry, often directed by officials at the Royal Gardens at Kew, and as a source for archaeological excavation and collection for British museums. Thus the immediate goal of British administrators in 1878 was to resuscitate the failing economy of Cyprus and revive those resources, ostensibly for the benefit of the Ottoman subjects on Cyprus but also for the development of resources for their own empire. They tapped into the already established (although languishing) trade in the Mediterranean and Levant to develop the island’s trade and commerce for their own purposes, taking advantage especially of the opening of new trading relations among eastern Mediterranean countries that occurred as a result of the Anglo-Turkish Convention. They developed an infrastructure of roads, railroads, ports, sanitation systems, and communications, and pursued programs of forest and agricultural redevelopment that included new irrigation systems, the expansion of cash

⁷ This phrase was used by HRH Prince Albert Edward of Wales, K. G., writing to Sir Michael Hicks Beach, Dec. 9, 1878, British Parliamentary Papers, Colonies-General, No. 19, Session 1878-79.

⁸ In this dissertation are found both the terms “donkey” and “mule”. These are not used interchangeably, since the two are different animals, but are used as they are listed in the Colonial Office documents. The documents list animals on the island including donkeys, mules, horses, goats, cows, and so forth. Therefore I use the terms as they are used in the documents, assuming that different lists and articles refer to the different animals.

crops, less oppressive taxation on peasant farmers, and the alleviation of the problems of locusts and goat-grazing.

Public works and agriculture required labor, some of which was undertaken by new immigrants from other parts of the British Empire. It emerges also, however, that the Cypriot people came to be seen as resources for the Empire: the Cyprus police, for example, were viewed as potential soldiers for the Empire's wars in the Mediterranean and elsewhere; police and other native workers were hired to collect taxes; and prisoners and peasants served as forced laborers for road-building.

The third theme is the idea of "Britishness" as synonymous with civilization, moral uprightness, and progress, expressed on Cyprus in what have been called "the cardinal British institutions—tea, tubs, sanitary appliances, lawn tennis and churches"⁹, as well as tent-dinner parties, cricket, horse racing, and theatre, and in humanitarian endeavors. This theme also relates to the British nationality of Cypriots before and during World War I and the correlation with pan-Turkish and Greek *enosis* movements within the Ottoman Empire.

Looking at Cyprus from a twenty-first century vantage point, this study of the first four decades of British occupation is important for understanding not only how Cyprus arrived at her present ethnic and nationalistic divisions, but also how she came to be a modern country, a participant in global trade and commerce, with ecotourism, soccer championships, western-style universities and vacation homes for Europeans. The governmental, administrative, and educational systems and the physical infrastructure

⁹ John Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion* (1987), p. 45.

now in place initially came into being in this period, the study of which presents an intriguing and in many ways unique case study of British colonial development before World War I.

Cyprus as a blank slate

In analyzing events in Cyprus, one can again look to Hobsbawm, who further explains that the era of Revolutions (American and French) was transformed after 100 years from a domestic world to an international one. By the 1880s, exploration was no longer “discovery”, and almost all parts of the world by the 1880s were known and mapped.¹⁰ Most parts of the world were known at least by Western man, and in particular the British, whose Empire in the 1880s reached around the globe and experienced a legalization, or formalization, of its authority in ever increasing square miles of territory. The acquisition of Cyprus fit neatly into this expanding portfolio of imperial possessions. Few maps of the island, and certainly no current and accurate maps, existed in 1878. Now, new British maps and surveys revealed open land and potential resources fit for integration into the imperial system. Maps defined in material terms the boundaries of their new possession. In other words, the British *perception* of Cyprus was one of a blank slate, an open island which with the institution of Britain’s superior “good government” policies, could, despite an existing indigenous population dominated by Greeks and Turks, become British. Thus “British Cyprus” was born in the imperial mind in July 1878. Following Hobsbawm’s trajectory, however, Cyprus, too, ended in “rebellion and

¹⁰ Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire* (London, 1987), pp. 9-13.

revolution.” The divisions amongst the indigenous Greeks, Turks and other groups, and between Cypriots and British, overshadowed the British attempt to bring the “good government” that they firmly believed would raise up the Cypriot society, who would naturally be grateful and forever loyal. Again, their perceptions fell short of reality.

While this dissertation is not about the indigenous Cypriot groups per se, an understanding of this “plural society”—a term coined by J. S. Furnivall—will help explain the situation on the ground encountered by the British when they occupied the island in 1878. Most importantly, this plural society on Cyprus was not unique in the British Empire. In 1956, Furnivall wrote about the plural society in Burma:

One reason why it is difficult to say whether the people were more or less prosperous is that there was no longer a people, but a mixture of peoples. Even in 1872 it was remarked that ‘there is possibly no country in the world where the inhabitants are more varied in race, custom and language than those of Burma’.¹¹

Furnivall’s plural society referred to what he called the “medley of peoples”, who mix but do not combine. Each group “holds by its own religion, its own culture and language, its own ideas and ways...There is a plural society, with different sections of the community living side by side, but separately, within the same political unit.”¹²

In a plural society, Furnivall explains, the union is not voluntary but is “imposed by the colonial power and by the force of economic circumstances, and the union cannot be dissolved without the whole society relapsing into anarchy.” The tie is strong only so

¹¹ J. S. Furnivall, *Colonial Policy and Practice* (NY, 1956), p. 102.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 304.

far as this common interest is recognized.¹³ The plural society in Cyprus had these characteristics in common with those in other parts of the British Empire. How the plural society in Cyprus is unique, however, is not only in race, custom, and language but also in religion, class, and politics. The Turks were Ottomans, members of the empire that had ruled Cyprus since 1571, and they were Muslim. The Greeks were Orthodox Christians, but still different from British Protestants (as perceived in the British mind). Thus in religion, the two main indigenous groups of the plural society were different from each other, and different from the British. Furthermore, within the Greek community the priests held a separate and generally higher class status. British rule displaced the authority traditionally held by the priests, and within the first few decades of the British occupation, as a new, often western-educated middle class emerged, divisions grew within the Greek community itself between this middle class and the clergy. Eventually the “common interest” became skewed and the interests of the separate communities (both Greek and Turkish) gained priority over the common interests of the plural indigenous society against the British.

During the occupation many Greeks came to believe that Cyprus should, and would, follow the path of the Ionian Islands, that were British occupied and then joined with mainland Greece. Many Greeks on Cyprus saw their island as Greek and destined to become part of Greater Greece, the mainland, where irredentist movements pushed for *enosis*, the reconstitution of Cyprus and other Hellenic territories with Greece. (Thus they insisted on the continued native education of their children.) Their perceptions, like those

¹³ Ibid., p. 307-8.

of the British, were biased toward their own interests. Many Turks, on the other hand, feared a takeover by Greece if the British left and therefore hoped for the continuation of British rule. As it became clearer over the decades that Cyprus had become, and would remain, “British Cyprus”, tension and fear grew on both sides. When Britain annexed Cyprus on November 5, 1914, and Cyprus became a British Crown Colony in 1925, anger and fear escalated to violence, leading to the burning of Government House.¹⁴ As Hobsbawm predicted, the dissolution of the union indeed erupted in anarchy.

The point is that Cyprus was not the blank slate that many Britons perceived it to be. British rule necessitated the negotiation of relationships with these plural groups, in addition to the Ottoman Empire’s nominal authority still emanating from Constantinople. In effect, the improvements that Britain installed to create British Cyprus led eventually to Cypriot anarchy and their retaking of the island. The roads installed by the British helped link these groups and also brought those inland and in the mountains more in contact with western influences, as well as under the influence of more enlightened Greeks and Turks, particularly in the schools. Those Cypriots who the British hired in administrative and other positions also began to understand Western modes of thinking and governing in a new way. This is not to say that Cypriots from the countryside flocked to the cities to work in the government. In medicine, doctors and nurses were generally trained out of the country and then assigned to Cyprus. Agricultural workers were equally difficult to find on Cyprus, and several schemes to bring “British” workers

¹⁴ The Greek leadership had believed that annexation was merely the last step toward *enosis* (George Hill, *A History of Cyprus, Vol. IV*, Cambridge, 1952, p. 521).

from other parts of the Empire were entertained and some attempted.¹⁵ In general, mass immigration to the cities or to Cyprus from other countries, after the occupation in 1878 did not occur. At the same time, Cyprus was not a blank slate devoid of native inhabitants.

The British, however, brought their own soldiers, administrators, commissioners, engineers, clergy, and families to Cyprus and created a distinct British community separate from the Cypriots. The Capital was established in Nicosia, near the center of the island, but summers were spent in mountain retreats, or cantons. The wives and families of soldiers and district commissioners facilitated the development of additional British enclaves in the camps and other cities such as Famagusta. There was some interaction between these families and the Cypriots, but usually as Cypriot servants and merchants, and definitely as separate classes.¹⁶ This separateness is evident especially in education, where Turkish and Greek schools not only continued to function but were also partly supported by the government. This was not necessarily an attempt by the government to keep the indigenous groups separate from the British, but also a reflection of the native desire for separateness from the British and each other. As another example, many Cypriots in government service learned English, but the British often found it necessary (or desirable) to learn Greek and/or Turkish. There was no desire to make Cypriots into Englishmen, only to govern them.

¹⁵ See Gail Hook, "Mr. Fenech's Colony: Maltese Immigration in British Cyprus, 1878 to 1950", in *Journal of Cyprus Studies* 13 (2007), pp. 27-51.

¹⁶ This author found no evidence of marriages or relationships between British soldiers and local Cypriot women but this might be a possibility. Further research could be done on this question.

Overall, the British community distinguished itself through a transplanted sense of “Britishness” that pervaded all the colonies of the British Empire. Their cantons in the mountains followed the tradition of British cantons in the highlands of India. Their clothing, recreation, and architecture were clearly British. *The Cyprus Gazette*, the Royal Mail, and later the telegraph kept Britons on Cyprus connected to England and the Empire. As commerce and agriculture were redeveloped, and scientific experts from England became active on the island, Cyprus goods and experimental products appeared in the Imperial exhibitions. British currency replaced the Ottoman, and the birthdays of British royalty were celebrated. The island was integrated into the British Empire not only economically but also as a site for the extension of Britishness.

Local administrators saw Cyprus as part of the British Empire immediately. Whether Whitehall did or not is debatable, as reflected in their resistance to fund improvements or to eliminate the tribute, a payment previously taken by the Ottomans from native taxes and now which was diverted to repay British investors. The tribute is the single most problematic issue in British rule of Cyprus. Some may have seen the occupation as an opportunity to satisfy British and French investors via the tribute, or at least, recognizing that opportunity once they took Cyprus, seized it. Not until Joseph Chamberlain’s tenure as Colonial Secretary (1895-1903) did the revitalization programs attempted by the High Commissioners receive official sanction and the tribute begin to be addressed. Chamberlain (and now to some extent the Treasury) saw Cyprus as one of the Empire’s “undeveloped estates.” To his credit, Chamberlain tried to direct the tribute away from reducing the island’s income (although unsuccessfully), so it would go toward

revitalization, especially public works.¹⁷ Yet his main goal was to bring the British Empire together, that is, with Cyprus as part of that unified Empire and as a new site for resources, commerce, and scientific experimentation. He never flinched that Cyprus should be part of Britain's Empire, although legally it still was Ottoman.

There was a divide, however, that grew wider as the decades passed, between the intentions and goals of the administration on the spot and those of the Colonial Office. Despite their best efforts, the local High Commissioners and district officers never received the financial backing required to fully accomplish their programs of reform. Chamberlain attracted some funding, but at that point, he and the Colonial Office turned not to the local administrators for advice, but relied instead on the opinions of scientific experts like Thiselton-Dyer of Kew to advise the regeneration of forests, the irrigation works, and so forth. Thiselton-Dyer saw the local administrators and their staff as amateurs and said so.¹⁸ The conflicts between these officials from the outside and the local, and the inability of Chamberlain to solicit full Colonial Office funding because of growing problems in Africa, stymied resource development on Cyprus.¹⁹ The next Secretary of State, Sir Alfred Lyttelton, and Cyprus High Commissioner King-Harman succeeded in convincing Parliament to relieve the problems of the tribute by awarding grants-in-aid to Cyprus. This policy satisfied the increasingly restless Cypriots for a

¹⁷ The tribute continued to be appropriated from island revenues even after it theoretically lapsed with annexation in November 1914, until Ronald Storrs as Governor abolished it in 1928.

¹⁸ Thiselton-Dyer (Royal Gardens, Kew) to Colonial Office, Mar. 2, 1896, No. 75 in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (Confidential), Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3. Richard Drayton suggests that the Hookers—Thiselton-Dyer was a son-in-law—secured personal interests through work in the public interest (Richard Drayton, *Nature's Government: Science, Imperial Britain, and the 'Improvement' of the World*, New Haven, London, 2000, p. 175).

¹⁹ Joseph M. Hodge, *Triumph of the Expert* (Athens, Ohio, 2007), pp. 44-45.

time, but in the end, Britain was blamed for a failed redevelopment policy on Cyprus. The perceptions of administrators in 1878 of a blank slate proved not only erroneous but also disappointing for British and Cypriot alike.

One last note can be made that supports the idea of perception versus reality. As is shown in Chapter Three, the British documents describe the warm welcome the British received upon occupying the island in July 1878. It may seem ludicrous to some observers that the Cypriots should welcome yet another alien ruling power with cheers and open arms, and surely some Cypriots resented the occupation. The point is that the British *perceived* the occupation as welcome: definitely no military attack was required to take the island. They wrote in their diaries about it and the newspapers in London reported on it. However, the warm Cypriot welcome was probably due to a totally different perception held by the Cypriots, especially the Greeks, who saw the British government as an institution to be courted and lobbied in order to achieve a goal far greater than rescue from the Ottomans. In later decades they claimed that from the beginning they believed that Britain's intention was to eventually unite Cyprus with Greece. The British on the other hand, saw the occupation as a step toward integration with the British Empire.

Thus erroneous, and perhaps naïve, perceptions and preconceived expectations on both sides contributed to the “wait and see” attitude underlining the initial Cypriot welcome. As for the British, their firm belief in their own superiority and good government policies was confirmed by this welcome and thus they failed to recognize or acknowledge the underlying expectations, at least at the beginning. By the turn of the

century, British Cyprus was firmly entrenched. As H. Bertram Cox, writing for Secretary Lyttelton, explained in December, 1904:

The position of British rule in Cyprus can no longer be regarded as temporary in character. Russia is not at all likely to restore to Turkey Kars and the other conquests made by her in Armenia during the Russo-Turkish war and until that vent takes place England is not under an obligation to restore Cyprus to the Porte. Any proposal to give back the island voluntarily to Turkey would meet with the strongest opposition in this country, and indeed, could with difficulty be defended. England is debarred from granting the wishes of the Pan-Hellenist agitator, and handing over the island to Greece, by the fact that she administers the island as a trustee of, and in virtue of a convention with, the Sultan. On political grounds, therefore, it is most desirable that some remedy should be adopted for a grievance which is threatening to make England's administrative task in Cyprus impossible, by rendering the majority of the people permanently disaffected to British rule.²⁰

Cox and Lyttelton rightly observed that to return Cyprus to either Turkey or Greece would threaten all parties. They saw no choice but to remain in control.

The Greek Cypriots continued to push for union with Greece. In a letter to the Government of Cyprus in December, 1912, the Archbishop of Cyprus, Kyrillos, and several abbots, mayors, and other important people of the Greek community on Cyprus totalling 29 people, claimed that from the beginning they understood Britain to be a "magnanimous nation" intent on delivering the "national rehabilitation" of the island:

The respected Government and the magnanimous nation of Great Britain are aware that Cyprus hailed the British flag, thirty-four years ago, with joy and gratitude, because she was delivered by it from a cruel yoke and, more so, because the people of Cyprus, relying on their own historical rights and

²⁰ H. Bertram Cox, writing for Secretary of State Lyttelton, to Treasury Dec. 29, 1904, No. 111 in Mediterranean No. 58 Confidential, Further Correspondence (1904) relating to Affairs in Cyprus, CO 883/6/6.

on the liberal principles of the British Nation, hoped, from the earliest days, that the British Nation would not be long in completing its work of deliverance by effecting the national rehabilitation of the Island.²¹

They further insisted that the “people of Cyprus had, many times since the British occupation, addressed—with due respect always—applications for the union of Cyprus with the Hellenic Kingdom, to which they are bound by the indissoluble ties of a common origin and religion, of common traditions and a common language.”²²

On the contrary, these requests are not noted “many times” in Colonial Office documents until later, when Cypriots became frustrated with high taxation and little progress to show for it. At that point, with models for independence in other parts of the Balkans and Hellenic islands beginning to appear, the satisfaction with British rule turned to anxiety and dissatisfaction, and *enosis* agitators began to push for union with Greece, which the British refused to consider. On the other hand, in 1878, Robert Hamilton Lang had proposed that Cypriots could become self-governing, although he proposed that Cypriots should learn to govern gradually, since it is “difficult to put western boots on eastern feet”.²³ Whether Lang really believed that Cypriots could ever govern themselves is debatable. In 1960, Cyprus did achieve its independence as a Republic, but from 1878 to 1914 the British imperial mind never saw this as an option. Cyprus was to become British Cyprus, a colonial territory in the British Empire.

²¹ Kyrillos, Archbishop of Cyprus, et al, to Secretary of State (forwarded by C. W. Orr, Acting High Commissioner on Cyprus), Dec. 19, 1912 (received Jan. 9, 1913), No. 3 in Mediterranean No. 77 Confidential, Further Correspondence (Jan. 1913 to July 1914) relating to Affairs in Cyprus, CO 883/6/15.

²² Ibid.

²³ R. H. Lang, “Cyprus, Part I”, in *MacMillan’s Magazine* (May-Oct. 1878), p. 326.

This dissertation argues that the British never intended for Cypriots—or Greeks or Turks—to govern the island. From the beginning they saw it as their own new possession, a blank slate upon which to build a colonial dependency as an extension of the British Empire. They intended to bring “good government” to the island, but good government meant British government, administration, taxation, currency, legal systems, and commerce and trade integrated into its own empire. While the Cyprus Revolt of 1931 marks a major event in modern Cyprus history, the British annexation of Cyprus in 1914 marks a defining moment, the turning point that signals the end of Ottoman suzerainty over British Cyprus and the completion of the second phase in the cycle of acquisition of a British territory from informal control, to formal control, to possession as a colonial territory. In the process, Britons on Cyprus brought with them not only British governance, administration, public works, and trade and commerce, but also a sense of Britishness as they acted as agents of Empire. Simply put, the British saw Cyprus as a blank slate to develop as a new part of their own Empire.

The background to British Cyprus

In 1871, J. Jasinides expressed the devotion to the Mediterranean island of Cyprus that many Europeans experienced when traveling or living there in the nineteenth century:

“For forty years I have been wandering from isle to isle, ascertaining their political, commercial, and social aspect, and (Cyprus) is my favourite...the

water is sweet and cool, the wine is nectar. It is a little world in itself; here do I wish to die.”²⁴

Lawrence Durrell echoed these sentiments, writing “It was a blessed moment—a sunset which the Greeks and Romans knew”, in *Bitter Lemons* in 1957.²⁵

However, in 1878 when the British occupied the island under the Berlin Treaty, the new administrators saw only deteriorated towns and cities and devastated agricultural land and forests. The temporary Ottoman governors assigned to Cyprus for two-year periods had been more interested in extracting taxes from the peasantry than in carrying out any of the Sultans’ reform programs (1821 to 1856)²⁶, and felt little reason to maintain its verdant forests or ancient vineyards. The British response was to create “British Cyprus”²⁷, initiating redevelopment programs that would bring “good government” to the people in the manner of British governance and administration, and to revitalize the sagging economy for the good of the Cypriots but also to contribute to the trade and commerce of the British Empire.

The British occupation of Cyprus in 1878 was not the first time England ruled there. First inhabited in the early Neolithic Age, Cyprus was settled by Myceneans and Achaeans, who introduced Greek culture and language and made it a trading center. The Phoenician, Assyrian, Persian and Ptolemaic empires took their turns from 800 B. C. until the island was annexed by Rome in 58 B.C. Cyprus then assumed a place in the

²⁴ J. Jasinides (1871), quoted in Franz von Löher, *Cyprus, Historical and Descriptive* (London, 1878), p. vii.

²⁵ Lawrence Durrell, *Bitter Lemons* (NY, 1957), p. 240.

²⁶ George Hill, *A History of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1952), Chapter V “Abortive Reforms 1821-1856”, pp. 142-221.

²⁷ W. Hepworth Dixon coined this phrase in 1879 as the title of his book, *British Cyprus* (London, 1879).

Byzantine Empire from the fourth to twelfth centuries A.D., when it was conquered in 1191 by Richard I (Richard the Lionhearted). England ruled Cyprus for three hundred years, until the Venetians overtook it in 1489, and then the Ottoman Turks in 1573.²⁸ In the Treaty of Paris of 1856 that ended the Crimean War, Britain and the other Great Powers promised the Ottoman Sultan in Constantinople to protect “the integrity of his dominions.” Twenty-two years later the Treaty of Berlin, signed on July 13, 1878, assigned protectorates over the Sultan’s European possessions to Austria and the Balkan nations, and regions of Armenia to Russia.²⁹ A secret agreement between the Sultan and Lord Beaconsfield (later known as Benjamin Disraeli) on July 8 gave Britain control of the eastern Mediterranean island of Cyprus.³⁰

²⁸ Mediterranean No. 2, Report of the Sanitary Condition and Drainage of the District of Famagusta and the Mesaoria in Cyprus, by Chevalier David Bocci, Chief Engineer, Royal Engineers, Parma, June 5, 1880, p. 9, CO 883/2. Von Löher explains that Selim the Second took “Likosia” in 1470, massacring about 20,000 people. (Franz von Loher, *Cyprus, Historical and Descriptive*, English translation, London, 1878, p. 303)

The Ottomans captured Byzantine Constantinople in 1453, then consolidated their Greek holdings over several centuries by taking Trebizond in 1461, Rhodes in 1522, Chios and Naxos in 1566, Cyprus in 1571, and Crete in 1669. The Ionians islands, except Levkas, remained Venetian dependencies until 1797, when they were held by French, Russian, and then British rule, becoming a British protectorate between 1815 and 1864. (Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, 1992, p. 10)

²⁹ G. S. Georghallides, *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus 1918-1926* (Nicosia, 1979), p. 3.

Also, the proceedings of the Congress were reported daily in *The Times* (London). On Wednesday, July 3, 1878, *The Times* reported: “Since Saturday the efforts of the Powers, and especially of Germany, have been centered in the endeavour to induce the Porte to acknowledge the decisions of the Congress in regard to the Austrian occupation. Mehemet Ali Pasha is reported to have requested authority from Constantinople to quit Berlin, and has since held aloof from the *salons* of the Congress and the diplomatists. In diplomatic circles, however, no importance is attached to the recalcitrant attitude of the Porte, and it is expected to end in passiveness. The Powers adhere to England’s proposal for intrusting to Austria the mission of restoring order in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and their adhesion thereto is maintained in the form of a Declaration, which the Powers agreed to, not merely in the especial interest of Austria, but rather, as M. Waddington expressed it, as a ‘*Mesure de police de l’Europe*.’”

³⁰ The Cyprus Convention, which determined the British occupation of Cyprus, was announced on July 8, 1878. This was actually a back-door, secret agreement between Disraeli and the Sultan. See Harold Temperley, “Disraeli and Cyprus”, *English Historical Review*, 46, 1931, p. 275, and W. N. Medlicott, *The Congress of Berlin and After: A Diplomatic History of the Near Eastern Settlement 1878-1880* (London, 1938; Frank Cass & Co., Ltd., 1963).

The British protectorate of Cyprus established in 1878 was intended to temporarily provide a defensive base from which to protect the declining Ottoman Empire and the eastern Mediterranean from Russian encroachment. Temporary status was also implied by the collection of “rent”, the annual payment of a tribute to the Sultan. Private letters and official documents, however, show that British officials fully expected Cyprus to remain in British hands; in fact, the Cyprus Treaty discretely provided for that inevitability. Documents also show that British influence on Ottoman Cyprus began as early as the eighteenth century, when British consuls stationed there built relationships with Ottoman governors and established trade between Cyprus, Britain, and Ottoman ports through the Aegean to Constantinople. In the mid-nineteenth century, the consuls reported regularly to the War Office on the state of trade and the potential for development of the island’s natural resources and labor.³¹ Beginning in 1878 new High Commissioners installed British administration, education, judiciary, and currency systems; developed the natural and commercial resources; and built roads, bridges, ports, and architecture. By 1882, despite the enactment of a Legislative Council embracing representatives of the island’s Greek and Turkish population³², ultimate authority rested in the Crown. Britain annexed Cyprus in 1914 and made it a Crown Colony in 1925. It

The Ottoman Empire lost Algeria to France in 1830, Cyprus to Britain in 1878, Tunisia to France in 1881, and Egypt to Britain in 1882. (Carter Vaughn Findley, *The Turks in World History*, Oxford, 2005, p. 156)

³¹ The consul reports are discussed in “Cyprus, compiled in the intelligence branch, quarter-master-generals department, by Captain A. R. Savile,” Aug. 31, 1878, WO 106/6112.

³² Biddulph to Salisbury, Jan. 29, 1879, Confidential Print, Series B, Vol. 5, Doc. 36.

would not be until the twentieth century that Cyprus would finally achieve independence from foreign rule.³³

In comparable ways, from India to South Africa, Britain occupied territories without true ownership, ruling either by force, temporary treaty, or indirect influence until possession became final. In Cyprus, the attempt to develop connections with and thus influence its Ottoman overlords in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, its possession by secret treaty and political intrigue in 1878, certain humanitarian justifications for imposing British government and displacing indigenous systems, and the development of its resources for imperial commerce and trade, all echo similar processes in other parts of the Empire. Yet in other ways the case of Cyprus followed a separate course. Observing the uniqueness of the occupation of Cyprus (in retrospect), Colonel Faulkland Warren wrote in August, 1885:

The people were of classes with which we had never been previously mixed, for, unlike those of the Ionian Islands, we here had a Turkish Government with Turkish laws in force over a population three-fourths of whom were Christians of the Greek Orthodox Church. We who came to assist in the Government were to a man ignorant of the laws, languages, and customs of the people; and it will remain for posterity to say how far the officials entrusted by the Crown with the arduous duties laid upon them have justified the trust with which they have been charged.³⁴

³³ Cyprus gained its independence in 1960. For an analysis of the final years of British control in Cyprus, see Robert Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus 1954-1959* (Oxford, 1998); Robert Holland and Diana Markides, *The British and the Hellenes: Struggles for Mastery in the Eastern Mediterranean 1850-1960* (Oxford, 2006); George H. Kelling, *Countdown to Rebellion, British Policy in Cyprus, 1939-1955* (NY, London, 1990); and Chapter 5: "Cyprus: Self-determination Versus Strategic Security in the Eastern Mediterranean", in Wm. Roger Louis, *The British Empire in the Middle East 1945-1951: Arab Nationalism, the United States, and Postwar Imperialism* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 205-225.

³⁴ Colonel Falkland Warren, R. A., Chief Secretary to the Government, to High Commissioner Robert Biddulph, Troödos, August 28, 1885, CO 883/4/5.

Thus the case of Cyprus in the period from 1878 to 1914 illustrates the complete transition of an Ottoman province with plural indigenous populations and conflicting ethnic and nationalist aspirations into a British colony, during a period in which European powers anticipated the decline and fall of the Sultan's empire.

The present dissertation argues that the British intuitively treated the occupation of Cyprus as a permanent situation, with no expectation of returning Cyprus to Turkey (or Greece, for which proponents in the Greek mainland argued). During this period, a British-style government and infrastructure were installed that provided the means for agricultural and commercial development that enabled Cyprus to play a role in the expanding British Empire. Cyprus also became a site for scientific experimentation for the greater Empire, especially in agriculture, botany, and medicine. Some British administrators also saw the Cypriot people as a resource for the British Empire, as laborers, agriculturalists, and potential soldiers. In effect, the work of the consuls predisposed and made possible the efforts of the first administrators on Cyprus to install British government and to develop the resources and commerce beginning *immediately* in July 1878.

Despite the reluctance of the Treasury to finance such plans to the extent desired by men-on-the-spot, many at Whitehall believed this redevelopment was necessary for Britain to maintain her hold in the Mediterranean, in view of the fact that in the wake of the Congress of Berlin other Powers like France were asserting their own claims to neighboring territories in anticipation of the dissipation of the Ottoman Empire. As Lord Salisbury explained in October 1879:

Men are much more readily persuaded by acts than by words, and therefore we occupied the Island of Cyprus to show our intention of maintaining our hold in those parts...When the interest of Europe was centered in the conflicts that were waged in Spain, England occupied Gibraltar. When the interest of Europe was centered in the conflicts that were being waged in Italy, England occupied Malta; and now that there is a chance that the interest of Europe will be centered in Asia Minor or in Egypt, England has occupied Cyprus.³⁵

Cyprus would be the third link in Britain's chain of Mediterranean possessions, with Malta and Gibraltar. This is the point at which the first chapter begins.

³⁵ "Lord Salisbury at Manchester," *The Times*, Oct. 18, 1879, quoted in Dwight E. Lee, *Great Britain and the Cyprus Convention Policy of 1878* (Cambridge, 1934), pp. 123-4. Lee discusses at length the debate on the Euphrates Valley railway, which some suggested should begin in Cyprus.

Chronology³⁶

- 1571 Ottoman conquest of Cyprus
- 1669 Ottoman conquest of Crete
- 1815 Britain assumes protectorate over Ionian Islands
- 1832 Greece becomes independent
- 1853-6 Crimean War³⁷
- 1865 Britain returns Ionian Islands to Greece
- 1869 Suez Canal opens
- 1878 Treaty of San Stefano: imposes peace on Ottoman government at end of Russo-Turkish War
- 1878 (July) San Stefano treaty modified at the Congress of Berlin; Cyprus occupied by Britain
- 1897 Thirty Days' War between Greeks and Turks on Crete; Greeks occupy Crete; Greeks and Turks forced to withdraw by European powers
- 1907 Winston Churchill visits Cyprus
- 1913 Crete ceded to Greece
- 1914 Britain annexes Cyprus
- 1920 Treaty of Sèvres, August 10: pact between Allied Powers and Ottoman Turkey; abolishes the Ottoman Empire and provides for an independent Armenia, autonomous Kurdistan, and Greek control over the Aegean islands and the Dardanelles.

³⁶ Sources: Ioannis D. Stefanidies, *Isle of Discord* (NY, 1999), pp. xii-xiv; Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece* (1992), p. 10; *BritannicaReadyReference* (online); Tim Boatswain, *A Traveller's History of Cyprus* (NY, 2005), p. 116.

³⁷ War (Oct. 1853-Feb. 1856) between Russia and an alliance consisting of the Ottoman empire, Britain, France, and Sardinia-Piedmont, caused by Russian demands to exercise protection over the Orthodox subjects of the Ottoman sultan. The war was commanded poorly by both sides, with battles at Balaklava, Inkerman; Sevastopol then was taken by the allies. About 250,000 men died on each side, many to disease. When Austria threatened to join the allies, Russia accepted peace terms which were formalized at the Congress of Paris. The war did not settle the relations of the powers in Eastern Europe but alerted Alexander II to the need to modernize Russia. (*britannicareadyreference* online, 2001)

- 1922 Greek defeat in Anatolia; Mustafa Kemal abolishes the Ottoman monarchy
- 1923 Treaty of Lausanne concluding WWI: replaces San Stefano treaty and recognizes the boundaries of the modern state of Turkey, British possession of Cyprus, and Italian possession of the Dodecanese
- 1925 Cyprus becomes a Crown Colony
- 1931 Government House in Nicosia, Cyprus, burned by Cypriot mobs; civic liberties suspended
- 1944 (1944-1945, 1946-1949) Greek Civil Wars
- 1958 Greek-Turkish understanding on Cyprus
- 1959 Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus; Archbishop Makarios elected President
- 1960 (August) Cyprus becomes officially independent and a member of the British Commonwealth
- 1974 Greek military coup against President Makarios; Turkey invades Cyprus; Cyprus is partitioned
- 2008 Christofios elected President of Republic of Cyprus; reunification talks resume
- 2009 Reunification talks appear hopeful

Cyprus High Commissioners

From 1878 to 1925, the following nine High Commissioners governed British Cyprus, directing from the government seat at Nicosia³⁸:

1878-1879	Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley
1879-1886	Sir Robert Biddulph
1886-1892	Sir Henry Ernest Gascoyne Bulwer
1892-1898	Sir Walter Joseph Sendall
1898-1904	Sir William Frederick Haynes Smith
1904-1911	Sir Charles Anthony King-Harman
1911-1914	Sir Hamilton John Goold-Adams
1914-1918	Sir John Eugene Clausen
1918-1925	Sir Malcolm Stevenson (acting high commissioner 1918-1920, High Commissioner 1920-1925, Governor 1925-1926)



Map of Cyprus 1878. From Franz Von Löher, *Cyprus, Historical and Descriptive* (1878). Locations mentioned in this text (numbers added): Major cities: (1) Larnaca (2) Famagusta (3) Kyrenia (4) Nicosia (5) Paphos (6) Limassol. Towns: (7) Kuklia. British cantonment: (8) Mt. Tröodos. Eucalyptus forest: (9) Mesaoria Plain

³⁸ From "Colonial administrators and post-independence leaders in Cyprus", *DNB* (Oxford, 2004-6).

THEME I: “A DUTY TO PROTECT AND IMPROVE”

“Our task must not be to turn Cypriots into Englishmen,
but to possess as subjects happy and prosperous Cypriots.”
-Robert Hamilton Lang (1878)³⁹

³⁹ R. H. Lang, *Cyprus: Its History, Its Present Resources, and Future Prospects* (London, 1878), p. 370.

CHAPTER ONE
British informal influence in Ottoman Cyprus

Strategy and the ‘good government’ argument

When British Admiral Lord John Hay⁴⁰ and his squadron landed at Larnaca, Cyprus, on July 13, 1878, reporters from *The Illustrated London News* remarked on the Cypriots’ enthusiastic reception to Britain’s military occupation:

The British flag was hoisted, the Admiral pronouncing the words, “I take possession of this island in the name of Queen Victoria.” It is stated that, upon hearing this well-known name, the assembled crowd shouted lustily, “Live the British Queen!” and that they remained gazing at the flag till it was hauled down at sunset.⁴¹

Two days later, *The Times* correspondent reported, Wolseley was welcomed with declarations of loyalty toward “the Great English nation, the most advanced and civilized of the nations of Europe”, noting that Cypriots anticipated “bright hopes for the future of their island”.⁴²

There is some confusion about who actually gave such addresses, but probably there were two, from the Bishop of Kitium and Archbishop Sophronios. Much to the despair of some Greek nationalists in Cairo, the latter’s speech in Larnaca apparently

⁴⁰ Lord John Hay (1827-1916), naval officer and Liberal politician, was made commander-in-chief of the Channel Fleet in November 1877, and vice-admiral on December 21, 1877. He took three battleships from that fleet to reinforce the Mediterranean Fleet during the Russo-Turkish war in 1877-8. After taking formal possession of Cyprus in July 1879, he returned to the Admiralty as second naval lord and resigned that position in February 1883 to become commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean on the *Alexandra*. There his fleet supplied naval surveying parties on the Nile and supported the Gordon relief expedition. He held the rank of Admiral at his retirement in 1897, most of his admiralties and seagoing commands coinciding with Liberal administrations. (Andrew Lambert, “Lord John Hay”, *DNB*, Oxford, 2004)

⁴¹ *Illustrated London News*, July 20, 1878, p. 70.

⁴² Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century* (Nicosia, 1996), p. 26.

provided no indication of Hellenic nationalist aspirations or disappointment with the end of Ottoman rule. In fact, the Archbishop suggested in this address that Cyprus was valuable to England for many reasons, including the loyal behavior of the people toward the new government.⁴³ Yet certainly the Cypriots never imagined British rule would be permanent.

In the event, the legal status of the “temporary” occupation was somewhat vague. The Cyprus Convention of June 4, 1878, incorporated into the Berlin Treaty, stipulated that if Batoum, Adahan, and Kars were not returned by Russia to Turkey, England would defend them by force of arms. In exchange, the Sultan assigned the Island of Cyprus to be occupied and administered by England in order to enable England to make necessary provision for executing her engagement.⁴⁴ However, many British officials believed that Russia had no intention of returning those territories⁴⁵, and indeed Russia did not. Yet Britain did not defend by force of arms, and in the end, never returned Cyprus to Turkey. Although when the British occupied Egypt in 1882 the strategic position on Cyprus seemed much less important, they remained in Cyprus, annexing it in 1914 and making it a Crown Colony in 1925.⁴⁶

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 24-28. The nationalists in Cairo later expressed satisfaction with the Archbishop’s address. Katsiaounis cites the actual address now kept in the Archive of the Archbishops of Cyprus, in which the Archbishop welcomed the British, hoping for proper administration, liberal institutions and equality before the law for all religions and races. The Archbishop offered that the tradition of the Church, that of non-resistance to authority, would be maintained. Archbishop Sophronios headed the Church of Cyprus during the last 13 years of Ottoman rule and was connected with the *Millet Başı* tradition, “apparently oblivious to the impact of the Great Idea during the second half of the century”, according to Katsiaounis. The Archbishop’s autobiographical note, published by Theodore Papadopoulos in 1971, began “My fatherland is Cyprus, and my parents are Orthodox Christians of the Eastern dogma.” (Katsiaounis, p. 25)

⁴⁴ FO 93/110/27B, reprinted in Anderson, ed., *Documents of Modern History* (NY, 1970), p.106.

⁴⁵ G. S. Georghallides, *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1979), p. 11.

⁴⁶ Philip Newman, *A Short History of Cyprus* (London, 1940; 2nd ed., 1953), pp. 200-201.

What was the attraction for England to this 200-mile long island that the *Fortnightly Review* described as “ravaged by famine, a nest of malaria, with a fatal fever of which it enjoys a monopoly, without harbours, and possessed of a growing population of lepers”⁴⁷ The government surveyor David Bocci reported on climate and diseases as “summer and autumns dominated by intermittent fevers and cognate diseases”, and noted that many foreigners fall to diseases to which the native population seems immune. The mortality in 1878 “was very great”, in particular during the initial landing of British soldiers who succumbed to malaria.⁴⁸ Natural resources seemed negligible. An island at one time entirely covered with forest, Cyprus now held one-tenth that amount in forests “in a state of deplorable and progressive ruin,” with the result of an island ravaged by locusts and an annual rainfall of 13 inches that is rapidly drained off the mountains because of lack of trees, or “natural instruments of storage.” The soil was everywhere baked and scorched. The British found ruin “caused by an aimless and inexcusable waste.”⁴⁹

Yet it appears that the British had been considering Cyprus for some time. John McDonald Kinnair, a Captain in the service of the East India Company who also claimed the titles of “Town Mayor of Fort St. George and Political Agent at the Durbar of His

After 1925, Cypriot anti-British sentiment led to resistance and violent revolt (destroying Government House in October, 1931) which ultimately led to independence in 1960. Even then, Cyprus remained under the influence of Britain, becoming a member of the British Commonwealth one year later.

⁴⁷ “A Political Epilogue,” *Fortnightly Review*, XXX (Sept. 1878), pp. 311-12 and 317, quoted in Dwight E. Lee, *Great Britain and the Cyprus Convention Policy of 1878* (Cambridge, 1934), p. 118.

⁴⁸ Report on the Sanitary Condition and Drainage of the District of Famagusta and the Mesaoria in Cyprus, by the Chevalier David Bocci, Chief Engineer, Royal Engineers, Parma, June 5, 1880, Colonial Office, Nov. 1881, CO 883/2.

⁴⁹ W. F. Thiselton Dyer from Royal Gardens, Kew, to Colonial Office, Dec. 19, 1881, CO 67/3.

Highness the Nabob of the Carnatic”, visited Cyprus for three weeks in January, 1814, and later wrote:

The possession of Cyprus would give to England a preponderating influence in the Mediterranean, and place at her disposal the future destinies of the Levant. Egypt and Syria would soon become her tributaries, and she would acquire an overawing position in respect to Asia Minor, by which the Port might at all times be kept in check, and the encroachments of Russia, in this quarter, retarded if not prevented.⁵⁰

Kinnair also foresaw the commercial potential of Cyprus, saying Britain’s possession of the island would increase her commerce in a “very considerable degree” and

give her the distribution of rich wines, silks and other produce of that fine island; the rice and sugar of Egypt, and the cotton, opium and tobacco of Anatolia. It is of easy defense; and under a liberal government, would in a very short space of time, amply repay the charge of its own establishment, and afford the most abundant supplies to our fleets at a trifling expense.⁵¹

These arguments for the occupation—defense, commerce, and liberal government—would be repeated in the decades to come.

Benjamin Disraeli visited the island in 1830 and in 1847 wrote in his novel *Tancred* that “the English want Cyprus and will take it.” He saw possession of the island as due compensation after Russian victories in European Turkey and Armenia; additionally, it would help buoy the declining prestige of the British Empire in the Near East.⁵² And the young Lieutenant Kitchener wrote to *Blackwood’s Magazine*, “We have had our eyes on Cyprus as a desirable position for some time”. Kitchener observed that

⁵⁰ John McDonald Kinnair, *Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia and Koordistan* (London, 1818), excerpt reprinted in *Excerpta Cypria* (Cambridge, 1908), pp. 412-418.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² G. S. Georghallides, *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1979), pp. 5-6.

the existing War Office maps of Cyprus (“innumerable and very bad maps”) stamped with dates as early as October 1876 suggested that “something had been decided” even then.⁵³ Indeed, the increasing need for a strategic base in the eastern Mediterranean island made Cyprus a most desirable possession. The island’s position would allow Britain to more easily defend Turkey from Russian encroachment, but also her own route to India. Not only political and military leaders in London but men-on-the-spot held such opinions, such as Captain Harry Rawson, Commander of the *Minotaur*, who explained,

Once in possession of the island, that main road, the Canal of Suez, can easily be held under command, while at the same time, the possessor of the island would find himself placed at half distance from the open roadsteads of Acre, Beyrout, Tripoli, Latakia and Alexandretta... the railway along the shores of the Euphrates will still more augment the importance of Cyprus, especially so in connexion with the British possessions in India.⁵⁴

Opened in 1869, the Suez Canal was now the primary route to India, Britain’s greatest imperial resource. With the decline of the Ottoman Empire and the threat of Russian encroachment, not to mention Disraeli’s acquisition of 17.7/40ths of the Suez Canal shares in 1875⁵⁵, it needed to be protected at all costs.

Lord Salisbury, who as Foreign Secretary from 1878 to 1880 accompanied Prime Minister Beaconsfield to the Congress of Berlin to help resolve the Eastern crisis⁵⁶,

⁵³ “Notes from Cyprus” attributed to Kitchener, in *Blackwood’s Magazine*, August 1879, quoted in Rodney Shirley, *Kitchener’s Survey of Cyprus 1878-1883: The First Full Triangulated Survey and Mapping of the Island* (Cyprus, 2001), p. 61.

⁵⁴ Report on the Sanitary Condition and Drainage of the District of Famagusta and the Mesaoria in Cyprus, by Chevalier David Bocci, Parma, June 5, 1880, for the Colonial Office 1881, CO 883/2.

⁵⁵ Ronald Hyam, *Britain’s Imperial Century* (London, 1993 (1976)), p. 251. Disraeli had purchased the shares mainly to prevent French control.

⁵⁶ Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil, 3rd Marquess of Salisbury (1830-1903), was secretary for India from 1874 to 1878, and foreign secretary 1878-1880 in Disraeli’s second administration. He played a prominent part in resolving the Eastern crisis and accompanied Disraeli to the Congress of Berlin in 1878.

perhaps espoused these issues the most fervently. He explained the aim of English policy in Cyprus as “in the first instance strategic”. The island’s considerable military value in the case of any operations directed against the Valley of the Euphrates, and its still larger naval value in securing English interests on the Suez Canal or on the coast of Syria and Egypt made Cyprus an important acquisition.⁵⁷ Perhaps Salisbury anticipated British difficulties with French alliances in Egypt, where Britain did intervene in 1882. In any case, he saw the restoration of defensive ports as the first priority. In a secret letter on July 4, 1879, Salisbury implored Cyprus High Commissioner Robert Biddulph to take steps toward eliminating malaria and other diseases, but noted that the most important strategic object was to restore the port at Famagusta, on the eastern coast facing the Levant.⁵⁸ Cyprus thus would become the best strategically placed link in Britain’s chain of Mediterranean possessions with Gibraltar and Malta.⁵⁹

As Conservative leader after Disraeli’s death in 1881, he was prime minister of a minority government from June 1885 until January 1886. (*The Wordsworth Dictionary of British History*, 1981, p. 316) Lord Salisbury was transferred from the India Office to the Foreign Office in April 1878 (Sir F. Maurice and Sir George Arthur, *The Life of Lord Wolseley*, London, 1924, p. 94).

In August 1876 the queen made Disraeli the Earl of Beaconsfield and from the session of 1877 he led the ministry from the Lords. (Jonathan Parry, “Disraeli, Benjamin, earl of Beaconsfield (1804-1881)”, *DNB*, Oxford, 2004, online ed., Jan. 2008)

⁵⁷ Marquis of Salisbury to Colonel Biddulph, July 4, 1879, Confidential, Part II, Correspondence relating to the Island of Cyprus, June to Dec. 1879, FO 421/32. See also Harold Temperley, “Further Evidence on Disraeli and Cyprus”, in *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 46, July 1931, pp. 457-460.

⁵⁸ Letter from Lord Salisbury to Colonel Biddulph, July 4, 1879, No. 28, Secret, FO 78/3373. That port later proved too shallow for large defense ships.

⁵⁹ G. S. Georghallides, *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1979), pp. 4-6. Britain occupied or influenced various Mediterranean islands in the nineteenth century. See Robert Holland and Diana Markides, *The British and the Hellenes* (Oxford, 2006); also Desmond Gregory, *Sicily: The Insecure Base* (Rutherford, 1988) on the British occupation of Sicily in 1806-1815 and Desmond Gregory, *Malta, Britain, and the European powers, 1793-1815* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1966). A second “chain” was through the Persian Gulf: according to Harold Nicolson, in 1903 Lord Curzon contended that the Persian Gulf was an important link in a chain of buffer states between India and Europe, and in 1918, Curzon opined that a chain of vassal states should stretch from the Mediterranean to the Pamirs to protect the Indian frontiers. (Harold Nicolson, *Curzon, the Last Phase*, London, 1934, pp. 121-123)

Second, Salisbury took a broad view of the Ottoman Empire in regard to the Russian threat. He believed that the Sultan's European possessions were unsalvageable; however, the Asiatic possessions could be buoyed up by Great Power support, which included installing good government and administrative reforms.⁶⁰ He also argued that proper discharge of the responsibilities of Cyprus for the ailing Ottoman Empire could "have a most important effect upon their influence in Asia Minor and Syria."⁶¹ A demonstration of good government would hopefully persuade Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Persia that their future laid not with Russia but with Britain. Their allegiance was important for protecting Central Asia and India from Russia.⁶² But Salisbury also foresaw the risks. Privately he warned:

...If Cyprus is well governed, the neighbouring provinces will have a model to follow, and will, at least, be able to found hopes on the presence of a Power to whose beneficent actions they can look with confidence. If, on the other hand, the effect of the government is to make the people discontented, discredit will be thrown upon civilized government generally in the eyes of the Asiatic populations, and they will have neither heart nor hope to sustain them in pressing for reforms.⁶³

In the thinking of the time, Salisbury assumed that Asiatic populations desired reform and that Britain would naturally provide the model. For Salisbury Cyprus was, first of all, an important strategic choice and second, a chance to increase British prestige and assert her dominant position in the eastern Mediterranean.

⁶⁰ G. S. Georghallides, *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1979), p. 6.

⁶¹ Salisbury to Biddulph, July 4, 1879, Confidential, Part II, Correspondence relating to the Island of Cyprus, June to Dec. 1879, FO 421/32.

⁶² G. S. Georghallides, *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1979), p. 6.

⁶³ Secret letter from the Marquis of Salisbury to Colonel Biddulph, Confidential, Part II, Correspondence relating to the Island of Cyprus, June to Dec. 1879, No. 57, FO 421/32.

At the same time that Salisbury and Disraeli were receiving ovations from the crowds and dignitaries in London for bringing home “peace with honor”⁶⁴, William Gladstone, on July 21, 1878, declared the Cyprus Convention “an insane Covenant”⁶⁵ and a “mad undertaking”.⁶⁶ The Convention figured in his famous Midlothian electoral speeches of 1878-80 as part of the discreditable and dangerous foreign policy of the Conservative ministry:

Abroad they...have weakened the Empire by needless wars...and have dishonored it in the eyes of Europe by filching the island of Cyprus from the Porte under a treaty clandestinely concluded in violation of the Treaty of Paris, which formed part of the international law of Christendom.⁶⁷

Speaking to nearly 900 people at a meeting of the Southwark Liberal Association, Gladstone condemned the home and foreign policy of the Government, saying it was “quite time that the people should be consulted as to the mode in which they were being

⁶⁴ Lord Beaconsfield (Benjamin Disraeli) returned from the Congress of Berlin having achieved what he called “peace with honor”. Dressed in a white overcoat, he was greeted with a “popular ovation” at the Charing-Cross Terminus, which was decorated with the flags of all the European Powers over the entrance archway (with the Union Jack rising highest in the center) and ten thousand plants and flowers covering the lamp-posts and pillars. Beaconsfield was met by the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London, ladies and gentlemen of rank, members of Parliament and their families, and an “immense throng of people” outside the station and at various stops: “the windows, balconies, and house-tops were occupied by hundreds of spectators.” The Queen knighted both Beaconsfield and the Marquis of Salisbury with the Order of the Garter, and *Punch* subsequently published more than 100 plates illustrating Beaconsfield’s life. (*The Illustrated London News*, July 27, 1878, p. 79)

⁶⁵ G. S. Georghallides, *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1979), p. 7.

⁶⁶ Richard Shannon, *Gladstone, Vol. II 1865-1898* (Chapel Hill, 1999), p. 223.

⁶⁷ Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone, *Political speeches in Scotland, March and April 1880* (London, 1880), p. 358, quoted in W. N. Medlicott, “The Gladstone Government and the Cyprus Convention, 1880-85”, in *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (Jun., 1940), pp. 186-208. See Medlicott for a discussion of Gladstone’s eventual acquiescence to keeping Cyprus. See also Richard Shannon, *Gladstone, Vol. II* (Chapel Hill, 1999), pp. 223, 255.

governed, things being now done by the Government in the dark such as not the most despot Government in Europe would dare to do.”⁶⁸

As for the press, *The Times* and pamphleteers defended the government while liberal writers supported the opposition in Parliament.⁶⁹ *The Daily News* declared that the Convention thrust upon Great Britain “a task involving limitless cost, unceasing stress, strain, and danger” and

...put upon England without her consent, without her knowledge, and in disregard of the settled practices of her constitutional system... We have accepted a tremendous responsibility, without adequate means of fulfilling it, on quite insufficient grounds of policy, and under no urgency of duty.”⁷⁰

Like Gladstone, *The Daily News*, noting that England acquired Cyprus “without her consent, without her knowledge,” apparently saw no duty to take on this responsibility.

Once taking office in April 1880, however, Gladstone’s Liberal party’s volte-face conveniently coincided with politically more relevant views: first, the Queen opposed evacuation, and second, British public opinion warned against abandoning a predominantly Christian territory to Turkish rule.⁷¹ In the end, Gladstone let events unfold according to the Cyprus Convention, which stipulated annexation in 1914.

Throughout the occupation, when critics charged that Britain had accepted a burden and responsibility it was unable to bear, proponents of the occupation brought forth the “good government” argument. Colonel Robert Home, an expert intelligence

⁶⁸ *The Illustrated London News*, July 27, 1878, p. 79.

⁶⁹ J. M. Lee, *Great Britain and the Cyprus Convention Policy of 1878* (Cambridge, 1934), pp. 117-118.

⁷⁰ George Carslake Thompson, *Public Opinion and Lord Beaconsfield, 1875-1880*, v. 2 (London, 1886), July 9 and 11, 1878, pp. 477-78, quoted in Lee, *Great Britain and the Cyprus Convention Policy of 1878*, p. 118.

⁷¹ G. S. Georghallides, *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1979), p. 10.

officer and advisor to Salisbury, sometime on or before June 8, 1878, had proposed that Britain occupy Cyprus not only for strategic reasons but also because it was suitable for a politically potent experiment in good government.⁷² Sir Austen Henry Layard, who had been instrumental in securing the Sultan's acquiescence to British occupation, agreed that possession of the island could be strategic for commanding the eastern end of the Mediterranean but also that it was an opportunity to affect a moral influence upon the remaining Ottoman territories by providing an example of good government.⁷³ The Cabinet agreed that Cyprus could be a model of prosperity and good government in the Near East.⁷⁴ And in a book published in 1878, Robert Hamilton Lang, British vice-consul to Cyprus since 1861 and director of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, enthusiastically proclaimed the glorious beneficence and good will of the British in Cyprus:

With a population docile and peace-loving, and a Government which emanates from neither a military nor a dynastic despotism, but from the paternal solicitude of a nation whose watchword is *Freedom, Justice, and Tolerance*, it needs no prophet to foresee the future prosperity and enviable happiness of both the Mohammedan and Christian populations of Cyprus. AMEN!⁷⁵

⁷² Colonel Robert Home, Memorandum, Simmons papers, FO 358/1.

⁷³ Lee, *Great Britain and the Cyprus Convention Policy of 1878*, pp. 120-1. Gordon Home, in *Cyprus Then and Now* (London, 1960), p. 182, notes that even as late as 1960, Home praised the British accomplishments on Cyprus, in particular the agricultural reforms.

⁷⁴ G. S. Georghallides, *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1979), p. 7.

⁷⁵ R. H. Lang, *Cyprus: Its History, Its Present Resources, and Future Prospects* (London, 1878), p. 370. Lang was a Scottish financier who spent almost all his career in Cyprus and Turkey on the staff of the Imperial Ottoman Bank. He was British Consul in Cyprus from 1871 to 1872, and was knighted in 1897 (John Pemble, *Mediterranean Passion*, Oxford, 1987, p. 288). Rolandos Katsiaounis notes that Lang became director of the Imperial Ottoman Bank shortly after its foundation in 1864 and was both bank director and vice-consul in 1878. He continued as director of the bank during the early years of colonial rule, retiring in 1890. (Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus*, Nicosia, 1996, p. 71)

Lang suggests the superiority and paternalism of the British toward unenlightened and repressed peoples, implying similar policies throughout the empire.

In Lang's vision, the Cypriot would make gratifying comparisons between the past system and the present—to “see the light” as it were. Yet, he continues, “Our task must not be to turn Cypriots into Englishmen, but to possess as subjects happy and prosperous Cypriots.”⁷⁶ Lang, in a series of articles for *MacMillan's Magazine* (1878) recommended the potential regeneration of Turkey with British support and indirect control.⁷⁷ He thought it necessary to engage the native peoples to assist in administration, that is, to teach them the British methods of government and administration but within their own scope of experience, rather than using force to rule. He further argued that this progress towards Western standards must be gradual, by improving the systems of justice and administration already in place, thus raising Eastern conceptions to Western principles. After all, he quipped, “You cannot, except at the cost of great discomfort and considerable grumbling, put Oriental feet, accustomed to the simplest covering, into tight-fitting Western boots.”⁷⁸

This sort of paternalism toward British subjects (as objects of possession) was the typical attitude in the nineteenth-century Imperial mind. Along these lines, bringing good government to imperial territories could be argued as a moral obligation. Lord

⁷⁶ R. H. Lang, *Cyprus: Its History, Its Present Resources, and Future Prospects* (London, 1878), p. 370.

⁷⁷ R. H. Lang, “Cyprus”, Parts I and II, in *MacMillan's Magazine* (May–Oct. 1878). See Frederick Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, (London, 1922, 1965) for indirect rule, as well as more recent analyses such as Michael Herbert Fisher, *Indirect rule in India: residents and the residency system, 1764-1858* (Oxford, 1991). Cain and Hopkins (P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion, 1688-2000*, (1993) 2001, p. 346) note that the British governments “continued to proclaim their support for the unity of the Ottoman Empire down to 1914, but they managed to combine this principle with the acquisition of semi-detached and ‘unstable’ segments, notably Cyprus (in 1878) and Egypt (in 1882).”

⁷⁸ R. H. Lang, “Cyprus, Part I”, in *MacMillan's Magazine* (May–Oct. 1878), p. 326.

Palmerston explained that Britain's duty was "not to enslave, but to set free; and I may say without any vainglorious boast, or without great offence to anyone, that we stand at the head of moral, social and political civilization. Our task is to lead the way and direct the march of other nations."⁷⁹ In 1904, Lord Curzon declared in his Guildhall Speech: "As the years roll by, the call seems to me more imperative, the work more majestic, the goal more sublime... To me the message is carved in granite, it is hewn out of the rock of doom—that our work is righteous and that it will endure."⁸⁰ The idea of duty thus justified imperial expansion into non-western, unenlightened lands waiting to be rescued from despotic rulers.

Official documents reveal numerous official examples of the pursuit of good government. In October 1858, King Epeniza Thakombau offered the cession of the Fiji Islands to Britain in order "to procure for our people and subjects a good and permanent form of government."⁸¹ In February 1868, Henry Maine, a law member on the Indian viceroy's council, when citing his objections to the transfer of duties of the Bengal Legislature to the Supreme Council noted the need for "the peace and good government

⁷⁹ Quoted in Ronald Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century* (London, 1993 (1976)), pp. 49-50. This confidence came from economic pre-eminence, the unchallengeable power of her navy, internal stability and social balance.

Henry John Temple Palmerston, 3rd Viscount (1784-1865) was Prime minister 1855-58 and 1859-65 (*The Wordsworth Dictionary of British History*, p. 272).

⁸⁰ Harold Nicolson, *Curzon, the last phase 1919-1925* (London, 1934), p.121. Adamantia Pollis notes that British paternalism differed from French paternalism. The French saw themselves as culturally superior to the "native", who nevertheless had the ability to rise to a civilized level, but to the British the differences were innate: "An African or Asian could aspire to become a Frenchman, but never an Englishman." (Adamantia Pollis, "Intergroup Conflict and British Colonial Policy: The Case of Cyprus" in *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 5, July 1973, pp. 575-599.)

⁸¹ King Epeniza Thakombau, Office of Cession, Oct. 12, 1878, PP 1862 XXXVI, 2995, pp. 704-5. Reprinted in Madden and Fieldhouse, eds., *The Dependent Empire*, Vol. 5, New York, 1991.

of the territories to be legislated for.”⁸² In October 1880, Governor Frederick Weld wrote to the Earl of Kimberley:

The Native Protected States are now unquestionably in a satisfactory position, and every year of peace, prosperity and progress, renders it less likely that the present state of affairs will be disturbed, but nevertheless some years must elapse before *good government* can be said to be secured on a firm basis...

Moreover it must be remembered that advantageous as the present system is for the people who are rescued from oppression—*peace, order and good government* however pleasant for those formerly oppressed is a restriction, not a relief, to the oppressors.⁸³ [italics added]

Weld, giving his opinion on the future of the protected States after a tour of the Malay Peninsula, urged a resumption of a “forward” policy.⁸⁴ Presumably he meant that reform was the natural progression of civilized peoples.

Other examples include an Order-in-Council issued in May 1891 that, recognizing that certain new African territories required new models of protection, appointed a High Commissioner “to provide for the administration of justice, the raising of revenue and generally for the peace, order and good government of all persons within the limits (of this Protectorate) including the prohibition and punishment of acts tending to disturb the public peace.”⁸⁵ The East Africa Order-in-Council of August 11, 1902, designated a commissioner to “make Ordinances for the administration of justice, the

⁸² Henry Maine, *Minute*, Feb. 27, 1868, PP 1867-8 XLIX (256), pp. 249-251. As noted in Madden and Fieldhouse (Madden and Fieldhouse, eds., *The Dependent Empire*, Vol. 5, New York, 1991, p. 92, n. 3), Maine was law member on the viceroy’s council (1862-9) and later on the council of India (1871-88), a professor both at Cambridge and at Oxford, and author of *Ancient Law* (1861) which applied the historical method to comparative political institutions.

⁸³ Governor Frederick Weld to the Earl of Kimberley, October 21, 1880, CO 273/104.

⁸⁴ Madden and Fieldhouse, eds., *The Dependent Empire*, Vol. 5, p. 546, note 1.

⁸⁵ Order-in-Council, May 9, 1891, B. & F. S. P. LXXXIII 809-12, quoted in Madden and Fieldhouse, eds., *The Dependent Empire*, p. 653, note 1.

raising of revenues and generally for the peace, order and good government of all persons in East Africa,” stipulating that he must respect “native laws and customs except so far as the same may be opposed to justice or morality.”⁸⁶ Hence the phrase “peace, order and good government” often described the official goal of British government in its territories and colonies.

For ardent imperialists in the nineteenth century, good government not only would bring civilization and reform to the East, but it would also partially appease liberal opponents of empire. The Victorians viewed themselves as superior to the non-Christian populations in her colonies, both intellectually and morally, with a duty to protect and improve where possible.⁸⁷ Thus the good government argument found some sympathy in Cyprus because, due to alleged atrocities against Christians in Bulgaria in 1876, Ottoman governance already was seen by many British liberals as despotic, and British occupation as the salvation of the Cypriots, the majority of whom were Christian⁸⁸, from the Turkish tyrant who had brought to the island what they saw as “neglect, oppression, improvidence, and extortion”.⁸⁹ Sir Garnet Wolseley, the first High Commissioner on Cyprus, wrote about the “air of decay about the place that tells one that it is an apanage of Turkey’s Sultan” and noted that “the Christians should rejoice at our coming to relieve

⁸⁶ The East Africa Order-in-Council, Aug. 11, 1902, B. & F.S.P. Vol. XCV, pp. 625-635, quoted in Madden and Fieldhouse, eds., *The Dependent Empire*, p. 636, note 1.

⁸⁷ Secret letter from the Marquis of Salisbury to Colonel Biddulph, Confidential, Part II, Correspondence relating to the Island of Cyprus, June to December, No. 57, FO 421/32.

⁸⁸ Greek Orthodox Christians made up about 75 percent of the population on the island. See Chapter Four of this dissertation for a discussion of the religious divisions in population on Cyprus.

⁸⁹ E. G. Brown, “England’s Duty to Cyprus” in *The New Review*, Vol. XV (London, 1896), pp. 510-523.

them from an oppression under which they have groaned so long.”⁹⁰ Even the German writer, Franz von Löher, hoped for Cyprus that under British rule, “her barren wastes and plains may once more speedily become fruitful fields, and her people again reap the blessings and benefits of a pure Christian Church, and a paternal Government.”⁹¹

The redevelopment of Cyprus, however, hinged on assumptions of permanent occupation, and clearly, the new administrators in 1878 already saw Cyprus as a Crown possession. In late 1878, Lang openly discussed Cyprus as “the last pearl added to the diadem of the Queen of England”, “this new member adopted into the British family”, and “this new possession”.⁹² Salisbury implied permanent possession even in the drafting of the Cyprus Convention and the subsequent Supplementary Agreement to the convention that transferred the Sultan’s ruling power to Britain.⁹³ Such an act of aggression was tempered by the promise to return certain territories when Russian relinquished them, as mentioned above, but also soothed by unofficial good government policies.

Officially, then, the strategic position of Cyprus in the eastern Mediterranean offered defense and commercial prospects.⁹⁴ Therefore the promise of returning Cyprus to Turkey may have been a ploy to convince the Sultan to agree to the British

⁹⁰ Sir Garnet Wolseley’s journal, writing on 24 July, 1878, in Anne Cavendish, ed., *Cyprus 1878: The Journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley* (Nicosia, 1991), p. 10. Wolseley continues, “They are a wretched lot as far as I can learn, but what can be expected of a people bred under such a form of slavery and ground down as they have been by masters who did not even care to conceal the contempt in which they held them.”

⁹¹ Franz Von Löher, *Cyprus, Historical and Descriptive*, (London, 1878), p. 233.

⁹² R. H. Lang, “Cyprus”, Parts I and II, in *MacMillan’s Magazine* (May to Oct. 1878), pp. 325-347.

⁹³ G. S. Georghallides, *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1979), pp. 11-12.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

occupation.⁹⁵ On the other hand, to appease liberal opponents of empire at home, the Government proposed that occupying and developing Cyprus would demonstrate the benefits of “peace, order and good government” to other countries in the region.

British consuls in Cyprus before 1878

The principle of good government relied on the efforts of the men-on-the-spot—the consuls, High Commissioners, and Governors (after 1925) and their staffs, as well as businessmen, missionaries, teachers, doctors, scientists, architects and engineers. While the High Commissioner and his staff enjoyed the most authority, and consuls often found themselves slotted into the lesser ranks⁹⁶, all the men-on-the-spot fell into the privileged category of “white society”⁹⁷. Thus they assumed an attitude of superiority and paternalism. Indeed, the good government philosophy reflected the ideas of the governors and their associates rather than the consent of the governed.⁹⁸ It also, however, reflected the superiority of the High Commissioners and Governors over their consuls and staff. The consuls before 1878 set the groundwork for the projects—and reputations—of the High Commissioners, following the observation that “reform seldom follows from the spontaneous recognition of injustice by those in authority”.⁹⁹ Their work suggests that the British actively sought influence and trade in Cyprus long before the occupation in 1878.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 11.

⁹⁶ D. C. M. Platt, *The Cinderella Service* (London, 1971), p. 23.

⁹⁷ J. M. Lee, *Colonial Development and Good Government* (Oxford, 1967), p. 2.

⁹⁸ Ibid. This undemocratic structure was based on the normative behavior in Britain itself.

⁹⁹ D. C. M. Platt, *The Cinderella Service* (London, 1971), p. 1.

The consular service, often thought of as the stepchild of the Foreign Office, enjoyed little authority or respect in comparison to that of the official diplomatic corps or the High Commissioners assigned after 1878. Their purpose in the eighteenth century generally related to commerce and trade, and later in the nineteenth century became more connected with information gathering. The latter period saw the consular service established as an official office, yet its officers remained subordinate to the Foreign Office. Consuls came from the lower ranks of society or received their positions as political favors to their fathers, found themselves excluded from the diplomatic clubs, and did the basic field work for which later administrators claimed credit. Working alone in a colony or territory, and often ignored by their superiors, the consuls developed independent relationships with indigenous peoples, and many became experts as men-on-the-spot in their own right.¹⁰⁰ Cyprus consuls were no exception.

The writings of some of the consuls reveal much of value to today's historians. One important source is Sir Harry Luke, who served as Private Secretary to High Commissioner Sir Hamilton Goold-Adams in Cyprus in 1911, who during his tenure discovered an old Turkish *sandug*, a large wooden chest, stuffed with thousands of archival papers of the Cyprus consulates in seven languages including Turkish, Italian, Greek, French, Arabic and Armenian, dating back to 1710. These papers formed the basis for Luke's Oxford University thesis, later published as *Cyprus under the Turks*,¹⁰¹ that

¹⁰⁰ See P. D. Coates, *The China Consuls* (Hong Kong, Oxford, 1988), p. vii, and pp. 8-9; Charles Middleton, *Administration of British Foreign Policy* (Durham, 1977), p. 244; and Platt, *The Cinderella Service*, pp. 1-4.

¹⁰¹ Sir Harry Luke, *Cyprus Under the Turks* (London, 1921), pp. v-vi.

provides an important source of information about British Consular activities before the occupation in 1878. They are summarized here, although somewhat at length.

The Consular documents show that merchant ships from London, Southampton, and Bristol traded in Cyprus as early as 1511. In 1592, the Turkey Company and the Venice Company merged into the Levant Company, with a charter that eventually extended to 1825. Cotton wool and yarn made up the basic trade goods. The Cyprus Vice-Consulate itself can be traced to July 22, 1626, in a letter to “Petro Savioni, N¹⁰ V. Consol in Cipro”. But the first regular appointment of a British Consular officer in Cyprus (Larnaca) occurred on June 2, 1636, when a Mr. Glover was appointed vice-consul, subordinate to the consul at Aleppo.¹⁰²

The English colony at Larnaca and at nearby Ormidhia consisted of merchants and their families, rather than unmarried young men as at the “Khan” in Aleppo. Even though the French colony on Cyprus dominated trade on the island in these early years, the English Consul’s house was the best on the island, neat and “elegantly ornamented”, according to an early eighteenth century account. The consul’s prosperity was probably due to his initiative in loaning money to the Cypriots at as much as thirty percent interest, paid in silk, wine, cotton, corn and other products. Other large houses belonged to English merchants throughout the eighteenth century, including a Mr. Treadway, who

¹⁰² Ibid., pp. v-vii and 86-89. Aleppo in the 17th century was “the emporium of Indian trade” for Venetian, French, Dutch and English merchants. The consular district of Aleppo included various Vice-Consulates, not always permanent, and of these Cyprus and Smyrna became two of the most important.

travelers describe as a rich man with the finest house in the Levant, and who escaped from creditors by Venetian ship just as they sat down to a banquet at that fine house.¹⁰³

The British consuls during the Ottoman period interacted not only with French and Dutch trading companies, but also with the Ottoman governor, the *Pasha*, in residence. A visit of the English Consul, Mr. Wakeman, to ‘Abdu’llah, Pasha of Cyprus in 1745, is described by Alexander Drummond, His Majesty’s Consul at Aleppo. Escorted by a janissary corps (Ottoman military band), a corps of *sipahi* (majors, adjutants and agents), then the consul’s janissaries, the chancellor and first dragoman, Doctor Crutta, and the dragoman of the seraglio, Consul Wakeman and several visiting English gentlemen were received grandly:

[A]ll of us dismounted at the gate, except the consul, who rode into the court of the seraglio, where ten or a dozen fine horses stood gorgeously caparisoned...all the guards and officers of the palace were ranged in the court, stairs, passages, and apartments through which we passed to the presence-chamber, and all was silent and still.¹⁰⁴

Inside the palace, the pasha showed favor to the consul, clapping him on the shoulder and indicating a seat next to him on the “elbow-chair of state”. This was a procedure agreed upon “as a salvo for the honour of both” since,

A *vazir*, a mussalim, and even those of an inferior rank, think it is too great condescension in them to rise from their seats and salute an infidel; and on

¹⁰³ Ibid., pp. 92-3. Heyman in *Excerpta Cypria* (Cambridge, 1908) claims 20 percent interest was charged, also paid in these goods, but he does not mention the episode of the fleeing Mr. Treadway.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 97. See also Alexander Drummond, *Travels through different Cities of Germany, Italy, Greece and several Lands of Asia, as far as the banks of the Euphrates* (London, 1754). Drummond visited Cyprus in 1745 and again in 1750.

the other hand, a consul will not go into the presence of any office, whatever his distinction may be, unless he is received standing.¹⁰⁵

The meeting went smoothly, with gifts exchanged, including the pasha's gift to Wakeman of perfumes and a fur-lined *kurk* (robe). Afterward Wakeman met the Turkish prime minister and then the whole party left with another parade.¹⁰⁶

Drummond became Consul for Aleppo and Cyprus in 1751, and the Consulate remained in service at Larnaca until 1792. A British agent, a Cephalonian named Andrea Zimbaluchi, worked for Commodore Sir Sidney Smith in 1799 to provision the British men-of-war, and this office continued with Zimbaluchi's son until 1864. There was also a British Consular Agent at Famagusta named Brunoni. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, only one English merchant remained in Cyprus, due to the aggressive competition of the "Levantine". This merchant was probably an Englishman named How living at Larnaca with a native wife. At this time the "English Factory" at Cyprus consisted of fifteen or sixteen houses.¹⁰⁷

In the late 1830s and 1840s, British consuls enjoyed cordial, if transparently solicitous, relationships with the Ottoman governors on Cyprus. 'Isma'il Adil Pasha communicated to his "Most Illustrious Friend" the British Consul in 1848 in appreciation

¹⁰⁵ Sir Harry Luke, *Cyprus Under the Turks* (London, 1921). This episode is repeated in an extract from Drummond's papers in *Excerpta Cypria*, a collection of papers published by Cambridge University in 1908, having been translated from 12 languages into English by Claude De Laval Cobham. It is not clear if this collection is related to the one Luke found in 1911.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

¹⁰⁷ Sir Harry Luke, *Cyprus Under the Turks* (London, 1921), pp. 98-101. See also Theodore Papadopoulos, *Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus No. I: Social and Historical Data on Population, 1570-1881* (Nicosia, 1965), p. 74 and notes 5-7. Papadopoulos refers to a short biographical note in Greek sources that puts Pietro Brunoni as Chancellor and Acting Vice-Consul of Italy at Larnaca and Nicosia in 1866-1867. Papadopoulos notes that Luke discusses Brunoni drafting a report on the condition of Famagusta as a British Consular Agent in 1843, but a more accurate date is probably after 1876, and certainly after 1870.

for informing him of an apostate to Islam without Imperial consent (the situation was satisfactorily resolved).¹⁰⁸ In another letter to “Most Illustrious and Revered Friend”, the

Pasha writes:

I received with unutterable joy your friendly letter, and saw, to my soul’s delight, what you had written in my favour to your August Embassy...this is a striking proof of your peculiar friendship and love towards me, for which I offer you the tribute of my inexpressible gratitude.¹⁰⁹

The Pasha promised his high consideration and signed the letter “Prompt to your commands”.

These relationships remained important sources of influence for both British consuls and Ottoman Governors; the consuls also established friendships with the Catholic Church and with other foreign consuls.¹¹⁰ In one case, however, the Consul complained to the British ambassador about the lack of inertia of the Governor.¹¹¹ This lack of motivation, or inertia, often affected the outcome of any reforms ordered from Constantinople.

When the British took Cyprus in 1878, they blamed the Ottoman government for the devastation of the island. It is a misconception, however, to assume that no reforms were attempted before 1878. Various nineteenth-century reform programs put forth by

¹⁰⁸ Sir Harry Luke, *Cyprus Under the Turks* (London, 1921), pp. 192-3. Sir George Hill discusses similar events from 1845 to 1851 in which British consuls interceded on behalf of forced apostates wishing to return to Christian status (Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, Cambridge, 1952, pp. 217-221).

¹⁰⁹ Sir Harry Luke, *Cyprus Under the Turks* (London, 1921), p. 193.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 192. For example, on June 30, 1848, the Sardinian Consul complained to his British colleague about his own government’s orders to substitute the Italian tricolor flag for the traditional blue. But this had not always been the case: Hill explains that in 1821, “there was no love lost between the English and Russian representatives on the one hand, and the French on the other.” (George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, Cambridge, 1952, p. 144, n. 7)

¹¹¹ Sir Harry Luke, *Cyprus Under the Turks* (London, 1921), pp. 210-11.

Ottoman Sultans throughout their Empire reached Cyprus early in the century, but one by one they failed to materialize there (as in other outlying territories of the Ottoman Empire). The reasons are many but one was the lack of motivation for governors sent from Constantinople to carry out the Sultans' instructions for reform when their tenure on the island was of a temporary nature. A typical assignment was two years but often less, during which many governors and their sergeants sought merely to line their own pockets, or if they did make plans for improvement, had no time to carry them out. The governors also were thwarted by those Cypriots with a vested interest in maintaining the *status quo*, and in general, strains between Greeks and Turks meant a struggle for influence.¹¹² In 1837 several of the Greek primates went to Constantinople and paid 1,000,000 piastres in exchange for the authority to control certain administrative duties, especially the collection of taxes. These privileges were revoked two years later as part of a reform effort in 1839, but the Greeks had accumulated large fortunes at the expense of the rayahs, who remained in debt.¹¹³ In 1842 Consul Lilburn commented that the bishops continued to hold both temporal and spiritual power over the Greeks and Maronites, who still paid them much money and produce, and feared them more than the Governor.¹¹⁴

In 1838, Sultan Mahmud II—sometimes called the Peter the Great of the Ottoman Empire—inaugurated a series of reforms called the Tanzimat, based on the schemes of

¹¹² Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 180-184. A central *Demogerontia* (council of elders) was established in 1830. This body, comprising senior clergymen as well as the most prominent of lay *Kocabasıs*, was presided over *ex-officio* by the Archbishop. The Archbishop and two lay Demogerontes represented the Greek community in the Grand Council of Nicosia, established in 1856. This council was dominated by the *Agas* and senior Turkish officials, and its main responsibility of this council was the allocation of concessions to tax-farmers. (Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century*, Nicosia, 1996, pp. 14-15)

¹¹³ Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 172, n.3.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 182-183.

Selim III. They were carried out by Mahmud II's son, Abdul Mejid, who succeeded on July 1, 1839, at the age of eighteen. The first in a series of reforms, a charter called the Khatt-i Sherif of Gülkhané, was meant to reform the administration, taxation, army recruitment, and court systems.¹¹⁵ Accordingly, in 1841, Talat Efendi was sent to Cyprus to replace Governor Osman Bey, who, according to the British Acting Vice-Consul, P. Paul Vondiziano, opposed the reforms and allied himself with the “demogerontes, who wished to maintain the monstrous old regime”.¹¹⁶ Talat Efendi, despite political struggles with the leading men of the island, proposed the institution of a commercial court (Mejlis-i-Tijaret) composed of Europeans, Turks and Greeks, road improvements, the foundation of a hospital, the destruction of locusts, and the suspension of the old tax system in accordance with the Khatt-i Sherif. Alarmed at the proposed reforms that threatened their power to oppress the rayahs, the Turkish Aghas and the commanders of the sipahis in Larnaca and Nicosia prepared an armed resistance against a possible Christian rising. Under this pressure and that of the Greek magnates who wanted to retain the old system, Talat Efendi was ordered to withdraw the reform proposals. Meanwhile, taxes were not collected and finally, when payments for the last six months were demanded at once, “Taxpayers in despair, it was said, to the number of a thousand able-bodied men, fled the country”.¹¹⁷ According to Hill,

¹¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 174-177.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 180.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 180-182. Inalcik and Quartaert define *reaya* as “All those groups, Muslim or non-Muslim, outside the *askeri* elite, engaged in economic activities and thus subject to taxes”; the *sipahi* is a mounted soldier or member of the noble class (Halil Inalcik and Donald Quartaert, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, Vol. 2, Cambridge, 1994, p. 991).

The Government was impotent; old penalties had been abolished, but new ones had not been substituted; hence an increase of crime. Still it could not be said that the island showed any sign of a general insurrection. So soon had the fair vision flashed before the eyes of the Cypriotes by the Tanzimat faded away.¹¹⁸

After Talat Efendi, the appointed governors were at times benevolent and forward thinking and at others greedy and tyrannical, but none succeeded in fully carrying out Tanzimat reforms. Talat Efendi was recalled in October 1841 and succeeded by Said Mehmed.

In his third term in that office, Said Mehmed allowed the leading Turks and Greeks to do as they pleased and paid the peasants' taxes out of his own pocket. Aziz Pasha replaced him on May 17, 1842, and promptly reinstated and raised the taxes. Edham Pasha held the office from 1843 to March 1845 and accomplished public works projects such as straightening the channel of the Pediaios. The British Consul found him amenable to proposals for improvements such as paving the streets. However, after two years the Greek and Turkish magnates intrigued against Edham Pasha and he was recalled. Haji Darbaz Agha succeeded on March 30, 1845, with orders to investigate the economic administration. The Archbishop, the Greek demogerontes, and the Mufti were exposed, with the Greek authorities were accused of embezzling 800,000 piastres. A year later Darbaz was recalled and arrested for appropriating 400,000 piastres (£3,636) of public money.¹¹⁹ At this point the British consul, Niven Kerr, condemned the Ottoman administration of Cyprus:

¹¹⁸ Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 182.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 183-185.

It was administered by a Pasha from Constantinople who was changed every year; embezzlement and oppression prevailed in every form; the rapacity of the government officials and even of the Greek clergy knew no bounds; the entire administration of the island deserved the strongest condemnation, and Cyprus was considered to be the most oppressed of the Ottoman dominions.¹²⁰

Two more ineffective governors followed, then in June, 1849, were succeeded by the Governor-General of the Pashalik of Rhodes, Musa Safveti Pasha.

Musa Safveti Pasha issued orders for reforms based on Kerr's recommendations: he did not increase taxes but equalized the collection of them, and he announced equal legal rights for Muslim and Christians.¹²¹ Edham Pasha returned for another term from 1851 to 1853 during which he antagonized the Consuls as well as Greeks and Turks with oppressive taxation and harsh punishments such as imprisonment and floggings. The Greek clergy and Turks united against him and he resigned.¹²² A particularly notable Governor arrived in April 1862: Zia Pasha destroyed the locusts, drained marshes, encouraged the cultivation of cotton, established a postal service, cleaned the streets and arrested murderers. Unfortunately the Crimean War affected prices of food and provisions, which rose by 100 percent or more and many Cypriots emigrated. He was recalled after six months. The fanatical Mehmed Halet Bey assumed the governorship on April 20, 1863, and initiated the locust-egg collection system, cleaned the markets, improved the road system and the harbors, and planned grain storage and cattle markets,

¹²⁰ Nevin Kerr, FO 195/102, April 4, 1845, quoted in Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, (Cambridge, 1952), p. 186.

¹²¹ Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 189-190. See FO 78/802, May 31 and June 30, 1849, and Kerr, FO 78/580, Jan. 31, 1844

¹²² Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 193. See FO 78/869, no. 31 and FO 78/909, no. 31, Kerr to Charge d'Affairs, Constantinople, Aug. 1, 1852, quoting report by Palma of July 21.

whereupon he was promoted to an important financial post in Constantinople.¹²³ Mehmed Said Pasha, who served from 1868 to 1871, repaired the water supplies of Nicosia and Larnaca, continued Edhem Pasha's work on the Pediaios and completed the road between Larnaca and Nicosia. A correspondent for *The Times* called him "one of the few good and active Governors the island has ever known."¹²⁴ Known as the most vigilant and progressive of governors to both British and French consuls, Mehmed Said Pasha's equal treatment of the Christians roused Moslem intrigue against him and he was recalled to Constantinople on November 8 to stand trial on false charges.¹²⁵

The Tanzimat had one last gasp in the second of the series of Tanzimat reforms: the Khatt-i Humayun of 1856. Unfortunately, the Khatt-i Humayun and the subsequent establishment of parliamentary government failed as well. British Vice-Consul Sandwith reported in 1867 on the successes and failures of the reforms.¹²⁶ According to a French writer in 1917, the reforms failed due to the inability to secularize the State and release it from the domination of the Koran and Sacred Law.¹²⁷ Whether through religion or power, Turkish influence assured the failure of the reforms as much as that of the Greeks. In one case, the privileges bestowed on Christians in the Khatt-i Humayun disturbed the Turks

¹²³ Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 234-238.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 248-252; *The Times*, Oct. 29, 1878, p. 8a.

¹²⁵ Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 251-252. Some Moslems sent two agents to Constantinople to intrigue against him. The agents influenced the Vali, who feared that Mehmed Said would get all the credit for destroying the locusts; the Vali sent an inspector who found ways to darken Said's reputation and this led to his recall.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 206. Hill explains that this is one of the twenty six reports from British "Diplomatic or Consular Agents in any part of the Turkish Empire or Greece which show how the stipulations agreed on by the British Government and that of Turkey with regard to the treatment of the Christians and of the Greek subjects of the Sultan have been observed", asked for by the House of Commons on March 6, 1867.

¹²⁷ E. Driault, *La Question D'Orient*, 7th ed., 1917, p. 407, cited in Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 177.

until the Kadi (judge) assured them it would have no more effect than the Khatt-i Sherif of Gülkhané.¹²⁸

After the Sultan's Provincial Regulation of 1858 the governors of Ottoman territories, or *vilayets*, became the authority over local matters and the sole agent of the central government, supported by army commanders and treasurers sent from Istanbul responsible to him. The *kaymakans* (district officials) retained some authority under the governor. On Cyprus, the officials—a pasha (Governor), 16 mudirs (presidents of districts), and a muchtar (receiver), assisted by a mixed council of Christians and Muslims—administered 605 villages.¹²⁹ In the 1860s and 1870s, further drastic changes occurred that set the stage for a new era.¹³⁰ In 1864, the Imperial Ottoman Bank established a branch in Cyprus, the first bank in the island.¹³¹ Then, in 1871, changes within Ottoman administration led to new forms of local governance. The Cyprus

¹²⁸ Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, (Cambridge, 1952), p. 177.

¹²⁹ Report on the Sanitary Condition and Drainage of the District of Famagusta and the Mesaoria in Cyprus, by the Chevalier David Bocci, Chief Engineer, Royal Engineers, Parma, June 5, 1880 (Colonial Office, Nov. 1881), CO 883/2. Bocci notes that 118 of the villages were inhabited by Mussulmans and 248 by Christians, and 239 had a mixed population. The process was difficult as there were no connecting roads.

¹³⁰ According to Shaw and Shaw (Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, Vol. II, Cambridge, 1977, pp. 83-87), these changes were an acceleration of Ottoman Tanzimat reforms that began earlier in the 1840s. At that time the local governors lost some of their powers, and advisory councils, looking after their own and group interests rather than the government's, failed to support them as well. In 1841, Mustafa Reşit Paşa eliminated the *muhasıls* sent from Istanbul and turned the provinces (*vilayets*) over to the provincial armies, appointing their commanders the governors and subordinate officers as *kaymakams* of the districts. The *kaymakams* appointed local notables as *müdürs* of the *kazas* and the advisory councils were abolished. The *müşirs* established new provincial administrative councils with representatives chosen by local *sancak* councils. This began the process of bringing local subjects into provincial government. Their powers over time were extended by the sultan. The *müşirs* maintained order and collected taxes, and the advisory councils initiated programs to improve local economic and living conditions; they also requested assistance from Istanbul for roads and other changes. The Crimean War unfortunately caused financial difficulties that ended these provincial reforms and the authority of the councils. With the Provincial Regulation of 1858, the governors became the authority over local matters and the sole agent of the central government, supported by army commanders and treasurers sent from Istanbul responsible to him. The *kaymakans* retained some authority.

¹³¹ Sir Harry Luke, *Cyprus Under the Turks* (London, 1921), p. 210.

Constitution was changed to withdraw Cyprus from the Pashalik of Rhodes and institute it as an independent *Mutessariflik* under the immediate jurisdiction of the Porte. This alleviated some of the difficulties in transacting business and other affairs due to the distance from the capital of the Vilayet of the Dardanelles, to which Cyprus had been assigned in 1868.

On October 24, 1871, the first Governor-General of Cyprus under the new system, H. E. Aziz Pasha, arrived, and in the same year, the British Vice-Consulate regained its status as a Consulate.¹³² The notable Vice-Consul Sandwith was appointed in October 1865, under the jurisdiction of the Consulate of Beirut.¹³³

In this new Mutessariflik system lay the seeds of the separation of Cyprus from the Ottoman capital. Earlier, the Ottoman governor assigned to the island, while definitely a representative of the Sultan, served with some autonomy. Then, as a distant satellite with authority concentrated in the headquarters of the vilayet (provincial district), local administrative and legal authority was hampered by the fortnight delay in communications. Now as a Mutessariflik, Cyprus functioned almost as an independent vilayet.¹³⁴ Under the new system, local authorities had more direct access to the Government. At the same time, the activities of British and other foreign consuls on Cyprus ensured that Western ideas and institutions would infiltrate Cypriot government. This is not to say that in the period before British occupation, the situation of Cyprus

¹³² Ibid., pp. 248-252. See also especially Chapter Two, "The Era of Modern Reform: The Tanzimat, 1839-1876", in Shaw and Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, Vol. II (1977).

¹³³ Sir Harry Luke, *Cyprus Under the Turks* (London, 1921), p. 215. See also R. S. Merrillees, "T. B. Sandwith and the beginnings of Cypriote archaeology", in V. Tatton-Brown, ed., *Cyprus in the 19th Century AD* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 222-235.

¹³⁴ Letter from Vice-Consul Sandwith to the British embassy, April 9, 1870, cited in Sir Harry Luke, *Cyprus Under the Turks* (London, 1921), pp. 248-252.

improved under the Mutessariflik system. On the contrary, when the British took control in 1878, few of the Ottoman reform plans and attempts to alleviate problems such as locust-infestation and heavy taxation had succeeded; the British found only a decrepit island. The significance of these attempts at reform, regardless that they failed, is that they opened the way for British involvement in the revitalization of the island. For example, in November 1843, British Consular Agent Brunoni analyzed, for a report to the Council, the condition and potential for revitalization of the harbor at Famagusta, as well as the state of the churches, the garrison, administration, courts, and agricultural and economic resources.¹³⁵ The Consul also solicited help from the Bishop of Gibraltar to establish an English school on Cyprus.¹³⁶

After 1863, the activities of the consuls can be traced through British documents and Consular reports. These documents show that the British consuls worked with Cypriots to develop the potential resources of the island and trade with other parts of the Empire, and they reported to the Foreign Office on natural history, agriculture, trade and revenue. The consuls particularly urged agricultural and mineral development. One example is the General and Statistic Report of Vice-Consul White, dated March 1863: White's observations provided great sources of information on "harvests, trade, revenue and the general prosperity of the island" under Turkish administration.¹³⁷ White also

¹³⁵ Letter from Pietro Brunoni to the Cyprus Council, at Famagusta, Cyprus, Nov. 20, 1843, cited in Sir Harry Luke, *Cyprus Under the Turks* (London, 1921), pp. 179-183.

¹³⁶ Sir Harry Luke, *Cyprus Under the Turks* (London, 1921), pp. 183-4. The school would be based on the principles established for schools for Greek children in Syra by Mr. Hildner of the Church Missionary Society.

¹³⁷ The consul reports were discussed in "Cyprus, compiled in the intelligence branch, quarter-master-generals department, by Captain A. R. Savile," Aug. 31, 1878, WO 106/6112. Such prosperity was due no doubt to the rapid increase in Ottoman foreign trade that had occurred since the 1840s in response to the

notes, however, the “ignorance of the native cultivators, who would have to be taught the proper use of European implements, and...the want of skilled workmen to keep them in repair.”¹³⁸ By 1875, there was an even greater and increasing scarcity of field laborers, “even at comparatively high wages”, and a lack of animal power for agricultural purposes, which had left much of the land insufficiently worked. More optimistically, Consul Riddell insisted in both 1875 and 1876 that the island could indeed become highly productive and that trade in agricultural products, especially wheat, barley, cotton, madder roots, silk, wine, raisins, olive oil, locust-beans, tobacco, fruits, and vegetables, might be increased “under an enlightened government.”¹³⁹

Public works, unfortunately, failed to materialize. With almost an air of resignation, Watkins complained about Ottoman promises made and broken:

No public works done during this year. Even the carriage road between Larnaca and Nicosia, traced out a few years ago at a great outlay, is neglected. No other roads exist except bridle paths. No wharfs and jetties. The only facilities for shipping are a few wooden scalas, which disappear in winter.¹⁴⁰

Watkins also noted that the peasants continued “to be heavily taxed, [and] as their ability to pay has diminished, arbitrary measures are resorted to for their collection” although

great expansion of European industry, the food needs of its work force, and the need for provisions in the Crimean and American civil wars (Donald Quataert, in Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, Vol. 2, Cambridge, 1994, p. 828). The Imperial Ottoman Bank established a branch in Cyprus in 1864, the first bank in the island (Sir Harry Luke, *Cyprus Under the Turks*, London, 1921, 1921, p. 210).

¹³⁸ The consul reports were discussed in “Cyprus, compiled in the intelligence branch, quarter-master-generals department, by Captain A. R. Savile,” Aug. 31, 1878, WO 106/6112.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Vice-Consul Longworth (quoting Watkins) to Consul-General Blunt (No. 16), Jan. 18, 1879, in Confidential Print, Part I, Series B The Near and Middle East, Vol. 7: The Ottoman Empire: Finance and Trade, 1860-1879, Doc. 66, Inclosure in Doc. 27.

when complaints were made against some of the government and judicial officials, the *vali* of Rhodes did send a functionary accompanied by an efficient staff, to make the necessary investigations.

In these complaints and observations, Watkins shared those of other British consuls in the Ottoman territories. Vice-Consul Longworth in Volo wrote to Consul-General Blunt that “No enterprise on correct moral principles can be pursued with expediency in this country so long as it is subject to the dilatory, pervert, and capricious intervention of the Turkish officials.”¹⁴¹ Longworth further related the story of a Frenchman in Volo, who four years previously, “with heavy bribes, and after long and vexatious delays, obtained from the Government the concession of a chrome mine in Mount Olympus”. The work gradually developed,

and in a proportionate degree the royalty to the Government and the bribe to the officials. But the rapacity of the latter soon exceeded all bounds, until the Frenchman was unable to gratify their demands, and through their intrigues the enterprise came to an end after a duration of only two years.¹⁴²

Clearly European entrepreneurs would not find an easy fortune with the Ottomans. It remained to be seen if Cyprus under British rule would offer better opportunities.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid.

Summary

British interest in Cyprus began long before the secret deal between Disraeli and the Sultan in 1878. The consuls developed the relationships between the local population and their Ottoman overlords and at times participated in the administration of reforms. These reforms generally failed, and left what the British saw as a devastated island in 1878. However, the efforts of the consuls and of several reforming Ottoman governors laid the basis for British reforms and redevelopment schemes initiated in 1878 under the guise of “good government”.

Finally, in 1878 the British public became aware of the role of the consuls in preparing for commerce, trade, and the creation of British Cyprus. *The Illustrated London News* commented on July 27 that but for the English consular service, there would not have been available for the general public at this day any recent sources of information about the island “which has become on a sudden so interesting to England.”¹⁴³

¹⁴³ “The Isle of Cyprus”, *The Illustrated London News*, July 27, 1878, p. 85.

CHAPTER TWO

Britons and Cyprus in 1878

Cyprus in the British imagination

Articles in *The Illustrated London News* and other newspapers and magazines reflected the fascination of Cyprus for both ordinary Britons and the aristocracy. Journalists had long followed the holidays of the Royals and famous persons along the Mediterranean coasts in France and Italy. In 1878, the French Riviera city of Cannes boasted establishments named Hôtel des Anglais, Hôtel Windsor, Hôtel Bristol, and Hôtel Britannique. Nice, “a city of hotels where the British lived very much in public” was likened to a Mediterranean Brighton, and Menton attracted Anglican and Scottish Presbyterian missions and churches that held prayer-meetings and Bible-classes in seaside villas.¹⁴⁴ Egypt, too, had become a popular tourist resort and Greece was known through the romanticism of Lord Byron of the 1820s, though still not a stop on the Grand Tour. The one other British-occupied island in the Mediterranean, Malta, held interest only as a coaling station and port of call¹⁴⁵, which left Cyprus as the more exotic or “Oriental” of Britain’s Mediterranean chain (with Gibraltar), and more intriguing for its proximity to the Holy Land. On Cyprus, William Mallock wrote that Nicosia, with its olive trees, vineyards and ruined castles, was “exactly like a picture of Damascus, the city

¹⁴⁴ John Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 44-48.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 47. Malta had been under British control since 1800, except for the period 1802-1814. It became self-governing in 1921 but reverted to a British colony in 1936. It gained its independence within the Commonwealth in 1964, and in 1974 became a republic. Its alliance with Britain ended in 1979, when it proclaimed its neutral status. (*Encyclopaedia Britannica Readyreference* online, 2001)

old in the days of Abraham,” and the smoky vapors around a peak in the Tröodos Mountains reminded him of Mt. Sinai.¹⁴⁶

Esmé Scott-Stevenson, who lived in Cyprus as the wife of the District Commissioner in Kyrenia on the northern shore of the island, wrote in her published journal that Cyprus was as beautiful as Richmond Park, but she was entranced by the pleasures of the Mediterranean: the perfume of the orange blossoms, the thickness of almond-blossoms, the sweetness and profusion of Neopolitan violets that seemed “far larger and sweeter than those in Naples or along the Riviera”. The perfect climate, never too hot or cold through the seasons, and the absence of mosquitoes or sandflies due to the sea breeze, as well as morning and evening sea-bathing, improved her health so that “I have never felt so strong or in such buoyant health in my life,” with no coughing, rheumatism or neuralgia. She attributed the “greatly exaggerated” malarial desolation throughout the island the previous year to a temporary Mediterranean epidemic, and begged her mother to tell everyone about Kyrenia, which, with its lovely seaside and “castle-drowned mountains”, may be one of the loveliest and healthiest spots in Europe, “only waiting to be known to become one of the favourite winter resorts of the Mediterranean”.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ John Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 122-3. For a discussion of what the British public knew about Cyprus in 1878, and how the entries for Cyprus in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* changed after 1878, see Peter W. Edbury, “Cyprus in the 19th century: perceptions and politics”, in V. Tatton-Brown, ed., *Cyprus in the 19th Century AD* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 13-20.

¹⁴⁷ Esmé Scott-Stevenson, *Our Home in Cyprus* (London 1880), pp. viii-xii. Tourism did not become a profitable industry in Cyprus in the nineteenth century. In 1885, Major Donne lamented the “great want of hotel accommodation” and the “utter absence of the comfort and luxury which English people are accustomed to associate with hotel life.” He suggests that at Limassol “visitors with any means of introduction are usually made honorary members of the United Service Club, but its accommodation cannot of course be extended to ladies.” (Major Benjamin Donne, *Records of the Ottoman Conquest of Cyprus and Cyprus Guide and Directory*, Limassol, Cyprus, 1885, 2nd ed., 2000, p. 225)

Later in 1881, Dr. Barry, the Sanitary Commissioner, had “no hesitation in saying that with proper precautions as to dwellings, food, and sanitary arrangements, it is well fitted for the residence of English people”. He reported on the variety of climates to choose from:

Persons preferring a damp atmosphere can have it by remaining at the coast, whilst those to whom a drier air is more suitable can reside at or near Nikosia, and both may retire from the heats of summer to the bracing heights of Troodos. For Phthisical cases Cyprus is a station second to none in the Mediterranean.¹⁴⁸

Barry predicted that “Cyprus may look forward to becoming one of the favourite health resorts of the Mediterranean”¹⁴⁹. Mediterranean travel was often prescribed for the recuperative powers of the Southern climate in order to recover from phthisis, a consumptive disease that caused 60,000 deaths per year in Britain in the 1840s and 50,000 per year in the 1850s, although most medical practitioners saw sunshine more as a cure for stress and depression than for the disease itself.¹⁵⁰

Scott-Stevenson and Barry were overly optimistic: Cyprus failed to develop as a health resort due to the prominence of malaria, which was treatable only by quinine, not sunshine (see Chapter Seven). R. Stuart Poole, writing for *The Contemporary Review* in August 1878, described other problems: the state of Cyprus forests as “for the most part destroyed, probably in part burnt in the Turkish barbarous suppression of revolt, certainly

¹⁴⁸ Report by Dr. Fred W. Barry, Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of Cyprus, Oct. 1882, Enclosure in Mediterranean No. 16, Second Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of Cyprus for the year 1881, Colonial Office, April 1883, CO 883/2.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ John Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion* (Oxford, 1987), p. 88. Bronchitis overtook phthisis in the 1870s as the prevalent disease in the consumptive category in Britain.

cut down for charcoal by the careless and indigent peasantry.” Its mines, he continues, “have been so many centuries unworked that they must be rediscovered.” Its harbors were full of sand, and the peasantry “languished under exorbitant taxation, in hopeless apathy”.¹⁵¹ He wrote:

How many years of good administration will it take to stay decline, and even then can prosperity be hoped for? The case is a bad one; we could not have taken in hand an unhealthier limb of the sick man...¹⁵²

Indeed, the reality of life on Cyprus, with its malaria, heat, deteriorating buildings and inadequate sanitation systems, was more sobering than the romanticized images.

Yet curiosity sold newspapers. As early as July 20, *The Illustrated London News* published a Saturday edition with a full-page cover illustration showing “Famagusta, the Ancient Venetian Port of Cyprus” (fig. 2.1). *The Illustrated London News*, a broadsheet with a circulation of 100,000, noted on August 3, 1878, that “The island of Cyprus, now in British possession, will continue for some time, probably, to furnish subjects for our Illustrations.”¹⁵³ The paper published wood-block prints of landscapes, Cypriot people, and British activities on Cyprus for several weeks¹⁵⁴, including more full-page cover illustrations such as the Saturday, August 10, 1878 issue captioned “Hoisting the British flag at Nicosia, the Capital of Cyprus”; the following Saturday’s cover, “Sketches of the

¹⁵¹ R. Stuart Poole, “Cyprus: Its Present and Future” (1878), pp. 138-9.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ *The Illustrated London News* and *The Times* followed the proceedings of the Congress of Berlin on a daily basis, explaining the intricacies of the peace settlement and the division of the Ottoman territories among the Great Powers. Numerous articles and illustrations portrayed Lord Beaconsfield, chief negotiator, as the new hero of the Congress of Berlin.

¹⁵⁴ *The London Illustrated News*, Aug. 3, 1878, p. 99. This article notes also that in the same week, the *London Gazette* published accounts of the transfer of the government of Cyprus to the British Crown and the hoisting of the British flag.

British occupation of Cyprus”; and full page cover illustrations of Cyprus landscapes on September 28 and October 5. By the end of August, the paper turned from stories about Cyprus to news about India, Africa, and the Austrian occupation of Bosnia, but substantial articles (illustrated with artists’ renderings) continued to be published for several months. A full page cover illustration again appeared on November 16, showing a Gothic church in Famagusta. *The Graphic* newspaper in London also published engraved woodblock illustrations, from August through October, including “Larnaca sketched from the sea”, “Limassol”, and “Church of St. Sophia, Famagusta (St. George of the Greeks)”, that were republished between 1882 and 1885 in *Esperos*, a Greek language newspaper published in Leipzig, Germany.¹⁵⁵

This sudden interest in Cyprus prompted W. H. Allen & Company of London, publishers to the India Office, to print an English version of Franz von Löher’s *Cyprus, Historical and Descriptive*, a “narrative of his recent journeyings through the length and breadth” of Cyprus, an island which, according to Mrs. A. Batson Joyner in her preface to the London edition, “from its geographical position, seems destined to play no unimportant part in modern history” and which rendered the appearance of von Löher’s narrative “extremely welcome...to supply information, such as is at present much needed in England.”¹⁵⁶ Other book publishers jumped at the chance as well, as Agnes Smith wrote during her travels in Cyprus in 1887:

Ever since the clever *coup* by which Lord Beaconsfield induced the British lion to place his foot upon Cyprus, an island which, from its position, might

¹⁵⁵ B.D.A. Donne, *Records of the Ottoman Conquest of Cyprus and Cyprus Guide* (Limassol, Cyprus, 1885) 2nd ed., Philip Christian, ed., 2000, p. 252.

¹⁵⁶ Franz Von Löher, *Cyprus, Historical and Descriptive* (London, 1878), Introduction by Mrs. A. Batson Joyner, p. v.

easily be made the key of the Levant, the public have been more or less anxious to know what our acquisition really is. Within eighteen months after the cession, several excellent books on the subject were published.¹⁵⁷

These books included Hamilton Robert Lang's *Cyprus: Its History, its present resources, and future prospects* (1878), William Hepworth Dixon's *British Cyprus* (1879)¹⁵⁸, and Lady Annie Brassey's *Sunshine and Storm in the East or Cruises to Cyprus and Constantinople* (1880). Lady Brassey's *A Voyage in the Sunbeam*, that described a stop at Cyprus, appeared in 1878 under the title *Around the World in the Yacht Sunbeam* and was published by Longmans Green in 1881 as a book and in widely available cheap broadsheet versions.¹⁵⁹

Lang's book outlines not only the history of natural resources and Turkish and British administration, but it also provides a picture of the Consul's own exploitation of Cyprus. Lang was manager of the Imperial Ottoman Bank at Larnaca, but during the intervals between the nomination of various Vice-Consuls and their arrival in Cyprus, the Foreign Office commissioned him as acting Vice-Consul. This occurred four times: December 1861 to June 1862; May 25 to Nov 28, 1864; October 14, 1865 to April 23, 1866, and from April 15, 1868 to January 6, 1869. When Sandwith was appointed Consul at Crete, Lang accepted the post of full Consul on Cyprus. In March 1872, the

¹⁵⁷ Agnes Smith, *Through Cyprus* (London, 1887), excerpt reprinted in Loukia Loizou Hadjigavriel, ed., *In the Footsteps of Women, Peregrinations in Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1998), pp. 170-187.

Agnes Smith, an Oriental scholar, traveling with her friend Violent, arrived in 1886. Mrs. Lewis, another colonial wife, came in 1893. All published accounts of their experiences. (Lou Taylor, "Dress, Etiquette and Colonialism: The Clothing of British Women in Cyprus 1878-1918," in L.L. Loizou Hadjigavriel, ed., *In the Footsteps of Women, Peregrinations in Cyprus*, Nicosia, 1998, pp. 44-69 (45-6))

¹⁵⁸ H. R. Lang, *Cyprus: Its History, Its Present Resources, and Future Prospects* (London, 1878); and William Hepworth Dixon, *British Cyprus* (London, 1879).

¹⁵⁹ Lou Taylor, "Lady Brassey, 1870-1886" in Veronica Tatton-Brown, ed., *Cyprus in the 19th Century A.D.* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 239-248 (241).

Imperial Ottoman Bank offered Lang the management of their Egyptian branch, and he “felt bound to accept the call to a larger and, financially, more interesting field of action.”¹⁶⁰

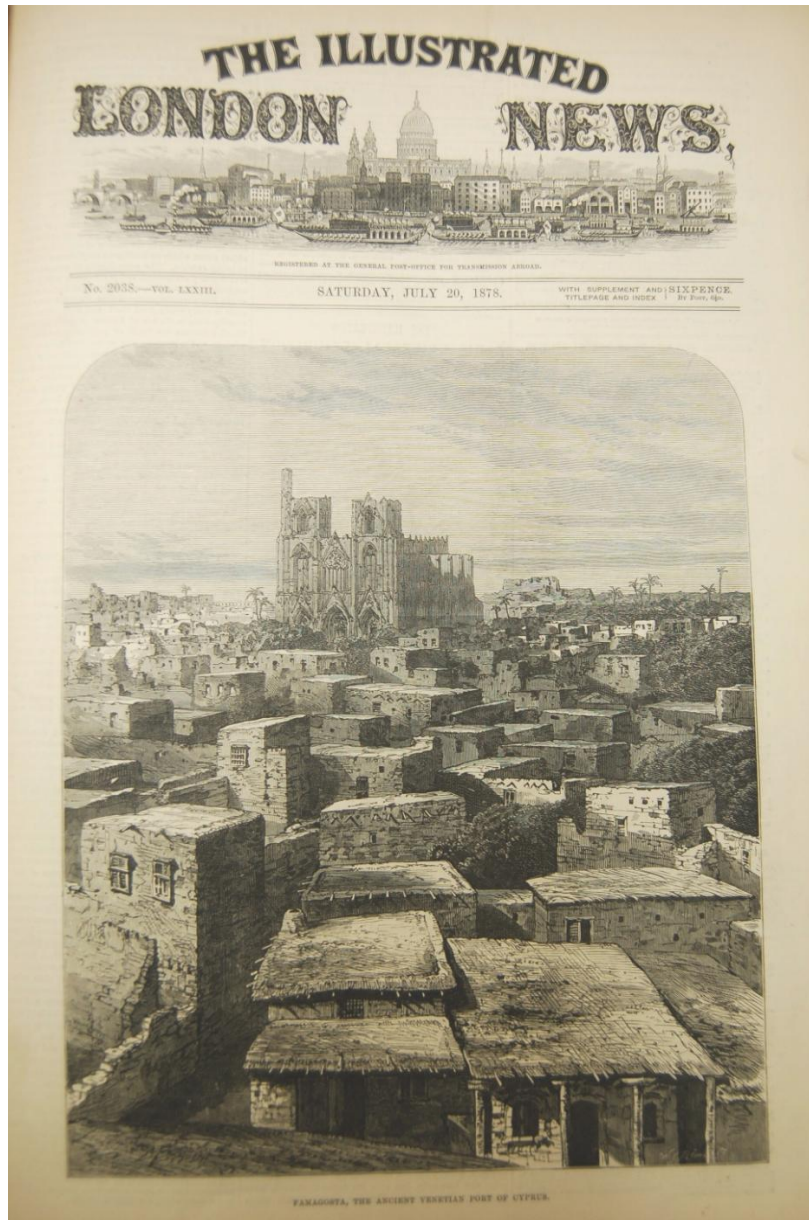


Figure 2.1. Cover illustration for *The Illustrated London News*, Saturday, July 20, 1878.

¹⁶⁰ R. H. Lang, *Cyprus: Its History* (London, 1878), preface.

Lang's book encompasses his life on Cyprus, as well as the ancient and modern history of the island. Management of the bank, to which all customs, salt and excise revenues were paid, gave him the opportunity to study taxation and administration and to interact with Turkish functionaries. He also engaged in archaeological excavations, selling many antiquities (especially ancient coins) to museums in London. How he managed his own farm on Cyprus is detailed at the end of the book.

Two other publications are of particular interest because they document some of the activities of British administrators, soldiers and their families in the first few years of the occupation. Sir Samuel and Lady Baker arrived at Larnaca on January 4, 1879, and began an island tour in a gypsy caravan and covered wagon specially designed and brought from England. This they abandoned in favor of pack animals to travel to the interior: the Carpass Peninsula, Paphos, Limassol and the mountains. They settled near the monastery of Tröodhitissa, where Sir Baker penned *Cyprus as I Saw It in 1879*, published in London that year.¹⁶¹

A second book of interest is Major Benjamin Donne's *Records of the Ottoman Conquest of Cyprus - Cyprus Guide and Directory*. Donne's book was written between 1880 and 1882 and published in Limassol in 1885, the first book in the English language to be published on Cyprus. It gives an extensive description of the history of Cyprus and its people as well as the accomplishments of the British administration in those years, illustrated with Donne's own watercolor paintings.¹⁶² Especially clever is a poem that

¹⁶¹ Sir Samuel White Baker, *Cyprus as I Saw It in 1879* (London, 1879).

¹⁶² Major Benjamin Donne, *Records of the Ottoman Conquest of Cyprus and Cyprus Guide and Directory* (Limassol, 1885) 2000 ed. Benjamin Donisthorpe Alsop Donne C. B. (1856-1907) was educated at Wellington College and Sandhurst before serving in Jamaica, Barbados, Malta, Cyprus and Egypt, rising to

Donne used as a frontispiece, titled “The Birth of Cyprus”, by Lieutenant Henry Melville Johnstone of the Royal Engineers. Written in the form of a classical Ode in rhymed couplets, Johnstone’s poem celebrates the isle created by Olympian gods, but (again recalling the good government argument) begs the British blessing:

And thus the Isle that Jove bade me prepare
Was blessed by many gods with blessings rare;
And now that all these ancient gods are flown,
Do ye who’ve made the Island all your own
Bless with your ever civilizing care
The woful wreck the Turk has left you there!¹⁶³

Thus the “woful wreck” of an island helped make the careers of more than a few journalists and writers.

Popular media spread information and propaganda about the Empire generally, influencing the educational system, the armed forces, uniformed youth movements, churches and missionary societies, exhibitions and even public entertainment like the music hall, with popular songs like “A Sailor’s Wooing”, “England’s Trust”, “My Love

Lieutenant-Colonel in 1898. He commanded the Camel Corps in Egypt in 1883 and the 3rd Egyptian Battalion during the Nile Campaign of 1885. He distinguished himself in Egypt and India (1896) and during the Boer War. At his death at age 51, Donne was working on a manuscript on “the Mediterranean” covering his own journeys in the footsteps of St. Paul and his studies of the sieges by the Turks of the Venetian fortresses in Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus. (Biographical note, by Philip Christian, ed., in Major B. Donne, *Records of the Ottoman Conquest of Cyprus*, 2000 ed., p. 13)

¹⁶³ Lieutenant H. M. Johnstone, RE, “The Birth of Cyprus”, frontispiece in Donne, *Records of the Ottoman Conquest* (Limassol, Cyprus, 1885). The poem recalls the pagan creation myth through a dream sequence related by the narrator, showing how Jove (Zeus), Vulcan (Hepheastus), Neptune (Poseidon), and Venus (Aphrodite), Ceres, Bacchus and Pan created Cyprus out of the sea. Lieutenant Johnstone (1857-1923) served in Cyprus from 1882 to 1885. (Philip Christian, editor’s notes to *Records of the Ottoman Conquest of Cyprus*, p. 61)

is but a Sailor Boy”¹⁶⁴. Magazines incorporating patriotic and imperial material had acquired a middle-class following as early as the 1860s. Publications for boys, in particular, like E. J. Brett’s *Boys of England* (1866), *Young Men of Great Britain* (1868), and *Rovers of the Sea* (1872), and W. L. Emmett’s *Sons of Britannia* in the same period were successful enough to set precedents for the more wildly popular journals in the 1880s. *Boys of England* sold 250,000 copies in the 1870s, but this paled in comparison to the new literature beginning at the end of that decade that blatantly focused on nationalist, racial, and militarist adventure stories and historical romances. *The Boys’ Own Paper*, first published in 1879 and lasting until 1967, sold over one million copies within the first few years. These magazines and books like *Heroes of Discovery* (1877) included stories about cricket and rugby players as well as army and naval officers, missionaries, colonial administrators, and military heroes.¹⁶⁵ Naturally the presence on Cyprus of the war hero General Wolseley as the first High Commissioner became a subject of interest.

Sir Garnet Joseph (Viscount) Wolseley (1833-1913), served in Burma and the Crimea and in early 1874 established his reputation as the “Modern Major-General” at Asante in the Gold Coast. (He is the hero portrayed in Gilbert and Sullivan’s *Pirates of*

¹⁶⁴ Book review in *The Illustrated London News*, Aug. 24, 1878: “A Sailor’s Wooing” by J. L. Roeckel; “England’s Trust”, a patriotic song, words by Edward Oxenford, music by C. H. R. Marriott; “My Love is but a Sailor Boy” by A. S. Gatty (Enoch & Sons).

¹⁶⁵ John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire* (Manchester, 1984), pp. 202-3. The heroes of the stories in the journals include imperial adventurers and military heroes – “contemporary hero-worship”, which became a considerable industry by the end of the century. In addition to magazines, popular books on this subject thrived, including a series by Marcus Ward in 1877 called *Heroes of Discovery*. (MacKenzie, pp. 213-4) MacKenzie suggests that this movement toward impressing young boys and families about imperial professions led to the founding of the Boys’ Empire League between 1900 and 1903, which was intended by its founder Howard Spicer to be the “embodiment and mouthpiece of the imperial idea.” The Boys’ Empire League soon had 10,000 members. (MacKenzie, p. 205)

Penzance.) He received his promotion to Lieutenant-General on March 25, 1878, and on July 22 became the first High Commissioner and Governor-General of Cyprus.¹⁶⁶ But he did not have a particularly congenial relationship with reporters and he resented his covert activities becoming public knowledge. “These gentlemen,” he complained earlier in the Gold Coast, “pandering to the public taste for news, render concealment most difficult.” Nor did he recognize their service to the Army and the country in the Crimea (such as Billy Russell, correspondent of *The Times*), describing news correspondents in the first edition of his *Soldiers’ Pocket Book* as “those newly invented curses to armies, who eat all the rations of fighting men and do no work at all”.¹⁶⁷

To the dismay of Wolseley and the Conservative Government, one of the journalists who had gained notoriety with a controversial article condemning Bulgarians in 1876, Archibald Forbes, reported for the *Daily News* in 1878 on the occupation of Cyprus and “exposed the sickness and mortality of the garrison”.¹⁶⁸ When questioned by Parliament about a similar article in *The Times* about the deaths and the deplorable conditions endured by the British troops, Wolseley reportedly responded that the numbers were greatly exaggerated and that only a few men had died, and that incidents were rapidly declining.¹⁶⁹ Perhaps in response to his critics, early in 1879 Wolseley wrote a private letter that was intercepted and published in *MacMillan’s Magazine*:

¹⁶⁶ Ian W. Beckett, “Garnet Joseph Wolseley” in *DNB* (Oxford, 2004-6).

¹⁶⁷ Sir F. Maurice and Sir George Arthur, *The Life of Lord Wolseley* (London, 1924), p. 66.

¹⁶⁸ The first troops had been hit by malaria and one died (“Forbes, Archibald” by Rogert T. Stearn, *DNB*). Writing to his wife, Wolseley suggested, “Whilst I think of it, remember to take in the *Daily News*, for Mr. Forbes of that paper is here and will send home letters describing our doings.” (Letter from Lord Wolseley to Lady Wolseley, in Sir George Arthur, ed., *The Letters of Lord and Lady Wolseley 1870-1911*, London, 1922, pp. 30-31)

¹⁶⁹ *Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates*, No. 244, Mar. 3, 1879-Mar. 28, 1879, pp. 1318-1319.

The fact is that everything is and has been going on admirably: it pleases the ___ and ___, who write on that side of the question, to make out that Cyprus is a sort of earthly hell, whereas it is far from being so; and all those who have been loudest in abusing it will by and by confess their mistake, and pronounce it, as the Mediterranean stations go, by no means a bad one, if not, as I believe it to be, the best of any of them...

I feel certain that, when the men are well lodged in good barracks in well-selected positions, the troops will be healthier here than the garrison of Malta... To live in bell-tents, with the thermometer in a hospital marquee at 113° Fahr., is almost impossible to any animal except a salamander.

But soldiers were not intended to be employed only in the garden of Eden. We must take the rough with the smooth and when we find ourselves in a bad corner, why, our good breeding and soldier-like feeling should make us grin and bear the discomfort which Kismet has thrown in our way, even although the discomfort be accompanied with danger arising from local maladies. Why, what stuff men talk of death or disease, when any day in London more creatures may be killed in a ferry steamboat than in a general action.

However, suffice it to say that Cyprus is going to be a great success; I shall have a surplus this year... Next year I hope to embark upon some more important public works. Laugh at any one who tells you Cyprus is not going to be a complete success.¹⁷⁰

Wolseley used the media to counter public opinion which by now swung wildly between praise and criticism but nevertheless remained intrigued with the occupation of an island that even Wolseley admitted was no “garden of Eden”.¹⁷¹

There were, of course, critics of empire who disdained the occupation of Cyprus altogether, regardless of the heroic status of its new High Commissioner. Edwin V.

¹⁷⁰ “Letter from Cyprus,” in *MacMillan’s Magazine*, London: Vol. 39, Nov. 1878-April 1879, p. 96.

¹⁷¹ The Duke of Cambridge and some senior officers believed that Wolseley had advanced his career by manipulating the press, by advocating reform, and by his connections with Radical politicians (Edward Spiers, *The Late Victorian Army*, Manchester, 1992, p. 70). Maurice and Arthur describe how Wolseley resented the news correspondents’ “ardour for information” but used them as a medium by which to deceive the enemy, for example in the Ashante War when he let it be known that he was going to the rescue of a detachment on the Volta to the east, and then promptly marched due west to Essaman and captured it by surprise (Sir F. Maurice and Sir George Arthur, *The Life of Lord Wolseley* (London, 1924), p. 66.)

Page's popular comic stanzas of "What Shall We Do With Cyprus?" more than hinted that Britain had too many colonies already, but perhaps Cyprus was a good place to dump the aristocracy.¹⁷²

Photographers

The opening of new, uncharted British territory on Cyprus tempted numerous geographic explorers, adventure writers, historians, and archaeologists, as well as artists, photographers and cartographers who in this period worked both in government service and for the popular press.¹⁷³ One celebrated travel photographer, John Thomson, who developed mass production techniques while photographing landscapes and people in China and street life in London¹⁷⁴, turned his camera toward Cyprus in the autumn of 1878. His purpose for visiting Cyprus, he said, was twofold: "first, to obtain a series of photographs which would convey some idea of the place and the people; and, secondly, to procure such information as would be valuable towards the same end."¹⁷⁵ Producing

¹⁷² Words by Edwin V. Page, music by Vincent Davies, sung by Arthur Roberts and J. W. Rowley, from the collection of Max Tyler, Historian of the British Music Hall Society, noted by Bernard Porter in *The Absent-Minded Imperialists* (Oxford, 2004), p. 152.

¹⁷³ Traveling photographers went to North Africa, Egypt, India, Burma, and China from the 1850s with "both a new taste for exotica and a fascination with the technology, the ships, railways, post offices, troops and arms, which facilitated Western intrusion in far-flung parts of the globe". (John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, Manchester, 1984).

¹⁷⁴ John Thomson, *Illustrations of China and its People* (1873-4), and John Thomson with Adolphe Smith, *Street Life in London* (1877).

¹⁷⁵ "Photographing in Cyprus," in *The British Journal of Photography*, Vol. 25 (Nov. 29), 1878, p. 571. In 1902, the Colonial Office established the Colonial Office Visual Instruction Committee (COVIC) to provide for the people of the United Kingdom, the Dominions, and colonies "a more vivid and accurate knowledge than they possess of the geography, social life, and the economic possibilities of the different parts of the empire" (MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, 1984, p. 162). Mackenzie refers to the report of Sir Charles Lucas on the Visual Instruction Committee printed for the use of the Colonial Office, miscellaneous No.265, Sept. 1911, and on the summary of the COVIC reports held at the Royal Commonwealth Society Library. See also Buckland, *Reality Recorded: Early Documentary Photography* (1974).

60 photographic plates in two volumes titled *Through Cyprus with the Camera in the Autumn of 1878*, Thomson claimed to present “incontestable evidence of the present condition of Cyprus” upon British occupation.¹⁷⁶ He argued that his photographs demonstrated the great colonial prospects available to the new regime, such as ports, salt ponds, and forests.¹⁷⁷

With the production of photographs illustrating the island’s landscape, people, towns, villages, and archaeological ruins, Thomson joined an emerging class of scientific experts interested in the Empire.¹⁷⁸ At the monthly meeting of the Royal Geographical Society in January, 1879, Thomson described the island with great authority:

Larnaca seen from the roads, with its domes and minarets bathed in sunshine, and its gardens shaded by fig-trees and date-palms, forms one of the most pleasing pictures in the Levant. But a closer inspection of the buildings on the Marina is not so satisfactory. True, the houses, and wreckage of landing-stages and waterside cafés, are the most picturesque and rich in the forms and colours that delight the eye of an artist; but the evidences of neglect and decay are most depressing.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ John Thomson, *Through Cyprus with the Camera, in the Autumn of 1878* (London, 1879), 2 vols., cited in James Ryan, *Picturing Empire* (1997), p. 69. Some of these photographs, and some of China and London, are reprinted in Stephen White, *John Thomson, Life and Photographs* (1985). In Cyprus, Thomson employed a local shopkeeper as a guide and packed “one of Rouch’s tents, as small a quantity of chemicals as he could carry for the wet process, some collodion emulsion for the dry, and a small portmanteau of supplies. (“Photographing in Cyprus,” in *The British Journal of Photography*, 1878, p. 571)

¹⁷⁷ James Ryan, *Picturing Empire* (London, 1997), p. 69.

¹⁷⁸ See J. M. Hodge, *Triumph of the Expert* (Athens, Ohio, 2007) for the increasing dependence of the Colonial Office on scientific experts.

¹⁷⁹ J. Thomson, “A Journey through Cyprus in the Autumn of 1878,” in *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography* (Feb., 1879), p. 97.

Thomson happily played the role of imperialist for the Royal Geographic Society. He declared that “Famagousta is naturally fitted for the construction of a spacious haven,” with natural advantages for the reconstruction of the once famous harbor there.¹⁸⁰

Captain F. J. Evans, hydrographer to the Admiralty, responded that he too had visited Famagousta and perceived it as having “a very interesting bearing on the future of Cyprus from both a military and a naval point of view” and pointed to the great importance of Famagousta “if the need should arise.” Dr. Phené then rose and stated that Neo Paphos might make a better harbor, but more importantly Nicosia should be the site of a camp or residence, since sanitary conditions were better inland.¹⁸¹ Professional and amateur alike thought they knew what would benefit the Empire¹⁸². Nevertheless, Thomson’s photographs are valuable as a view of Cyprus from a man-on-the-spot. Although they were probably staged in order to portray a natural setting, such as “Native Group, Nicosia, 1878”, in which Thomson organized five men and three children into several small groups, or “Women at the well, Levka” (fig. 2.2) and “A Street in Larnaka” (fig. 2.3)¹⁸³, he argued that “the faithfulness of...pictures affords the nearest approach that can be made toward placing the reader actually before the scene which is

¹⁸⁰ The port at Famagousta was considered by the Colonial Office to be the primary goal of redevelopment for strategic purposes (Letter from Lord Salisbury to Colonel Biddulph, July 4, 1879, No. 28, Secret, FO 78/3373).

¹⁸¹ J. Thomson, “A Journey Through Cyprus in the Autumn of 1878,” read at the Evening Meeting, January 13, 1879, of the Royal Geographic Society, in *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*, New Monthly Series, Vol. 1, No. 2, Feb., 1879, pp. 97-105.

¹⁸² The great interest in science in the late nineteenth century is demonstrated in the increase of membership in British learned societies, which in 1880 was around 44,000 (Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire 1875-1914*, London, 1987, p. 30). Lord Salisbury’s scientific interests included curiosity about Professor Bell’s telephone: He said “nothing would give me greater pleasure than to infringe Professor Bell’s Patent by manufacturing my own telephone...How do you make a telephone?” (Salisbury to McLeod, Feb. 1874, Salisbury Papers, quoted in J.A.S. Grenville, *Lord Salisbury and Foreign Policy*, London, 1964, p. 7, n. 2).

¹⁸³ Stephen White, *John Thomson, Life and Photographs* (London, 1985), p. 194.

represented.”¹⁸⁴ Referring to another lecture, this time to the Photographic Society of Great Britain, Thomson noted that the oral and written information he presented had corrected many mistaken impressions that had reached Britain earlier.¹⁸⁵

Interestingly, a Franco-Levantine from Smyrna, not an Englishman, became a favored photographer of the British forces on Cyprus. At age 26, J. P. Foscolo (1852-1927) arrived in the island in 1878 on the advice of English friends. An experienced photographer, Foscolo opened a photographic shop in Limassol, first at 98 Victoria Street and then on the corner of St. Andrew’s and Iphigenia Streets, where he became known as an artist. He photographed Cypriot families in his studio and at their homes, as well as ordinary townspeople at work. He also followed the British troops, photographing the camps, official events, government buildings, and general views of the area including panoramic views of Limassol Port, Old Famagusta and the Kyrenia harbor. Foscolo produced a series of postcards on Cyprus that were printed in Germany or sometimes in his own laboratory by his assistant Edward Voskeritchian, who later set up his own studio in Limassol. Foscolo, like Thomson, often posed his subjects, but his work serves as a valuable documentary of the early years of the British occupation.¹⁸⁶

Later in the British occupation, numerous photographers set up studios, producing family portraits and documenting the island and government events. Among a group of

¹⁸⁴ Elliot Parker, “John Thomson, 1837-1921”, in *The Geographical Journal* (Nov., 1978), p. 470.

¹⁸⁵ “Photographing in Cyprus,” in *The British Journal of Photography*, Vol. 25 (Nov. 29), 1878, p. 571. Thomson’s report to the Photographic Society of Great Britain included tips on working in hot climates and described the haze in the mountain ranges, in short, how to look at scenes “with a photographic eye.” He said “the tumble-down houses and dilapidated, groggy-looking piers standing up in the water” were “very fine indeed for pictorial purposes, but not of much use for anything else.” Thomson was elected a member of the Royal Photographic Society in 1879 (see Stephen White, *John Thomson, Life and Photographs*, London, 1985).

¹⁸⁶ Andreas Malecos, ed., English trans. by Lana der Parthogh, *J. P. Foscolo* (Cyprus Cultural Bank, 1992), Introduction.

Armenian refugees from Cilicia was the Mangoian family, who arrived in Larnaca in December 1920. Haigaz Mangoian, a budding photographer at age 12, attended the American Academy in Cyprus and later with his brother Levon established a photographic studio in Famagusta. They then moved to Nicosia, where they became the official photographers of the colonial Government of Cyprus. Their book of photographs, *The Island of Cyprus, an illustrated Guide and Handbook*, published in 1947, covers Cyprus and British colonial rule from 1920 to 1960.¹⁸⁷

Photographs complemented British Colonial Office documents, newspaper articles, sketches and personal travelogues through the early decades of the occupation, perhaps demonstrating the scale of buildings, landscape, ships, encampments, and people as larger than might be imagined for a small island. They also provided information that enabled the new administration to better understand their acquisition. Additionally, the growth of professional photography—one of the scientific professions emerging in the second half of the nineteenth century—benefited from the opportunity to work in a Mediterranean territory previously unseen by most Britons.

¹⁸⁷ Anna G. Marangou, *Haigaz mangoian 1907-1970*, Cyprus Popular Bank (1996), p. 19-23.



Figure 2.2. “Women at the well, Levka” photograph by John Thomson, in *Through Cyprus with a Camera in the Autumn of 1878*. In Cavendish, *Cyprus 1878: The Journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley* (1991), plate 34, p. 66.



Figure 2.3. “A Street in Larnaca,” photograph by John Thomson. In Cavendish, *Cyprus 1878: The Journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley* (1991), plate 38, p. 77.

Visions of wealth

Almost concurrent with the occupation of Cyprus in the summer of 1878, the economic benefits of imperialism to the British Empire were being lauded at the 1878 Paris Universal Exhibition. The exhibits of the African colonies, in particular, including wine (winner of three gold medals), wool, mohair, angora, diamonds, gold nuggets, and “the only undressed ostrich feathers to be found in the Exhibition...illustrating an industry which has developed in a most remarkable manner of recent years”,¹⁸⁸ whetted the British appetite for luxury goods that could be procured from the far reaches of the Empire. His Royal Highness Prince Albert Edward of Wales described the great success of the exhibition, such as the “granary of Australia”:

She also furnishes to the mother country some of the finest descriptions of grain... whilst the wines and oils shown give promise of a rich reward to capitalists and labour.¹⁸⁹

The youngest of British possessions (before Cyprus), the Fiji Islands, was awarded several gold medals for the quality of its cotton.

Cyprus, too, could provide colonial luxury goods like silk, wine, tobacco, olive oil, and American-seed cotton—given the proper development (or exploitation), and by the time of the occupation in July 1878, improvements in agricultural development seemed possible. Consul Lang had earlier imported English ploughs, harrows, and so forth, but found that the “natives could not give him effective aid with these implements,” so he

¹⁸⁸ HRH Prince Albert Edward of Wales, K. G. to Sir Michael Hicks Beach, Dec. 9, 1878, British Parliamentary Papers, Colonies-General, No. 19, Session 1878-79.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

replaced them with the best models of the native plough. He reported in August 1878 that “...the results of his efforts in the way of agriculture surpassed all his expectations.”¹⁹⁰ Writing for *MacMillan’s Magazine* in 1878, Lang called for the need to make the island prosperous, devoting seven pages to the potential agricultural and mineral wealth of the island.¹⁹¹ He makes clear that this wealth should find its way back home to Britain. *The Illustrated London News* quotes Lang on July 27, 1878, saying that “The land is all for sale, and at most moderate rates” and, under certain conditions (simple diet and temperance in habit, since the climate was difficult for Europeans), “capital invested would certainly find a handsome return in agricultural enterprise in Cyprus.” He warns about the “unequal nature” of the climate but suggests that the wide diversity of crops provides good yields in some areas to set off bad years in others.¹⁹² The article continues:

As regards the temptations Cyprus offers to European capital, a glance at commercial returns will show the very varied nature of the goods in which it deals. Among its exports are raw cotton, wool, salt, dyes, silk, oil seeds, wine, locust beans (Russia imports them to the value of £42,000 per annum), hides, dried fruit, wheat and barley; while its imports include, as the larger items, cotton, woolen, and leather goods, tobacco, sugar, coffee, salt fish, rice, butter, hardware, iron, spirits, soap, and glass.¹⁹³

Lang assumed, of course, that all these commercial returns now belonged to Britain. Wine, cotton, dried fruit, silk and tobacco from Cyprus could be the new luxury goods demanded by Britain and her other colonies, given the proper advertising and trade

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., note on p. 98.

¹⁹¹ Lang, “Cyprus”, Parts I and II, in *MacMillan’s Magazine*, Vol. XXXVIII, May 1878 to October 1878, pp. 325-347.

¹⁹² Vice-Consul White (The General and Statistic Report of Vice-Consul White, March 1863, cited in “Report on Cyprus”, preface, p. 2, by Captain A. R. Savile, 31 Aug. 1878, WO 106/6112), noted droughts every fifth or sixth year, blights in April and May, and hot summer winds.

¹⁹³ *The Illustrated London News*, July 27, 1878, p. 85.

connections, whereas Cyprus emerges as a new, ready market for finished goods, coffee, sugar, and rice from other parts of the Empire.

Even before the occupation was announced, rumors of it spurred agents for a Cypriot living in Constantinople named Zariphes to buy land at Paphos for between £2000 and £3000 sterling in the expectation that the harbour of Paphos would be cleared and property values would rise. A telegram on July 15 from Syra to *The Daily News* announced the sale, and an influx of what *The Times* described as “a farrago of adventuring foreigners of every nationality and description” began.¹⁹⁴ Sir Harry Luke writes that at the end of June, “an unwonted influx of visitors” from Istanbul swarmed into Larnaca, buying up all the real estate “on which they could lay their hands”. He mentions in particular a young Ottoman Greek known as Zacharias Vasilios Zachariades, or “Z.Z.”, who later, calling himself Sir Basil Zaharoff, became the husband of a Bourbon princess and a multi-millionaire based on this early speculation in Cyprus.¹⁹⁵

Between the late 1870s and 1890s, the boom in Ottoman imports and exports slowed to half the pace of the three preceding decades, due to a decline in Western demand during an international depression.¹⁹⁶ Nevertheless, Cyprus in 1878 was grossly promoted to British investors as virtually virgin territory, teeming with resources waiting for development. The propaganda succeeded to a limited extent, despite the wariness of

¹⁹⁴ Konstantinides, ‘ΑΑγγλική Κατοχή, pp. 68-9, 108, quoted in G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus, Vol. IV* (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 286-7.

¹⁹⁵ Sir Harry Luke, *Cyprus, A Portrait and Appreciation* (NY, 1957), p. 83. Luke first visited and traveled in Cyprus in 1908. After “a case of love at first sight for Cyprus”, he returned in 1911 as Private Secretary to Sir Hamilton Goold-Adams and as Clerk of the Executive Council. In 1912 he became Assistant Secretary to the Government, in 1917 Commissioner of Paphos, and in 1918 Commissioner of Famagusta. In retirement he spent his winters in Kyrenia and finished his book there in 1956. (Luke, pp. 17-19)

¹⁹⁶ H. İnalcık and D. Quataert, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, Vol. 2, (Cambridge, 1994), p. 829.

investors after the Ottoman default of 1876.¹⁹⁷ Cyprus High Commissioner Biddulph in 1882 estimated the trade:

In 1878 the sudden influx caused by the British occupation raised the trade to something under 2*l.* per head. Mr. Fairfield shows that in 1880 it was 2*l.*11*s.*10*d.* per head, and in 1881 it rose to 3*l.*0*s.*6*d.* These figures are sufficient to show that the volume of foreign trade is expanding in an extraordinary manner.¹⁹⁸

Within the first few years numerous commercial enterprises established themselves in Cyprus or in export relationships with businesses in Cyprus, ranging from real estate agents and cotton exporters to banking concerns.

The Imperial Ottoman Bank, for example, as the only bank on the island when the British took control, found itself in competition with the Anglo-Egyptian Bank, a British-registered bank with branches in Egypt, when that bank opened branches beginning in 1879 in Nicosia, Limassol, Paphos and Kyrenia.¹⁹⁹ Apparently wealth and commerce no longer existed only in the British imagination.

¹⁹⁷ P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism 1688-2000* (Harlow, 1993 (2001)), p. 345. The authors note "After the 1880s, Britain ceased to be the leading source of new foreign finance in the Ottoman Empire." According to Olive Anderson, Britain expected Turkey to default, seeing "grounds for alarm" as early as September 1856: (F.O. 78/1158), in "Great Britain and the Beginning of the Ottoman Public Debt, 1854-55, *The Historical Journal*, VII, I (1964), pp. 47-63.

¹⁹⁸ Biddulph to Earl of Kimberley, Cyprus No. 397, Nicosia, Nov. 38, 1882, Mediterranean No. 8, Finances and Administration of Cyprus, Sir Biddulph's Reply to Mr. Fairfield's Memorandum (in continuation of Mediterranean, no. 5), Colonial Office, May 1883, CO 883/2, p. 21

¹⁹⁹ *Bankers' Almanac and Year Book*, 1880, cited in Kate Phylaktis, "Banking in a British Colony: Cyprus 1878-1959," in *Business History* (Great Britain), 1988, 30(4), pp. 416-431 (417). According to Phylaktis, the Imperial Ottoman Bank, a Turkish-registered bank created in 1863, "was virtually an Anglo-French creation" with management control in London and Paris; by the 1880s the French held most of the equity. The first Cyprus branch opened in Larnaca in May 1864, probably in order to tap the Cyprus trade in cotton that increased in the early 1860s. (The American Civil War in 1861-65 thwarted the American cotton trade.)

Cyprus and the British Museum

One of the attractions of Cyprus for many Britons was its ancient past, particularly in an era of growing interest in adventure travel and the recognition of archaeology as a serious profession. The popularity of archaeology began in the early nineteenth century as treasure hunters acquired wealth selling their finds to new museums in London, New York, Berlin and Paris. Darwinism and other philosophical and scientific ideas helped develop the field into a profession in the late nineteenth century, aided by public interest in the discoveries of Schliemann at Troy between 1870 and 1873.²⁰⁰ Cyprus offered similar possibilities.

In 1754, Alexander Drummond, British Consul in Aleppo, visited Cyprus and published details of various archaeological sites. In 1801, the British consul on Cyprus, Signor Peristiani, excavated “thirty idols belonging to the most ancient mythology of the heathen world”, which found their way to the British ambassador in Constantinople²⁰¹ and presumably on to London. Throughout the nineteenth century, displays of antiquities from Cyprus found ready audiences in Britain’s burgeoning museums, and scientific societies sought information about Cyprus archaeology. Thomas B. Sandwith, British Vice-Consul on Cyprus, wrote to the Society of Antiquaries of London on May 1871:

Recent excavations in Cyprus have brought to light a vast number of tombs of the primitive inhabitants of the Island, and a careful examination of the contents of these will help us to understand something of the manners,

²⁰⁰ Louise Steel, “The British Museum and the invention of the Cypriot Late Bronze Age”, in V. Tatton-Brown, ed., *Cyprus in the 19th Century AD* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 160-167 (160).

²⁰¹ Anna G. Marangou, *Life & Deeds: The Consul Luigi Palma di Cesnola 1832-1904: The Antiquities of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 2000), pp. 29-31.

ideas, and artistic character of the different peoples whose remains are there deposited.²⁰²

The paper read by Sandwith, who was not a member of the Society, was titled “On the different styles of Pottery found in Ancient Tombs in the Island of Cyprus” and later published by the Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries of London, a pre-eminent group involved in archaeological research.²⁰³

An important source of support for Cypriot archaeology was a bequest from Miss Emma Turner to the British Museum that financed a series of excavations on Cyprus between 1894 and 1896 at Amathus, Kourion and Enkomi. In 1890, the Cyprus Exploration Fund supported excavations of the classical city of Salami on the east coast of Cyprus. In these projects, in tombs, sanctuaries, and ancient cities, archaeologists found pottery, coins, carved stone tablets, and bronze, ivory, gold and silver goods from the Iron Age to Late Bronze Age and Hellenistic periods. Unfortunately, archaeology in Cyprus during this early period of the profession, before sophisticated technology was available, coupled with the deep pockets of museums and the greed of explorers, resulted in serious exploitation and careless devastation of Cypriot heritage sites.²⁰⁴ In fact, the British attacked archaeology like imperialists attacked new territories, that is, with the full expectation that whatever was found, or conquered, belonged to Britain. Consul Lang’s writing reveals this sense of imperial privilege:

²⁰² R. S. Merrillees, “T. B. Sandwith and the beginnings of Cypriote archaeology”, in V. Tatton-Brown, ed., *Cyprus in the 19th Century AD* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 222-235 (222).

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 222-223.

²⁰⁴ Louise Steel, “The British Museum and the invention of the Cypriot Late Bronze Age”, in V. Tatton-Brown, ed., *Cyprus in the 19th Century AD* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 160-167 (160-2). Steel calls the early British Museum excavations in Cyprus “problematic” in terms of modern standards of retrieval and recording and scientific methods of conservation and analysis.

In 1870 five young men were digging for statuettes in these same sandhills, when one of them came upon a bronze vase. He raised it. It broke in his hands, when, to his amazement, he saw shining coins running out of it...the contents of the vase were divided amongst the five, each taking a handful at a time...the wife of one of them, in her joy and fear, could not contain the secret. She went and told it to Mr. Pierides [British consul], who came and told it to me. In a few hours we obtained possession of about 600 gold staters of Philip and Alexander the Great, for an equal number of Napoleons. Still this was not all—some had been kept back—and it was not until after several months that we acquired the whole find with the exception of about 100 pieces...I disposed of five hundred of the common impressions at Constantinople. I parted with fifteen beautiful pieces to the Duke of Sutherland, and the choicer types I carried to England to compare with those in the British Museum.²⁰⁵

In this case, the five young men earned about 800*l*. Lang in turn made a reputation for himself with the Numismatic Society of London when in 1871 he presented a paper on Cyprian coinage.²⁰⁶

It seems, however, that of all the consular body at Larnaca, the British Consul was the only one unable to obtain from Constantinople a *firman* (license) for excavating. Lang solved this problem by digging around the order:

Fortunately my position in the island sufficed to secure that I should not be molested, and when the governor told me one day, during excavations at Dali, that he ought to stop me because I had no firman, I answered him jokingly that he needed a firman to stop me, which he had not.²⁰⁷

It should be noted that the consuls of other countries easily received firmans to excavate, but no doubt the Turkish authorities anticipated the ambitions of British archaeologists.

²⁰⁵ R. H. Lang, *Cyprus: Its History* (London, 1878), pp. 335-339.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 352.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 339.

Lang described how he sold a particularly desirable colossal statue (seven feet high), which he took from the temple at Pila, to the captain of an Austrian frigate. After sunset, the captain sent ashore half-a-dozen sailors with a stretcher. The statue was placed on the stretcher and covered with a sheet. Then,

The sailors, without any ado, carried off their load and passed the custom-house guard, who remained impassive, probably wondering whether it was a dead or drunken man who was being carried off by his comrades.²⁰⁸

As Lang observed, «Cela se fait, mais ne se dit pas ».²⁰⁹

The British Museum in London, established in 1753, began receiving contributions of Cyprus antiquities in 1824 with the bequest of the coin collection of the noted antiquary, Richard Payne Knight. Henry Christy, banker and ethnologist, bequeathed his collection of eight stone sculptures, twenty terracottas and an inscription collected in Larnaca in 1852. British Consuls in Cyprus donated as well, such as D. E. Conaghi, who presented over three hundred terracottas to the museum in 1866. Other items from unofficial excavations (without Cypriot permission) included a large number of coins, stone statues, and statuettes of terracotta and bronze acquired from Lang in 1871 and 1902.²¹⁰ There was great interest in excavations on Cyprus because they revealed a wealth of ancient pottery, jewelry, sculpture and coins—a seemingly unlimited palate of

²⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 340.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 339.

²¹⁰ Veronica Tatton-Brown, *Ancient Cyprus* (British Museum Publications, 1987), p. 4. H. D. Purcell wrote, in *Cyprus* (London, 1969), p. 217, “In the days before Cambridge liberals began to reject the experience of the past as incompatible with their ideology, the learned world was united in its desire to learn from antiquity; and educated Britons, then as now, were particularly interested in archaeology.”

Early and Middle Bronze Age²¹¹, Hellenistic, and Roman artifacts, and especially the Classical Age material that was the most sought-after at the time.

In fact, in 1878 Cyprus was the only site available for classical archaeology under British rule²¹², although British excavations littered shards among the ruins in private sites throughout the Mediterranean and Asia Minor²¹³. It was unfortunate for the Cypriots that their ancient cultural heritage was being shipped out of the island to other countries. By 1859 a French consul lamented that “There is no collection of antiquities in Cyprus; everything has been sold to the English, the French and the German travelers as soon as they were discovered.”²¹⁴ Apparently, however, enough pieces were left to form the Cyprus Government Collection of Antiquities under the Ottoman Law of 1874. By this law the Government acquired a third part of the finds in any excavation, but surreptitious excavations and looting continued.²¹⁵ Perhaps the most extensive illegal excavations in Cyprus were made in the 1860s and 1870s by “General” Luigi Palma di Cesnola, the American Consul in Cyprus from 1865 to 1876 and first Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Most of his collection was sold to the

²¹¹ See Louise Steel, “The British Museum and the invention of the Cypriot Late Bronze Age”, pp. 160-167, and J. Lesley Fitton, “Excavations in Cyprus and the ‘Mycenean Question’”, pp. 149-152, in Veronica Tatton-Brown, ed., *Cyprus in the 19th Century AD* (Oxford, 2001).

²¹² Ibid. The more recent Byzantine past seemed irrelevant at the time. A new chair in Classical Archaeology was established at Oxford in 1881 (John Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion*, Oxford, 1987, p. 76).

²¹³ John Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 83-84. Charles Fellows negotiated with Turkish authorities to remove several tons of sculpture from ruins of thirteen forgotten cities to the British Museum between 1838 and 1844. Arthur Evans, the wealthy Welshman, discovered the legendary city of Knossos and acquired that site as his personal freehold in 1894. Charles Newton, appointed Keeper of the Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum in 1861, promoted archaeological surveys and digs at Cyrene, Ephesus, Rhodes, Cyprus and Sicily. He and Evans were knighted in recognition of achievements in Classical archaeology.

²¹⁴ Theodoros Papadopoulos, *Ta Proxenika Eggrafa tou 19ou aionos*, quoted in Marangou, *Life & Deeds* (Nicosia, 2000), pp. 30-31.

²¹⁵ John Myres and Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, *A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum* (Oxford, 1899), pp. v-vi.

Metropolitan Museum but in 1871 and 1876 he also sold over one hundred items of pottery, bronze and terracotta to the British Museum.²¹⁶

In the first months of the occupation High Commissioner Wolseley halted new excavations.²¹⁷ Sir Samuel Baker complained that “the stringent prohibition of the British Authorities against a search for antiquities in Cyprus had destroyed the interest which would otherwise have been taken by travelers in such explorations...there are no remains to attract attention upon the surface, but all ancient works are buried far beneath, therefore...the practical study of the past is impossible, and it is a sealed book.”²¹⁸ Excavations by the British Museum and by Cesnola already in progress were stopped when Greek Cypriot representatives petitioned the new Government for protection from such random excavations and exploitation of ancient monuments.²¹⁹

While Cesnola had excavated pottery and sculpture for the Metropolitan Museum in New York, a German archaeologist living in Cyprus, Max Ohnelfasch-Richter, excavated and purchased antiquities for sale to Berlin museums. Despite the Cypriot concern, the commercial potential of such excavations soon led Wolseley to retract the restrictions. He reasoned that excavations might be allowed if scientifically conducted and urged that the British Museum should send out “some scientific man” to explore the ancient sites. Salisbury, however, refused to finance an archaeologist to be sent from the British Museum, so Richter, a “local” archaeologist, was employed by Charles Newton of the British Museum to dig at Salamis in 1880. He excavated for the British Museum in

²¹⁶ Veronica Tatton-Brown, *Ancient Cyprus* (British Museum Publications, 1987), p. 4.

²¹⁷ Marangou, *Life & Deeds* (Nicosia, 2000), p. 350.

²¹⁸ Sir Samuel Baker, *Cyprus as I saw it in 1879* (London, 1879), p. 145, quoted in Marangou, *Life and Deeds* (Nicosia, 2000), p. 351.

²¹⁹ Marangou, *Life & Deeds* (Nicosia, 2000), p. 350.

sites throughout the island until 1885.²²⁰ The British Museum continued excavations under Alexander S. Murray, Arthur H. Smith and Percy Christian from 1893 to 1896 in Amathus, Curium, and Enkomi, funded largely by a bequest to the British Museum of £2000 by Miss Emma Turner.²²¹

Unfortunately, the antiquities remaining on Cyprus under British control (the one third of all legal excavations) suffered from improper maintenance and storage: Ohnefalsch-Richter complained that many lay for years in the outhouses of the Commissioner's Office in Nicosia, and others, such as the statues from Voni, stood in the open corridor of the Government offices and suffered serious damage.²²² Purcell notes that the ruin of Bellapais abbey near Kyrenia was used by British troops as a rifle range. (Ancient buildings themselves were not protected from pillage for quarry materials until 1891, and Byzantine buildings not protected until A. H. S. Megaw served as Director of the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus from 1935 to 1959.)²²³ This neglect led to the founding of the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia, maintained wholly by private British subscriptions.²²⁴ On June 15, 1882, High Commissioner Biddulph received and approved a petition from Archbishop Sophronios and other Ottoman officials for the creation of the museum. For a time the museum occupied two rooms of a government building, but on June 19, 1887, in celebration of Queen Victoria's Jubilee, construction began on a new

²²⁰ Ibid., pp. 350-353. Both Cesnola and Ohnefalsch-Richter identified with Heinrich Schliemann, the German archaeologist who had discovered the remains of ancient Troy at Hissarlik, Turkey in 1873 and had resumed work there in 1878 with new archaeological techniques for exposing the stratigraphy more clearly. (See also "Heinrich Schliemann", *Britannica* readyreference online, 2001)

²²¹ D. Bailey and M. Hockey, "New objects from British Museum Tomb 73" in V. Tatton-Brown, ed., *Cyprus in the 19th Century AD* (Oxford, 2001), p. 109.

²²² John Myres and Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, *A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum* (Oxford, 1899), p. vi.

²²³ H. D. Purcell, *Cyprus* (London, 1969), p. 217.

²²⁴ Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter, *A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum* (Oxford, 1899), p. vi.

museum building.²²⁵ In June 1889, after prompting by High Commissioner Bulwer in 1887, the Museum Committee leased for a temporary museum a house at number 7, Victoria Road in the Armenian quarter of the walled town at £21 a year.²²⁶ In 1908 the present museum building was completed and dedicated to the memory of Queen Victoria.

In 1887 The Cyprus Exploration Fund was formed for the purpose of adopting a scientific approach to excavations²²⁷, and the British School of Athens excavated at Kouklia in 1888.²²⁸ Excavations on Cyprus became well known in Britain through the catalogue of the Cyprus Museum published by Max Ohnefalsch-Richter and John L. Myers in 1899 that lists both excavations and items in the museum collection.²²⁹ Not surprisingly, some Cypriots questioned the motives behind the establishment of a Cyprus Museum. As Filios Zanettos, in his *History of Cyprus*, argues,

It would really be ridiculous for the government to support the idea of creating a museum, as a mere building for the commemoration of the Jubilee of Queen Victoria, and to allow the theft of its antiquities from the Commissions of the British Museums, and from its own employees, as we know that anyone, from the High Commissioner to the very last employee has been handling matters of trade in antiquities.²³⁰

²²⁵ Marangou, *Life & Deeds* (Nicosia, 2000), pp. 352-3.

²²⁶ Nicholas Stanley-Price, "The Ottoman Law on Antiquities (1874) and the founding of the Cyprus Museum", in Veronica Tatton-Brown, ed., *Cyprus in the 19th Century AD* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 267-272 (271).

²²⁷ Marangou, *Life & Deeds* (Nicosia, 2000), pp. 352-3.

²²⁸ H. D. Purcell, *Cyprus* (London, 1969), p. 217.

²²⁹ Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter, *A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum* (Oxford, 1899). In 1894, Ohnefalsch-Richter married Magda Helena Schönherr, who joined him in Cyprus as an assistant on a new excavation. Magda drew and photographed the excavation and studied the customs and traditions of the island (see L.L. Hadjigavriel and R. C. Severis, *In the Footsteps of Women*, Nicosia, 1998, pp. 200-203). Her book *Griechische Sitten und Gebräuche auf Cypern* was published in Berlin, 1913, and includes her photographs not only of native island life but also of British life.

²³⁰ Filios Zanettos, *Istoria tis Nisou Kirou*, Vol. II, pp. 813-814, quoted in Marangou, *Life & Deeds* (Nicosia, 2000), p. 355. According to Sir George Hill, Philios Zanettos, a Greek medical practitioner and in 1900 the owner of a tobacco factory in Larnaca, became the agent in Cyprus of the Central Association of Hellenic Propaganda in Athens, and from 1901 to 1904, and again in 1916 sat on the Legislative Council. His *History of Cyprus* was followed by *H Κύπρος κατά τόν αιώνα τής παλιγγενεσίας*, continuing

Zanettos points to the contradiction in building a museum in Cyprus commemorating Queen Victoria while allowing Cypriot antiquities to be sent elsewhere.

Zanettos was responding to accusations by a Greek Cypriot representative on the Legislative Council that the British Museum continued to excavate and send the entire amount of antiquities found to London, which called into question the effectiveness of the Ottoman Law.²³¹ British employees known to excavate in their own districts included Captain Andrew Stevenson, who excavated in Kyrenia in 1883, and Sir Samuel Brown who excavated the Greco-Phoenician necropolis in Limassol District in 1883-84, which produced a silver krater and a silver ring that were sold to the British Museum.²³² Ohlenfasch-Richter himself acquired a Babylonian gold ring for the Liebermann Collection in Berlin in 1884, among many other treasures, but several instances also occurred of the British confiscating pieces from peasant looters.²³³ Numerous editorials in the Greek newspaper *Neon Ethnos* blamed the loss of Greek antiquities to “the greedy stomach of the British Museum” and begged the Legislative Council to initiate laws to prevent looting.²³⁴

Those antiquities housed in the Cyprus Museum were ill protected. In 1894, Ohlenfasch-Richter noted that large sculptures, inscriptions, and architectural fragments

the history to 1930. He was apparently well-educated but quarrelsome and lacking in political insight, which led in 1912 to his deportation from Cyprus on Oct. 31, 1922, under the Aliens Law of 1921, probably due to earlier requests by the Greek Government for expulsion along with one Katalanos as personal enemies of the Archbishop of Cyprus and the Metropolitan of Athens. (Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, Cambridge, 1952, p. 506, n. 2)

²³¹ *Neon Ethnos*, 1894, quoted in Marangou, *Life & Deeds* (Nicosia, 2000), p. 356.

²³² Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter, *A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum* (Oxford, 1899), pp. 5-7. The catalog also lists an excavation in Salamis in 1878 by A. P. di Cesnola, who dug “surreptitiously: some of the objects were confiscated, and are in the Cyprus Museum.” (p. 11)

²³³ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

²³⁴ *Neon Ethnos*, 1894, quoted in Marangou, *Life & Deeds* (Nicosia, 2000), p. 355.

lay strewn about the courtyard, some exposed to weather and frequent injury, and a large number of Attic (Athenian) vases were discovered in the wardrobe of the caretaker's wife. The pieces left to the museum often remained unidentified or poorly numbered, which destroyed their scientific value, and led to the sale of "duplicates" of actual scientific value passing into private hands. Significant damage was done to part of the collection when it was sent to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1887.²³⁵ The museum catalog also mentions an early Bronze Age settlement and necropolis in Larnaka District "much plundered by peasants". Ohlenfasch-Richter opened four tombs there and the contents were exhibited in the Cyprus Museum, but in 1894 the contents "were found dispersed".²³⁶

It should be noted that there seems to be some connection between Captain Herbert Kitchener, who was appointed Director of Survey on Cyprus in 1880²³⁷, with this new museum. Kitchener in 1882 had excavated in Cyprus for the South Kensington Museum²³⁸ and for several years administered the Land Registry Office, earning the respect of Greek, Turkish and French residents in Cyprus for his "zeal and intelligence" in administration and in his protection of Cyprus sites.²³⁹ He was appointed the Curator and Honorary Secretary of the new museum when it was approved by the next High Commissioner, Robert Biddulph, in June 1882. Most sources give Kitchener credit for coming up with the idea for the museum, but in 1893 Ohnefalsch-Richter claimed credit for forming a committee for the foundation of a Cyprus Museum, although this is not

²³⁵ Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter, *A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum* (Oxford, 1899), pp. vi-vii.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

²³⁷ J. B. Rye and H. G. Groser, *Kitchener in His Own Words* (London, 1917), p. 47.

²³⁸ Marangou, *Life & Deeds* (Nicosia, 2000), p. 352.

²³⁹ Rye and Groser, *Kitchener in His Own Words* (London, 1917), pp. 76-77.

supported by any documentation.²⁴⁰ At Kitchener's departure in 1883 to accept the position as Second-in-Command of a cavalry regiment in Egypt, the Archbishop, the Bishop of Kyrenia, the Abbot of Kikko and thirteen other persons signed a letter to Kitchener that was published in the *Cyprus Herald*, expressing "deep regret" on his leaving the public service of Cyprus. The letter also noted his efforts in forming the Cyprus Museum "for the preservation of the antiquities of the island."²⁴¹ Kitchener received a similar letter from the Turkish inhabitants.²⁴²

Despite the ambitions of numerous parties, official Cyprus archaeology suffered from lack of financial support until the administration of Sir Hamilton Goold-Adams, from 1911 to 1915, when substantial funds finally became available. But apparently an interest in archaeology—and in removing archaeological finds for personal collections—infected many Britons during their time on Cyprus. Kitchener collected Cypriot ceramics for his personal pottery collection that he had started in Palestine.²⁴³ Sir Harry Luke observed in 1911 that as High Commissioner of Cyprus, Sir Hamilton Goold-Adams "took to its arts and antiquities and to Mediterranean archaeology generally like a duck to water." The High Commissioner granted himself an excavator's license so that he and Lady Goold-Adams and Luke could spend "many a week-end at Phylleri in a fold of the Kyrenia Mountains unearthing and clearing ancient tombs" and developed expert skills in

²⁴⁰ Nicholas Stanley-Price, "The Ottoman Law on Antiquities (1874) and the founding of the Cyprus Museum", in Veronica Tatton-Brown, ed., *Cyprus in the 19th Century AD* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 267-272 (270).

²⁴¹ *Cyprus Herald*, April 16, 1883, reprinted in Rye and Groser, *Kitchener in His Own Words* (London, 1917), pp. 76-77.

²⁴² Rye and Groser, *Kitchener in His Own Words* (London, 1917), note, p.77.

²⁴³ John Pollock, *Kitchener: Architect of Victory* (NY, 2001), p. 47.

piecing together broken bits of pottery.²⁴⁴ Yet Luke bemoaned the fact that earlier administrators failed to preserve important medieval monuments on Cyprus and erected in their place buildings “in the very shoddiest Public Worksesque.”²⁴⁵

After Cyprus became a Crown Colony in 1925, various institutions, including the British Museum and several British, French, and American universities, undertook major excavations.²⁴⁶ Today the British Museum owns one of the largest collections of Cypriot antiquities outside Cyprus.²⁴⁷

Summary

Britons were alternately enthusiastic or hesitant about the expansion of the Empire into Cyprus, many seeing the island as a Mediterranean health resort or a new opportunity for commerce, trade, and exploration and others critical of the underhanded, secret deal to take over the island. The images, letters, articles, books, and archaeological artifacts that appeared in London provided a basis for understanding Britain’s newest acquisition; they also demonstrated how Cypriots differed from “civilized” Britons. These differences in turn set the stage for the creation of British Cyprus, in part to provide “good government” to oppressed, uncivilized peoples but also to take advantage

²⁴⁴ Harry Luke, *Cities and Men: An Autobiography*, Vol. 1 (London, 1953), p. 212.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

²⁴⁶ H. D. Purcell, *Cyprus* (London, 1969), pp. 217-218. A professor at Oxford named Myres received a grant of £450 in 1914. Others included the Swedish Cyprus expedition (1927-1931), the Schaeffer expedition at Enkomi (1933), several British, French and American universities (1935-1959), and a Cypriot excavation of a large Copper Age site by Erimi led by Porphyrios Dikaïos.

²⁴⁷ Veronica Tatton-Brown, *Ancient Cyprus* (British Museum Publications, 1987), p.4. Other museums with Cypriot collections include the National Archaeological Museum of Perugia and the Archaeological Museum of Turin, both which own pieces donated by Luigi Palma di Cesnola probably in 1875 (M. Bettelli and S. Di Paolo, “Cypriot Antiquities in Italy”, in V. Tatton-Brown, ed., *Cyprus in the 19th Century AD*, Oxford, 2001, pp. 134-5).

of developing resources and commerce for the British Empire that the Britons saw as possible only under their own enlightened authority. The next chapter describes how this “enlightened authority” was facilitated by the military and administrative officers who took charge of the island in July, 1878.

CHAPTER THREE
The beginnings of British Cyprus

Sir Garnet Wolseley, first High Commissioner of Cyprus

When war between Britain and Russia appeared imminent in February, 1878, Sir Garnet Wolseley was appointed Chief of the Staff to Lord Napier of Magdala and Commander of the Expeditionary Army. This appointment was cut short with Disraeli's peace at the Congress of Berlin in July, and Wolseley was re-assigned as High Commissioner of Cyprus.²⁴⁸ One nineteenth-century biographer, Charles Rathbone Low, who completed two very complimentary volumes on Wolseley's life immediately before the occupation, predicted:

The task before him is stupendous, as government of any sort, in our acceptance of the term, there may be said to be none; Cyprus, like other dependencies of the Porte, was only valued for what could be squeezed out of it, so that Wolseley's labours will be on virgin soil. But these conditions are just what call forth the powers of a man of genius...We may fairly anticipate, therefore, looking to his antecedents, that he will transform this fair island of the Levant—which in turn has been possessed by Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, Saracens, Venetians, and Turks—into what the mightiest warrior of antiquity anticipated it would become in his hands. In a remarkable passage, Alexander the Great says, "And Cyprus, being in our hands, we shall reign absolute sovereigns at sea, and an easy way will be laid open for making a descent on Egypt."²⁴⁹

²⁴⁸ C. R. Low, *Memoir of Sir Garnet J. Wolseley* (London, 1878), pp. 250-1. From 1878 to 1925, the following nine High Commissioners governed British Cyprus, directing from the government seat at Nicosia: Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley (served 1878-1879); Sir Robert Biddulph (1879-1886); Sir Henry Ernest Gascoyne Bulwer (1886-1892); Sir Walter Joseph Sendall (1892-1898); Sir William Frederick Haynes Smith (1898-1904); Sir Charles Anthony King-Harman (1904-1911); Sir Hamilton John Goold-Adams (1911-1914); Sir John Eugene Clause (1914-1918); and Sir Malcolm Stevenson (acting high commissioner 1918-1920, High Commissioner 1920-1925, Governor 1925-1926). From "Colonial administrators and post-independence leaders in Cyprus", *DNB* (Oxford, 2004-6).

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 251-2.

Low continues that Wolseley had been sent “to set matters right”.

From the beginning, Wolseley struggled to make the best of a disappointing assignment. On July 18, 1878, he wrote to his wife from the Governor’s palace in Malta, a stop on the journey to Cyprus, that he “shall be glad to be out of this worry and heat, although it will only be from the frying-pan of Malta into the fire of Cyprus.”²⁵⁰ He rightly surmised the climate to be worse in Cyprus. On July 22 Sargeant Samuel McGaw of the Royal Highlanders (The Black Watch), died of heat apoplexy while marching to Camp Chiflik Pasha, the first British camp outside Larnaca.²⁵¹ McGaw was not the first British soldier to die from heat or related disease on Cyprus. Many of the contingents of over 9,000 British soldiers who sailed from Malta were fever-stricken, suffering while sleeping on the ground in tents.²⁵²

British and Indian troops that had been gathered on Malta in anticipation of defense against Russia sailed from Malta to Cyprus under Admiral John Hay on June 18, 1878, arriving at Larnaca, on the southern coast, on July 13. The British regiments were the 42nd Royal Regiment of Foot (The Black Watch) and the 71st Regiment of Foot (Highland Light Infantry). The Black Watch, including 30 officers and 663 N.C.O.s and men, was the most severely effected by the heat and disease; at least one officer and 58

²⁵⁰ Letter from Lord Wolseley to Lady Wolseley, July 18, 1878, in Sir George Arthur, ed., *The Letters of Lord and Lady Wolseley 1870-1911* (London, 1922), pp. 30-31.

²⁵¹ Cavendish, ed., *Cyprus 1878: The Journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley*, p. 10, n. 1.

²⁵² Robert Hamilton Lang, “Cyprus—Is it Worth Keeping?” in *MacMillan’s Magazine*, Vol. XL (May 1879 to Oct. 1879), pp. 442-3. Lang attributes some of the fever and sickness among the British troops to “over-abundant eating of meat and raw fruits, such as melons, and over-bountiful drinking of strong liquors,” as well as housing in heat-filled tents or sleeping on the ground, rather than in native houses of sun-dried bricks.

Later in the 1890s, Wolseley advocated for improvements in service conditions before numerous Select Committees and Royal Commissions. (Edward M. Spiers, *The Late Victorian Army* (Manchester, 1992), p. 113)

men contracted malaria. One detachment of the regiment moved on to the western port of Papho (Paphos) where they stayed until they left Cyprus in November, 1878. There are small military cemeteries in Kyrenia where Sergeant McGaw and four other soldiers are buried, and a small Christian cemetery at Paphos where four more men of the Black Watch were buried.²⁵³

The troops were dispersed to the various main towns—Famagusta, Kyrenia, Limassol, and Nicosia, the last being the Ottoman capital of Cyprus and now the seat of the new British government (fig. 3.1.)²⁵⁴ The main army headquarters was established at Monastery Camp at Nicosia; by the end of 1878 small camps had been set up at the main ports of the island. Some of the troops later enjoyed a summer camp in the Troödos mountains. More troops arrived early in 1879, but these gradually departed in the later months of 1880.²⁵⁵ The remaining troops were also reduced by malaria and other respiratory diseases. For example, burial records for the military cemetery at Polymedia Camp in the years 1882-84 list over 50 soldiers, as well as members of their families.²⁵⁶

²⁵³ Major A. G. Harfield, “British Military Presence in Cyprus in the 19th Century”, JSAR, Vol. 56 (1978), pp. 160-169 (160-161). The bodies of military men in the Christian cemetery were later moved to the post-war (1939-45) Military Cemetery at the present-day Sovereign Base Area at Dhekelia, a few miles from Larnaca.

²⁵⁴ “The Isle of Cyprus”, *The Illustrated London News*, July 27, 1878.

²⁵⁵ Major Harfield described these troops and their locations in more detail in “British Military Presence in Cyprus in the 19th Century”, in JSAHR, Vol. 56 (1978), pp. 160-169; however, there are some discrepancies in Harfield’s tallies, which were pointed out to this author by Dr. George Kelling. Further research into the exact movements of the troops needs to be done. In the event, according to Major Harfield, during 1879 and 1880, the 20th Regiment (Lancashire Fusiliers) were stationed at Polymedia Camp, near Paphos, having been sent to Cyprus early in 1879. This force gradually withdrew, sailing away on the troopship *Tamar* the night of October 6, 1880, leaving a British force stationed in Cyprus of only half a battalion and a few Royal Engineers, in addition to some locally raised units. Through the mid-1890s the remaining deployment supported headquarters at Nicosia, with a defending detachment from the Garrison Regiment, and the regiment stationed at the Polymedia Camp near Limassol with summer quarters at the camp on Mount Troödos overlooking Limassol and the Akrotiri Peninsula.

²⁵⁶ Register of Burials in the Military Cemetery of Polymedia Camp, 1882-1884 (London), WO 156/106. Most of the burials were of men aged 22 to 28 years old but many others older and younger, male and

Clearly, while the agreement with Turkey that Britain would administer Cyprus was a diplomatic negotiation, the physical occupation was a military affair. Landing at Larnaca on July 23 aboard the transport ship *Himalaya*, Wolseley enjoyed a salute from the British Naval squadron consisting of the *Minotaur*, the *Black Prince*, the *Salamis*, the *Monarch*, and the *Invincible*²⁵⁷ (figs. 3.1-3.3). On land, the Cypriot crowd was subdued but receptive (fig. 3.4) so that Wolseley's accompaniment of Indian Army troops was barely necessary, and certainly he did not require anything like an elephant "to raise him in the estimation of the natives" as did A. D. Maingy, the British administrator in Burma²⁵⁸. Wolseley wrote later, "I took the oath of allegiance and office and assumed the Government of Cyprus. I then caused my proclamation as Lord High Commissioner to be read in English, in Greek and in Turkish. I was well received, and the reading of the proclamation in each language was greeted with cheers."²⁵⁹ The proclamation promised, according to the "warm interest which the Queen feels in their prosperity", to "order the adoption of such measures as may appear best calculated to promote and extend the commerce and agriculture of the country, and to afford to the people the blessings of freedom, justice and security."²⁶⁰

female. These included Eleanor Dorcas Higgins, age 189 days, daughter of Sergeant Higgins, Commissariat and Transport Corps; Aussie Georgina King, age 23, wife of L. Sergeant King, C & T Corps; Leicester Cunningham Fraser Howe, age 4-11/12, son of L. Sgt. Major House, Ordinance Corps; and the 2 month old son of Najeb Joseph and Fanny Howe, buried at Polymedia, Limassol. Lt. General A.W. Murray, C.B., age 84, and Hannah Lewis, age 26, wife of Sgt. Lewis, in Polemedia Cemetery. William Evans, age 54, a seaman, died on the S. S. DLDO and buried at Polemedia Cemetery. In the Troodos cemetery were buried Edward Alexander Michell, 18 months, and the infant child of Private Mars.

²⁵⁷ "The Isle of Cyprus", *The Illustrated London News*, July 27, 1878.

²⁵⁸ J. S. Furnivall, *Leviathan* (NY, 1947), pp. 8-9.

²⁵⁹ Wolseley to Salisbury, aboard the *Himalaya*, Larnaca, Cyprus, July 28, 1878, CO 67/1, No. 2.

²⁶⁰ "Proclamation by His Excellency Lieutenant General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley Knight Great Cross of the most distinguished order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Knight Commander of the most honorable order of the Bath Her majesty's High Commissioner for the Island of Cyprus, Larnaca, July 22,

In fact, Wolseley was disappointed by the anticlimax of being second to arrive, as Admiral Hay had landed at Larnaca on July 13. The next day, Wolseley escaped onboard the steamship *Salamis* to Famagusta, where the Turkish garrison fired a salute. After Famagusta, he sailed again in the *Salamis* to Limassol, which he described as “a small but clean place very different from Larnika which looks like a pesthouse of dirt and fever... I never saw a filthier spot.”²⁶¹ He later recorded in his journal:

It is said that wherever the horse of the Turk treads nothing will ever grow afterwards...It was a great garden but now year by year less land is cultivated and commerce dwindles away.²⁶²

Immediately Wolseley blamed Ottoman rule for the devastation he saw and determined to revive the “great garden.” He does not seem, however, to have been interested in the reports or recommendations of the consuls who preceded him, nor cognizant of reforms that had been attempted by the most recent Ottoman governors.

The logistics of the installation proved a fiasco. The Commissariat General, Mr. Downes, left behind in Malta the link-pins needed to assemble the 90 mule carts, making them unusable. Once on the island, baggage was carried from the ship to Nicosia in the center of the island on camels and native carts drawn by bullocks. Wolseley noted to himself, “Never start again on any expedition unless I am allowed to select my own

1878”, CO 67/1. At the ceremony, Wolseley found the unpleasant laugh of the Duke of Edinburgh in attendance to be very irritating, writing in his journal that he wished “these Royalties would keep out of my way: they retard public business and no one likes this ‘Edinburgh’” (Cavendish, *Wolseley’s Journal*, Wolseley writing on July 19, 1878, on board HMS Himalaya). Cavendish notes that although Wolseley snipes at the Duke in his journal, the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh and Wolseley eventually developed a friendship that lasted until Wolseley’s death.

²⁶¹ Cavendish, *Wolseley’s Journal* entry for 24 July, 1878.

²⁶² Ibid.

Commissionary General, and when cars or wagons are embarked see that the link-pins for each go with it and not in a separate parcel all the eggs in the form of link-pins being in one basket.”²⁶³ All this was recorded by special artists from *The London Illustrated News* and published in a front cover illustration on August 17 (fig. 3.5). As for supplies, Mrs. Scott-Stevenson observed in Larnaca “large quantities of unused stores” including over one thousand large iron coal-boxes piled up in a corner for eleven months. Not built to fit one within the other, the coal-boxes had filled the entire hold of H.M.S. *Humber*, sent from England to Cyprus, where there are no fireplaces. She declares it “only one of the brilliant mistakes made day by day by the most justly-abused Control Department.”²⁶⁴

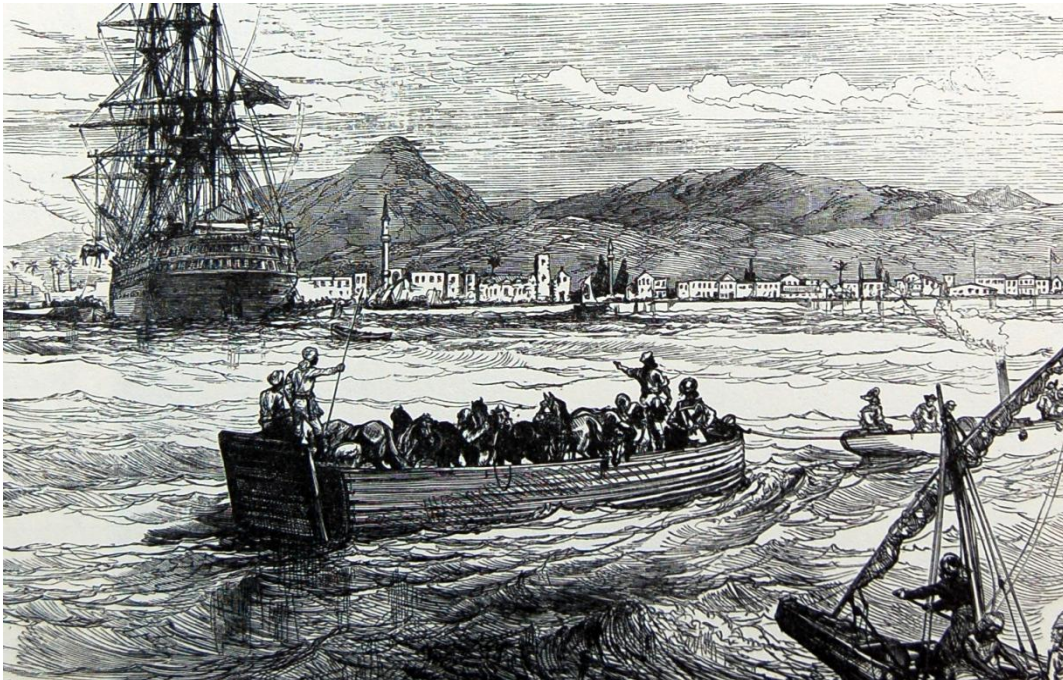


Figure 3.1. “The British occupation of Cyprus: general view of the landing-place at Larnaca, from the anchorage.” In Anne Cavendish, ed., *Cyprus 1878: The Journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley* (Nicosia, 1991).

²⁶³ Ibid., entry for July 29, 1878.

²⁶⁴ Esmé Scott-Stevenson, *Our Home in Cyprus* (London, 1880), p. 206.

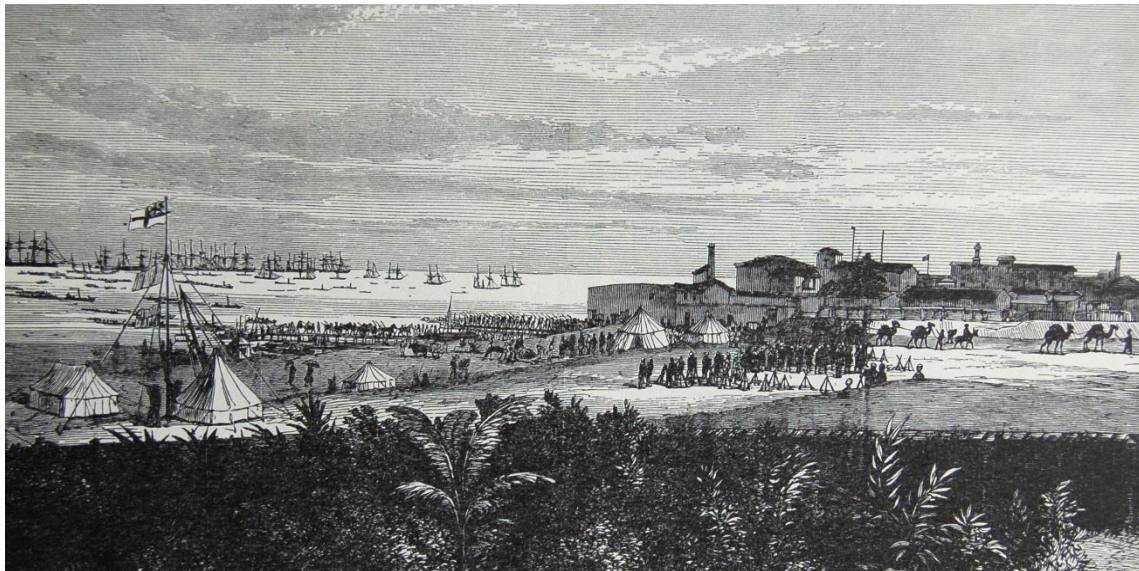


Figure 3.2. “The British occupation of Cyprus, landing place and piers at Larnaca from the home of the Duke of Edinburgh”, in Anne Cavendish, ed., *Cyprus 1878: The Journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley* (Nicosia, 1991).



View of Limassol and H.M.S. "Himalaya" (N.1)

Figure 3.3. View of Limassol and the H.M.S. Himalaya, photograph by J. P. Foscolo c. 1878-1880s. From *J. P. Foscolo*, ed. by Andreas Malecos, published by Cultural Centre Cyprus Popular Bank, 1992.



Figure 3.4. “The occupation of Cyprus: Greek priests blessing the flag at Nicosia” in Anne Cavendish, ed., *Cyprus 1878: The Journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley* (Nicosia, 1991).

After the initial chaos, Wolseley spent the summer focused on establishing the base camps in suitable areas, and arranging for supplies and housekeeping. He sent out parties to search for a site for a large cantonment for the three European regiments that accompanied him. He planned the Government seat, with eight large tents for himself as a residence²⁶⁵ (figs. 3.6-7). He endured continuing logistical nightmares compounded by heat and dryness, as well as petitions from peasants declaring they had been beaten and ill-treated by the police or someone else, “until,” he said, “my poor brain goes round like

²⁶⁵ Letter from Lord Wolseley to Lady Wolseley, July 18, 1878, in Sir George Arthur, ed., *The Letters of Lord and Lady Wolseley 1870-1911* (London, 1922), pp. 30-32. The cantonment idea came from India, where British families spent the summers in British-style cottages outside of town in the cooler hills. See Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge, 1995), chapter 5.

a humming-top.”²⁶⁶ Finally, on December 11, Wolseley visited Mathiadi, a recently-completed cantonment built in the hills. He found Mathiadi in general “a very nice [cantonment] and the doctors pronounce it to be very healthy,” but unfortunately the married soldiers’ quarters were unfinished and still unable to house the men and their families—51 women and 69 children.²⁶⁷ He telegraphed Lord Salisbury that the huts for troops were of very inferior quality, probably used huts sent from elsewhere, and they would not hold the proposed numbers, much less the sergeants’ mess “and other necessary buildings not calculated [at] all by General Simoons who has also left out of account accommodation [for] married families.”²⁶⁸

On January 23 Wolseley set out with three of his staff and Lieutenant-General Butler from Nicosia to Mount Olympus to find a site for a summer camp in the pine woods, five thousand feet above sea level. Wolseley sought a mountain camp like the cantonments of India, a comfortable place from which to conduct business and pleasure, and to separate the British troops and families from the Cypriots, with a climate more conducive to the European physical temperament. The ride was accompanied by talk of the war in Afghanistan, Butler commenting “what bad fortune it was that the chief and so many of his staff officers should be hidden away in this dead island of the Levant, when so much of stirring moment in the outer military world was about to open.” According to

²⁶⁶ Ibid. On August 5 Wolseley wrote to his wife from Nicosia, “This is a filthy hole, and I am going to clear out and encamp round a small monastery.” Wolseley also complained that the extreme dryness of the climate and heat made his horse’s hoofs so brittle that “large pieces of his hoof break off like shortbread.”

²⁶⁷ Cavendish, ed., *Wolseley’s journal*, p. 156.

²⁶⁸ Post Office & Submarine telegraph, Garnet Wolseley to Lord Salisbury, Aug. 23, 1878, CO 67/1.

Butler, Wolseley replied “I have put my hand to the Cypriote plough and must hold it until the furrow is finished.”²⁶⁹

In Nicosia, the very expensive (5,150*l*), large wooden house sent from England to serve as Government House (fig. 3.8) was described by Biddulph as “utterly unsuited for the climate.” The Cyprus climate, hot in summer and cold in winter, required a stone house to be built in due time, and a small temporary wooden house would have sufficed for the first year. Aside from the discomfort, as well as the possibility of fire and vermin infestation in a wooden house, transacting business under such conditions proved impossible.²⁷⁰ The following summer, when Biddulph moved into the house as the second High Commissioner, he complained:

Greater heat may be, perhaps, experienced in some parts of India, and in other places in Her Majesty’s dominions inhabited by Englishmen, but in all those places there are suitable stone buildings, and appliances for reducing the temperature.²⁷¹

Already the boards of the new wooden Government House had begun to split from the heat (97 degrees in the sitting room) and let in continuous blasts of hot wind.²⁷²

²⁶⁹ W. F. Butler, *Sir William Butler, An Autobiography* (London, 1911), pp. 196-7. Butler admired Wolseley and volunteered to serve with him several times before and after Cyprus. Butler left for England soon after this ride, and after hearing of the massacre at Isandula in Zululand, volunteered for service in South Africa. He sailed aboard the *ss. Egypt* from Southampton to Natal on February 28. His autobiography recounts his experiences fighting and working with Wolseley and his Ring in South Africa. According to Ian Beckett (“Butler, Sir William Francis, DNB online, Oxford 2008), Wolseley requested Butler’s services several times but Butler proved not to “pull well in a team”.

²⁷⁰ Biddulph to Salisbury, July 28, 1879, Confidential, Part II, Correspondence relating to the Island of Cyprus, June to December 1879, FO 421/32. This is the house that still served as Government House when Sir Harry Luke lived in it in 1911-13. Luke claims it had been diverted at Port Said to Cyprus from its intended destination, Ceylon, and declared “it was no aesthetic, architectural or domestic loss when it was burned down by a mob during the riots of 1931.” (Sir Harry Luke, *Cyprus, A Portrait and an Appreciation*, 1957, p. 88)

²⁷¹ Biddulph to Salisbury, July 28, 1879, Confidential, Part II, Correspondence relating to the Island of Cyprus, June to December 1879, FO 421/32.

²⁷² *Ibid.*

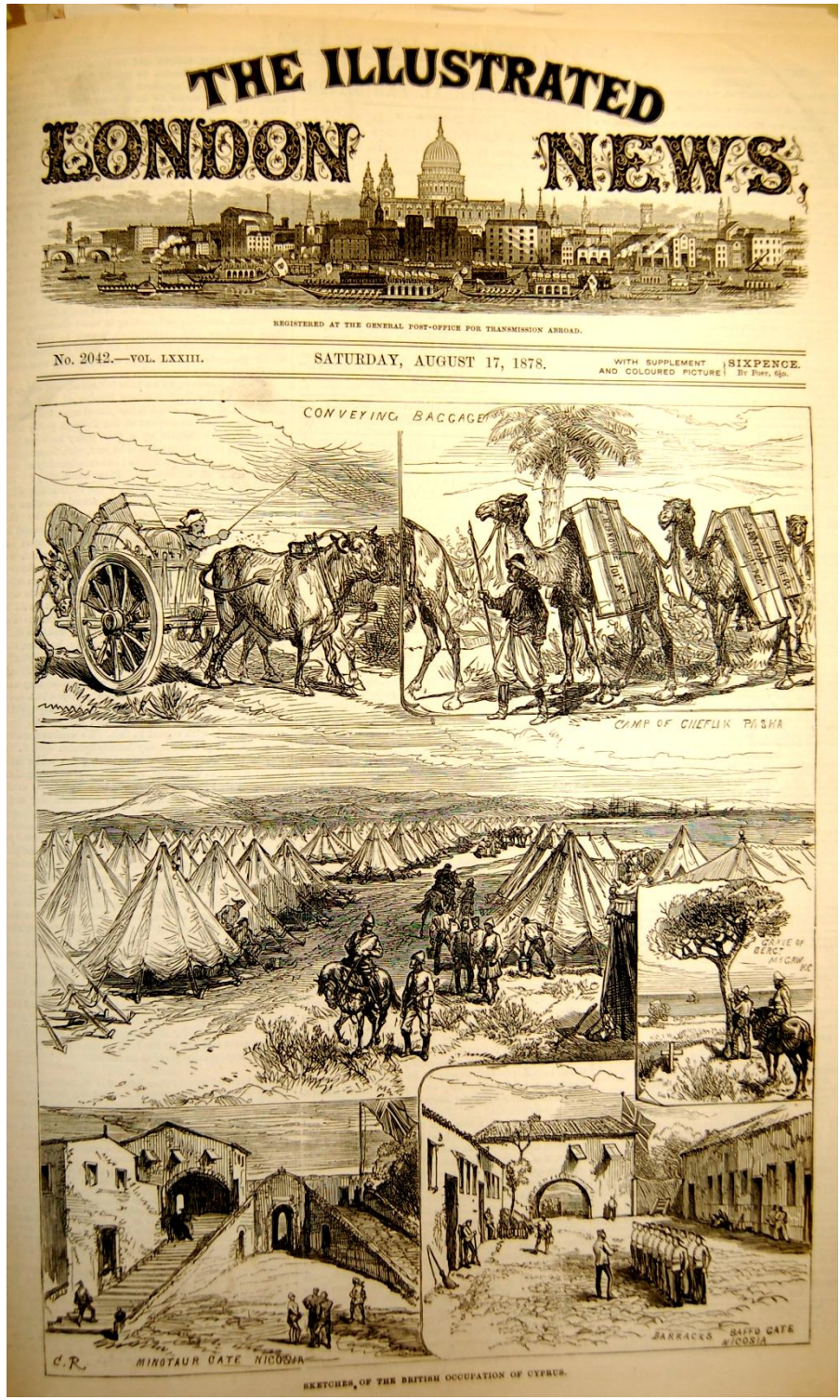


Figure 3.5. Cover illustration showing the landing and settlement of British troops on Cyprus, July 1878, in *The Illustrated London News*, Saturday, August 17, 1878.

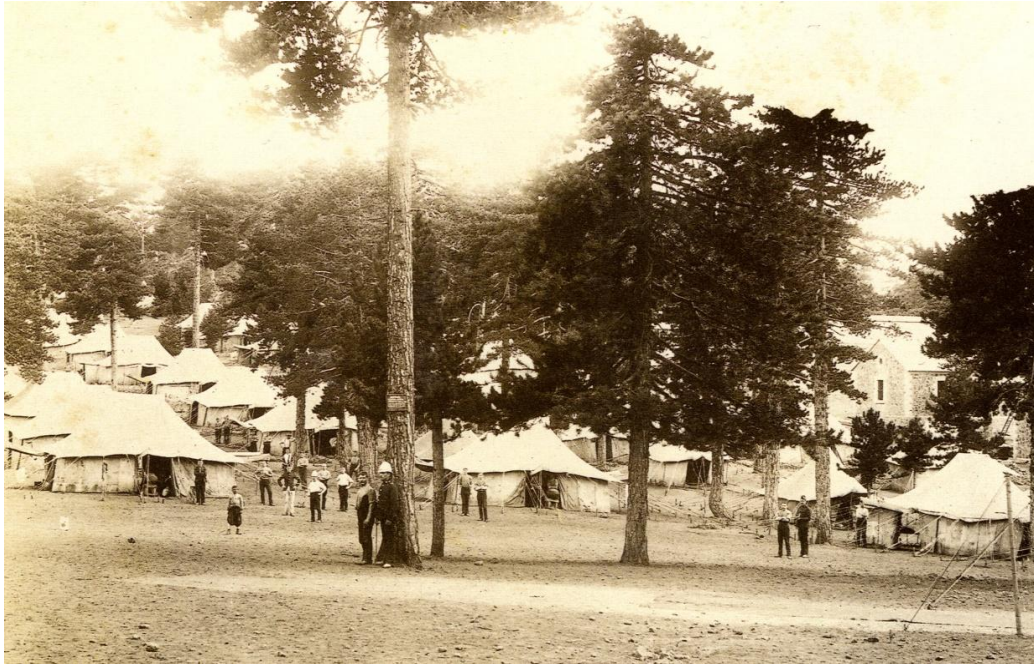


Figure 3.6 Mountain camp, photographed by J. P. Foscolo, c. 1878-1880s. From *J. P. Foscolo*, ed. by Andreas Malecos, published by Cultural Centre Cyprus Popular Bank, 1992.



Figure 3.7. British troops in Tröodos camp, photographed by J. P. Foscolo c. 1878-1880s. From *J. P. Foscolo*, ed. by Andreas Malecos, published by Cultural Centre Cyprus Popular Bank, 1992.

For a year, Wolseley fought to keep up the pretext of Cyprus as “not so bad”, choosing to immerse himself in his work. Wolseley saw Cyprus as an opportunity for self-aggrandizement, to “add luster to the renown and contribute to the security of our Empire [that] my name may be handed down to posterity in connection with the event one of the very few old Saxon families of England.”²⁷³ As Lord High Commissioner and Commander in Chief of Cyprus, he had charge of an Expeditionary Force to take over Cyprus made up of two batteries of Forward Artillery troops from India (via Malta), three British battalions from the garrison, and a Forward Company of Royal Engineers from England. Furthermore he practically was to have *carte blanche* “which is what I like”, he wrote in his journal, “The responsibility is enjoyable and develops whatever little genius one may possess.”²⁷⁴ However, British authority in Cyprus at this time failed definition, whether ruler, landlord, or protectorate, which led Wolseley to finally ask the “burning question”:

At the root of all our troubles here lies the burning question of who is King of Cyprus? Under what flag do we sail here? From the first, as far as I have dared, I have gone on regarding Cyprus as English territory.²⁷⁵

Wolseley obviously considered Cyprus to be English territory, but did he envision himself the “King of Cyprus”? He at least considered himself the highest power on the

²⁷³ Cavendish, ed., *Cyprus 1878: The Journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley* (Nicosia, 1991), diary entry for Nov. 30, 1878. See also Adrian W. Preston, “Sir Garnet Wolseley and the Cyprus Expedition, 1878”, in *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, Vol. 45 (1967), pp. 4-15.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, diary entry for 19 July 1878, on board HMS Himalaya.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, diary entry for Dec. 20, 1878.

island, freely invoking his official title “His Excellency the High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief of the Island of Cyprus”.²⁷⁶

Wolseley further claimed, “I have taken no notice of the consuls I found established here, refusing, or rather, ignoring and holding back from deciding whether the exequatur held by a consul to Turkey should hold good with and be recognized by us.”²⁷⁷ In fact, Wolseley had no time for consuls. His journal of the first few months reflects his constant preoccupation first with military matters and the inefficiency of British officers. As a great proponent of military reform, Wolseley judged every appointee for his suitability for war. For example, Mr. Downes was in Wolseley’s opinion “an ass with the airs of a racehorse, and worse of all a very bad purveyor of food for an army,” and Wolseley would be sorry to depend upon him in war.²⁷⁸ Wolseley instead depended on Captain Henry Brackenbury, who as Chief Commandant of the Mounted Police and Inspector of Prisons wrote in December to Lord Salisbury that the boots he purchased on Cyprus were of inferior quality and the army therefore was barefooted. “Could,” Brackenbury implored, “250 pairs of boots of assorted sizes, the same as issued to privates of Cavalry in England” be sent in the April shipment?²⁷⁹ He also requested new leg irons, since of the shipment sent out in November most were rusted and practically

²⁷⁶ Announcement of the Taxation Ordinance of April 28, 1879, CO 883/2. For a discussion of titles and honors bestowed on colonial administrators, see David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 85-100, and Brian L. Blakeley, *The Colonial Office 1868-1892* (Durham, N. C., 1972).

²⁷⁷ Cavendish, *Wolseley’s journal* entry for Dec. 20, 1878.

²⁷⁸ Cavendish, ed., *Wolseley’s journal*, p. 16, entry for July 27, 1878. Wolseley attributed the assignment of inefficient men to the obstinacy of the Duke of Cambridge, who opposed military reform and continued to appoint “colourless characters”, pompous gentlemen “not over burdened with brains”, but old fashioned cut-and-dry generals who gave no trouble to the authorities with new ideas of reform. They were invariably old, as the Duke disdained to appoint young men, and all “are feeble in body as they are behind the age”. (Cavendish, ed., *Wolseley’s journal*, p. 6, entry for July 19, 1878, on board *HMS Himalaya*)

²⁷⁹ Brackenbury to Salisbury, from Monastery Camp, Nicosia, Dec. 21, 1878, CO 67/1.

useless: the new order included 200 pairs of ordinary police handcuffs with keys, 150 pairs galvanized leg irons, and 100 chains for chaining prisoners together.²⁸⁰ It is unclear what prisoners Brackenbury expected to take.



Figure 3.8. The wooden Government House, photographed by J. P. Foscolo c. 1878-1880s. From *J. P. Foscolo*, ed. by Andreas Malecos, published by Cultural Centre Cyprus Popular Bank, 1992.

Wolseley's men

In his 1869 publication *The Soldier's Pocket Book*, Wolseley had proposed military reforms modeled on those of Secretary of State for War Edward Cardwell. He insisted on choosing his staff from officers he knew and trusted, and appointed and promoted officers based on ability, not on the traditional purchase system. After the Red River campaign, he began collecting a group of officers to work with him in future

²⁸⁰ Brackenbury to Greaves, Dec. 1, 1878, CO 67/1.

assignments.²⁸¹ These became well known as Wolseley's "Ring" and accompanied him on various assignments, including civil appointments such as Natal in 1875 and Cyprus in 1878.²⁸² "All Sir Garnet" became a catchphrase used to denote efficiency in the army, a result of Wolseley's assemblage of experienced military officers.²⁸³ Unfortunately, Wolseley's embrace of the Cardwell reforms and his own adaptations of them drew resentment from some older, more traditional military men, especially the Duke of Cambridge. The Duke, who in July 1856 as general commanding-in-chief had acquired the responsibility for command, discipline, appointments and promotions in the army (representing his cousin, Queen Victoria), was subordinated to the war minister by the War Office Act of 1870. His resentment at this loss of status led him eventually to charge Wolseley with establishing divisive policies by setting aside certain officers in his elite "Ring". He tried in several ways to block Wolseley's career, although the two eventually learned to work together on certain policies such as home defense, and in October 1895 the Duke at 76 years of age finally retired and handed over his office to Wolseley (now Lord).²⁸⁴

²⁸¹ Cavendish, ed., *Wolseley's journal*, p. 1, note 1. Reformers existed in the naval service as well: Lord John Hay, who had taken possession of Cyprus in July, sought to bring attention to weaknesses in the navy but was ignored until the "truth about the navy" alarm generated by Admiral Sir Geoffrey Hornby and W. T. Stead in 1884 (Andrew Lambert, "Lord John Hay", DNB, Oxford University Press 2004-5 online).

²⁸² Halik Kochanski, "Wolseley ring", in *DNB*. The Ring came under fire from various quarters during Wolseley's career for depressing the morale of troops by creating rivalries within the army between regular troops and his elite corps.

Members of the Ring included Lieutenant-Colonel John McNeill, Lieutenant-Colonel (later Field Marshall) Evelyn Wood, Major George Colley, Major George Greaves (later Sir George Richards Greaves), Captain Redvers Buller, Captain William Butler, Captain Henry Brackenbury, and Captain (later Major) Robert Home (Edward M. Spiers, *The Late Victorian Army 1868-1902*, p. 68).

²⁸³ Edward M. Spiers, *The Late Victorian Army 1868-1902*, p. 68.

²⁸⁴ Edward M. Spiers, "George, Prince", in *DNB*, online 2004-8. Prince George, the second duke of Cambridge (1819-1904), was an army officer and the grandchild of George III.

In 1878, however, Wolseley continued his tradition of surrounding himself with the best men. He brought with him to Cyprus a staff of the following officers:

Colonel G. R. Greaves, C.B., Assistant Adjutant-General at headquarters, Chief of Staff;
Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Baker Russell, C.B., 13th Hussars, Military Secretary;
Captain H. McCalmont, 7th Hussars;
Lord Gifford, V.C., 57th Regiment, Aides-de-Camps;
Colonel the Hon. J. C. Dormer, Assistant-Adjutant and Quartermaster;
Lieut.-Colonel H. Brackenbury, Royal Artillery, Assistant-Adjutant and Quartermaster-General;
Brevet-Major the Hon. H. J. L. Wood, 12th Lancers, Deputy Assistant-Adjutant;
Captain R. C. Hare, 22nd Regiment, Quarter-Master-General;
Colonel R. Biddulph, C.B., R.A., to command Royal Artillery;
Captain J. F. Maurice, R. A., to be Brigade-Major Royal Artillery;
Deputy Commissary-General A. W. Downes, C.B., Principal Commissariat Officer;
Deputy Surgeon-General Sir A. D. Home, V.C., K.C.B., Principal Medical Officer; and
Mr. Herbert, Colonial Office, Private Secretary.²⁸⁵

Brackenbury, Russell, and Greaves had served under him at Ashante; Dormer, Maquay, and McCalmont had been volunteers in the Red River Expedition.²⁸⁶

Wolseley also gathered select men around him as he tried to establish British social life on the island. Mrs. Scott-Stevenson describes a dinner party given by Wolseley at his quarters near a monastery about a mile from Nicosia—a small encampment called Snake's Hill, so named "from the number of the reptiles seen by the Engineers when erecting the huts on the spot."²⁸⁷ Many of the guests were old friends from the Ashante

²⁸⁵ C. R. Low, *Memoir of Sir Garnet J. Wolseley* (London, 1878), p. 251

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁷ Esmé Scott-Stevenson, *Our Home in Cyprus* (London, 1880), pp. 23-24.

war and some, specifically Greaves and Brackenbury, were members of Wolseley's Ring. (Colonel) Sir George Richards Greaves (1831-1922), after serving in India, was appointed deputy assistant adjutant-general at the Horse Guards in 1870, where he shared an office with Wolseley. He accompanied Wolseley to Cyprus as chief of staff in July 1878. Wolseley appreciated Greaves' passion for sport and calisthenics, but predicted correctly that his strong opinions and prejudices would stifle his career. Greaves was described by various officers as pompous, loud, and with a quick temper and a sense of his own importance.²⁸⁸ Sir Henry Brackenbury (1837-1914) served with Wolseley in the Ashanti War and as assistant military secretary in Natal in 1875. In July 1878 he accompanied Wolseley to Cyprus as assistant adjutant and quartermaster-general, also taking over the reorganization of the police.²⁸⁹

Other guests at the party included a member of the Thirteenth Hussars, Colonel Baker Russell, who raised the famous "Russell's Regiment" and now was Military Secretary; Colonel the Hon. J. Dormer, Quartermaster-General; Major the Hon. H. Wood, of the Twelfth Lancers; and Sir Anthony Home, V. C., the principle medical officer, who, as Mrs. Scott-Stevenson learned from her husband, "won his Victoria Cross for downright cold-blooded bravery, dressing the wounded after Lucknow with the bullets rattling round him like hail, and facing the deadly danger in the coolest and noblest

²⁸⁸ Ian F. W. Beckett, "Sir George Richards Greaves", in *DNB*, online 2004-8. Greaves left Cyprus in July 1879. His wife died in 1880 but he had already taken up with Julia Rose Venour, daughter of the Reverend E. Morris and wife of W. Venour, the doctor of the 15th hussars. The affair lasted until 1884, when he turned to Mrs. Rochfort-Boyd, who was later widowed and married him in 1908. His "defects of character" as noted by Brackenbury, prevented his advancement as he had expected, but he achieved full general and GCB on his retirement in 1896. He died on April 11, 1922.

²⁸⁹ Ian F. W. Beckett, "Brackenbury, Sir Henry" in *DNB*, online 2004-8. Wolseley described Brackenbury as "not one of the cleverest, but the cleverest man in the British Army". But Brackenbury, like Greaves, had an arrogant attitude and was disliked by the troops. He went to India in 1880.

manner.” Also in attendance were Sir Garnet’s two aides-de-camp, Major M’Calmont, of the Seventh Hussars, sometimes called “The King”, sometimes “Baby”, but one of the best gentlemen-riders in England, and Lord Gifford, the bravest man Captain Scott-Stevenson had ever known, acquainted with him from the Gold Coast. Then there was Colonel Macquay, commander of the Royal Engineers, and St. Leger Algernon Herbert, Wolseley’s “brilliant clever” private secretary²⁹⁰, who although not considered a member of the Ring, later went with Wolseley to South Africa in 1879. In addition to his official duties in Cyprus and Africa, Herbert wrote as a correspondent for *The Times*, and on returning to England worked during the autumn and in the winter of 1880 writing leading articles for it.²⁹¹ Mrs. Scott-Stevenson noted that most of Wolseley’s men were “woefully disappointed” with Cyprus.²⁹² Colonel Hugh Sinclair, who was in charge of the unloading of ships and setup of the first camp at Larnaca, observed that Wolseley’s “brilliant staff” had come out expecting to lead an army against Russia, and were “very much hipped to find themselves turned into civil administrators.”²⁹³ But “Sir Garnet had not lost heart, and was as cheerful and genial as if in the midst of the London season.”²⁹⁴

Following on the heels of the consuls who had encouraged agricultural reform, Wolseley saw his own role more in terms of the reform of government and administration. With the support of his chosen staff, he set about the task of reorganizing the Ottoman administration on Cyprus into British form and function. This new

²⁹⁰ Esmé Scott-Stevenson, *Our Home in Cyprus* (London, 1880), pp. 23-24.

²⁹¹ James Williams, rev. Roger T. Stearn, “Herbert, St. Leger Algernon”, in *DNB*, online 2004-6.

²⁹² Scott-Stevenson, *Our Home in Cyprus* (London, 1880), pp. 23-24.

²⁹³ Col. Hugh M. Sinclair, *Camp and Society*, London, 1926, p 72.

²⁹⁴ Scott-Stevenson, *Our Home in Cyprus* (London, 1880), pp. 23-24. (Col. Hugh M. Sinclair, *Camp and Society*, London, 1926, p 72.)

administration would be centralized in the capital at Nicosia but needed to incorporate Greek, Turkish, and peasant traditions, including judicial systems and education. Taxation needed to be overhauled, since the Greek clergy and tax farmers had controlled a system rife with self-interest and corruption. The tribute being paid to the Sultan needed to be addressed, and indeed would become a contentious issue under British authority; at the same time, issues of land ownership and the Sultan's claims to land needed to be reconciled. Then new British systems would be introduced. New communication and transportation systems would unite parts of the island, which would support resource development and trade. Labor needs had to be considered, diseases like malaria eliminated, and the defensive potential of the island and the state of the ports assessed. And finally, the currency and postal systems needed to be brought into line with British and international systems.

Initially Wolseley based the reorganization of Cyprus administration on the existing Ottoman system, under which the island of Cyprus formed a *sandjak* (arrondissement), in the Vilayet of the Isles of the White Sea. The *sandjak* was divided into six *cazas* or districts, each which was subdivided into sixteen *nahiehs*, or sub-districts. The seat of Government was Nicosia, which though in the Caza of Deyirmenlik, was separate from it and under the rule of the Governor. Each caza was administered by an officer called a *Kaïmakam*.²⁹⁵ Each caza or kaimakamlık had a complete staff of officials, including the Mouhassebé, or Accountant's office; Tahrir Emlak, the office for land registry and population census; Defter Khané, or registry office

²⁹⁵ Report by Her Majesty's High Commissioner for the Year 1879, Major-General Biddulph to the Marquis of Salisbury (Cyprus, No. 25), Jan. 15, 1880, Confidential Print, Series B, Vol. 5, Doc. 36.

for land sales and transfers; the Correspondence Department; and the Evkaf, the office for the charge of mosque property and pious foundations. This system was extremely symmetrical, each district operating more or less independently but always reporting to the central authority in Nicosia. Each had its own treasury, paying its own salaries and expenditures, then remitting the balance to Nicosia, where there were numerous separate “treasury chests”. Every district administrative function and even the functions of police, courts and customs, and so forth operated through approval from the center.²⁹⁶ After the Sultan’s Provincial Regulation of 1858 the governors of Ottoman territories, or *vilayets*, became the authority over local matters and the sole agent of the central government, supported by army commanders and treasurers sent from Istanbul responsible to him. The *kaymakans* (district officials) retained some authority under the governor. On Cyprus, the officials—a pasha (Governor), 16 mudirs (presidents of districts), and a muchtar (receiver), assisted by a mixed council of Christians and Muslims—administered 605 villages, a task made more difficult by having no connecting roads between the villages.²⁹⁷

Wolseley somewhat followed this system, dividing the island into six districts, or Keimakliantsi (fig. 3.9), each headed by an officer and assistant chosen from his British force.²⁹⁸ These officers would first act in concert with the individual Keimaklian and then eventually take his place, “ruling the District in the manner that a Deputy

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ Report on the Sanitary Condition and Drainage of the District of Famagusta and the Mesaoria in Cyprus, by the Chevalier David Bocci, Chief Engineer, Royal Engineers, Parma, June 5, 1880 (Colonial Office, Nov. 1881), CO 883/2.

²⁹⁸ Report by Her Majesty’s High Commissioner for the Year 1879, Major-General Biddulph to the Marquis of Salisbury (Cyprus, No. 25), Jan. 15, 1880, Confidential Print, Series B., Doc.36.

Commissioner does in a district of India.”²⁹⁹ The first appointment was Brigadier General Watson, who previously served in India, as Civil Commissioner of Larnaca and OC Indian troops in Cyprus. Wolseley held high hopes for Watson, but later found him “either profoundly ignorant of our own position in Cyprus or else somewhat devoid of judgment” when he asked Wolseley to force people ashore to let their houses to the Government for his office.³⁰⁰ The other new district officers included Lieutenant-Colonel Warren (Limassol District), who served from September 1, 1878, to August 1, 1879, Captain Wauchope (Papho District), from the occupation until September 1, 1879, Captain Inglis (Famagusta District), and Captain Scott Stevenson (Kyrenia District).³⁰¹

One of the younger “Ring” members, Lieutenant Andrew Gilbert Wauchope, commissioned in the 42nd regiment (the Black Watch) and promoted to lieutenant in 1867, served in the Second Anglo-Asante War in November 1873 and was severely wounded. On the occupation of Cyprus in July 1878, Wauchope was appointed commissioner of the Papho district, being promoted on September 14, 1878, to captain. He returned to England in August 1880 and continued on for a successful military career including receiving a brevet lieutenant-colonelcy after being severely wounded at the

²⁹⁹ Cavendish, ed., *Wolseley's journal*, p. 15, entry for July 25, 1878.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, entry for July 26, 1878, on board *HMS Himalaya*. Wolseley's insufficient budget prevented the extravagant salaries common in India, but he was grateful for the Indian troops to help him keep order in Cyprus.

Part of the problem of finding houses was supply and demand. Biddulph later wrote: “Sir Garnet Wolseley's idea was that there ought to be a fixed residence for the Commissioner, available for him or for anyone doing his duty without putting him to the inconvenience of searching for quarters often difficult to find. The rents paid in the first instance were exorbitant, inflated by the sudden demand for everything which the influx of a large army and body of officials naturally caused.” (Mediterranean, No. 8, Finances and Administration of Cyprus, Sir R. Biddulph's Reply to Mr. Fairfield's Memorandum (in continuation of Mediterranean No. 5), May 1883, CO 883/2)

³⁰¹ Major-General Biddulph to Salisbury, High Commissioner's report for the year 1879, Confidential Print, Series B, Vol. 5, p. 224.

battle of al-Teb.³⁰² Lieutenant M. B. Seager, R. M. L. I., was appointed Assistant Commissioner of Nicosia on August 7, 1878, and subsequently Commissioner of Kyrenia on July 1, 1879.³⁰³ Lieutenant Andrew Scott-Stevenson, 42nd Royal Highlanders (The Black Watch), was appointed Assistant Commissioner and Local Commandant Police, Kyrenia, on November 19, 1878. On February 27, 1880, he was appointed Commissioner of Kyrenia, replacing Lieutenant Seager, who became Police Magistrate and Deputy Commissioner of Nicosia.³⁰⁴ Captain W. H. Gordon, Suffolk Artillery Militia, was appointed Assistant Commissioner on January 5, 1879 and Assistant Commissioner of Famagusta on June 2, 1880. Captain Gordon was lost in the Bayuda Desert in 1885 and never heard of again.³⁰⁵

Major General Sir Biddulph was appointed District Commissioner of Nicosia on August 7, 1878.³⁰⁶ Major E. W. Gordon, 93rd Highlanders, replaced Biddulph as Commissioner of Nicosia on November 10, 1879, but resigned on January 1, 1882.³⁰⁷ Captain James Argyll Spalding Inglis, 71st Regiment of Foot, was appointed Assistant Commissioner of Famagusta on August 1, 1878, and subsequently held the following posts: Commissioner, Famagusta, October 13, 1878; Assistant Commissioner, Nicosia,

³⁰² J. A. Horsburgh, "Andrew Gilbert Wauchope (1846-1899)", *DNB* (Oxford, 2004-8).

³⁰³ *Cyprus Gazette* No. 31, June 28, 1879, cited in Major A. G. Harfield, "British Military Presence in Cyprus in the 19th Century", in *JSAHR*, Vol. 56 (1978), pp. 160-169 (163).

³⁰⁴ *Cyprus Gazette* No. 3, Jan. 1, 1879, and *Cyprus Gazette* No. 46, March 1, 1880, cited in Harfield, "British Military Presence", p. 163.

³⁰⁵ *Cyprus Gazette* No. 36, Feb. 11, 1879, and *Cyprus Gazette* No. 53, June 4, 1880, cited in Harfield, "British Military Presence", p. 163.

³⁰⁶ *Cyprus Gazette* No. 1, Nov. 8, 1878, cited in Harfield, "British Military Presence", p. 162.

³⁰⁷ *Cyprus Gazette* No. 38, Nov. 13, 1879, and *Cyprus Gazette* No. 81, Jan. 31, 1882, cited in Harfield, "British Military Presence", p. 164.

December 4, 1881, and Commissioner, Nicosia, January 1, 1882.³⁰⁸ Commissioner Inglis died on April 1, 1883.³⁰⁹ He was commemorated on a plaque on the nave of the Anglican Church of Nicosia.³¹⁰

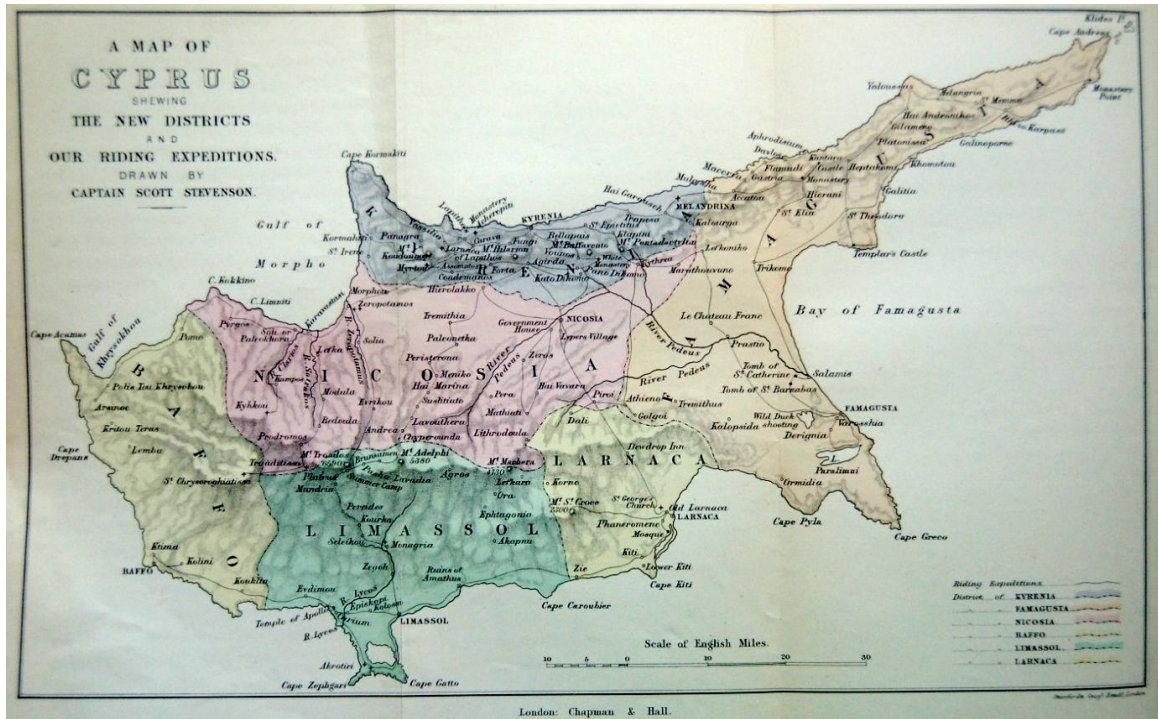


Figure 3.9. Map of Cyprus showing the new Districts, 1878, in Scott-Stevenson, *Our Home in Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1879)

In 1879 several military officers were appointed to direct the police force. Major H. R. Bowlby, 20th Regiment, became Chief Commandant of the Military Police and Inspector of Prisons on April 1, 1879, until December 1, 1880. Major A. H. A. Gordon, 65th Regiment, became First Commandant of the Cyprus Police and Pioneer Force (an

³⁰⁸ *Cyprus Gazette* No. 1, Nov. 5, 1878; *Cyprus Gazette* No. 6, Feb. 11, 1879; *Cyprus Gazette* No. 80, Dec. 19, 1881, cited in Harfield, “British Military Presence”, p. 162.

³⁰⁹ *Cyprus Gazette*, April 16, 1883, p. 294, CO 70/1.

³¹⁰ *Cyprus Gazette* No. 81, Jan. 31, 1882, cited in Harfield, “British Military Presence”, p. 162.

auxiliary force) on November 20, 1879. Lieutenant Benjamin Donnisthorpe Alsop Donne, 35th Regiment, took the post of Commanding Officer of the Cyprus Pioneer Force at Limassol on January 9 but that corps disbanded in March, 1881 and its personnel absorbed into a new force called Cyprus Military Police.³¹¹

Civil service gave military officers a greater understanding of colonial administration and of imperial duty and brought them into the circle of civilians both British and native.³¹² It also helped make many careers. “Ring” member Henry John Thoroton Hildyard, who was brigade major in Cyprus and Gibraltar from 1878 to 1882, served as Wolseley’s deputy assistant adjutant and quartermaster-general in the 1882 expedition to Egypt. Then as commandant at the Staff College after 1893, Hildyard reformed the system of examinations and staff work, and later led forces at Alleman’s Nek, Natal and the Transvaal.³¹³ Horatio Herbert (later Lord) Kitchener, surveyor for the Royal Engineers, who completed a map of Cyprus under Wolseley and Biddulph, in 1886-88 served as Governor-General of Eastern Sudan. Brackenbury, after organizing the military police and remodeling the prison service in Cyprus, served as private secretary to the Viceroy in India.³¹⁴

Sir Robert Biddulph (1835-1918) served under Sir Colin Campbell as brigade major, participating in the capture of Lucknow which ended the Indian mutiny. While in India he met Wolseley, with whom he remained life-long friends. He served then in

³¹¹ *Cyprus Gazette* No. 17, April 2, 1879; *Cyprus Gazette* No. 62, Nov. 26, 1880; *Cyprus Gazette* No. 39, Nov. 29, 1879, and *Cyprus Gazette* No. 62, Nov. 26, 1880, cited in Harfield, “British Military Presence”, pp. 164-5.

³¹² Edward Spiers, *The Late Victorian Army* (Manchester, 1992), pp. 157-159.

³¹³ G. D. Sheffield, “Hildyard, Sir Henry John Thoroton (1846-1916)”, DNB (Oxford, 2004).

³¹⁴ See Edward Spiers, *The Late Victorian Army* (Manchester, 1992), Chapter six, “Civil-military relations”, pp. 153-178.

China, again in India, and then returned to England in 1865 as assistant boundary commissioner for the Reform Act of 1867. In 1871 he began work as private secretary to Edward Cardwell, secretary of state for war, known for a major reform overhaul of the British army. Both Biddulph and Wolseley concerned themselves greatly with army reform, although Wolseley never was associated personally with Cardwell. In 1878 Biddulph served as commissioner to Constantinople to arrange financial details of the Anglo-Turkish convention of 1878, and then in Cyprus where he provided special services to Wolseley. Wolseley himself had earlier served as Lieutenant-Governor of Natal in 1875. But his reputation as a military reformer followed him to Cyprus, earning the ire of the Queen and the Duke of Cambridge, and influenced his relationships with the Colonial Office and his staff. Forwarding his own civil reforms—administration, public works, judiciary, he never relinquished his role as military commander.³¹⁵

Biddulph commended Wolseley's decision to appoint military officers rather than professional civil servants, claiming that civil servants of the Crown were not available, and to appoint "the multitude of other candidates [who] lacked the necessary qualifications, and were ignorant of the manner in which the public service is carried on" would have disastrous consequences. He argued that in order to facilitate Wolseley's intention to establish a permanent Civil Service for Cyprus, the employment of officers of the army allowed time to seek competent men. To their credit, the officers, who "despite little experience in administrative work, performed continuous and unceasing work, day after day, and from morning till night, suffering the want of good houses and servants, the

³¹⁵ Ibid.

heat of the climate, and a lack of proper office assistance.”³¹⁶ Not everyone agreed with this assessment. When Gladstone regained the office of Prime Minister in 1880, Kimberley took the opportunity to complain, “The late Government thought of nothing but their foolish dream of making Cyprus another Malta, and they filled the island with military officers who with the best will in the world can’t carry on civil government satisfactorily.”³¹⁷ Certainly some military officials failed to fit into government service; for example, Greaves openly criticized the government’s attempt to make Cyprus a major base, pointing out its unhealthiness for the British. His brashness ruined his appointment as High Commissioner that began when Wolseley left Cyprus in May 1879: he only lasted in that office until July.³¹⁸

As for professional civil officials, Wolseley brought with him initially Sir Adrian Dingli, the Crown Advocate of Malta, on loan as legal adviser³¹⁹; Mr. Kellner, financial commissioner; Mr. Robson, chief officer of customs; four special service officers; and a staff sent out by the Post-Master General to organize the postal service.³²⁰ Dingli was a Maltese experienced in international and Levantine law, and was instrumental in helping

³¹⁶ Confidential Print, Piece 3987, Foreign Office Memorandum, 11 Oct. 1879, in *British Documents on Foreign Affairs, Reports and Papers from the Foreign Office Confidential Print*, K. Bourne and D. Cameron Watt, eds.; Part I, Series B The Near and Middle East 1856-1914, Vol 5.

³¹⁷ Kimberley to Gladstone, April 16, 1881, Add. MS 44226, ff. 93-96, quoted in Brian L. Blakeley, *The Colonial Office 1868-1892* (Durham, N.C., 1972), p. 127, n. 72. William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898) was prime minister 1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, and 1892-94 (*britannicareadyreference* online, Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc. 2001)

³¹⁸ Ian Beckett, “Greaves, Sir George Richards”, DNB, Oxford, 2004-8. Wolseley once remarked that Greaves “has yet to learn that it does not do to insert the whole truth in official correspondence”.

³¹⁹ Wolseley on board HMS *Himalaya*, Larnaca, Cyprus, to Salisbury, July 28, 1878, CO 67/1, No. 3.

³²⁰ Report by Her Majesty’s High Commissioner for the Year 1879, Major-General Biddulph to the Marquis of Salisbury (Cyprus, No. 25), Jan. 15, 1880, Confidential Print, Series B, Vol. 5, Doc. 36.

Wolseley frame his government.³²¹ One month later the Turkish Pasha of Nicosia and his heads of departments left and the remaining native officials came under the control of the British officers.³²² Each district also employed an English officer as Commandant of Police, who managed the district prison, and medical officers, at first all army surgeons but by 1879 replaced by civil medical practitioners, both English and “natives of the Levant”, according to Biddulph. The Royal Engineers managed the Public Works Department on Cyprus.

Biddulph, in the first High Commissioner’s report early in 1879 (outlining the events of Wolseley’s tenure from mid-1878 to early 1879), noted that under Ottoman government, nearly all of the government officials had been “Mahometans” and “to have deprived them of their offices for the sole object of substituting Christians in their place would have been both unjust and also detrimental to the public service.” When vacancies occurred, he and Wolseley sought to hire “the best men procurable without regard to their creed” although as noted above, the highest positions went to British officials.

Whatever their military and civil service experience, and in some cases Staff College training, Wolseley’s staff on Cyprus was ill prepared for their new position in one important regard: language. All Ottoman government affairs were conducted in Turkish, and Greek was the language of the majority of the population. Even more confusing, Greek was the primary language not only of Greeks on Cyprus but also of a

³²¹ Sir F. Maurice and Sir George Arthur, *The Life of Lord Wolseley* (London, 1924), p. 93. The authors use “Dingle” as the spelling, but Colonial Office documents use “Dingli”. Dingli later tried to solicit a Maltese immigration scheme to Cyprus from the two governments.

³²² Report by Her Majesty’s High Commissioner for the Year 1879, Major-General Biddulph to the Marquis of Salisbury (Cyprus, No. 25), Jan. 15, 1880, Confidential Print, Series B, Vol. 5, Doc. 36.

number of Muslims, and Turkish was the primary language of some Greek Orthodox.³²³

The new rulers expected all official business to be conducted in English, but lacked interpreters. Later as High Commissioner, Biddulph remembered,

Of the Turkish officials not one spoke English, and barely two or three in the whole island spoke indifferent French... A number of interpreters had flocked to the island from all parts of the Levant, many of them, however, were but indifferently acquainted with the languages they professed to understand, and great difficulty was experienced in obtaining the services of men who could read and write both Turkish and English.³²⁴

Finally on September 1, a “competent translator” arrived from Constantinople and work began on the Ottoman documents in the central offices.³²⁵

Five years later Biddulph reported that of 41 interpreters in Government employ, 15 were Armenians, as “there are but few candidates and consequently but little choice”. He further noted that at the time of the British occupation there were probably not ten natives of Cyprus residing in the Island who understood English. Fortunately,

Considerable progress in English has since been made amongst Cypriots, and several have already been employed by this Government as interpreters and clerks...Of the superior English officials, six speak Greek well. Four of these and two others speak Turkish with more or less fluency.³²⁶

³²³ Theodore Papadopoulos, *Cyprus Social and Historical Data on Population, 1570-1881* (Nicosia, 1965), p. 78-81. In the 1881 census, the population included 2,454 Muslims and 137,499 Greek Orthodox who spoke Greek; 42,489 Muslims and 95 Greek Orthodox who spoke Turkish; 445 Muslims and 11 Greek Orthodox who spoke Arabic; and 70 Muslims and 26 Greek Orthodox who spoke other languages.

³²⁴ Report by Her Majesty’s High Commissioner for the Year 1879, Major-General Biddulph to the Marquis of Salisbury (Cyprus, No. 25), Jan. 15, 1880, Confidential Print, Doc. 36.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*

³²⁶ *Mediterranean*, No. 8, Finances and Administration of Cyprus, Sir R. Biddulph’s Reply to Mr. Fairfield’s Memorandum (in continuation of *Mediterranean*, No. 5), Colonial Office, May 1883, CO 883/2.

Biddulph commented, too, that two officers spoke Arabic, which proved very useful when dealing with refugees from Egypt.

When told of “Greek speaking Mahometans”, Biddulph found that they used Greek colloquially for convenience with their neighbors but could not read Greek, and “their women spoke only Turkish, and Turkish was taught in their schools.” The knowledge of Turkish language among Christian Cypriots, he continued, “will very much diminish in the next generation, as there will no longer be the necessity of knowing it that was entailed on them when all the administrative and judicial business of the island was carried on solely in the Turkish language.”³²⁷ He also acknowledged the reluctance of many of the native officials “to place the whole of their knowledge of current affairs at the disposal of the British Government”. The Turkish officials still anticipated promotion in Turkish service, and as the administrative chasm that existed between Cyprus and Turkey became wider and more apparent every day, some of them hesitated to throw in their lot with the British Government. “The reins of government were, however,” Biddulph explained, “firmly held by the English, whose knowledge of the affairs of the island daily increased.” The British paid salaries promptly, and reprimanded any fraud or deceit. A few discontented Cypriots resigned, but soon the bulk of the subordinate officials accepted the situation, and “it is only doing them justice to say that, as a body, they have served the British Government loyally and faithfully.”³²⁸

³²⁷ Ibid.

³²⁸ High Commissioners Report for the Year 1879, Major-General Biddulph to the Marquis of Salisbury (Cyprus, No. 25).

Throughout his time on Cyprus, Wolseley often wrote in his journal about the wars erupting in other parts of the Empire, particularly in Afghanistan. On Tuesday, December 10, 1878, he wrote,

Oh how I long to be with our troops in the field: I feel like an eagle that has had its wings clipped. As I lie awake at night, I sometimes imagine I can hear the guns in the Afghan passes, and long to rush to the ‘sound of the cannon’. But God’s will be done: I know I am reserved for some big work—perhaps to die in it: if so I shall have been allowed to have what has been my prayer, my constant prayer since boyhood.³²⁹

By early 1879, Wolseley already had become the most frustrated man, “languishing away” as Governor of Cyprus since Britain had occupied it as a *‘place d’armes’* in July 1878.³³⁰

Thus, when on February 11, 1879, Disraeli received news of the disaster at Isandhlwana and sent immediately for “our only general” to replace Chelmsford, Wolseley eagerly jumped at the chance to escape Cyprus. The Duke of Cambridge and Queen Victoria, disapproving of Wolseley’s views on army reform and his “cocksureness and self-publicizing”, opposed the assignment but Disraeli prevailed, and the British public approved. Wolseley assumed overall military command, with Chelmsford as deputy, as well as civil authority outside Cape Colony.³³¹ On June 23, 1879, Wolseley was appointed governor and high commissioner in South Africa with the rank of local general. On July 1, 1880, he became quartermaster-general at the War Office, a post he held until March 31, 1882, and then adjutant-general at the War Office until September

³²⁹ Ibid., p. 15.

³³⁰ Field Marshal Lord Carver, *The Seven Ages of the British Army* (NY, 1981), pp. 143-4.

³³¹ Ibid.

30, 1890, during which time he served in the Egyptian and Sudan campaigns.³³² He is now perhaps best known for leading the failed expeditionary force to rescue General Gordon in Khartoum in the 1884-5 Sudan campaign.³³³

When he left Cyprus, Wolseley appointed as administrator Sir George Richards Greaves, the Senior Military Officer on Cyprus³³⁴, but Greaves' criticism of the appropriateness of Cyprus as a major British base offended the Government. Greaves only lasted until July 1879, when with Wolseley's recommendation he returned to India as adjutant-general in the Second Anglo-Afghan War.³³⁵ Sir Robert Biddulph succeeded him as High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief in Cyprus in June 1879. He was promoted to Major-General in 1883 and remained in Cyprus until 1886, during which period he declined a higher appointment in Natal for family reasons.³³⁶ Biddulph's concerns on Cyprus began with the problem of housing his own administration and staff. Rather than building a temporary hut as Wolseley intended, Biddulph chose to remain under tents for the summer (1879) and then build a house of native stone for occupation the following year.³³⁷ Magda Ohlenfasch-Richter photographed the three-story stone house that was finally built in the Tröodos Mountains (fig. 3.10).³³⁸

³³² Ian W. Beckett, "Garnet Joseph Wolseley," *DNB* (Oxford University Press 2004-6).

³³³ John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire* (Manchester, 1984), p. 56.

³³⁴ *The Cyprus Gazette*, May 12, 1879, p. 26, CO 70/1.

³³⁵ Ian W. Beckett, "Sir George Richards Greaves," *DNB*, online 2004-6. Greaves became commander-in-chief in Bombay on March 14, 1890 and was promoted to lieutenant-general in October. Despite his haughty attitude, he improved hospitals and Indian troop barracks, and established a convalescence camp for British troops in Deolali.

³³⁶ C. V. Owen (rev. James Lunt), "Sir Robert Biddulph," in *DNB*, online 2004-6.

³³⁷ Biddulph to Salisbury, from Tröodos, July 28, 1879, No. 88, Part II Correspondence relating to the island of Cyprus, June to Dec. 1879, FO 421/32.

³³⁸ Biddulph's achievements in Cyprus included currency reform, new administrative structures for justice and taxation, anti-locust campaigns, and public works. (Schaar, Given and Theocharous, *Under the Clock* (1995), p. 23)



Figure 3.10. Stone house in Troödos.

Source: M. Ohnelfasch-Richter, *Griechische Sitten und Gebräuche auf Cypem*, (Berlin, 1913)

Summary

Most of the first new British administrators on Cyprus were not civil servants but military men. Nor were they experienced in governing plural ethnic and cultural groups or trained in the appropriate languages. Yet they assumed that as Britons they had every right to govern—learning as they went—and seemed to believe in their mission to bring “good government” to the island by creating a British dependency. This attitude is evident in the military troops as well. For example, when the Essex Regiment

(previously 56th Foot) served in Cyprus from 1889 to 1892, building roads with the Royal Engineers in the Troödos area, they named the new roads Fifth Extension, Essex Road, Pompadour Road, Warley Road and Spencer's Walk (after their Commanding Officer).³³⁹ At the same time, the military officers and men initially appointed to administrative posts found Cyprus less than adventurous, with no war to fight. When Wolseley left "on leave", his men knew that he would not come back "as the Zulu War came on, and sure enough he went out to South Africa."³⁴⁰ The next administrator, Colonel Biddulph, had seen service in the Indian Mutiny and in China, but was an authority on finance; thus his position as the second High Commissioner on Cyprus suited him (giving him the opportunity to negotiate the tribute at Constantinople), and, soon promoted to Major-General, he remained to carry out the reforms necessary to create British Cyprus.³⁴¹

Like Wolseley and future administrators, Biddulph saw Cyprus as British, to be made into the image of a British dependency. The next chapter examines how the administrators transformed the Ottoman system of governance into a British one and enforced the new laws with a reformed police force. It also examines the problems that the British inherited from Ottoman rule, such as the tribute, taxes, and public works, and how they facilitated these changes by delineating their recent acquisition through new maps and surveys.

³³⁹ Major A. G. Harfield, "British Military Presence in Cyprus in the 19th Century", in *JSAHR*, Vol. 56 (1978), pp. 160-169 (169).

³⁴⁰ Col. Hugh M. Sinclair, *Camp and Society* (London, 1926), p. 79.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER FOUR
The foundations of “good government”

Representative government and the court system

Perhaps the most significant change under Wolseley’s tenure—in the process of “regenerating rotten empires” as Palmerston had quipped³⁴²—was the institution of a new system of representative government. Wolseley sought to avoid representative assemblies as much as possible, and to not make the mistake of creating a parliament, which he called “the bane of all good government”, as was done in the Ionian Islands.³⁴³ In the event, a Legislative Council was established by the order of Her Majesty in Council on September 14, 1878. It consisted of the High Commissioner and not less than four, and not more than eight other members, half to be officials and half to be inhabitants not holding office, the latter named by Her Majesty.³⁴⁴ The order-in-council also empowered the High Commissioner to appoint the Senior Military Officer “in Command of Her Majesty’s Regular Troops and any other Persons holding Public offices within the said Island whom he may think fit, not exceeding three, to be Members of the Executive Council” (for the purposes of advising the High Commissioner).³⁴⁵ By December, however, Wolseley was frustrated by the dictates of the Colonial Office and in particular by Lord Salisbury. He wrote in his journal:

³⁴² Ronald Hyam, *Britain’s Imperial Century* (1976), p. 54. Palmerston declared that there were five main interconnected methods of ‘regenerating rotten empires’: by constitutional and legal provisions, by free trade, by conversion to Christianity, by education, and by technology.

³⁴³ Cavendish, ed., *Wolseley’s journal*, p. 15, entry for July 25, 1878. Also see Holland and Markides, *The British and the Hellenes* (2006), pp. 13-80.

³⁴⁴ Report by Colonel F. Warren, Chief Secretary to the Cyprus Government, Enclosure in Mediterranean No. 22, Biddulph to F. A. Stanley, M. P., Aug. 28, 1885, CO 883/4/5.

³⁴⁵ W. F. Haynes Smith to Capt. Bertram Edward Crocker, 3rd Batt. Lancashire Fusiliers, NAM ARC 7208-75-2, National Army Museum archives in the Templer Study Centre, Chelsea (London).

...Had a telegram from Lord Salisbury saying he had received my dispatch with draft laws and desiring me not to pass them until I had heard from him, that he would send me instructions by telegraph. I cannot understand all this. I am pressed to assemble the Legislative Council and when I do so and proceed to legislate on subjects regarding which I have already communicated with Lord Salisbury I am told to “hold hard”.³⁴⁶

Wolsey believed his appointment as High Commissioner entitled him to complete control but soon discovered the strength of the Colonial Office vise.

Later, after innumerable drafts, the new Cyprus constitution made clear the roles of Commissioner and Council:

It shall be lawful for the High Commissioner, with the advice and consent of the Council, to make all such Laws and Ordinances as may from time to time be necessary for the peace, order, and good government of the Island, with this qualification, that it shall not be lawful for the High Commissioner and the Council to make any law or Ordinance altering the constitution of the Council.³⁴⁷

The High Commissioner should institute the laws necessary for “peace, order, and good government” in Cyprus, without altering the Council’s constitution. However, the Queen (and “Her heirs and successors”) held final authority:

Full authority is nevertheless hereby reserved to Her Majesty, Her heirs and successors, through one of Her or their Principal Secretaries of State, to confirm or disallow any such Laws or Ordinances in the whole or in part, and to make and establish from time to time, with the advice of Her or their Privy Council, all such Laws and Ordinances as to Her or them may appear necessary for the peace, order, and good government of the Island, as fully as if this order had not been made.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁶ Cavendish, ed., *Wolsey's journal*, entry for Dec. 20, 1878.

³⁴⁷ 5th draft (July 28, 1882) of an order-in-council for altering the constitution of the legislative council of Cyprus, CO 380/59.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

Another order-in-council, dated November 30, 1882, established a new constitution which changed the makeup of the Legislative Council to six officials and 12 elected members (“nine Christian and three Mahometan”).³⁴⁹

By 1885 a substantial amount of legislation was passed, including 72 ordinances and 26 laws. Many were designed to increase government revenue through taxes and duties, including a Military Exemption Tax (Ordinance V of 1878) to be equally payable by all male inhabitants between 18 and 60 years of age, with a few exceptions, irrespective of difference of religious creed. Ordinance I of 1879 affected customs and excise, and duties on the importation of firearms, gunpowder and tobacco, and forbade the exportation of timber, charcoal and firewood produced in Cyprus. It eliminated duties on exports and some imports, and regulated the rates of licenses on sponge fishing. Other ordinances imposed a Stamp Act (Ordinance II of 1879), regulated the killing of game (Ordinance IX of 1879), amended the laws relating to mines (Ordinance V of 1881), regulated pensions to certain officers (Ordinance XV of 1881), abolished the tithes on grapes (Law I of 1884), consolidated and amended the dues levied on ships (Law III of 1884), and exempted from stamp duty receipts given by officers and men in Her Majesty’s forces stationed in Cyprus for money paid from the British Exchequer (Law I of 1885). As a result of these and other ordinances and laws, government revenue steadily expanded and Colonel Warren noted that “the commerce of the Island has increased in a most satisfactory manner”.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁹ Report by Colonel F. Warren, Chief Secretary to the Cyprus Government, Enclosure in Mediterranean No. 22, Biddulph to F. A. Stanley, M. P., Aug. 28, 1885, CO 883/4/5.

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

The Revenue Department was first directed by Sir George Kellner, Financial Commissioner, an appointment that was converted to Auditor and Accountant General in 1879 and reassigned to John O'Neill. In September 1880, W. Marsh assumed the position but left in February 1882. W. Corby took his place and in April 1883 received the title of Receiver-General. Mr. Corby died on October 29, 1883, leaving the office in the hands of a Mr. Taylor from Customs until the arrival of J. A. Swettenham from Ceylon. The Customs and Excise Departments were handled by Mr. Robson as chief collector, then by Mr. Corby who when appointed to Auditor and Accountant General gave it over to Mr. Taylor. All these gentlemen were, according to Colonel Warren, "specially selected from the Imperial Customs Department for duty in Cyprus, and it is to their ability that the steady improvement in the department may be attributed."³⁵¹

However, Warren points to the failure of some of the new laws in regard to municipal government and revenues, observing the inability of some native Cypriots to manage such affairs. A law passed in June 1880 made the municipalities entirely independent of any Government interference, "the Commissioner of the District having no power to take part in any discussion on any business to be transacted, no power of voting in any resolution or other proceeding." But while by 1885 the municipalities of Kyrenia, Famagusta, and Papho "have so far been successful that they have performed their duties without running into serious debt", the towns of Larnaca, Nicosia and Limassol, "did not

³⁵¹ Ibid.

progress satisfactorily”.³⁵² Limassol had plunged deeply into debt, and Larnaca required additional special laws:

There were many who thought the people unequal to the responsibilities they claimed to undertake, and this supposition did not prove erroneous, for a special law had to be passed for the temporary conduct and transaction of business and the affairs of the municipality of Larnaca in November of the same year [1880]...

In 1882 a law was passed relating to the election of municipal councils, to make better provision for the assessment and levying of municipal rates and for the auditing of municipal accounts. This law, however admirable for a country which might contain persons able and willing to act according to a written law, proved just to be the one thing which broke down those municipalities, which had hitherto endeavoured to raise revenue from sources other than from owners of property situated within the municipality; in 1885 we find some of the municipalities (which are governed by the mercantile and petty commercial classes) broken down or on an illegal footing, and it has been proved that no power that is as yet known can induce a Cypriot to levy a rate on the property of himself or his friends...

An endeavour had furthermore been made by Law No. V of 1883 to set Larnaca and Limassol on their legs again. It is therefore to be accepted, as a rule, that the people of Cyprus are not yet equal to the duties of local self-government, a fact which many of the most enlightened of them acknowledge, but are afraid to state openly.³⁵³

Warren showed that Larnaca, in particular, required numerous additional laws be “set on its legs again”, but all three towns of Nicosia, Limassol and Larnaca had not advanced because “only those municipalities which were content to listen to the advice of their Commissioners, viz., Famagusta, Kyrenia, and Papho, have continued [to] work and

³⁵² Ibid.

³⁵³ Ibid.

remain in a solvent state.”³⁵⁴ The British held that Cypriots were ill-prepared for self-government.

The restructuring of the court system should also be addressed here because that system under the Ottomans was a great source of Greek resentment toward the Turks. Sir Harry Luke reported in 1867 that although the Greeks were the majority in numbers, they were inadequately represented in the legal tribunals and in fact, their evidence was nearly always refused when given against Muslims. Thus, he wrote, “It is to the composition of the Courts of Justice, indeed, that almost all the grievances of which the Christians have to complain may be traced, with the exception of those which they suffer in common with Mussulmans from the incapacity of the Government.”³⁵⁵ Perhaps naively, the British saw the revamping of the Ottoman government into a British pattern as the solution to ethnic divisions.

Before the occupation, each of the sixteen districts on Cyprus had its Medjlis or Municipal Council consisting of about six members that met in the chief town of the district. For example, in Larnaca the council included four Muslims and two Christians, presided over by the Mudir or local Governor. The Muslim members consist of the Cadi or Judge, who sits *ex officio*, and three members representing the Muslim population; the two Christian members are elected by the Greek community. This Court tried both civil and criminal cases, the decisions made by the majority of votes, but Christian testimony was inadmissible. From these District courts appeals were made to the Provincial Court, held at the capital Nicosia, that considered matters of administrative or financial character

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Sir Harry Luke, *Cyprus Under the Turks* (London, 1921), pp. 216-217.

connected with taxes, tithes, Customs duties, and civil suits not involving inheritance; again these appeals disregarded the Christian interests. This court was composed of thirteen members, nine Muslims (six of official standing and irremovable, and three representatives of the population) and four Christians (the Archbishop who sits *ex officio*, and three others elected by the Christians). If any of the unofficial members “rendered themselves obnoxious to the Governor”, he could replace them at any time.³⁵⁶

While this system seems clearly to put the Christians at a disadvantage, especially in the capital where the Muslims enjoyed greater influence, bribery often evened the disposition of the courts in the rural areas where many Christian litigants were wealthier from land ownership and predominance in trade than the poorer Muslim community. Two courts, however, allowed Christian evidence, the Medjlis el Tahkik at Nicosia, where important criminal and police cases were heard, and the Mejlis el Tijaret at Larnaca, for commercial suits, for which the members consisted of equal numbers of Europeans and Cypriots: each of the six important Consulates sent a delegate and the Cypriots sent three Christians and three Muslims for a total of twelve. The smaller district courts were most likely to dismiss Christian testimony.³⁵⁷

With the British occupation, some of the court system was maintained or revised and some of it disestablished. Under the Cyprus Convention, June 4, 1878 and an Annex on July 1, 1878, the Muslim religious tribunal continued to exist to deal with religious matters concerning the “Mussulman population” of the island. A Supplementary Convention at Constantinople, August 14, 1878, transferred from the Sultan to the Queen

³⁵⁶ Ibid.

³⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 217- 221.

“for the term of the occupation, and no longer, full power of making laws for the Government of the Island in her Majesty’s name free from the Porte’s control”.³⁵⁸ By Ordinance No. I of 1878 a Court was established called the High Court of Justice. It had jurisdiction, civil and criminal, over all persons and in all cases “other than such as would have been under the sole jurisdiction and authority of the Ottoman Courts if the Convention of 4th June 1878 had not been made.” This court was composed of the High Commissioner, the Judicial Commissioner, with a Deputy Commissioner at each of the principal towns. The Judicial Commissioner was empowered to adjudge the same punishment as any Court of Criminal Jurisdiction in England, and any Deputy Commissioner could adjudge imprisonment not exceeding 12 months, a fine of 50*l.*, and an added fine for a continuing offense. Writing in August, 1885, Chief Secretary Warren suggested, “The presence of the Commissioners or Assistant Commissioners of Districts in the Courts in this capacity inspired confidence in the people and helped to render the course of justice much more equable.”³⁵⁹

The Cyprus Courts of Justice Order, 1882, abolished the Nizam Courts (the Temyiz Court) at Nicosia, and the Daavi Courts of the several Cazas or Districts of Cyprus, and the Commercial Court at Larnaca, and the several Mussulman religious tribunals (Mehkemé-i-Shéri). It also established a Court called “The Supreme Court” with two or more judges, a district court in each caza with three judges (the President and two ordinary judges, one Christian and one Moslem). For each caza there was a Court of

³⁵⁸ Conventions regarding Cyprus, Nov. 30, 1882, FO 881/4760X

³⁵⁹ Report by Colonel F. Warren, Chief Secretary to the Cyprus Government, Enclosure in Mediterranean No. 22, Biddulph to F. A. Stanley, M. P., Aug. 28, 1885, CO 883/4/5.

Criminal Jurisdiction called the Assize Court, with one or more judges of the Supreme Court and either two or more judges or the President only of the District court of such caza. It was also declared that every court and judge in an Ottoman action shall, in cases of the accused not an Ottoman subject, shall apply “English law”, meaning the Common Law, the Rules of Equity, and general statutes in force in England as of December 21, 1878.³⁶⁰

Before Wolseley went ashore on Cyprus, he sent a request to Salisbury for the services of a judge “ASAP”. The man should be a good lawyer and officer, have good sound and practical common sense and experience in the administration of the law in new countries. He proposed Mr. Justice Phillips, a judge in Natal, as Chief Justice of Cyprus and legal advisor to the High Commissioner. Phillips had recently shown himself competent in two missions to Barbados and Singapore. This request was considered, but by August 13 the Foreign Office had made it clear it preferred Mr. Cookson for the post. Wolseley again was forced to defer to the Colonial Office.³⁶¹

The reform of the *Zaptiehs*

To enforce the law, administrators turned next to the reorganization and expansion of the Cyprus police force, made urgent in view of the withdrawal of the British regiment that began at the end of 1878. The problem was the disposition of the existing ranks of Turkish police known as *Zaptiehs*, which, according to Captain Savile, were unpopular amongst the Cypriots because of their brutality in collecting taxes. Savile

³⁶⁰ Conventions regarding Cyprus, Nov. 30, 1882, FO 881/4760X

³⁶¹ Wolseley aboard MS *Himalaya*, Larnaca, Cyprus, July 28, 1878, to Salisbury, CO 67/1, No. 3.

held, however, that the Zaptiehs had potential for an excellent police force under British control:

The Zaptiehs, or Turkish policemen, in the island are said to number about 275; one of their chief duties hitherto has been to assist the persons who farm the taxes to collect their dues, and also to exact those to be paid direct to the government. It appears that this duty has in very many cases been performed by the Zaptiehs in a most arbitrary manner, and has often been accompanied by acts of needless severity, and even brutality; consequently the police force is very generally unpopular amongst the Cypriots, and the bitter feeling which exists has sometimes culminated in reprisals.

This force being now under English control, will be brought under a stricter discipline, and its members taught to respect the law of which they are instruments. They will have to be properly clothed and fairly paid, so that their position may be raised in the estimation of the natives. It is believed that amongst the Zaptiehs are to be found the materials for the formation of an excellent police force, which will naturally now be thrown open to Christians, instead of being, as hitherto, confined only to Mussulmans.³⁶²

Unfortunately, Savile's proposal to build a competent force from the Zaptiehs ignored some obvious problems, chief of which was their illiteracy, often even in their own language.

On December 16, Lt. Col. Henry Brackenbury, Chief Commandant of the British Military Police, wrote from the Monastery Camp to the Chief Secretary that he wished to assure the Turkish government that he appreciates the service of the existing police force but because they are illiterate, he would like to give them pensions and where possible find new employment for them. The officers, especially, needed to be replaced with English-speaking officers. The Turkish officers in question included two captains and

³⁶² Report, "Cyprus", by Captain A. R. Savile, 18th, the Royal Irish Regiment, London, 1878, WO 106/6112, pp. 137-8.

four lieutenants, most of whom had already served 25 years in service, or in the case of one captain named Hadji Halil, 30 years³⁶³. Three days later Wolseley wrote to Salisbury with the same argument:

One of my first duties upon arrival here was to create a military police force for the island. The old Zaptieh Force in July last numbered about 292 of all ranks, including officers. Many in all grades were worn out and unfit for active duties of a policeman, and many wished to retire from the Force. At present, there are only 232 N.C.O. and men in the Military Police who had formerly been Zaptiehs. Most of the Officers however wished to continue in our service and I was most anxious to keep them on in the position they had occupied.

I regret to say upon trial this has been found to be impossible as regards those who neither read nor write in any language, not even in their own.³⁶⁴

Despite Wolseley's misgivings, however, the new force remained substantially a Turkish force, incorporating some of the old Zaptieh ranks. Colonel Warren claimed that the Christians did not enter the police force in proportion to their number, due to their "dislike to strict discipline, and to the smallness of the pay", not to any preference on the part of the commandant and officers of the force.³⁶⁵

In February, 1881, Biddulph wrote Lord Kimberley that from 1879-80, the expenditure for the police was £21,914 but he estimated £29,216 for the following year.³⁶⁶ This increase would be provide compensation for what Colonel Warren

³⁶³ Brackenbury to Chief Secretary of the Cyprus Government, Dec. 16, 1878, CO 67/1.

³⁶⁴ Wolseley to Salisbury, Dec. 19, 1878, Nicosia, CO 67/1.

³⁶⁵ Report by Colonel F. Warren, Chief Secretary to the Cyprus Government, Enclosure in Mediterranean No. 22, Biddulph to F. A. Stanley, M. P., Aug. 28, 1885, CO 883/4/5.

³⁶⁶ Biddulph to Kimberley, Nicosia, Feb. 18, 1881, Enclosure 1, in Papers relating to the Finances of Cyprus, Aug. 1881 (London, 1881), FO 78/3374, p. 8.

described as “ultra-departmental” duties beyond those generally associated with a policeman’s job.³⁶⁷ These included:

1. Serving summonses
2. Executing warrants
3. Carrying out judgments of courts
4. Acting as orderlies at public offices
5. Performing the duties of municipal police in the towns, and rural police in the villages and mudirates
6. Assisting in carrying out sanitary, quarantine, and forest regulations
7. Guarding the coast against contraband importation

Yet despite the extra duties and what some considered low pay, the force rose in number from 446 in 1879 to 697 in 1885 (fig. 4.1).³⁶⁸ A formal photograph taken by the noted photographer J. P. Foscolo shows a proud native police force in new uniforms (fig. 4.2).

Colonel Warren praised the honesty and high qualities of the policemen, especially the Suwaris or horse police, who rode half-Arab ponies of from 13.1 to 14 hands in height, often traveling 50 miles a day in their duty, and were therefore superior to the foot police (Piades). He also noted that some ex-zaptiehs enlisted under Major Grant and went to Egypt. Of those condemned and executed for mutiny, Major Grant reportedly stated that the only men who met their fate bravely were natives of Cyprus. In light of such honesty and bravery, Warren observed, “with but small inducement, Cyprus could turn out some 13,000 good soldiers, men who have passed through the elements of drill, and who could take their place in a force for service after a few weeks’ training.”³⁶⁹

This line of thinking suggests that Warren (and probably others) saw the Cypriot people

³⁶⁷ Report by Colonel F. Warren, Chief Secretary to the Cyprus Government, Enclosure in Mediterranean No. 22, Biddulph to F. A. Stanley, M. P., Aug. 28, 1885, CO 883/4/5.

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

³⁶⁹ Ibid.

as resources for the British Empire. In the following decades, and especially in the period leading to and during World War I, soldiers would be required for the defense of British Cyprus and potentially in other parts of the Empire.

	1879	1880	1881	1882	1884	1885
British Officers	6	4	6	6	6	6
Native Officers	11	17	22	22	22	22
Mounted Police	196	200	220	216	216	221
Foot Police	233	297	473	473	413	448
TOTALS	446	518	721	717	657	697

Figure 4.1. Statement of Strength of Cyprus Police Force, 1879 to 1885³⁷⁰

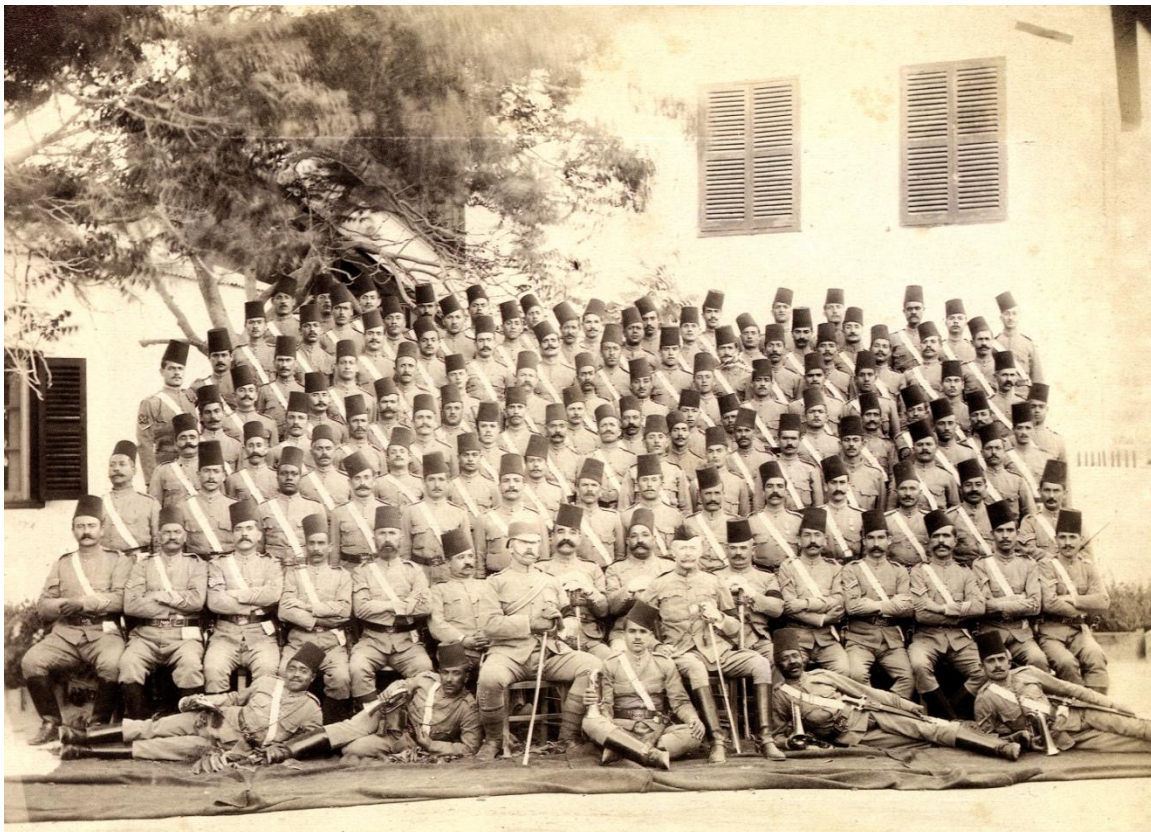


Figure 4.2. The Zaptiehs of the Cyprus Police Force.
In Andreas Malecos, ed., *J. P. Foscolo*, Cultural Centre Cyprus Popular Bank, 1992.

³⁷⁰ Ibid. Numbers for 1883 are not listed in the report.

Public works and the problem of the tribute

As explained above, Wolseley initially followed the Ottoman model of dividing the island into districts headed by district officers and retained the Ottoman Sheri courts to deal with Moslem sacred laws, but the majority of his administrative reforms were along British lines. He brought British ethics to the government departments and municipal councils, with the goal of clearing them of the customary bribery and corruption, and revamped the tax collection system. Wolseley also realized the need for and sought to initiate the revitalization of the island's natural resources and to develop systems of transportation and defense. Public works projects were authorized and waste lands, forests and minerals came under the control of the Cyprus government by a British agreement to pay the Porte an extra £5,000 per year in "tribute"—an agreement which Wolseley saw as a way to pay off the Sultan against claims to land for his children after his death.³⁷¹

The tribute resulted from an agreement signed by Great Britain and Turkey on February 3, 1879, negotiated by the British ambassador Austen Henry Layard and the Ottoman Minister for Foreign Affairs Alexandre Cathédory Pasha, that required England to pay a fixed annual payment of £5000 in exchange for the rights of administration and revenue. This sum has been referred to as a "rent", and a careful reading of the agreement could suggest the same:

All property, revenues, and rights reserved to the Ottoman Crown and Government in the said Article IV of the Annex to the Convention of the 4th June, including all revenue derived from tapous, mahloul, and intikal

³⁷¹ Cavendish, ed., *Wolseley's Journal*, pp. 163-4.

are commuted hereby for a fixed annual payment of £5,000*l.*... every year during the British occupation of Cyprus, to be calculated from the beginning of next financial year.³⁷²

The British never disputed the legal sovereignty of Turkey³⁷³, but they took advantage of the tribute to pay off the defaulted Turkish Guaranteed Loan of 1855 to British and French bondholders.

Thus a large sum accumulated from at least twenty-four different kinds of local taxes on the Cypriots, a holdover from Ottoman administration, went toward the “rent” which itself was diverted to British investors. This naturally distressed the Cypriots, especially since under Ottoman rule many of these taxes were rarely collected but under the British nearly all were collected in full, a true hardship to the already languishing economy. Wolseley abolished by proclamation the position of tax-farmer because the system of using many of these middle men to each collect different kinds of taxes often resulted in pilfering the tax or no collection at all, but he immediately rehired the most successful of them as British tax collectors.³⁷⁴ Biddulph argued that this experiment proved quite efficient, with almost all the taxes now collected, although the cost of collection increased:

The bulk of the revenue is raised by direct taxation from almost every man in the island...If the tithes were farmed, as formerly, the apparent cost of collection would be enormously reduced, but there would probably be no

³⁷² “The Cyprus Convention, IV. Agreement between Great Britain and Turkey for commuting the Ottoman Crown property, revenues, etc. of Cyprus for a fixed annual payment of £5000*l.*”, reprinted in George Hill, *A History of Cyprus, Vol. IV* (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 302-3.

³⁷³ George Hill, *A History of Cyprus, Vol. IV* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 285.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 443-445.

real saving to the Government, as there would be a corresponding loss to the gross revenue.³⁷⁵

The only real benefit of full coffers was the ability to pay the tribute, with little left for Wolseley's revitalization projects.

The new administration collected taxes more efficiently and in general applied greater organization to the whole system, but this in turn increased the cost of government. Additional costs resulted, for example, when the new government separated the administration of the revenue and the judicial duties of the districts. Biddulph and other administrators continually felt compelled to justify these costs to the Colonial Office as well as to Cypriots whose livelihoods as tax collectors were displaced. As Biddulph explained, the new systems, "beneficial as they will be, cannot fail to increase the cost".³⁷⁶ The Greeks also complained about the personal tax, called *verghi*, of which they paid more than their fair share; this occurred mostly in the villages where their protests in court went unheard.

The Greek resentment was particularly piqued when the government continued to collect taxes for public works, such as the road tax, from poor inhabitants who were also required to work at no or low wages on road projects that were never completed, in one case the only result "being the cutting of a ditch for five miles on either side of the intended road".³⁷⁷ Tax collection by "a body of irresponsible and uneducated tax-

³⁷⁵ Biddulph to Earl of Kimberley, Cyprus No. 397, Nicosia, Nov. 38, 1882, Mediterranean No. 8, Finances and Administration of Cyprus, Sir Biddulph's Reply to Mr. Fairfield's Memorandum (in continuation of Mediterranean, no. 5), Colonial Office, May 1883, CO 883/2, p. 7.

³⁷⁶ Mediterranean, No. 8, May 1883, Finances and Administration of Cyprus, Sir Biddulph's Reply to Mr. Fairfield's Memorandum, in continuation of Mediterranean No. 5, CO 883/2.

³⁷⁷ Sir Harry Luke, *Cyprus Under the Turks* (London, 1921), pp. 221-225.

collectors, a thousand in number” was crude and often inefficient in the hands of incompetent persons, although Biddulph recognized that it was a common system used by trades even in England:

The system, known as “keeping tallies” is probably more or less in use in every country, having had its origin in times when reading and writing was an unknown art. It has not yet died out in England as a means of keeping a score against customers in certain trades.³⁷⁸

Biddulph suggested however, that a new body of tax-collectors would render the tally system “a thing of the past”.

Although engineering and sanitation reports assigned urgency to public works and reforestation projects, Wolseley failed to accomplish them during his tenure, partly because of funding issues and partly because administrative issues took precedence. He did, however, accomplish one great scheme: The twenty-two mile Limassol-Platres road opened in mid-June 1879 at a cost of £11,900, built with the forced labor of up to 6,000 Cypriot men and women. The Government required surrounding villages to contribute working parties, with each adult paid one shilling per day. Tools were the rotting left-overs from the Madras Sappers and Miners, such as broken pick-axes, warped and crumbling shovels, and few wheelbarrows.³⁷⁹ Mrs. Scott-Stevenson observed, on the new road under construction from Limassol to Kyrenia, men, women and boys working in gangs, paid a shilling, ninepence, and sixpence a day each, respectively. She counted over

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

³⁷⁹ Cavendish, ed., *Wolseley's journal*, notes p. 166. The road project included a mule track from Platres to Troodos.

one thousand employed on the road, “every batch of a hundred having an overseer, who, when they lagged, cried out, and threatened their backs with a light whip.”³⁸⁰

In addition to roads, the ports needed attention. Captain Savile’s report in 1878 had indicated that the harbor at Kyrenia (Cerinea) was small and unsafe during north winds, but it was the usual port for vessels trading between Cyprus and the opposite coast of Caraminia. There was also a small port at Baffo. But of the three most usable harbors, Famagusta, Larnaca and Limassol, the first was the only one capable of being converted into a “safe and commodious harbour”.³⁸¹ When Wolseley met on November 4 with Stanley, Smith, and Hornby to discuss the port at Famagusta, Hornby pronounced it well suited as a coaling station for a fleet watching Port Said or Alexandria. The inner harbour needed dredging and the pier extended in to the outer anchorage. Besides being a potential port for defensive ships, Hornby suggested that trade would increase with a better harbor. Wolseley argued that trade already flourished at Larnaca, where “the houses are good and the place comparatively healthy, whereas there are no houses at Famagusta and the place is pestiferous”. He predicted, however, that with the marshes drained and trees planted, the climate could change beneficially and make Famagusta a viable port and city.³⁸² The draining of marshes and planting of trees was not accomplished during Wolseley’s tenure, but continued to be a project of interest for the later administrations, and by the turn of the century Famagusta received a new port and new life.

³⁸⁰ Esmé Scott-Stevenson, *Our Home in Cyprus* (London, 1880), p. 231.

³⁸¹ Captain A. R. Savile, Report on Cyprus (1878), WO 106/6112, pp. 48, 69-70.

³⁸² Wolseley’s journal, Tuesday, Dec. 10, 1878.

By the end of 1879 under the administration of Robert Biddulph, Larnaca boasted 86 street lamps, nine public latrines, three piers, 550 feet of stone quay along the waterfront, hospital huts for the Cyprus Pioneers, a new Telegraph Office, and a slaughter house, as well as new street signs and drains in the streets.³⁸³ The town of Famagusta erected five new fountains, with iron pipes laid down from the aqueduct, and seven shops and four new houses. Twenty-four new houses were built in Varosia in the same period.³⁸⁴ Explaining that under the second High Commissioner “Cyprus has grown healthier, happier and richer day after day”, Mrs. Scott-Stevenson notes:

Every one seems contented and satisfied. There are no complaints of injustice of individual hardships made by Turk, Greek, or English officials; and General Biddulph has certainly succeeded in gaining the love and esteem of all those who have come in contact with him personally, or who have had anything to do with his wise and considerate government.³⁸⁵

However, the problem of the tribute and how to fund public works persisted under Biddulph’s administration.

A statement of authorizations for public works (fig. 4.3) shows numerous projects parceled between the various main towns and work anticipated for the roads connecting them, but, for example, the £6,000 allocated for the Limassol-Larnaca road in January, 1879, remained unspent in May of the following year. On July 4, 1879, Biddulph received instructions from Lord Salisbury as to the priorities of the occupation in view of the tribute problem. Salisbury’s first priority was strategic, in particular to restore the

³⁸³ Schaar, Given and Theocharous, *Under the Clock* (Nicosia, 1995), p. 23.

³⁸⁴ Confidential Print, Series B The Near and Middle East, 1856-1914, Vol. 5, Doc. 38, Inclosure in Doc. 36, Report on the District of Famagusta for Year ending 31st December 1879, p. 244. Varosia was the small town near Famagusta consisting of mostly Greek inhabitants.

³⁸⁵ Scott-Stevenson, *Our Home in Cyprus* (1879), p. xiii.

harbor at Famagusta, but the “unhealthiness of the lower ground” (referring to malaria and other diseases arising from swampy land and poor sanitation) was the great obstacle to developing the island’s naval and military value. Alleviating the sanitary problem, however, was beyond the means of the island:

The expense of doing this in any complete form is probably beyond the means of the island, so long as it is subject to the Turkish tribute; it will, therefore, be impossible to take active steps for the purpose till the Imperial Treasury is in a condition to offer substantial aid; but as long as the sanitary condition of the place is so bad as it now is any works of restoration would meet with considerable difficulty, and therefore the sanitary question must, even for this purpose, take the first rank.³⁸⁶

Salisbury believed that the causes of the unhealthiness are remedial, but wanted to avoid any expenditure “inconsistent with the prudent administration of the public revenue” and any remedial action was impossible as long as it was subject to the Turkish tribute.³⁸⁷

Describing this “peculiar state of Cyprus” regarding public works, Biddulph later wrote in May 1883:

The statement of the sums spent on public works since 1878 shows that this expenditure is more than can be charged to revenue in a country where the greater part of that revenue is withdrawn for tribute. The peculiar state of Cyprus as regards public works has been frequently noticed.³⁸⁸

The tribute remained a vexation for the administration of the island, siphoning off funds that could have been used for public works and other improvements. Thus two problems,

³⁸⁶ Salisbury to Biddulph, No. 28 Secret, July 4, 1879, Part II. Correspondence relating to the island of Cyprus, June to Dec. 1879, FO 421/32.

³⁸⁷ Ibid.

³⁸⁸ Mediterranean, No. 8, Finances and Administration of Cyprus, Sir R. Biddulph’s Reply to Mr. Fairfield’s Memorandum (in continuation of Mediterranean No. 5), Colonial Office, May 1883, CO 883/2

poor sanitation and the tribute, would hinder public works projects on Cyprus in the early decades.

STATEMENT of the Public Works commenced or authorized to be commenced
from 1st January, 1879 to 1st January, 1880.

District	Name of Public Work	Date of Commencement	Estimated Cost			
			£	s.	d.	
Nicosia	Cutting Through Paphos Gate, and road connecting it with High Commissioner's house (including 2-1/2 miles of road)	April 26, 1879	800	0	0	
Larnaca	Salt lake repairs	Jan. 1	1,992	16	3	
	Alterations to fort	Jan. 1	896	16	3	
	New Quarantine Repairs	Feb 27	41	11	10	
	Levelling of Bamboola Hill	May 12	930	8	10	
Limassol	Construction of pier	Mar 1	230	0	0	
	Prison alterations and repairs	May 1	165	4	4	
	Custom-house . Ditto.		400	0	0	
	Governor's House (Troodos) Construction	Aug 22	1,500	0	0	
	Eodino konak	Feb 1	200	0	0	
Paphos	Gelokedara konak	Sept. 7	135	18	6	
General Island works, spread over districts	Limassol-Larnaca road	May 1	*6,000	0	0	
	Kyrenia-Nicosia road	May 1	1,100	0	0	
	Famagousta-Nicosia road	May 1	4,000	0	0	
	Limassol-Platris road	May 1	2,000	0	0	
* Very little of this has been spent May 24, 1880 (signed) H. Dumaresq, Lieutenant-Colonel, Commanding Royal Engineer			Total	20,392	16	0

Figure 4.3. Public Works on Cyprus 1879-1880³⁸⁹

Imperial maps and land tenure

Although maps had been made in other parts of the empire, particularly by the Royal Engineers for military purposes³⁹⁰, few maps—certainly no current maps—of

³⁸⁹ “Correspondence relating to the Island of Cyprus, Part II, June to December 1879”, FO 421/32

Cyprus existed when Wolseley occupied the island in July. Next to the troops accompanying him, however, surveys and maps of this new territory, defining its boundaries and characteristics, perhaps can be counted as the single most important tool for confirming Cyprus as a possession, a tangible material object in the hands of the new administrator.

Some surveys were commissioned by the government, others were undertaken on speculation. Captain Thomas Graves had done a wide survey of the eastern Mediterranean in 1849 which included a hydrographic survey of the coastline and trigonometrical surveys of some land features, with inset charts of the ports of Limassol, Larnaca, Famagusta and Kyrenia.³⁹¹ Later cartographers and engineers focused variously on the ports and harbors (in preparation for naval defensive development), agriculture, forests, areas for locust eradication, railways, roads, and telegraph cables. A survey of the island's natural properties and inhabitants was done by Captain Savile of the Intelligence Branch in 1878. Savile's report was subsequently published as a book of the same name, and includes chapters on the history of Cyprus (ancient, Phoenician and Greek); geography and topography; towns, villages and antiquities; communications; coasts and harbors; climate; natural history; agricultural products; geology and mineralogy;

³⁹⁰ James Ryan, *Picturing Empire*, pp. 82-3.

³⁹¹ Rodney Shirley, *Kitchener's Survey of Cyprus 1878-1883*, pp. 13-14. The present author photographed a map in the National Archive of the United Kingdom labeled "This map, attached to a report on Cyprus in 1878 by Dr. Schinas & K.L. Galizia for the Government of Malta, was compiled from a chart of Cyprus by Captain T. Graves R. N. & maps by De Mas Latrie & Goudray." A primary map appears at the top of a large page with eight smaller maps below it, showing land registration & taxation; posts & telegraphs; forests & mines; agriculture; police roads & customs; municipalities, banks & co-operative credit associations; legal; and medical & education, all "before and after" from 1878 and 1928. (CO 1047/364)

population, religion, and education; administration; manufactures and industry; and trade and revenue.³⁹²

On September 10, after handing over the completed maps, memoirs and final report of his survey of western Palestine to the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, Lieutenant Herbert Kitchener was appointed Director of Survey in Cyprus, and he left England for Cyprus on September 19.³⁹³ The young and perhaps overly-eager Kitchener sought to produce an elaborately detailed survey and map but was overruled—and eventually dismissed—by Wolseley, who only wanted a cursory working survey and map.³⁹⁴ Kitchener despaired at this blight on his reputation but would later return to complete the survey. On December 2, 1878, however, Wolseley noted in his journal the arrival of Samuel Browne, an engineer sent by Sir George Elliot. Apparently Wolseley thought more highly of Browne, and “hope[d] earnestly it may lead to something in the way of Public Works for this much neglected island.”³⁹⁵

Browne compiled a report for Sir Elliot in March 1879 that included a map drawn by James S. Wyld, Geographer to the Queen (and dedicated to The Earl of Beaconsfield

³⁹² “Cyprus, compiled in the Intelligence Branch, Quarter-Master-General’s Department, Horse Guards, by Captain A. R. Saville”, London 1878, WO 106/6112.

³⁹³ J. B. Rye and H. G. Groser, eds., *Kitchener in His Own Words* (London, 1917), p. 47. Sir Samuel Baker mentions that Kitchener called on him at his camp on February 14 and guided him to “the celebrated springs” about three miles above the village. Kitchener with Mr. Hippersley, both of the Royal Engineers, were making the trigonometrical survey of the island, during which they lived in “a comfortable house on the outskirts of the town” (Sir S. W. Baker, *Cyprus as I saw it in 1879*, p. 69, quoted in Rye and Groser, *Kitchener in His Own Words*, London, 1917, pp. 48-49).

³⁹⁴ Susan Gole, ed., *Cyprus on the Table* (Nicosia, 1996), p. 13. Also see Rodney Shirley, *Kitchener’s Survey of Cyprus 1878-1883* (Nicosia, 2001), p. 14. Kitchener was later rehired by High Commissioner Biddulph.

³⁹⁵ Cavendish, *Wolseley’s Journal*, p. 154.

K. G.).³⁹⁶ The map shows a proposed railroad route with two lines emanating from Famagusta on the eastern coast, one down to Limassol on the southern coast and another up to Kyrenia on the northern coast, with a leg through Paphos to the western coast. Again, however, the Government hedged. In August, 1879, in response to a note from Michael Hicks Beach, Sir Julian Pauncefote wrote to Herbert in the Foreign Office that “no engagement whatever has been entered into by the Cyprus Government with regard to the construction of these lines; the survey on which the plans for the railways are based was made by Sir G. Elliot of his own accord and at his own expense, and then placed at the disposal of Her Majesty’s Government.”³⁹⁷

Officially, David Bocci, Chief Engineer of the Royal Engineers, was charged to “attentively examine the environs of Famagusta, form an idea of the causes of the insalubriousness of those localities, and of the measures that should be taken for remedying it”. He traveled on January 4, 1880, from Parma, Italy, to Rome, and from there to Naples and Alexandria, landing at Larnaca on January 22. For nine days Bocci collected verbal information, books and maps between Larnaca and Nicosia, and on January 31 arrived in Famagusta, where he inspected “the environs and the vast plain called ‘Mesaoria’”.³⁹⁸ His survey, “Report on the Sanitary Conditions and Drainage of the District of Famagusta and the Mesaoria in Cyprus”, later proved invaluable in dealing

³⁹⁶ In a series of maps on Cyprus in CO 700/CYPRUS5, in the National Archive of the United Kingdom, the present author found a map by James Wyld, Geographer to the Queen, 11 & 12 Charing Cross, London, with scales in British Statute Miles, Myriametres, Turkish Agachs, and Stadia. The map is labeled “Plan to accompany my Report to Sir George Elliot Bart. M. P. of date 31st March 1879, (signed) Samuel Brown.

³⁹⁷ No. 102, Pauncefote to Herbert, in Part II, Correspondence Relating to the Island of Cyprus, June to December 1879, FO 421/32.

³⁹⁸ “Report on the Sanitary condition and Drainage of the District of Famagusta and the Mesaoria in Cyprus”, by the Chevalier David Bocci, Chief Engineer, Royal Engineers, Parma, June 5, 1880, CO 883/2.

with the problems of malaria and sanitation.³⁹⁹ In addition to geographical surveying, Bocci noted mineral products near Larnaca; salt works near Larnaca and Limassol; barley, cotton (“good American sorts”), carob trees, and vineyards.⁴⁰⁰ He estimates the territory planted with vines at 8,000 hectares, producing 140,000 hectolitres, that is, 15 hectolitres per hectare. Silk growing, though little practiced, supported the production in Nicosia of “silk stuffs and shirts of admirable workmanship” made with splendid quality silk. Olive trees, however, were frequently cut down for fire wood. Bocci describes periods of drought and the absorption of soils, soil quality, and wind directions with precise statistics. He also mentions a statement by Chevalier R. Mattei (a rich Italo-Cypriote who had long lived on the island and from whom Wolseley had tried to rent a house⁴⁰¹) that on the island could be found 45,000 head of horned cattle, 2,000 camels, 800,000 sheep and goats, and 200,000 donkeys, mules, and horses. These human and animal populations were “trifling” in proportion to the surface of the island, according to Bocci, but he challenged prior calculations of population to island land surface ratios, without ever providing exact numbers himself.⁴⁰²

Various other surveys and proposals appeared in 1878 in anticipation of developing the island. These included a metallurgical survey of iron ore, which John Percy, Royal Surveyor (Metallurgical) to the Museum of Practical Geology at the Royal

³⁹⁹ See Chapter Seven.

⁴⁰⁰ Bocci mentions two qualities of wine—“dark, spirituous, heavy-bodied wine, having a strong odour of tar”, “the other quality, better known in Europe,” called *Commanderia*, is a sweet wine, “tasting rather like Malmsey”, and is very alcoholic; after a few years it loses the tar odor and “is then very pleasant to drink”. The Cypriots stored the wine in wood barrels lined with tar to prevent leaking. The British frequently commented on the taste of tar in Cypriot wine.

⁴⁰¹ Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus, Vol. IV* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 298.

⁴⁰² “Report on the Sanitary condition and Drainage of the District of Famagusta and the Mesaoria in Cyprus”, by the Chevalier David Bocci, Chief Engineer, Royal Engineers, Parma, June 5, 1880, CO 883/2.

School of Mines, deemed valuable but impractical to mine with the current low market,⁴⁰³ a proposal by the Board of Trade for assessment and re-cultivation of Cyprus vineyards by a M. Phillipot⁴⁰⁴, and the commission of a Mr. Currie for £300 to plant eucalyptus trees.⁴⁰⁵ At the end of 1879, Kitchener resumed his survey under Biddulph, and on March 14, 1880, was reappointed Director of Revenue Survey in Cyprus.⁴⁰⁶

Biddulph wrote:

The survey which had been commenced in 1878 was stopped in the Spring of 1879 for financial reasons; but the matter appeared to be of such importance that I obtained the Marquis of Salisbury's consent, at the end of 1879, to re-establish it. Major Lloyd...came out here for a short time, until he was relieved by Lieutenant Kitchener, R. E., who had been in charge of the original survey; and, the surveyors having arrived during the month of June, no time was lost in recommencing their work... At the same time I placed under the Director of Survey the Defter Hakané, or Office of the Registry of Sales of Land, and I have since amalgamated with it the Tahrir Emlak, or Office for the Registration and Assessment of Land.⁴⁰⁷

Kitchener's "triangulated survey", completed in 1882, covered 2,456 square miles and led to the publication of a map of Cyprus early in 1883 that included plans of the towns of Nicosia, Larnaca, Limassol, and Famagusta.⁴⁰⁸

Maps and charts informed not only administrators on the island but also those in Parliament less familiar with the eastern Mediterranean. In the House of Commons,

⁴⁰³ Report from Metallurgical Laboratory, Royal School of Mines, Nov. 21, 1878, CO 67/3.

⁴⁰⁴ Letter from R. Giffen to Lord Salisbury, Undersecretary of State, Foreign Office, Office of Committee of Privy Council for Trade, Nov. 19, 1878, CO 67/3.

⁴⁰⁵ Letter to Lord Tenterden, CO 76/3.

⁴⁰⁶ *The Cyprus Gazette*, Monday, March 14, 1880. Kitchener replaced Major J. H. Lloyd as Director of Revenue Survey.

⁴⁰⁷ Biddulph to Kimberley, July 7, 1881, Parliamentary Papers, 1881, Cyprus (Cd. 3092), quoted in J. B. Rye and H. G. Groser, *Kitchener in His Own Words* (London, 1917), pp. 48-49.

⁴⁰⁸ Susan Gole, ed., *Cyprus on the Table* (Nicosia, 1996), p. 13.

according to a report in *The Illustrated London News* on July 13, 1878, Sir J. Goldsmid “naively inquired whether there were any harbours at all on the island”.⁴⁰⁹ In the House of Commons on February 17, 1879, Mr. Dodson asked the First Lord of the Admiralty to place in the Library or Reading Room of the House a chart showing the results of any surveys of Cyprus, and especially any showing the harbor and roads in Famagusta since the British occupation. It had been noted that submitting them to “the Table” limited their examination to only a few House members. Egerton replied that such a chart would “shortly be hung in the Library” and papers would be produced with the survey results.⁴¹⁰

Maps were used to explain parts of the British Empire before 1878 by the Royal Engineers, and in the Topographic Department of the War Office and the Royal Geographical Society⁴¹¹, but the opening of Cyprus provided opportunities for technical experimentation and the expansion of geographical research in a virtually uncharted new land. Together with photographs, maps brought the Empire home to Britain; yet more than photography, cartography allowed Britons to put imaginary boundaries and borders into a broader, more tangible context.⁴¹² Maps and surveys of Cyprus allowed the British to understand the length, breadth, and condition of the new territory they governed, and this knowledge gave them the authority to develop, or exploit, that territory’s land and resources.

⁴⁰⁹ *The Illustrated London News*, July 13, 1878, p. 34.

⁴¹⁰ *Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, No. 243, Dec. 5, 1878-Feb. 28, 1879, question noted Monday, February 17, 1879, p. 1305.

⁴¹¹ James Ryan, *Picturing Empire* (London, 1997), pp. 82-3.

⁴¹² Robert Stafford observed that maps provided “a symbolic language that can legitimize the political power and territorial imperatives of those who deploy it.” (Robert Stafford, “Scientific Exploration and Empire”, 1999, p. 297)

Captain Savile's report was important in that it established an understanding of the existing system of land tenure on Cyprus. He noted that the annex of the recent convention between Great Britain and Turkey seemed to recognize four different ownerships of land—State land, Crown land, Church land, and private land, the legal distinctions between which will “probably require some delicacy of perception”:

It appears that the distinction between State and Crown lands is scarcely sufficiently defined or universally accepted; moreover, under a despotic power like Turkey, it may be difficult to say what constitutes the personal property of the Sovereign, and what belongs to the State. All barracks, police grounds, lighthouses, custom-houses, police stations, and such like, are clearly State property, also all lands affected for the pay of salaries and the maintenance of revenue, these go therefore with the proprietorship of the island.

Mr. Haddan says that the Mussulman law invests all freehold rights in the head of the State, and no subject can hold landed property in his own right; further, the tenure of land is entirely dependent upon cultivating, or otherwise rendering productive, the property in occupation, and all holdings neglected for three years lapse *ipso facto* to the State. The 10 per cent tax upon the produce may therefore be considered merely as a rental, the non-payment of which is punished by ejection. Thus Mr. Hadden considers that the greater part of Cyprus, being unoccupied and uncultivated, is at the entire disposal of the British Government.⁴¹³

The wording of Article IV of the Annex of the Convention, that the Sublime Porte may freely sell and lease all lands and other property in Cyprus belonging to the Ottoman Crown and State, the produce of which does not form part of the revenue of the island referred to in Article III, does not show what land is to be considered as belonging to the Sultan personally, and “the State property scarcely seems to be separated from the Crown

⁴¹³ Report on Cyprus, Captain A. R. Savile, London WO 106/6112

property, but there can be no doubt that the two are distinct, and will be so dealt with.”⁴¹⁴ The laws regarding the ecclesiastical, or *vakouf*, lands, and the private lands, were “tolerably clear”. All transfers and sales were noted in a register book kept in Nicosia, and a certificate of registration called a *hodjet* was given to the buyer; this document, together with the registry, constituted a legal title to the possession of the land.⁴¹⁵

Summary

Almost immediately after the occupation, Wolseley set up a new administration and winter and summer headquarters, established representative government, and generally installed British rule over the Cypriots. He followed some of the Ottoman administrative structures but included a minimal number of Ottomans in official positions. Aware of the tentative position of the British occupancy, Wolseley nevertheless left behind the skeleton of a colonial dependency, on which Biddulph built his own legacy as High Commissioner of Cyprus. Biddulph had a broader view, understanding that resource and commercial development was the key to economic revitalization and the creation of British Cyprus. Unfortunately hindrances like the tribute and Foreign Office reticence to fund public works or other projects while Cyprus was still under Ottoman suzerainty slowed the progress he so earnestly sought.

Yet the small steps in the early years laid the foundation for roads, bridges, and port redevelopment at the end of the century. Agricultural and forest redevelopment, and

⁴¹⁴ Ibid. Savile notes that this question, “which is of great importance”, is further explained in letters from the “Times” correspondent in Cyprus, contained in the issues of that newspaper of Sept. 9 and Oct. 9, 1878.

⁴¹⁵ Report on Cyprus, Captain A. R. Savile, WO 106/6112

communications, commerce and trade expanded as the infrastructure emerged: “wine roads” to the inland vineyards, telegraph and postal services, and reforestation projects have their roots in the first decade of the occupation. In the meantime, Wolseley, Biddulph, and their successors built relationships with the Cypriot people, creating an administration and representative government that would overtake Ottoman rule and create British Cyprus.

The installation of British rule over the Cypriots was complicated, however, by the ethnic, religious and political makeup of the native population. The following chapter defines this “plural society” and some of the conflicts between these groups and the British, and among the groups themselves. It also analyzes how the British dealt with resistance from these groups to new institutional changes, and with the anxieties felt by the native groups regarding the permanence of British rule.

CHAPTER FIVE

Governing the plural society

Defining the plural society on Cyprus

Certainly the diversity of the native population of Cyprus posed problems for the new administrators, who spoke neither Turkish nor Greek. It soon would be made clear, however, that the island population included groups other than Turkish and Greek. In 1880, Chief Engineer David Bocci struggled to reconcile the various assessments of the population. Among these was a report by an Italian Consul, Mr. Negri, who determined that in 1864 the population was 200,000, two-thirds which were Greek and one-third Mohammedans, besides 500 Europeans.⁴¹⁶ Another tally in 1874 by Edmond Veridant-Vander Cammen listed the island population as Mahommedans 66,400; Orthodox Greeks 170,000; United Greeks and Catholics 11,000; Maronites 3,000; Armenians 600. This was a total population of 251,000 distributed over 750 boroughs, villages, and towns, and sub-divided into 26,511 families.⁴¹⁷ The first official British census, completed in 1881, shows the island's total population to be 185,630, with a British military population of 543. These lived in 699 population centers: monasteries and *chiftliks* (estates), of which 37 had a population of less than 10; and 662 villages and parishes grouped in 16 *nahiehs* or subdistricts.⁴¹⁸ Greek Cypriots (Orthodox Christians) made up about seventy percent

⁴¹⁶ Report on the Sanitary Condition and Drainage of the District of Famagusta and the Mesaoria in Cyprus, by the Chevalier David Bocci, Chief Engineer, Royal Engineers, Parma, June 5, 1880 (Colonial Office, Nov. 1881), CO 883/2.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹⁸ T. Papadopoulos, *Cyprus Social and Historical Data on Population, 1570-1881*, p. 78-81. Population numbers vary according to the source. Katsiaounis reports that the first census of April 3, 1881, lists 186,173 inhabitants on Cyprus; of these 137,631 (73.9%) were Greek Orthodox; 45,458 (24.4%) Mohammedan Turks; 2,115 (1.1%) Catholics, 715 (0.4%) Protestants, 179 (0.1%) Armenian Copts, 65

of the population, and Turkish Cypriots (Muslims) about twenty percent, with Armenians and Maronites the balance of the population⁴¹⁹ (fig. 5.1).

In the Muslim population there were two groups, that is, the urban class and rural class, and, according to one study, while the urban class tended to take on the distinction of the ruling class, the rural class tended to assimilate with the Christian rural population. The ruling class included the Ottoman military garrison, a number of Government officials and people in subaltern positions, and an insignificant number of “middle class” Muslims. The ruling Muslim group can be further narrowed to a core group of the appointed Governor and higher officials, the Mollas and the local Kadis, a few rich businessmen, and the Aghas. The last were chiefly land owners with estates in the interior of the island, remnants of the old Ottoman feudal system that were originally awarded to warriors.⁴²⁰

Active settlements of Maronites, such as those previously existing in the Kythrea region, disappeared by the 1881 census, although the exclusively Greek Orthodox population in that area may indicate some assimilation into the Christian group.⁴²¹ The census does list 212 individual Maronites on the island, mostly in Nicosia and Limassol,

Jews and 15 Gypsies (R. Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century*, Nicosia, 1996).

⁴¹⁹ Mediterranean 16, Second Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of Cyprus for the year 1881, to Colonial Office, April 1883, Enclosure: Report of Fred W. Barry, M. D., Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of Cyprus, Oct. 1882, CO 883/2.

⁴²⁰ Theodore Papadopoulos, *Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus No. I: Social and Historical Data on Population, 1570-1881* (Nicosia, 1965), pp. 85-6.

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 86-7.

while Papadopoulos suggests 830 Maronites included in the “others” category in his chart of “Population and Number of Villages by Sub-Districts”.⁴²²

Armenians lived in Cyprus as early as 578 A.D., when some 3,359 Armenians settled in Byzantine Cyprus. Another settlement occurred under Frankish kings after 1375, a period during which many Armenian refugees fled Mamluk rule in Cilicia to settle in Crete, Rhodes and Cyprus. When Constantinople fell to the Ottomans in 1453, the Armenians there organized themselves into a semi-autonomous community with the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople its leader. Many Armenians, educated in European universities, held important government positions or became prominent merchants, bankers, doctors, and architects. This congenial relationship suffered with the Treaty of Paris in 1856, when thousands of Armenians sought refuge in eastern Armenian as a result of large population exchanges.⁴²³

⁴²² Ibid., pp. 78-79.

⁴²³ Anna G. Marangou, *Haigaz magoian 1907-1970*, Cyprus Popular Bank (1996), p. 9-13.

Table of populations on Cyprus according to religion (1881 Census)

	Towns						
	Nikosia*	Famagusta*	Larnaca*	Limassol	Papho*	Kyrenia*	
Mahommetan	5,393	725	1,965	1,528	1,318	549	
Greek Church	5,669	1,813	5,058	4,060	870	585	
Roman Catholic	190	10	637	244	8	15	
Maronite	48	8	27	69	--	--	
Gregorian	107	--	14	6	1	3	
Church of England	75	5	43	50	2	1	
Protestant	32	3	51	17	--	5	
Presbyterian	3	--	3	5	--	1	
Wesleyan Methodist	--	--	3	--	--	--	
Baptist	--	--	1	--	--	--	
Plymouth Brethren	--	--	--	1	--	--	
Lutheran	1	--	--	--	--	--	
Unitarian	--	--	--	1	--	--	
Freethinker	--	--	--	1	--	--	
Jews	18	--	31	12	5	--	
Total	11,533	2,564	7,833	5,994	2,204	1,159	
* Corrected figures							
	Districts						
	Nikosia	Famagusta	Larnaca	Limassol	Papho	Kyrenia	TOTAL
Mahommetan	13,471	9,500	5,381	7,866	9,493	2,688	46,389
Greek Church	42,228	28,817	14,434	22,492	18,881	9,877	136,629
Roman Catholic	254	28	671	302	5	650	1,920
Maronite	91	22	23	70	--	6	212
Gregorian	95	1	14	6	1	37	154
Church of England	99	10	40	405	2	2	559
Protestant	11	3	53	17	--	5	89
Presbyterian	3	--	1	17	--	1	22
Wesleyan Methodist	--	--	2	14	--	--	16
Baptist	--	--	1	--	--	--	1
Plymouth Brethren	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Lutheran	1	--	--	--	--	--	1
Unitarian	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Freethinker	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
Jews	22	--	30	12	5	--	69
Gypsies	--	--	--	--	20	--	20
TOTAL	57,275	38,381	20,650	31,204	28,407	13,266	186,084

Figure 5.1. 1881 Census showing religious groups. Compilations based on figures in CO 883/2, Mediterranean 16, Second Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of Cyprus for the year 1881, to Colonial Office, April 1883, Enclosure: Report of Fred W. Barry, M. D., Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of Cyprus, Oct. 1882.

A national consciousness among the Armenians led to liberation movements in the 1880s and 1890s that were put down by the Turks. The disasters of these massacres prompted Armenians to flee: from 1894 to 1896 about 6,000 arrived in Cyprus, many moving on to Egypt and France.⁴²⁴ The first wave of Armenian refugees came to Cyprus in 1895, seeking sanctuary in the Orthodox Christian Church of Cyprus⁴²⁵ and the benevolence of the British government. Between 1909 and 1921 most landed at Larnaca, where a community of Armenian families had established itself around the church of Sourp Stepannos built in 1913. Many stayed in Larnaca but others moved to Nicosia for better job opportunities in the government seat; the less educated found unskilled labor opportunities in Amiandos. In Nicosia they settled in the Armenian Quarter around Victoria Street (fig. 5.2), near the 13th century church of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Sourp Asdvadzadzin). The Armenian community supported each other, retaining the Armenian language and customs, and eventually prospered in Cyprus.⁴²⁶

⁴²⁴ Ibid. In 1894, Turkish troops and Kurdish tribesmen killed thousands of Armenians who agitated for territorial autonomy and against high taxes. In 1896, Armenian revolutionaries seized the Ottoman Bank in Istanbul. "Mobs of Muslim Turks, abetted by elements of the government, killed more than 50,000 Armenians in response. Sporadic killings occurred over the next two decades. In 1915, in response to the formation of anti-Turkish Armenian battalions, the Turkish government deported 1.75 million Armenians south to Syria and Mesopotamia, in the course of which 600,000 Armenians were killed or died of starvation." (Britannicareference online, Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc. 2001)

⁴²⁵ Armenians are traditionally either Orthodox or Catholic Christians. (Britannicareference online, Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc. 2001)

⁴²⁶ Anna G. *Marangou, Haigaz magoian 1907-1970*, Cyprus Popular Bank (1996), p. 15-17. The first Armenian schools in Larnaca, Famagusta, Limassol and Nicosia included the Melkonian Educational Institute in Nicosia founded in 1926 originally as an orphanage for the children of the refugees.



Figure 5.2. Victoria Street, Nicosia, photographed by J. P. Foscolo c. 1878-1880s. From the photograph album, *J. P. Foscolo*, ed. by Andreas Malecos, published by Cultural Centre Cyprus Popular Bank, 1992.

Populous Jewish settlements on Cyprus are recorded in Jewish histories as early as 108 B.C. In 116 A.D. the Jews in Egypt, Palestine and Cyprus rebelled against the Greek populations, with the most serious violence occurring on Cyprus where Jewish risings were suppressed by Hadrian's commander Lucius Quietus. The Jews were expelled and forbidden to return to the island.⁴²⁷ For Herbert Kitchener, writing in 1878, Cyprus was thus advantageous in that "No complications of holy sites and sentimental interests, no religious task of sending the Jew back and placing a king on the throne of

⁴²⁷ Tim Boatswain, *A Traveller's History of Cyprus*. (NY, 2005), pp. 33, 42-43.

Judah, tend to embarrass our occupation of the island”.⁴²⁸ However, after Britain occupied Cyprus in July 1878, the London-based *Jewish Chronicle* began to publish articles pleading for a Jewish home in Cyprus, starting on August 9:

Cyprus is full of interest for the Jews...the Jews formed a numerous and influential colony in the island...Cyprus was once the seat of a flourishing colony of Jews. Why may it not be so again?⁴²⁹

This idea for Jewish settlement in Cyprus followed a half century of calls for a Jewish homeland.

Prominent humanitarians interested in establishing a Jewish Palestine and other resettlement plans included Sir Moses Montefiore (1784-1885), Lord Shaftesbury (1801-1885), Lord Palmerston as Foreign Secretary in 1840, and Lieutenant-Colonel C. H. Spencer-Churchill (1814-1877), who wrote to Montefiore in 1841 urging Jewish resettlement in Egypt. The idea of forming chartered companies to support settlements in various other countries like Cyprus gained attention in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and during anti-Jewishness campaigns in Germany in 1881-83, Jews migrated from Eastern Europe to the Americas, England, Africa, Australia and Cyprus.⁴³⁰ As the British census of 1881 indicates, however, a total of only 69 Jews lived on Cyprus at that time, mostly in the cities: 18 in Nicosia, 31 in Larnaca, 12 in Limassol, and 5 in Paphos.

⁴²⁸ J. B. Rye and H. G. Groser, *Kitchener in His Own Words* (London, 1917), pp. 52-53.

⁴²⁹ *Jewish Chronicle*, No. 489, Aug. 1878, AB 10, 5638, p. 11, cited in Stavros Panateli, *Place of Refuge: The History of the Jews in Cyprus* (London, 2003), p. 81.

⁴³⁰ Stavros Panateli, *Place of Refuge: The History of the Jews in Cyprus* (London, 2003), pp. 72-79. See also Danny Goldman, “Jewish Settlers in Cyprus During the British Rule, 1880s-1940s” (*Journal of Cyprus Studies*, Jan. 2006).

Despite the relative tolerance of Ottoman governors toward non-Muslim inhabitants, religious affiliation during the Ottoman period was not always a simple matter of faith. According to Vice-Consul Thomas Sandwith's report in 1867, the free exercise of religion guaranteed by the Tanzimat reforms was "far from being carried out".⁴³¹ It is not surprising, then, that the Christian population on Cyprus found themselves in conflict with the religious traditions of their rulers. This conflict, despite the comment of some sources that the Greeks initially welcomed the Ottoman conquest as Divine Providence "as punishment for the Christian Empire's manifold sins and so that the Ottoman Empire might act as a shield for the Orthodox Church against the taint of the Latin heresy",⁴³² led many Orthodox under Ottoman rule to convert to the Muslim faith:

Not a few natives would deem it prudent to declare for Islam, to secure life and property, or to obtain material advantages. It is also more than probable that not unfrequently Turks possessed themselves of native Christian women. These would as a rule become Muslims; but in many cases they would do all that might lie in their power to maintain, in secret, the faith they had unwillingly renounced: to undermine that of their consorts; or to bring up their children in the ways of their own people.⁴³³

The appearance of conversion benefited the Greeks in many ways, including less rigid stipulations in marriage, divorce and parental rights in Turkish *Kadi* courts.⁴³⁴

Although a considerable number of converts to Islam were recorded, as many as 5,100 of these were "Mussulmans in name only", some apostatized in order to save their lives during the Greek Revolution and some the offspring of the "illicit armours" of

⁴³¹ Sir Henry Luke, *Cyprus Under the Turks* (1921), pp. 222-223.

⁴³² Richard Clogg, ed., *The Movement for Greek Independence 1770-1821* (1976), p. xiii, cited in Paul Sant Cassia, "Religion, politics and ethnicity in Cyprus during the Turkocratia" (1986), p. 20.

⁴³³ Roland L. N. Michell, "A Muslim-Christian Sect in Cyprus" (1908), pp. 753-4.

⁴³⁴ C. D. Cobham, ed., *Excerpta*, (1908), p. 268, cited in Paul Sant Cassia, p. 24.

Greeks and Mussulmans.⁴³⁵ One group, called “Linobambaki,” or “linen and cotton”, belonged “neither to the Christian nor Moslem faith; though in outward appearance they resemble Turks.”⁴³⁶ According to Mrs. Scott-Stevenson, the Linobambaki were originally members of the Greek Church, whose ancestors were forced to declare themselves Muslim after the Turkish conquest in 1571. The Linobambaki numbered about twelve hundred, and lived chiefly in a village called Leo-Petro, situated south of Lake Paralimni, and between Cape Pyla and Cape Greco.⁴³⁷

Twentieth-century studies of apostasy in Cyprus support this story. Roland L. N. Michell wrote in 1908 about a Muslim-Christian sect in Cyprus called Linobambaki who were listed in the census returns as “Mohammedans” and therefore liable to military service under Ottoman rule. Both men and women dressed in Muslim style and bore Muslim names (secretly also Christian names).⁴³⁸ Michell notes that the sect was found in all parts of the island, and that the estimate of 1200 persons in 1878 was probably an underestimation. Feelings engendered by the uncertainty of British tenure in the island probably contributed to the endurance of the group:

⁴³⁵ Sir Henry Luke, *Cyprus Under the Turks* (1921), pp. 222-223.

⁴³⁶ Scott-Stevenson, *Our Home in Cyprus* (1880), p. 308. Mrs. Scott-Stevenson describes the Linobambaki as “poor and industrious, but not held in much respect by either Turk or Christian.”

⁴³⁷ Esme Scott-Stevenson, *Our Home in Cyprus* (1880), p. 308. Throughout the Ottoman Balkans, groups of Christians converted to Islam for reasons of security and prosperity, as well as sincere conversion. Papadopoulos notes that while many Crypto-Christian communities in Asia Minor have been absorbed by national assimilation, in Cyprus the “Linobambakoi” escaped appropriation by either the Greek or Turkish communities because of religious tolerance under British rule, although more recent hostilities have pressured them to choose sides (T. Papadopoulos, *Cyprus Social and Historical Data on Population, 1570-1881*, p. 94). Katsiaounis shows that after the Ottoman conquest, sections of the Christian elite on Cyprus espoused Islam but later this was more common in the rural poor. Entire villages in Tylliria and outside Limassol (where Bishops rarely traveled) apostatized to Islam. These “Linovamvaki” retained the Greek language and several practices of the Christian religion (R. Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus*, 1996, p. 50). The existence of such villages might support Mrs. Scott-Stevenson’s claim of 1200 Linobambaki in one village.

⁴³⁸ Roland L. N. Michell, “A Muslim-Christian Sect in Cyprus” (1908), pp. 751-753.

There is a lingering idea that Cyprus may, after all, be handed back one of these days to the Porte; and possibly this feeling coincides in some instances with a presentiment that there may be saving virtues in both creeds.⁴³⁹

Thus the Linobambaki lived double lives, often attending church in the morning and entertaining Turkish officials in the evenings—being careful not to serve pork. As Michell continues:

The Cypriot, like the Irishman, dearly loves his pig [but] if the unclean animal were seen in the house of a Linobambakos, it would of course belong to some Christian neighbour, from whose premises it had strayed.⁴⁴⁰

In this way, the Linobambaki protected themselves from potential abuses.

However, the advantages possessed by Muslims were not enough to induce mass conversions. Nor did the Ottoman regime always encourage mass conversion, since non-Muslim groups generally paid higher taxes than Muslims.⁴⁴¹ Under British rule, the Linobambaki or “Crypto-Christians” enjoyed a system of religious toleration and remained independent of both Greek and Turkish communities.⁴⁴² Yet by 1908, there were no villages left consisting entirely of Linobambaki, and only a few mixed villages.⁴⁴³

⁴³⁹ Ibid., p. 754.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 755.

⁴⁴¹ Theodore Papadopoulos, *Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus No. I: Social and Historical Data on Population, 1570-1881* (Nicosia, 1965), p. 90. Papadopoulos, however, refers to large scale conversions that occurred during the *devshirme* in the 16th and early 17th centuries, when from 12,000 to 20,000 children were taken from Christian families and converted to Islam (p. 91), and mass conversions at the time of the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus (p. 34).

⁴⁴² Theodore Papadopoulos, *Texts and Studies*, p. 94.

⁴⁴³ Roland L. N. Michell, “A Muslim-Christian Sect in Cyprus” (1908), p. 754

The plural society after 1878

In 1878, the two dominant Cypriot groups remained the Greek and Turkish, who enjoyed relatively peaceful relationships under late Ottoman rule. According to Hamilton Lang, the Christians were known as Greek but possessed characteristics different than mainland Greeks; they were “deficient in the liveliness and nervous activity of the Hellenes, and are not inspired by any Hellenic aspirations” and were “docile, industrious and sober, with special devotion ladled on the children”. The “Mohammedans” were similarly uninterested in fanaticism, and lived amicably with their Christian neighbors. A makeshift army, composed only of “Mohammedans”, proved conspicuously inefficient, yet generally “security reigned” on the island.⁴⁴⁴

Underlying this seemingly peaceful arrangement, however, lay resentments among the various classes of each group that came to light with the imposition of British authority in 1878. Greek Cypriots, as members of the Ottoman *millet* (protected religious group), had maintained their own social and hierarchical systems based on their greater numbers under Ottoman rule (in comparison to Muslims), with certain privileges maintained by the clergy who had the authority to tax the general population in support of the Orthodox church.⁴⁴⁵ Although the general population of the Greek millet had lost some of its protected status during Ottoman reforms in the earlier nineteenth century, the clergy in 1878 still held substantial powers. The Berat of 1865 issued by the Sultan Aziz to Archbishop Sophronios specified that,

⁴⁴⁴ R. H. Lang, “Cyprus, Part I” in *MacMillan’s Magazine*, Vol. XXXVIII (May 1878 to Oct. 1878), pp. 327-8.

⁴⁴⁵ The four major millets in the Ottoman Empire, in order of ranking, were Muslims, Greeks, Armenians and Jews. (Bernard Lewis, *The Middle East*, NY, 1995, p. 322)

(Article XII) From whosoever, and from what place soever, the said Archbishop has to receive the revenues of his see, exacted *ab antiquo*, and under his Berat, whether from metropolitans, Bishops, monks, abbots, or other Christians, let the Quazis for the time being give their help and cause them to be paid to the agents sent specially for their collection, and

(Article XXIV) In the collection of dues in general, canonical and customary, whether it be much or little, in proportion to the status of each church, by the metropolitans or bishops or their duly appointed agents, no hindrance shall be offered by anyone.⁴⁴⁶

These and other articles guaranteed the rights of Archbishop Sophronios to maintain the ecclesiastical property by collecting taxes from Christians. As a result, while the peasants both Greek and Turk suffered under heavy taxation and oppression by tax farmers and collectors, the bishops “were obviously enjoying considerable wealth and lived in grand style”.⁴⁴⁷

Now under British governance, the clergy expected to retain this authority to levy taxes and continued to claim immunity from certain laws as they had under Ottoman rule. However, the Cyprus Convention and its amendments had essentially negated the Sultan’s authority on Cyprus⁴⁴⁸ and the British had no intention of allowing the clergy to continue these privileges. The clergy responded to these restrictions with resentment and

⁴⁴⁶ Panyiotis Persianis, *Church and State in Cyprus Education* (Nicosia, 1978), pp. 10-13.

⁴⁴⁷ Adamantia Pollis, “Intergroup Conflict and British Colonial Policy: The Case of Cyprus” in *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 5, July 1973, pp. 575-599 (585). Papadopoulos suggests that the agricultural output of the Moslem community was a fraction of that of the Christian group (Papadopoulos, p. 84).

⁴⁴⁸ Article III of the Cyprus Convention designated that the Sultan had “transferred to and vested in Her Majesty the Queen, for the term of the occupation and no longer, full powers for making Laws and Conventions for the Government of the island in Her Majesty’s name, and for the regulation of its Commercial and Consular relations and affairs free from the Porte’s control (*The Cyprus Convention. III. Additional Article. Signed at Therapia, 14th August 1878*, reproduced in G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, p. 300). In October, Adrian Dingli tried to make a case for Maltese immigration to Cyprus, saying that the Sultan had relinquished control of Cyprus in exchange for a regular sum and therefore the Decree of 1855 and the Rescript of 1867 regarding the Sultan’s claim to land in Cyprus was a “dead letter”. (Adrian Dingli, Report on Maltese Emigration to Cyprus, Oct. 17, 1878, CO 883/2, p. 12)

antagonism toward British authority. This was expressed in several forms, beginning with mere grumblings and then loud complaints, and letter and telegraph campaigns. Discontent arose especially in Limassol, under the control of district commissioner Colonel Warren. In January, 1879, the Bishop of Citium charged Warren with acting not as under a new benevolent government, but as “a clerk of Turkey”, and certainly with little respect for the clergy’s position:

His conduct towards the Christians is such as to lead one to believe that he thinks he is dealing with some uncontrollable people who, under the Turkish rule, were, forsooth, troubling a paternal Government (!!) from which they had succeeded to obtain privileges beyond measure, and that he came as a gallant soldier to redress the wrong (!!). His conduct towards the priests and myself, their spiritual leader, is as bad.⁴⁴⁹

The bishop also complained about Turkish policemen (*zaptiehs*) committing more violence than before and being left unpunished, about being outnumbered in the Council, about priests imprisoned in fortresses and compelled to forced labor, and about the confiscation of the property of poor farmers.

The bishop’s letter and two others, one written by Mr. Palaeologos, the President of the Syllogi club at Limassol, and one by the President of the Cypriot Fraternity, “an association of long standing in Egypt for the promotion of the moral and material welfare of Cypriots”, reached Lord Salisbury through W. E. Forster, M. P., in mid-March.⁴⁵⁰ Wolseley responded to Salisbury’s inquiry about them in Warren’s favor:

⁴⁴⁹ Bishop of Citium to M. Jassonides, Jan. 1879, Inclosure 2 in No. 1, in Correspondence respecting Complaints against the Government of Cyprus, FO 78/3373, p. 2.

⁴⁵⁰ Salisbury (FO) to Wolseley, Mar. 21, 1879, No. 1, in Correspondence respecting Complaints against the Government of Cyprus, FO 78/3373, p. 1.

I wish to put on record my high appreciation of the manner in which Colonel Warren has carried on the difficult duties of his office—duties rendered all the more difficult through the conduct of the Bishop, who, instead of setting the people an example of obedience to the law as their spiritual head, seems to have taken pleasure in breaking it, and in endeavouring to place himself above its power.

I know that Colonel Warren's exertions to improve the sanitary condition of Limassol, to supply its inhabitants with good water, to protect the poor from the exactions of the rich, to administer the law impartially to all classes irrespective of race, religion, or position; to make all respect it by showing that the rich Bishop as well as the poor workman must obey it, and that the rich Bishop should pay his taxes as well as the humbler shopkeeper. I know well that all this which Colonel Warren has done is highly appreciated by the great bulk of the people of his district.⁴⁵¹

This reply, insisting that “the rich Bishop should pay his taxes as well as the humbler shopkeeper,” points to the incongruity between the clergy and lay people.

For Warren, unfortunately, the matter was not yet laid to rest. His conflict with the clergy in Limassol continued under Greaves' tenure as High Commissioner. On June 11 Warren committed a grievance against the Church when he arrested two priests for a minor offense and then ordered the heads of the two priests shaved (for sanitary reasons according to prison policy). The Greek response—incited supposedly by Greek mainlanders, according to Warren—was angry and immediate. Warren wrote to Greaves:

The Greeks (I mean the real Greeks, not the Cypriotes) have not been intriguing in vain, and they are to a man attempting all in their power to stir mischief. Many meetings have been held, and much wild foolish talk frothed up. Of course we understand that this is talk and nothing more, but the Mahommedans show that they are in actual fear, and this causes me a little uneasiness... The Turks are not at all prepared to let the Christians

⁴⁵¹ Wolseley (Nicosia) to Salisbury, Apr. 10, 1879, No. 3, in Correspondence respecting Complaints against the Government of Cyprus, FO 78/3373, pp. 4-6.

have it all their own way, and believe that they are specially marked out, as they refused to join the Bishop's cry against me.⁴⁵²

Warren continued that “the Greek sedition is doing much harm...The people are thoroughly excited, and are imagining all kinds of evils done and intended against them.”⁴⁵³

On June 18, Greaves suggested to Salisbury using “firmness” toward the priests, treating them like all other inhabitants of the island in regard to taxes or criminal proceedings, and to make this public.⁴⁵⁴ Salisbury agreed that obstinacy and independence among the priests had to be repressed. Later, in a long letter to Biddulph, Salisbury complained that the priests had used the weakness of Turkish rule to consolidate power over the people “inconsistent with all modern views of civil government.” They claimed immunity “from the ordinary processes of civil and criminal law, and assistance in recovering from their flocks payments which appear to have no legal foundation—It is obvious that these pretensions cannot be admitted.”⁴⁵⁵ Clearly the *status quo* would not hold, now that Britain controlled the island.

Another example is a case against a local bishop who resented losing his role as “protector of the poorer and more ignorant members of his community” as well as his ability to collect his own ecclesiastical dues. Biddulph wrote to Salisbury:

⁴⁵² Warren [Commissioner of Limassol] to Greaves, June 11, 1879, Confidential, Part II Correspondence relating to the Island of Cyprus, June to December 1879, FO 421/32.

⁴⁵³ Ibid., Enclosure in No. 48.

⁴⁵⁴ Greaves to Salisbury, June 18, 1879, Confidential, Part II Correspondence relating to the Island of Cyprus, June to December 1879, FO 421/32.

⁴⁵⁵ Note by Salisbury, Confidential, Part II. Correspondence relating to the Island of Cyprus, June to December 1879, FO 421/32.

The Bishop, a man of ability and education, in advance of his class, is opposed to a Government under which the poorer and more ignorant members of his community need no longer look to him as a protector against arbitrary exactions, whilst at the same time he has been deprived of the assistance of the police in collecting his ecclesiastical dues, and finds his flock objecting to pay without such coercion. By his recent action he appeared to aim at representing himself as being persecuted by the Government on account of his defence of the poor, and he became for a time extremely popular in consequence.⁴⁵⁶

Biddulph continued that while the local bishop of Limassol tried to manipulate public opinion against the Government, the fact that the Government failed to prosecute him provided the opportunity for Hellenic propaganda against the Government to infiltrate the community.⁴⁵⁷

Both Biddulph and Salisbury realized the potential for serious conflict with the population or the priests and how dangerous that could be for British authority, should the administration handle any situation badly. Salisbury insisted that “even when the Government is right” changes should be made with the greatest caution and consideration, since any offense would be used by Hellenic propagandists to stir up the Cypriot resentment of foreign rule, and even spread that propaganda against the British throughout Europe. A substantial portion of his instruction to Biddulph is recorded here because it demonstrates his manner of language and serious tone:

The experience of the past year has revealed some dangers that were little suspected. They principally consist in the power of the priesthood, and the attitude of the small Hellenic colony. Sir Garnet Wolseley was strongly

⁴⁵⁶ Biddulph to Salisbury, Confidential, Part II Correspondence relating to the Island of Cyprus, June to December 1879, FO 421/32.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid.

impressed with the danger of an Hellenic propaganda tending to encourage dreams of annexation in the Government of Athens.

I do not wish to depreciate this peril, or to discourage constant precaution against it. It is an apprehension which the history of the Ionian Islands naturally fosters. But there is another and more immediate inconvenience which may arise from the action of the Hellenic colony if it is imprudently handled. It contains a certain number of educated men who are familiar with Western ideas, who have access to European channels for the expression of their complaints. It is therefore a matter of very considerable importance that they should never have even plausible grounds of complaint if it can be prevented...

You must ever bear in mind that, in considering the importance of preventing these complaints, the question is not what effect they will have in England, but what will be their reflex operation on the public feeling of the island when thrown back, in a magnified and distorted form, by the exaggeration of European controversy...

A recent mistake on the part of the Commissioner of Famagusta in subjecting two Greek priests to the loss of their hair, on the occasion of their imprisonment for a trivial offence, probably did not seem to him a very serious matter. But with the help of the telegraph it has produced an effect which certainly we could not have contemplated...

Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople has received a most earnest protest from the Greek Patriarch on the subject. The matter has been dwelt upon and magnified in Greek newspapers published at Constantinople and at Athens, and appears to have produced a sensible change of political feeling even among the peasantry in Crete...

This wide sensation, created by a seemingly trivial act of prison discipline, reveals a danger to which the Government of Cyprus never should be blind. Their proceedings are watched with intense interest by the Greek clergy, as well as by the Athenian agitators; and any error into which they may fall will be magnified by misrepresentation, and will produce feelings adverse to the policy and the influence of England.⁴⁵⁸

Of the various groups and classes of Greeks on the island, the clergy felt the most displaced by British authority, yet their influence could stir the entire population on

⁴⁵⁸ Salisbury to Biddulph, July 4, 1879, (No. 28 Secret), Part II, Correspondence relating to the Island of Cyprus, June to December 1879, FO 421/32.

Cyprus, and elsewhere in the Mediterranean, to resent British “good government” policies.

As the decade wore on, Greek resentment toward British rule contributed to the rise of *enosis*, a movement led alternately or sometimes jointly by the clergy and parties on the Greek mainland to reunite Cyprus with Greece. In the mid-nineteenth century, Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos, a professor of history at the University of Athens, had interpreted Greek history as a continuum from ancient, medieval and modern periods, and by the end of the century intellectuals used the connection with the Byzantine Empire to justify an irredentist movement called the “Great Idea” (*Megali idea*). They envisioned the unification of all areas of Greek settlement in the Near East within a single state with its capital at Constantinople.⁴⁵⁹ In Greece, the Vice-Consul at Santa Mavra reported that Greeks felt Cyprus must be wrested from the grasp of England and united with Greece, along with Crete and the rest, and that “Patriotic Committees” were being formed to encourage emigration of Greeks to Cyprus for the promotion of this cause.⁴⁶⁰ However, it should be remembered that *enosis* did not emerge for the first time under British occupation. Vice-Consul Sandwith wrote in 1866 that “though the Cypriots had not the spirit of the Cretans, and no amount of oppression would drive them into rebellion, the townspeople had become inculcated with the Hellenic idea, as promulgated in the Greek newspapers, which they were reading with avidity”.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁹ Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 2-3.

⁴⁶⁰ Francis Onofrio to Sir C. Sebright, Aug. 14 1878, FO Corr. June to Dec. 1879, no. 4077 and FO Corr. Respecting the Deportation Ordinance in Cyprus, no. 4089, cited in George Hill, *A History of Cyprus, Vol. IV* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 496.

⁴⁶¹ Draft of letter from Vice-Consul Sandwith to Consul-General Eldridge, Oct. 29, 1866, FO 329/1, cited in George Hill, *A History of Cyprus, Vol. IV* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 496.

The question of the Greekness of Cypriots must take into account the parallel connection with Turkey in Cyprus. While Greeks can trace their inhabitation of Cyprus to the Byzantine Empire, the Turkish connection extended back four centuries and impacted the island's demographics and ethnic character.⁴⁶² The British inserted themselves into this relationship as ruler, and consequently displaced political traditions on both sides. On the other hand, while the "divide and rule" theory⁴⁶³ has some merit, there is little evidence of an official policy in favor of it in this period. In his instructions to Biddulph, Salisbury stressed the need to treat the various groups equally, not because it was morally correct but because of the effect complaints would have in England and Europe or on influential people in Cyprus:

You will wish, as Her Majesty's Government would wish, that all the inhabitants of Cyprus should receive the most exact justice and full protection of their rights; and at this object you would aim whether it was politic or not. But something more than this is desirable from the point of view of policy. It would be wise to avoid any action which, according to European ideas, even where they are misapplied or based on imperfect information, would give the Hellenic colony a plausible grievance; and that, not on account of the effect which their complaints might have in England or in Europe, which would probably be small, but because of the echoes those complaints might bring back into the island itself. They will find persons of influence in this country to repeat, and possibly to exaggerate, them; and, taught from a distance, the people of the island may learn to found discontent upon transactions which, left to themselves, they would have never resisted or noticed.⁴⁶⁴

It is clear, however, that unofficially the British favored the Turks in many respects.

Thus the divisions between ethnic groups and Greek resentment toward British rule in the

⁴⁶² Panyiotis Persianis, *Church and State in Cyprus Education* (Nicosia, 1978), p. 18.

⁴⁶³ Costa Yennaris, *From the East: Conflict and Partition in Cyprus* (1999), p. 20.

⁴⁶⁴ Salisbury to Biddulph, July 4, 1879, (No. 28 Secret), Part II, Correspondence relating to the Island of Cyprus, June to December 1879, FO 421/32.

towns became more pronounced and aggressive as uncertainty about Britain's tenancy grew, although the Greek lobby for *enosis* remained suppressed for the first few decades.

Many Turkish Cypriots withdrew from their Ottoman connection and pledged loyalty to the British, hoping for protection against Greek irredentism. Mustafa Fuad Effendi, a "most influential and respectable Mahommedan gentleman of Cyprus and a member of the Legislative Council of the island," visited Sir A. H. Layard (British minister to Constantinople) on August 17, 1879, to express his gratitude to the British authorities for the protection and encouragement they gave the Muslims, who, Layard said, "were extremely well satisfied with our rule, and looked forward to a period of good Government and prosperity, such as they had never hitherto enjoyed."⁴⁶⁵ Effendi noted the impartial administration of justice and the honest administration of the finances, including the funds from *Vakouf*⁴⁶⁶ property now applied to the repair of the mosques, schools, and charitable foundations rather than being misappropriated. He also suggested that the Greeks resented not having things their way and being unable to control or even expel the Turks.

As Mrs. Scott-Stevenson, the wife of the district commissioner of Kyrenia, explained, "The Turks like us; they trust and believe in us, in the justice of our Courts, and in our wish to befriend them; whilst the Greeks, on the other hand, seem to have an instinctive though unspoken dislike to us."⁴⁶⁷ Clearly, she insists, the strong feeling in favour of the Turks among the English officials in the island results from dealing with

⁴⁶⁵ Sir A. H. Layard to Marquis of Salisbury, from Therapia, August 7, 1879, Confidential Part II Correspondence relating to the Island of Cyprus June to December 1879, FO 421/32.

⁴⁶⁶ A *Vakouf* in the Ottoman system was an untaxed trust for pious endowments, usually created by influential families.

⁴⁶⁷ Scott-Stevenson, *Our Home in Cyprus* (1880), pp. 298-300.

both groups; “though, of course, justice is dealt with impartially to Christian and Osmanli alike”. She herself found the Turk to be “truthful, sober, abstemious, honest, brave, simple, and devout in his forms and practices of worship, having a child-like faith in his superiors; docile, kind to animals, and remarkable for cleanly habits and customs”.

Therefore,

if cleanliness be next to godliness, most assuredly the Turk is the holiest of mankind, for since I have lived in Cyprus I have never seen what I may call “a dirty Turk.”⁴⁶⁸

In fact, she continues, “one ought not to confuse the Cypriots with the true Hellenes, for in many characteristics the two people are essentially different, almost, indeed, forming a distinct race. The Cypriots are dull and lazy, they have no ambition, nor the patriotic longings of the Greeks.”⁴⁶⁹

When this perception is compared to the events in Limassol, it appears that “patriotic longings” affected different classes in different ways; that is, the common people were not as affected by foreign influences (mainland Greeks, newspapers, foreign education) as were the clergy. In the first few years, any complaint—from hair cutting to the desire for enosis—would be drawn upon by the clergy to protest their own loss of status and income.

Biddulph reported that a group of local Christian merchants, representatives of The Charitable and Educational Cypriot Fraternity, petitioned the Government to acknowledge their standing in the community as significant and trustworthy persons.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid.

They explained that complaints against the Government are not from ill-will of the community, since 90 percent of the inhabitants are satisfied with the Administration. They did not want the Government to form an erroneous judgment of the public opinion of the town and expressed:

the hearty and sincere wish of ourselves and of all the Christian inhabitants of the island [is] to be under the enlightened Government of Her Majesty the Queen, and to enjoy its constitution and freedom, with a truly good administration, liberty and equity, for which we shall ever be the most faithful and most grateful of Her Majesty's subjects.⁴⁷⁰

The letter ended with 238 signatures of several Aldermen, Town Councillors, and other inhabitants of Limassol, and curiously named the Bishop of Citium as one of the leaders of their group.

This group of Greek merchants had organized a club to support local education and to seek British protection. The bishop's support for this group stemmed from the divisions between himself and the Archbishop. The Archbishop had not supported the Bishop of Kition against Warren, Commissioner of Limassol, and the Bishop thereafter boycotted the efforts of other bishops to pursue their collection of dues through legal means. (In 1889, High Commissioner Smith referred Archbishop Sophronios to the Courts to regain any entitlements he thought were due him under the Sultan's Berat.)⁴⁷¹

⁴⁷⁰ Inhabitants of Limassol to the Marquis of Salisbury, June 30, 1879, led by Mr. O. J. Jassonidy, Mr. A. K. Palaeologos, Mr. A. Oratis and his Grace the Bishop of Citium; and note from Biddulph to Salisbury, in Confidential, Part II Correspondence relating to the Island of Cyprus, June to December 1879, FO 421/32.

⁴⁷¹ Panyiotis Persianis, *Church and State in Cyprus Education* (Nicosia, 1978), p. 19 and note 65, p. 31 (Memorandum of Archbishop Sophronios to High Commissioner H. Smith, enclosure in confidential despatch of the High Commissioner to Chamberlain, Oct. 3, 1898, CO 67/113) and note 66, pp. 31-32. In 1886, the Archbishop and the other Bishops contended that the Bishop of Kition already received all his dues through his political position as member of the Legislative Council and his influence over the people (Confidential despatch, Biddulph to Secretary of State Stanley, Jan. 25, 1886, CO 67/41, cited in Persianis,

Thus, when the Greek clergy lost their traditional relationship with the Ottoman state or with the Archbishop, they were sometimes forced into new roles among this rising middle class.⁴⁷² The Greek elite also embraced British rule, even becoming participants in the British social community and in government.

For the British, the various ethnic groups would be seen increasingly according to their nationality—Greek and Turkish—rather than by religion.⁴⁷³ Hepworth Dixon, in *British Cyprus* (1879) describes a casual relationship between the British and Turkish, explaining that there was no caste system like that in India:

No mullah turns his face from a cup of tea, whatever he may do with a glass of wine. An Effendi elbows you at table, never dreaming, like a Muscovite Old Believer, that your touch is taint, and renders him unclean.⁴⁷⁴

Like a good imperialist, Dixon sees the British role as savior and civilizer, not only for saving Christians from Turks, but saving Cypriot Turks from the Ottomans. On the other hand,

Some of these Ottomans are pleasant fellows, who regard our efforts to save them and civilize them with a touch of humour. They have no objection to be saved and civilized; but some of them see through the business and enjoy their little harmless laugh.⁴⁷⁵

One gets the impression Dixon appreciates the ridiculousness of “civilizing the savage”.

Nicosia 1978, n. 66, p. 32.) Archbishop Sophronios died in 1900 (Persianis, p. 82). Sir William Frederick Haynes Smith was High Commissioner of Cyprus from 1898 to 1904.

⁴⁷² Rebecca Bryant, *Imagining the Modern* (London, NY, 2004), p. 17

⁴⁷³ See Adamantia Pollis, “Intergroup Conflict and British Colonial Policy: The Case of Cyprus” in *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 5, July 1973, pp. 575-599.

⁴⁷⁴ H. Dixon, *British Cyprus* (1879), p. 207-8.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

Dixon tells the story of Emin Bey, “a Turk who loves his country very much, without pretending that Cyprus is the Isle of Wight”. Emin Bey speaks six languages (Persian, Arabic, Greek, Turkish, French and Italian) and has seen the world—eating at the Maison Doré, exploring the Batignolles, attending meetings on Clerkenwell Green; he has danced at the Quirinal and been robbed by brigands at the gate of Rome. “If Cypriots are savages,” he declares,

well, let us make haste and get civilized. Let us exchange our white muslim folds for hats—we are not sure to die of sunstroke. If we do, what harm? Let us kick away our slippers and pull on polished boots. See how much cosier they are! Why make a fuss about our aqueducts and fountains? True, our fathers drank water; let us go in for bitter beer. Anyhow, let us not be savages.⁴⁷⁶

Despite this “civilized” posturing, Emin Bey supports three wives, with an eye for a fourth as well as a concubine⁴⁷⁷, which is surely not what British civilizers had in mind.

In the subsequent years during Biddulph’s tenure as High Commissioner, Greek and Turkish groups became more distinctly defined, especially in the towns, separate both from the British and from each other. Also during this period, nationalist movements and the movement for *enosis* found a growing following among Greeks beyond the clergy, partly due to the influence of new schools (both Greek and Turkish), and Western journalism and literature.⁴⁷⁸ Britons on Cyprus learned to be cautious on both sides, as Gladys Peto later explained:

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁸ Scott-Stevenson, pp. 298-300.

One has to be careful about the order in which one writes these nationalities – Greek, British and Turkish, they tell me, is really the way to put it – for the Greek reads from left to right, so he is first, and the Turk from right to left, so he is first – and the British remain in the middle.⁴⁷⁹

Still, the *enosis* movement did not represent a monolithic group of Greek Cypriots. Opinion rising in favor of Hellenic movements from abroad as well as antagonism against the British was tempered by the equal authority of the local rising middle class. But soon tensions emerged between social classes as well as between ethnic, religious, or nationalist groups.

The end of the *millet* system ended Turkish dominance in government, and numerous Greeks received middle and low rank positions in the new administration, but not a majority as according to their population. By 1880, 125 of the 363 officials in public service were Greek.⁴⁸⁰ By the end of the century, Cypriot Greeks occupied 237 posts (50%), the Turks had 198 posts (42%), and Armenians and Maronites (2% of the total population) had 37 posts (8%). In the police force in 1919, 55% were Turks.⁴⁸¹ The top positions still went to British officials, although there were only around 60 officials on the island.⁴⁸² The most prestigious appointments were in the Legislative Council. A Council-in-Order on November 30, 1882, transformed the Council into a partly-elected body, although with restricted authority. Here again Greeks found themselves overruled.

⁴⁷⁹ Gladys Peto, *Malta and Cyprus* (London, 1927) quoted in L. L. Hadjigavriel, ed., *In the Footsteps of Women* (Nicosia, 1998), p. 216.

⁴⁸⁰ “Return of all Officials Higher and Subordinate in the Public Service in Cyprus”, Enclosure, Prepared by Falk Warren, Chief Secretary, July 23, 1880 (London, 1880), cited in Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus* (1996), p. 81, note 292.

⁴⁸¹ George Hill, *History of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 531, cited in Katsiaounis, p. 81, note 294.

⁴⁸² “Return of all Officials Higher and Subordinate in the Public Service in Cyprus”, Enclosure, Prepared by Falk Warren, Chief Secretary, July 23, 1880 (London, 1880), cited in Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus* (1996), p. 81, note 292.

The Greeks were allotted nine seats to the Turks' three, according to population, but British official members held six seats and were generally supported by the Turks. In addition, the President, usually the High Commissioner or Government officer, had a deciding vote.⁴⁸³

The clergy continued to petition the Government for their traditional authority. Archbishop Sophronios, Neophytos of Paphos and Kyprianos of Kition reminded Wolseley in a letter dated February 16, 1879, of the Berat that exempted sacred properties from taxes, a privilege the Church had enjoyed "from time immemorial". Recalling the same complaint, Sophronios wrote later to Biddulph that because ecclesiastical property was taxed but the Government no longer helped them collect their canonical fees, he could no longer maintain the schools.⁴⁸⁴ Sophronios insisted that church properties would fall into ruin and that priests would be left to starve if they were not allowed to use police to collect tithes.⁴⁸⁵ In 1888, Sophronios again tried to solicit a reciprocal bargain in a strongly worded memorandum to the Queen's Advocate, W. R. Collyer:

It is the duty of the Church, by means of her spiritual resource, to support the Civil Authority in the carrying out of all its just and lawful orders. On the other hand, the Civil Power, by means of its material resources, must support and assist the Ecclesiastical Power in all its reasonable and just demands.⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁸³ Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1996), p. 84. See also Hill, *History*, pp. 418-19 and Georghallides, *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1979), pp. 41-42.

⁴⁸⁴ Panyiotis Persianis, *Church and State in Cyprus Education* (Nicosia, 1978), pp. 20-21.

⁴⁸⁵ Rebecca Bryant, *Imagining the Modern* (London, NY, 2004), pp. 16-17.

⁴⁸⁶ "Translation of a Memorandum handed to the Queen's Advocate by the Archbishop of Cyprus in 1888", Enclosure I in "Confidential", Sir Henry Bulwer, High Commissioner, to Lord Knutsford, Secretary of State for the Colonies, July 1, 1889, CO 67/61, cited in Katsiaounis, p. 77, note 278.

Collyer responded that the old understanding between the Sultan and the Orthodox Church “with us means little or nothing; for the material assistance must always be in accordance with the law.”⁴⁸⁷

The attitude of the clergy was different outside the towns, where the clergy sought to retain a positive relationship with the new rulers. On May 2, 1885, Biddulph visited the monastery of Ayios Panateleimon, in the district of Kyrenia. An inscription posted over the myrtle-decorated south gate read: “Long Live the noble Queen of Great Britain, Long Live the English Nation, Long Live the High Commissioner of Cyprus, Sir Robert Biddulph.” Similar loyalism was demonstrated when High Commissioner Sendall visited the monastery of Kykko in the first week of October, 1892.⁴⁸⁸

Politics in Turkish and Greek schools

A brief summary of the background of education in Cyprus is helpful here. It has been observed that the election of Archbishop Makarios III as first President of Cyprus in 1963 was a natural outcome of a situation which had started fifteen centuries ago and the culmination of the gradual increase in the temporal authority of the spiritual leader of the Greek community of the island.⁴⁸⁹ The Archbishop achieved the ecclesiastical independence of the Cyprus Church in 488 A.D., and was endowed with political powers by the Sultan under the Turkish occupation from 1570 to 1878. The office gained real political power in 1660 when, writes the 18th century Archbishop and historian

⁴⁸⁷ “Minute by the Queen’s Advocate on the above memorandum”, August 21, 1888, Enclosure II in “Confidential”, Sir Henry Bulwer, High Commissioner, to Lord Knutsford, Secretary of State for the Colonies, July 1, 1889, CO 67/61, cited in Katsiaounis, p. 77, note 279.

⁴⁸⁸ Letter to the editor, in *Φώνη της Κυπρου*, May 20/2, 1885, cited in Katsiaounis, p. 76.

⁴⁸⁹ Panyiotis Persianis, *Church and State in Cyprus Education* (Nicosia, 1978), pp. 3-15.

Kyprianos, the Porte elevated the Cypriot Archbishops to save the island from being deserted: plague had thinned the population and many emigrated to escape their debts. In the 18th century the Archbishops became the real governors of the island, reported W. Turner, who visited Cyprus in 1815 and stated “Cyprus, though nominally under the authority of a Bey appointed by the Qaudan Pasha, is in fact governed by the Greek Archbishop and his subordinate clergy.”⁴⁹⁰

The behavior of the different archbishops varied according to their level of education (some highly educated, some with very little). Some used their privileges to collect money with the support of the Turkish *zaptiehs* (police) and others protected their flock from the local governors. But generally they tried to improve the condition of the Greek Cypriots, which antagonized some of the Turkish population. On July 9, 1821, Archbishop Kyprianos was hanged from a mulberry tree in the Saray square and three bishops and some prominent laymen were killed, all charged with conspiracy in support of the Greek revolution that had started in March of that year. These men had supported the Greek underground organization *Philiki Etaireia*, but were not the leaders as charged. Kyprianos became a popular legend. His death served to separate even further the Greek and Turkish communities on Cyprus, it “sowed in their hearts a love for freedom”, and it instilled strong nationalistic feelings. The *Philiki Etaireia* secretly promoted to Greek Cypriots the *Megali Idea*, the wish to revive the Byzantine Empire as the sovereign power of the Hellenic Kingdom, including Cyprus. The Church schools established in the

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid. Persianis quotes Turner from *Journal of a Tour in the Levant*, edited by C. D. Cobham in *Excerpta Cypria*, Cambridge University Press, 1908, p. 447. For emigration see also Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 153.

next few decades promoted the Megali Idea, and their graduates became the new leaders.⁴⁹¹

While the participation of Greek priests in the revolution gave that movement its religious character, laymen were involved as well. The Cypriot layman Nicolas Theseus and his brother, the Archimandrite Theophilos, were leaders in the revolution, both achieving the rank of Lieutenant-General.⁴⁹² The revolution was memorialized in the schools, and the more the people were oppressed the higher rose their reverence for the Archbishops, who stressed in the schools the ideas of Greek tradition and culture and fostered the peoples' political ambitions.⁴⁹³ This generation of students produced the new secular leaders.

In the era of educational reform in England following the Education Act of 1870, and in consideration of bringing good government to the island, British education for Cypriots became an issue, particularly concerning the maintenance of traditional education versus Western education. Greek, Turkish, and Maronite schools were allowed not only to persist but were supported by grants-in-aid for several decades. Persianis argues that had the British occupied Cyprus c. 1800 and installed English schools before the Greek schools grew so strong, the role of the Church in fostering the Great Idea may

⁴⁹¹ Panyiotis Persianis, *Church and State in Cyprus Education* (Nicosia, 1978), pp. 3-16. The War of Greek Independence (1821-32) against Ottoman rule began as a revolt under the leadership of Alexander Ypsilanti. He was defeated but other rebels in Greece and on several islands gained control of the Peloponnese and declared Greek independence in 1822. The Turks invaded but the intervention of the European powers led to a settlement at an 1830 London conference, declaring Greece an independence monarchical state. (Britannicareadyreference online, Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 2001)

⁴⁹² George Hill, *A History of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 136-137.

⁴⁹³ Panyiotis Persianis, *Church and State in Cyprus Education* (Nicosia, 1978), pp. 15-16.

have been averted.⁴⁹⁴ This is a plausible consideration. Before 1878, public education for Greeks on Cyprus meant church education, focused on preparing young people for government and public benefit. Literacy was important to the clergy only so the people could read church texts; students learned the alphabet and reading by studying religious poems and books. The secondary schools in Nicosia, Larnaca and Limassol, attended only by children of the very wealthy, taught mathematics, geography, history and ancient Greek. All students were encouraged to aspire to the lives of the clergy and patrons of the schools, many of whom were wealthy tax farmers made comfortable under the Ottoman system.⁴⁹⁵ Thus the Orthodox tradition was kept alive and the Greek community was unified. Under British rule the Church became more politicized, stirred by resentment against new British policies and by growing infighting and power struggles among the bishops.

Before 1878, the Greek Church supported its schools with its own wealth, the Turkish government granted a small sum to the Moslem schools, and a small English school had been established by Mr. Spencer.⁴⁹⁶ After 1878, the Government in London followed a laissez-faire approach to education on Cyprus, but the new local administration wanted more control. Thus there was a disconnection between the British Government, the Colonial Office and the Cyprus administrators.⁴⁹⁷ Finally in 1909, the Secretary of State for the Colonies demanded that the Government should have some control over the schools and teachers before he approved any increases in grants-in-aid

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 18-19.

⁴⁹⁵ R. Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1996), pp. 56-60.

⁴⁹⁶ Mediterranean, No. 8, Finances and Administration of Cyprus, Sir R. Biddulph's Reply to Mr. Fairfield's Memorandum (in continuation of Mediterranean No. 5), May 1883, CO 883/2

⁴⁹⁷ Panyiotis Persianis, *Church and State in Cyprus Education* (Nicosia, 1978), pp. 61-63.

for elementary schools. He and the next Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lewis Harcourt, called for investigations into education on Cyprus.⁴⁹⁸

For local administrators, language was one of the problems that made education a political question. Biddulph perceived an interest on the part of Cypriots for teachers of English, and he “supported this desire in the interest of the Cypriots themselves, and not from any political motive.” But having been accused of forcing English on the inhabitants for political purposes, he insisted that no plan of education would be satisfactory unless the chiefs of the religious communities “have a share in the direction”. Fairfield noted that Lord Kimberley favored maintaining the English school, but the English school was unpopular with the Greeks, who assumed it to be kept up mainly for the benefit of Turks and Armenians. Greeks had been expected to appreciate the English school since, “now that it is known to be our intention to employ natives wherever we can in small clerical and accounting posts, the Greeks will find a way of mastering English.”⁴⁹⁹ Yet in 1881 only four Greeks attended the English school, and in 1882 a few more; therefore, a grant-in-aid of 2,000*l.* was agreed upon for the Greek and Turkish schools, with capitation fees offered in lieu of fixed stipends to the Turkish schoolmasters.⁵⁰⁰ This would be reconsidered if the English school came to be required in the future.

The suggestion to make a grant-in-aid of 2,000*l.* came from Mr. Fairfield of the Colonial Office, who proposed dividing the amount into 1,500*l.* for Christians, and 500*l.* for Moslems:

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 86-88.

⁴⁹⁹ Mediterranean No. 11, Cyprus. Memorandum on Administrative Questions, Jan. 20, 1883, signed E. F. [Fairfield], CO 883/2.

⁵⁰⁰ Mediterranean, No. 8, Finances and Administration of Cyprus, Sir R. Biddulph’s Reply to Mr. Fairfield’s Memorandum (in continuation of Mediterranean No. 5), May 1883, CO 883/2

If Cyprus were a pure Crown Colony, and if the two religious were not so deeply separated from one another as they are, it would be better to apply the grant in aiding such schools as deserved aid, without reference to race or religion; but in the political circumstances of Cyprus it would, probably, be wiser to divide the grant into 1,500*l.* for Christians, and 500*l.* for Moslems, these being respectively the maximum sums earnable by each class of schools.⁵⁰¹

Fairfield suggested that the *Hodja* schoolmasters in the Turkish schools be transferred to Evkaf funds, but that the Moslem community should decide. If they changed, Fairfield reasoned, they could apply the 500*l.* to their Rushdie schools (Moslem high schools) and to Turkish teaching. Otherwise, the 330*l.* fee paid to the *Hodjas* would, with the cost of the Rushdie school, swallow up the entire 500*l.* Mr. Seager, the British delegate for the Evkaf, agreed to take over the greater number of Moslem schoolmasters on to Evkaf funds, but no decision was forthcoming.⁵⁰²

As a result of the new British policy of proportionate support for schools, the numbers of students enrolled in Greek schools soon significantly overshadowed those of the Turkish schools (fig. 5.3). The new source of income, in addition to the wealth of their patrons, greatly expanded the church's reach, so much that in 1886 the Inspector of Education, Joshua Spencer, wrote that this new system had immensely stimulated the establishment of Christian schools.⁵⁰³ However, this was due not only to more equitable government funding but also to the general improvement of the island economy under

⁵⁰¹ Mediterranean No. 11, Cyprus. Memorandum on Administrative Questions, Jan. 20, 1883, signed E. F. [Fairfield], CO 883/2.

⁵⁰² Ibid.

⁵⁰³ R. Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1996), pp. 92-94.

British rule. As the economy improved, the population increased—a rise of 27.6% from 186,173 in 1881 to 237,022 in 1901.⁵⁰⁴

Increase in Greek and Turkish schools in Cyprus, 1881 to 1901.

	Greek schools		Turkish schools	
	<u>1881</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>1881</u>	<u>1901</u>
Number of schools	99	273	71	144
Number of students	4,907	15,712	1,869	5,176

Figure 5.3. School enrollments 1881-1901.⁵⁰⁵

The chart above does not include the High School (previously called Greek School) or the Gymnasium where older students received teaching certificates. The High School in 1900 had been incorporated with the Gymnasium, both in Nicosia. The only other high schools were at Limassol and some upper divisions of the schools at Varosha and Ktima. The Limassol High School had a staff of four teachers and 85 students, supported entirely by local contributions. The high school courses at Varosha had 21 students and at Ktima 22. None of these high schools had ever received Government aid. Government grants of £200 were given, however, to the Gymnasium at Nicosia, which had a staff of 14 teachers, including an English Clergyman, the Rev. H. T. F. Duckworth, who gave free instruction to the upper classes, and 228 students. In 1898 fourteen of the

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. 175-9.

⁵⁰⁵ Chart created from numbers given in Canon F. Newham, “The System of Education in Cyprus”, *Board of Education Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, London, 1905, p. 21, cited in R. Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1996), p. 92. A High Commissioner’s Report for 1898-1899 noted that in 1896-97 there were 303 elementary schools, with 15,677 children attending (12,103 boys and 3,574 girls). By 1898 there were 340 elementary schools, with an attendance of 17,460 children (High Commissioner’s Cyprus Report to Parliament for 1898-9, June 1900, London, 1900, p. 43).

students who finished the course received first-class certificates of qualification as teachers and were appointed to village schools for the school year 1898-99.⁵⁰⁶ The Rushdie, or Moslem High School, was reorganized but not opened until November, 1897, due to the difficulty of obtaining “a really qualified head-master” and suitable assistants to help him. This school was maintained entirely by the Government, and was intended to serve as a training school for teachers. High Commissioner Haynes-Smith reported that “Its proper reorganization will be a work of time.”⁵⁰⁷

Coincidentally, the improved economy and increased educational opportunities also diminished the availability of uneducated or unskilled labor. The editor of *The Times of Cyprus* remarked that regarding apprentice labor,

Now employers...find them with difficulty, partly because of the energetic efforts of the Director of Education and liberal government grants in aid of schools, apropos of which let us pray that we shall not here be done to death of literary wisdom as in England, where many a good cobbler has been lost to our soles by reason of the Three Rs.⁵⁰⁸

The writer further observed that European and upper class native families were finding domestics and tradesmen less abundant in good years as well as bad.⁵⁰⁹

Two other consequences of economic growth and greater school enrollment were the deepening divisions between the new generation of educated Greeks and the established merchants and landed gentry, and between Greeks and the British administration. Within a few decades of the British occupation, the new system of public

⁵⁰⁶ High Commissioner’s Cyprus Report to Parliament for 1898-9, June 1900, London, 1900, pp. 45-6.

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁵⁰⁸ *The Times of Cyprus*, Oct. 17, 1887, cited in R. Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1996), p. 137.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

roads (628 miles by 1902) enabled Cypriots greater ease of transportation and communication between villages and towns, and between trade and manufacturing centers. The combined number of farmers and gardeners went down from 15,936 to 15,245 (4.3%) and people in manufacturing and trades increased from 5,744 to 7,458 (29.2%). This led to the emergence of a new middle class which in turn provided a need for Cypriots with medical and law degrees acquired outside Cyprus. The numbers of doctors and lawyers in 1878 had also increased by 1901.⁵¹⁰ Athens-educated lawyers sought positions in public life and administration, which sometimes disturbed the social order maintained by lesser-educated, established merchants and landed gentry, and by the turn of the century, lawyers acted as catalysts for anti-government nationalist movements.⁵¹¹

The new roads meant that rural young people enjoyed greater access to schools and were exposed to new social and political ideas in neighboring villages and towns.⁵¹² The Greek schools in towns (gymnasiums and secondary schools) were now led by teachers who had trained at the University of Athens, and their students in turn replaced the villagers and priests as teachers in elementary schools.⁵¹³

Following the passage of the Education Laws of 1895 and 1905, the administration of the schools grew as a partnership between the Church and the Government, which was supported by many inhabitants because ecclesiastical support was unsteady, but after the death of Archbishop Sophronios in 1900 political rivalries

⁵¹⁰ R. Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1996), pp. 175-9.

⁵¹¹ Confidential, W. Haynes-Smith to J. Chamberlain, Aug. 4, 1900, CO 67/124, cited in R. Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1996), p. 179, note 678.

⁵¹² R. Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1996), pp. 92-94, 175-9.

⁵¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

between the bishops led to struggles for influence and some protested the education laws as biased toward certain parties. Also, the Government realized that the teachers, being the most educated and therefore most influential men in their villages, became “the centre for furthering discontent throughout the country and for organizing opposition to the administration”.⁵¹⁴ Subsequently the schools became instruments of Greek nationalist movements. As High Commissioner Haynes-Smith complained in 1900, the schools and the tribute became causes of resistance to British rule:

The masters of the Elementary Schools are trained at the Gymnasium and other secondary schools to believe that their proper aim is to instill in to the minds of the youth of the Island that their great objects in life are to advance the cause of union with Greece and to get rid of the payment of the Tribute to Turkey and further to oppose the English Administration.⁵¹⁵

As William Gladstone had predicted in a speech at Penicuik on March 25, 1880, “the more you improve their condition the quicker will be the development of this strong sentiment of nationality, and the more earnest the desire of the Greeks of Cyprus to be united with the free Greeks of the rest of the world.”⁵¹⁶

The census of 1891

A second British census was taken by a F. G. Glossop, Island Treasurer and Superintendent of Census on April 6, 1891, the same day of a census taken in Britain. Relying on the trigonometrical survey of Cyprus and the 1881 census, all areas including

⁵¹⁴ Panyiotis Persianis, *Church and State in Cyprus Education* (Nicosia, 1978), pp. 81-87. Controlling the government grants-in-aid became a way for the British administration to check this opposition.

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 93-4.

⁵¹⁶ Cited in George Hill, *A History of Cyprus, Vol. IV* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 497.

outlying monasteries, chifliks, and so forth were included. The returns, which had to be translated from Greek, Turkish, Armenian, French, Italian, Spanish, Arabic, and Persian, revealed a total population of 209,286, exclusive of the British military force stationed in Cyprus, which at this time numbered 674, including women and children. The total shows an increase of 23,656 persons, or 12.74 percent, in 10 years.⁵¹⁷

In 1881 the Larnaca district showed the highest percentage of population per square mile, followed by Nicosia, but Limassol took first place in 1891, followed in order by Larnaca, Kyrenia, Nicosia, Paphos, and Famagusta. This change was due to the increased population of the town of Limassol and the decline of the town of Larnaca. The major towns showed the following populations (fig. 5.4):

<u>Town</u>	<u>Population, 1881</u>	<u>Population, 1891</u>
Nicosia	11,536	12,515
Larnaca	7,833	7,593
Limassol	6,006	7,388
Famagusta (including Varosha)	2,564	3,367
Paphos (including Ktima)	2,204	2,801

Figure 5.4. Population change in the major cities on Cyprus from 1881 Census to 1891 Census.⁵¹⁸

In 1881 places of more than 1,000 persons numbered 18; these and five more villages passed that mark in 1891. The largest percentage of increase was within the municipal limits of Famagusta at 23.85 percent. Next followed Paphos at 21.31 percent, Limassol 18.7 at percent Kyrenia at 9.83 percent and Nicosia at 7.82 percent, with Larnaca decreased by 3.16 percent, although is was still the second largest town in the

⁵¹⁷ Mediterranean No. 39, Report on the Census of Cyprus, 6th April 1891, Colonial Office, June 1893, CO 883/4/22

⁵¹⁸ Ibid.

island.⁵¹⁹ Certainly the growth of the towns was a positive development in the eyes of new administrators who sought better sanitation, roads, and housing conditions. But a note in the return explains that while the population of Cyprus is generally an agricultural one, it was difficult to obtain an accurate return of farmers because a large proportion of the population worked as agriculturalists on a seasonal basis. At certain times of the year they followed agricultural pursuits, at others they migrated to towns to seek work at some other trade, or as muleteers, cart drivers, and so forth.⁵²⁰

In 1891, the aggregate Christian population overall on the island was 65.52 percent. Excluding the six chief towns the only village showing any marked proportion of Muslims was Vatili, containing 51 Muslims to 59 Christians. The total population of Muslims numbered 47,926 or 22.9 percent of the whole population; members of the Greek Orthodox, 158,585, of 75.8 percent; and 2,775 or 1.3 percent, of other religions, principally Maronites (1,131), Roman Catholic (915), Church of England, including Protestants (279); Gregorians (269), and Jews (127).⁵²¹ As in 1881, Paphos is the only chief town in which Muslims outnumber the Christians (fig. 5.5), and in that town appears the largest decline, at 5 per cent, of the population. Larnaca is the only town that has kept up the percentage obtained in 1881; the decline of 3.5 percent in Famagusta is accounted for by the growth of its satellite village of Varosha. The most noticeable change is in the Nicosia municipality, where the Muslims declined from 46.8 inhabitants to 42.8 percent of the inhabitants.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid.

⁵²⁰ Ibid.

⁵²¹ Ibid.

<u>Principal Towns</u>	<u>Mohamedans</u>	<u>Greek Orthodox</u>	<u>Others</u>
Nicosia	42.8	52.6	4.6
Larnaca	25.1	65.7	9.2
Limassol	24.6	70.9	4.5
Famagust	24.8	72.4	2.8
Paphos	54.8	44.0	1.2
Kyrenia	47.0	61.1	1.9

Figure 5.5. Percentage of Religious Groups returned in 1891 Census.⁵²²

Interestingly, the 1891 census indicates that, while “the inhabitants of Cyprus can have no accurate knowledge of their age”, between the ages of 15 and 35 males are outnumbered by females. Glossop surmised “that young men leave the island for, at any rate, a temporary absence from their homes, and... females show greater longevity than males in Cyprus.” Sixty three males and 82 females were returned as being of 100 years of age or older, with as many as 10 females declaring to be 120 years old.⁵²³

Summary

The first British census of 1881 listed the island’s population at 185,630, with a British military population of 543. In 1891 the population was 209,286, with 674 British military. By the census of 1901 the Cypriot population was 237,022, and 130 in the military. The population increase over the decade from 1890-1900 was 13.25 percent for the whole island. Of this increase, the Christian population grew 15.25 percent, while the

⁵²² Mediterranean No. 39, Report on the Census of Cyprus, 6th April 1891, Colonial Office, June 1893, CO 883/4/22

⁵²³ Ibid.

Muslim population grew 6.94 per cent.⁵²⁴ Ultimately, the rising but increasingly disparate population numbers led to conflicts between Greek and Turk, and between Cypriot and British. Also within these numbers are hidden conflicts between classes—for example, Greek priests set against the British, the Turks, and sometimes elite Greeks. Many elite and middle class Cypriots saw the British occupation as a relief from Ottoman mismanagement. But the uncertainty of Britain's tenure caused anxiety for the priests about the future of their traditional class structures and financial support. Under the British, the priests lost that authority. Increasingly, the development of the island indicated that the British intended Cyprus to be a British dependency, and their authority would be forever lost. Therefore it was perhaps not the religious divisions but the loss of traditional class structures and financial support that led to intergroup antagonisms.

The British probably would have preferred to not deal with these issues. They were busy building a British dependency by installing new government, but more important, by revitalizing the island's resources and commercial potential as a part their own empire's global trade and commercial network. This integration certainly seemed possible at the beginning of the occupation, when Britons viewed Cyprus as a blank slate and as a new possession, and it remained a goal of the local administrators and some in the Colonial Office. The following chapter examines how the British sought to integrate Cyprus into the empire, intending to create a principal commercial depot in the eastern Mediterranean. The time was opportune, as a result of the Anglo-Turkish Convention and the opening up of the area to foreign trade and commerce.

⁵²⁴ W. F. Haynes-Smith, *Cyprus Report for 1902-1903*, to Parliament (London: Darling & Son, 1904), p. 45.

THEME II: “A RICH REWARD TO CAPITALISTS AND LABOUR”

I have the honor to submit to you a proposal for the construction of railways in the Island of Cyprus, in the event of Her Majesty’s Government deciding to authorize their being made in the Island. Capitalists in London with whom I am in communication have offered to provide the money required for making any lines of railway of strategic and commercial importance which the Government desire to have constructed, provided these lines are judiciously laid out and can be made with economy.

-- Colonel Stanley, July 17, 1878⁵²⁵

Had the island been taken over by France, instead of England, the French would have soon developed the wine-trade enormously. All that is wanted is capital to clear the scrub and plant the vines.

-- Herbert Kitchener, c. 1879⁵²⁶

There is a regrettable inability or unwillingness on the part of the Government to define the true nature of our relations with Cyprus, and the uncertainty which prevails on this subject, must interfere with the carrying out of projects for the improvement of the island. What, for instance is to be the legal status of any one making in land there? That is [an] all important question for the Minister, but the recent explanations of the Attorney-General leave it unanswered. If it is desired that British capital should flow into the island, the Government ought certainly, before the end of the Session clearly to define what are to be the legal rights of those who may invest money in the soil, or in any improvements in it. Investors should not be exposed to the risk of it[s] covering to their cost that the island which they imagined to be a Crown colony was, after all, only the territory of the Sultan.

-- *The Economist*, August 10, 1878⁵²⁷

⁵²⁵ Colonel Stanley to War Office, July 17, 1878, CO 67/2.

⁵²⁶ J. B. Rye and H. G. Groser, *Kitchener in His Own Words* (London, 1917), pp. 50-51.

⁵²⁷ “Investments in Cyprus, in *The Economist*, Aug. 10, 1878, p. 945.

CHAPTER SIX

Revenue for the Empire

Commerce and trade before 1878

Commerce and trade between Cyprus and other Mediterranean countries, and within the British Empire, were important components of the revitalization program on Cyprus. This redevelopment of Mediterranean trade from Cyprus followed the path of an ancient trading system. The Greek cities on the coast of Asia Minor had already created a great traffic in sea trade by the eighth century B.C. In the Middle Ages, Famagusta and Nicosia were flourishing urban centers.⁵²⁸ In 1738, Richard Pocock, visiting the English Vice-Consul (“who was a Greek”), wrote that

Cyprus on account of its situation and the cheapness of all sorts of provisions is the place where almost all ships touch on their voyages in these parts... furnishing ships with provisions is one of the principal branches of trade.⁵²⁹

Cyprus traders shipped cotton goods to Holland, France, Venice and Leghorn, wood to Italy and France, and raw silk to London and Marseille.⁵³⁰

Alexander Drummond, the English consul at Aleppo, reported in 1750 that Cyprus exported 125 tons of carob beans to Dalmatia and Alexandria, and from there to Cairo and all over Egypt. Other exports included 973,330 gallons of wine (about £25,000 per year), and ham, bacon, goat-milk cheese, biscuits, vermicelli and macaroni. Cyprus

⁵²⁸ Theodore Papadopoulos, *Cyprus Social and Historical Data on Population, 1570-1881* (Nicosia, 1965), p. 80.

⁵²⁹ Richard Pocock, *Description of the East and some other countries* (London, 1743-1745), reprinted in Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria* (1908), pp. 251-270 (268-9).

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*

imported broadcloth from France, watches, toys, cutlery, pepper, tin, lead, sugar, and silk manufactures, although the inhabitants were “too poor to consume very much of it.”⁵³¹ However, three centuries of Turkish rule brought about a real process of disurbanization and regression, with only a slight recovery during the second half of the nineteenth century. In Famagusta, “one of the greatest commercial cities and ports of the Eastern Mediterranean”, the decline was due to the Ottoman government’s expulsion of the Christian population, which led to the rise of a (Christian) satellite village, Varosha, whose trade and commerce eventually superseded Famagusta.⁵³²

In the nineteenth century, the British Consuls learned to navigate the traditional bureaucracy of Ottoman business. Vice-Consul Biliotli at Rhodes, when reporting that sponges exported from Rhodes to Britain provided a reasonable profit with an annual value of 50,000*l*, complained that foreign businesses suffered under innumerable Ottoman lawsuits; this frustrated foreign merchants from undertaking commercial transactions in the small Islands of the Sporades of Rhodes. Lawsuits were always judged by the island’s courts, which was prejudiced against foreigners.⁵³³ On the other hand, British Vice-Consul Longworth at Volo reported to Consul-General Blunt in January 1879 on “the possible development of British trade with Volo, and on the removal of

⁵³¹ Alexander Drummond, *Travels through different cities of Germany, Italy, Greece and several parts of Asia (letters to brothers and friends)* (London, 1754), reprinted in Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria* (1908), pp. 251-270 (271-305). Drummond visited Larnaca from March 6 – May 15, 1745, and briefly in April 1750.

⁵³² Theodore Papadopoulos, *Cyprus Social and Historical Data on Population, 1570-1881* (Nicosia, 1965), p. 80.

⁵³³ Vice-Consul Biliotli, Report on Commercial Transactions in the Vice-Consular District of Rhodes, Doc. 49, Inclosure in Doc. 27, in Confidential Print, Series B The Near and Middle East, 1856-1914, Vol., 7, p. 337.

such commercial obstacles as at present exist at this port.”⁵³⁴ Although the port of Volo was “entirely deficient in harbour accommodations,” Volo was the only shipping town of Thessaly and the nearest Turkish port for western vessels bound for Constantinople. As such its trade had increased dramatically, according to the consul:

Within the short period of five and twenty years, Volo has developed itself from a few warehouses to 1,230 dwellings and, from a few inhabitants to a population of more than 6,000 souls. Previous to this the port was entirely neglected by steam navigation and the produce of the country was withdrawn by beasts of burden into Epirus and Albania, and by sailing vessels into the Archipelago Islands, Greece, Italy, and France.⁵³⁵

Since 1852, however, the Austrian Lloyd Company had established a fortnightly and then a weekly steamship communication between Trieste and Volo, the profitable results of which induced the “Messageries Maritimes” and the “Frassinet” Companies of Marseilles to follow in quick succession.⁵³⁶

Consequently, Volo soon felt the benefits arising from steam navigation, and from direct communication with some of the principal ports of Europe. The traders in Volo, who until then either acted as commission agents of the Constantinople, Smyrna and Salonica houses, began to do business on their own account and on a much more extensive scale. This led to trade with England:

The connection thus established between Volo and the principal markets of Austria, France, and Germany, soon developed the resources of the country... even the trade with England has recently become of some importance, in spite of the absence of direct and regular steamship

⁵³⁴ Vice-Consul Longworth to Consul-General Blunt (No. 16), Jan. 18, 1879, Doc. 66, Inclosure in Doc. 27 in Confidential Print, Part I, Series B The Near and Middle East, Vol. 7, p. 432.

⁵³⁵ Ibid., p. 438.

⁵³⁶ Ibid.

communication and notwithstanding the strong competition with the French and Austrian markets.⁵³⁷

Vice-Consul Longworth foresaw that the British market for Volo was beginning to grow from a few small traders and shopkeepers to British goods being brought there by some of the principal merchants from England, transshipment being effected into French and Austrian steamers at Syra and Constantinople.⁵³⁸

These British goods included Manchester and Glasgow cotton manufactures, Bradford woolen stuffs, Leeds' and Belfast linen and thread (£45,000); Birmingham and Sheffield hardware and cutlery, iron, copper, and so forth (£20,000).⁵³⁹ Such products were also imported to Cyprus and thus trade links between Cyprus and other ports in the Aegean and Constantinople became integrated.

In 1859, Vice-Consul Darrasse observed that England was vigorously encouraging the cultivation of cotton in "Cyprus and the East", distributing seed and sending cotton-gins to the consuls, and the numbers of English colonists had increased. After mid-century, British trade with Cyprus increased also, especially in manufactured goods like cotton, although shipments still traveled circuitously through Beirut and Smyrna and then by Turkish ships to Cyprus. Following the Anglo-Turkish Commercial Treaty of 1861, export duties were reduced, which encouraged trade in certain items including raw materials from Cyprus, such as carob or locust beans that by 1871 became the chief export of Cyprus, going mostly to Russia. Salt revenues fluctuated but

⁵³⁷ Ibid., p. 439

⁵³⁸ Ibid.

⁵³⁹ Ibid.

generally increased up to 1872, when the Government raised the price of salt and precipitated a drastic decline. Import duties rose from 5% to 8%, but the demand for English fabrics remained high.⁵⁴⁰

In 1862 all manufactured cotton goods in Cyprus came from Britain but still through Syria, Smyrna and Constantinople, not directly to Cyprus. This improved somewhat when the number of British ships docking in Cyprus ports increased markedly in 1863 and Britain began to overtake foreign trade and commerce. Liverpool cotton exports to Cyprus superseded those from Marseilles by 1864.⁵⁴¹ According to Laffon, the French Consul at Larnaca, in a report in 1867:

The European colony is utterly decadent...there is not a single important French house except one or two purveyors; all the other French are officials, or small traders, [some] their property mortgaged or on the eve of being sold. Failing transfusion of new blood the French colony in Cyprus will disappear. The Italians are in still worse plight...There is only one English representative [Consul Sandwith], but he is the most important man in the island; he is backed by the Ottoman Bank, under Hamilton Lang, and English trade has been much on the increase during the last five of six years.⁵⁴²

British Consul Sandwith (“the most important man in the island”) and Hamilton Lang intended to continue the increase in British trade on Cyprus, but not until 1869 did one small British steamer break the monopoly of the *Austrian Lloyd*, and even then only to Alexandria and Beirut, not Cyprus. Ships continued to arrive from Turkey, however; eleven ships arrived in Cyprus from Turkey that year.⁵⁴³

⁵⁴⁰ George Hill, *A History of Cyprus, Vol. 4* (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 246-7, and 246, n. 2.

⁵⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 247-8.

⁵⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 246, n. 2.

Commerce was affected by increases in duties and taxes from 1870 to 1874 due to the great drought, recurring locust plagues, and failed grain crops. Cut straw had been sent to aid the Turkish army and Crete in 1868-9, and only one-third of the livestock remained for agricultural purposes, the people selling their cattle for slaughter and a Pasha buying many to take to Egypt. A famine affected most of the population. But under the unusually progressive Ottoman Governor, Mehmed Said Pasha (in office 1868-71) with the help of one or two wealthy landowners, water supplies, roads and bridges were built or repaired, the locust plague completely destroyed, and grain provided for seed from the Government granaries.⁵⁴⁴ By the end of the Ottoman regime, the condition of the island had in general improved, and Lang noted that “of all the Turkish provinces, perhaps Cyprus was the best administered”. Some claimed this improvement began with the Ottoman reforms of 1839 (called the Khatti-Sherif of Gülkhané), especially “under the vigilant eyes of the Consuls”.⁵⁴⁵

By 1877 foreign ship arrivals had slowed except for an occasional French steamer and the fortnightly *Austrian Lloyd*. Although Liverpool steamers found it profitable to stop at Cyprus only at long intervals⁵⁴⁶, by late 1878 the overall British steamship trade in the eastern Mediterranean and to Constantinople had overtaken the Austrian, French and Russian. In October, H. Newbolt, the British Harbour Master stationed in Constantinople, wrote

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 248, and p. 248, n. 2.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 264.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 246, n. 2.

Previous to September, 1874, the harbour of Constantinople was in a very disorganized state, steamers and sailing vessels entering being allowed to anchor where they pleased, thereby occasioning numberless collisions; but since that period buoys have been laid down and the harbour has been much improved in consequence.

Of these buoys, nine of them are for the sole use of the Austrian Lloyd's Company... Six are for the sole use of the French Messagerie Company... Four are for the Azizié Company, and four for the Khidivié Company.... And four for the large Liverpool steamers. Now such steamers are principally English steamers...equal in number to the Austrian or French steamers, and infinitely superior to the Russian.⁵⁴⁷

In only four years the British had anchored its place in Constantinople trade.

On Cyprus, however, trade and commerce declined slightly (specifically in Larnaca) due to the considerable military requirements of the Balkan Wars. For example, up to 120,000 kiles of barley were sent to Constantinople for the use of the army, and some 30,000 kiles of wheat were given to the poorer of the peasants for sowing. In January, March, and April of 1877, drought caused other problems, such as the failure of corn crops and a decline in locust beans and cotton growth. The production of olive oil increased, however (from 200,000 okes in 1876 to 250,000 okes in 1877), and the peasants began to focus attention on the cultivation of the carob tree for locust beans.⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁷ Letter by H. Newbolt (British Harbour Master), Oct. 1878, Doc. 42, Inclosure in Doc. 27, Remarks on No. 7 of the points submitted to her Majesty's Embassy by the Marquis of Salisbury for information; being remarks on the Harbour of Constantinople and the Princes Islands, Confidential Print, Series B The Near and Middle East, 1856-1914, Vol. 7 The Ottoman Empire: Finance and Trade, 1860-1890, pp. 308-9.

⁵⁴⁸ Report by Consul Watkins on the Trade and Commerce of the Island of Cyprus for the Year 1877, Doc. 34, in Confidential Print, Series B The Near and Middle East, 1856-1914, Vol. 5, p. 189. Consul Watkins served from 1877 to 1888. A *kile* is a dry measure roughly equal to a bushel (*The Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary*, 2000, Istanbul, p. 531). An *oke* equals 2.8 lbs. (Confidential Print, Series B, Vol. 5, p. 240)

The carob is a leguminous evergreen tree native to the eastern Mediterranean region. It is sometimes known as locust, or St. John's bread, in the belief that the "locusts" on which John the Baptist fed were carob pods. The tree reaches about 50 feet tall, and bears glossy leaves followed by flat, leather pods that

In 1878, E. Hertslet of the Foreign Office reported that the island appeared to have suffered from a series of droughts since 1870, and the lot of the peasant proprietor had become one of extreme hardship and poverty.⁵⁴⁹ Hertslet also noted the government threat to the wine industry:

The wine trade, for which Cyprus continues famous, is one of the best resources of the island, but the Government levies its imposts with so much vexation as to threaten its destruction. The cultivation of tobacco is being abandoned for the same cause. The Firman for new reforms issued soon after the accession of Sultan Murad was announced in Cyprus, but it remains a dead letter.⁵⁵⁰

Watkins reported that the manufacture of wine had decreased, but blamed cultivators who, in order to avoid the “vexatious mode” of “all sorts of unreasonable regulations”, now made their grapes into raisins rather than wine.⁵⁵¹

The tobacco monopoly was farmed out from eight depots (four in Nicosia, two in Larnaca, and two in Limassol, opened in 1874). The average per year sold was 100,000 okes, of which one-tenth was sold to Syria and Caramania in sealed packets. The tobacco used in Cyprus was brought from Volo and Salonica, where it paid an “octroi” duty of 3 piastres per oke. Because of the “vexations” to which the growers were subjected, the Cyprus production had dropped from about 20,000 okes to 5,000 okes.⁵⁵² Production of

contain 5-15 hard brown seeds embedded in a sweet, edible pulp that tastes like chocolate. (*Britannicareadyreference* online, 2008)

⁵⁴⁹ E. Hertslet, Foreign Office, April 30, 1878, in Doc. 22, A Review of the British Consular Reports on Trade with Turkey in Europe and Asia during the last ten years: 1868-77, in Confidential Print, Series B The Near and Middle East, 1856-1914, Vol., 7, The Ottoman Empire: Finance and Trade 1860-1879, p. 209.

⁵⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 209-210.

⁵⁵¹ Report by Consul Watkins on the Trade and Commerce of the Island of Cyprus for the Year 1877, Confidential Print, Doc. 34.

⁵⁵² *Ibid.*, pp., 190-191.

another luxury product, raw silk, diminished due to disease among the silk worms and to a partial fall in prices in the French market. In 1877 about 15,000 okes were exported and 4,000 okes used in the island. Sponge fishing fared a little better. Watkins reported that Greeks from the island of Hydra and Castelrossa fished for sponges in Cyprus from May to August. About forty boats in all were employed in 1877, each boat being manned by a crew of eight to ten. Operations extended from Baphos to Caravostassi, on the southwestern and western coasts, and from Famagusta to Cape St. Andrea, on the eastern coast. The quantity take in the summer of 1877 was about 2,500 okes of all sizes and qualities. About 500 okes were sold to Syrian buyers.⁵⁵³

Cyprus provided an important live commodity for the British Empire as early as 1867. In November of that year, a staff officer of the military train arrived in Cyprus to buy mules for the Abyssinian Campaign. He purchased 800 mules, 700 at £20 a head and 100 at £18 10s. The Vice-Consul reported that the Director of the Transport Service in Egypt “pronounced the mules the finest and most serviceable yet supplied.” Cyprus mules, well known for excellent quality, were used by the British in the Crimean War, the Egyptian Campaign of 1882, and World War I.⁵⁵⁴

These enterprises provided native incomes, as did certain trades. The latter included building and carpentry, done entirely by Greeks, who Consul Watkins explained

⁵⁵³ Ibid. Britain also benefited from sponge fishing in Rhodes, where Vice-Cosul Bitlioti reported crops ranging from 12,000*l.* to 140,000*l.* in value, with about 40 percent sent to Britain. Additionally, native sponge divers bought diving apparatuses and gear from the English, except for French tubes which were lighter. (Vice-Consul Bilioti, Report on Commercial Transactions in the Vice-Consular District of Rhodes, Doc. 49, Enclosure in Doc. 27, in Confidential Print, Series B The Near and Middle East, 1856-1914, Vol., 7, p. 336)

⁵⁵⁴ Sir Harry Luke, *Cyprus Under the Turks* (London, 1921), p. 237. Colonial Office documents list the sale and purchase of both mules and donkeys.

“also make good tailors and shoemakers”. The trades followed by Turks were those of barbers, butchers, calico-printers, shoemakers, and saddlers. The chief industry on the island in 1877 was tanning, turning out 1500-2000 bales of leather per year at the tanneries in Nicosia. The majority of leathers were sold to France, Austria, and Italy, countries which also bought wool and cotton from Cyprus. The manufacture of silk stuffs produced by women in Nicosia amounted to about 10,000 pieces yearly for dresses, as well as handkerchiefs and sashes. The British imported “English grey cloth” from Cyprus for divans and coverlets. The chart below (fig. 6.1) shows imports and exports from Larnaca in 1877, including finished goods.⁵⁵⁵

Trade and commerce was now opening up in the eastern Mediterranean and, despite the condition of the island, offered opportunities for Cyprus. Thomas Brassey, after touring the island in search of viable export products, wrote to the *Times* in December 1878 that if a settlement on the customs problem with Turkey could be reached, “Cyprus would become the principal commercial depot for Syria and Southern Asia Minor.”⁵⁵⁶ Passenger traffic also linked Cyprus with other ports, as the Austrian Lloyd Company transported passengers to and from the ports at Larnaca and Limassol.⁵⁵⁷ Thus through the efforts of British consuls Cyprus had become integrated into eastern

⁵⁵⁵ Vice-Consul Longworth to Consul-General Blunt (No. 16), Jan. 18, 1879, in Confidential Print, Part I, Series B The Near and Middle East, Vol. 7: The Ottoman Empire: Finance and Trade, 1860-1879, Doc. 66, Inclosure in Doc. 27.

⁵⁵⁶ G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus Vol IV* (Cambridge, 1952), cited in Veronica Tatton-Brown, *Cyprus in the 19th Century AD* (Oxford, 2001), p. 242.

⁵⁵⁷ Major Benjamin Donne, *Records of the Ottoman Conquest of Cyprus and Cyprus Guide and Directory* (Limassol, Cyprus, 1885), 2nd ed., 2000, p. 225. Major Donne reported in 1885 that “persons arriving in Cyprus would do so by the Austrian-Lloyd’s steamers one of which arrives once a fortnight at Larnaca from Alexandria, Port Said, Jaffa and Beyrout the other at Limassol once a fortnight from Constantinople, Smyrna, Scio and Rhodes. The steamer arriving at Limassol proceeds to Larnaca but there is no communication the opposite way.”

Mediterranean trade, in which British steamship trade increasingly gained ground over that of France and Austria. The point is that the British occupied Cyprus in 1878 precisely at the moment when, because of the Anglo-Turkish Convention, the eastern Mediterranean territories of the Ottoman Empire were opening again to British and European steamship trade. As noted by Captain Savile in his 1878 report:

We hear that the immediate result of the Anglo-Turkish Convention has been to quicken Mediterranean business in our leading sea ports and to give great activity to freights. Hitherto British merchant ships have been almost invariably sent to Cyprus in ballast...or else at prices for cargo almost equivalent to ballast; consequently there has been no special inducement to embark in direct trade with the island, and but a small proportion of exports have been shipped direct to England in British vessels...The occupation of the island by Great Britain affords the remedy here sought for, and it is to be expected that the direct trade will now largely increase.⁵⁵⁸

This is important for understanding British trade in Cyprus after 1878. If Cyprus would provide trade goods for the British Empire, it needed to recover its connections with the growing trade depots between Cyprus and Constantinople, as well as the length of the Mediterranean Sea.⁵⁵⁹

The colonies as Imperial resource: commerce and trade after 1878

With the influx of several thousand British and Indian troops garrisoned on the island at the beginning of the occupation, along with their families and other civilians, numerous British and foreign land and trading companies, investment and banking

⁵⁵⁸ Report on Cyprus, Captain A. R. Savile, WO 106/6112, pp. 148-9.

⁵⁵⁹ According to Papdoupoulos, the main towns in 1878 were Nicosia, Larnaca, Limassol, Famagusta, Paphos, and Kyrenia, but some towns, especially Famagusta (including Varosha), Paphos, and Kyrenia, were barely flourishing urban centres compared with Famagusta and Nicosia in the Middle Ages.

companies, hotels, clubs and construction companies sought to establish new businesses on the island. The troops required a large amount of provisions in the form of imported goods, but businesses also hoped to attract civilian settlers and tourists. A number of small private businesses that established themselves on the island in July 1878 flourished for a time, but by the time Major Donne arrived in 1880 with five companies of the Royal Sussex Regiment, about 350 officers and men, all the other regiments had left the island.⁵⁶⁰

Many private businesses failed within the decade, such as the following:

- (1) Island of Cyprus Land and Trading Company, Ltd., established July 22, 1878, “to colonize”, with Robert Alexander Meyer, Director, opened offices at 4 Westminster Chambers, Westminster, on Aug. 8, 1878. It was dissolved January 4, 1887.⁵⁶¹
- (2) The Cyprus and Asiatic Turkey Investment and Land Mortgage Co., Ltd., established on July 24, 1878. In December the company listed two English stockbrokers, four merchants (including two brothers), and an accountant, with an office at No. 14 Queen Victoria Street, London. Deemed “not now in existence” on March 26, 1886, the company dissolved in January 1887.⁵⁶²
- (3) The Cyprus Hotel and Club Company, established July 29, 1878, dissolved on January 4, 1887.⁵⁶³
- (4) The Cyprus Investment and Improvement Company, established on July 31, 1878, to convert buildings and land to “roads, streets, squares, gardens and pleasure grounds...” dissolved on January 4, 1887.⁵⁶⁴

⁵⁶⁰ B.D.A. Donne, *Records of the Ottoman Conquest of Cyprus and Cyprus Guide* (Limassol, Cyprus: 1885) 2nd ed., Philip Christian, ed., 2000, p. 251.

⁵⁶¹ BT 31/2443/12401

⁵⁶² BT 31/2444/12407

⁵⁶³ BT 31/2445/12416

⁵⁶⁴ Notice from the *London Gazette*, in BT 31/2445/12425

The wine trade, which perhaps had the most potential, was pursued by The International Wine Company, headed by Germans residing in London, but that company lasted only from 1878 to 1882.⁵⁶⁵

Subsequently the Government sought a more consistent trade system not dependent on troop numbers. The redevelopment of the port at Famagusta on the eastern coast of Cyprus (once “one of the greatest commercial cities and ports of the Eastern Mediterranean”⁵⁶⁶) to facilitate trade as well as defense, was one of the first public works discussed by administrators in 1878. This project would open up Cyprus trade to eastern Mediterranean countries, Turkey, and Europe, especially in conjunction with other new ports and in this regard, the British viewed Cyprus as part of a broader scheme for commerce and trade. The Famagusta port, however, found little support in the Colonial Office in the first few decades. In the meantime, Vice-Consul Sallarachus proposed that the Asiatic territories of Turkey on the Mediterranean offered interesting opportunities.

⁵⁶⁵ BT 31/3829/24063 and BT 31/2503/12904

⁵⁶⁶ Theodore Papadopoulos, *Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus No. I: Social and Historical Data on Population, 1570-1881* (Nicosia, 1965), p. 80.

IMPORTS at Port of Larnaca in the Year 1877							
	From:	Turkey	Austria/Germany	France	England	Italy	Greece
<u>In £</u>							
Cotton mfg.	--		14,000	---	22,000	--	--
-							
Hardware			3,000	1,000	--	--	--
Glass/pottery	--		900	700	--	100	--
Leather	--		--	3,500	--	50	3,000
Tobacco	17,000		--	--	--	--	--
Soap	3,200		--	--	--	--	--
Butter	650		--	--	--	--	--
Matches	--		430	--	--	--	--
Colonials	--		--	6,000	--	--	--
Iron (wrought & unwrought)	--		1,300	700	--	--	--
Petroleum	1,600		--	--	--	--	--
Rice	400		--	2,000	--	800	--
Salt fish & dry salteries	400		100	350	250	300	250
Skins, ox/camel	9,485		--	--	--	--	--
Olive oil	1,706		--	--	--	--	--
Rum, etc.	--		400	450	--	--	--
Wax	--		645	--	--	--	--
Copper	300		675	--	--	--	--
Grain/flour	3,000		--	836	--	--	--
Miscellaneous	2,200		500	600	200	100	300
EXPORTS at Port of Larnaca in the Year 1877							
	To:	England	France	Austria	Italy	Russia	Turkey
<u>In £</u>							
Cotton	--		12,000	8,000	1,000	--	---
Wine	--		900	4,000		2,000	--
Cheese	--		--	-----	--	--	2,975
Madder-roots	--		2,200	----	--	--	--
Skins	--		4,000	5,00	2,000	--	--
Wool	--		9,000	1,500	1,500	--	--
Cotton mfg.	--		--	--	--	--	8,400
Tobacco (cut)	--		--	--	--	--	315
Barley/wheat	1,600		2,000	--	--	--	17,000
Salt	--		--	--	--	--	14,140
Locust beans	1,000		---	---	8,000	---	---
Silk cocoons	---		17,358	---	---	---	---

Figure 6.1. Imports and Exports at the Port of Larnaca in 1877.

Report by Consul Watkins on the Trade and Commerce of the Island of Cyprus for the Year 1877, CP, Doc. 34, p. 189.

On the Cilician Coast, four different points fronting Cyprus might fit for the construction of a harbour: Yirnutalick, Palian Lake (where was found a marble column with Greek inscription and a sarcophagus, which he sent to the Liverpool Museum), Mecrayna, an open bay, and Selefria, a natural harbour, but all needed work (as did those on Cyprus). He preached the good government thesis couched in economic terms:

In conclusion, I venture to hope that ere long Englishmen will consider the great prospect before this country under a proper Government, and now that the Turkish Government must yield to the demands of civilization, and desire of the inhabitants, with no exception of creed, there will open a wide field for foreign enterprise, and for the employment of British capital, and prosperity in this part of Asia Minor.⁵⁶⁷

Accordingly, the unique position of Cyprus in the Mediterranean allowed that not only Famagusta but also Larnaca and Limassol held potential as trading posts in the eastern Mediterranean trading system. Larnaca being the chief port for foreign trade, it also held established foreign Consulates and a modest European colony. Limassol was becoming increasingly important as an entrepot of the vine region.⁵⁶⁸

With this sort of development in mind, Sallarachus suggested that the appointment of Consular officers in the central regions of the interior to the north at Cessarea (Kaissaria), Konia (Iconium), and Nigda (Licaonia), would be of use and

⁵⁶⁷ Doc. 30, Inclosure in Doc. 27, Vice-Consul Sallarachus to to Sir H. Layard, Oct. 31, 1878 in Confidential Print, Series B The Near and Middle East, 1856-1914, Vol., 7, The Ottoman Empire: Finance and Trade 1860-1879, pp. 263-4.

⁵⁶⁸ Theodore Papadopoulos, *Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus No. I: Social and Historical Data on Population, 1570-1881* (Nicosia, 1965), p. 80.

benefit to British interests.⁵⁶⁹ The district officers on Cyprus would be integral as well. For example, the Commissioner of Larnaca, Mr. Cobham, in 1883 was seen by the Government as holding a particularly important position, because of his fluency in foreign languages,

Being a man who has seen a good deal of the world and who speaks many languages, [Cobham] has acted to a great extent for the Government in dealing with the foreign consuls, who live at Larnaca, and who are people of much more importance in Cyprus than consuls in an ordinary colony.⁵⁷⁰

The salary for the Larnaca commissioner was set at a generous 500*l*, as he would be required to at least speak French or, as Mr. Fairfield, assessing Cyprus trade for the Government, pointed out, “the result would be that trouble would ensue, as Larnaca is more visited by strangers of various kinds than any other port.”⁵⁷¹

Cyprus could benefit from import and export trade with the eastern Mediterranean and Europe, given its resources were properly developed, transportation systems revamped, and ports improved. A note should be made that both internal and foreign trade, according to the 1881 census, were controlled primarily by an established middle class of Cypriots: Greeks, Levantines, and Europeans, the last being protected by the European consulates already established on the island.⁵⁷² However, it will be seen that

⁵⁶⁹ Doc. 30, Inclosure in Doc. 27, Vice-Consul Sallarachus to Sir H. Layard, Oct. 31, 1878 in Confidential Print, Series B, The Near and Middle East, 1856-1914, Vol., 7, The Ottoman Empire: Finance and Trade 1860-1879, pp. 263-4.

⁵⁷⁰ Mediterranean No. 10, Cyprus, Memorandum on Financial Questions, signed E. F. (Fairfield?), CO 883/2,

⁵⁷¹ Ibid.

⁵⁷² Theodore Papadopoulos, *Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus No. I: Social and Historical Data on Population, 1570-1881* (Nicosia, 1965), pp. 85-6. The Muslim portion of the population consisted of a rural class and an urban class, with an insignificant number of “middle class” Muslims. Of these, no middle commercial class of Muslims existed.

while the majority of Cyprus trade during this period continued to be with Turkey, and some benefit was derived by the Cypriot people, this trade grew more and more embedded in the trade and commerce systems of the British Empire.

The growing import and export trade in agricultural products and animals

From 1878 to 1885 imports to Cyprus increased from £177,651 to £304,375, and exports from £157,328 to £287,521.⁵⁷³ The new Government saw particular potential for domestic and international trade in agricultural items, such as wine from grapes, cotton, corn, barley, and fruit orchards with sour and sweet oranges, lemons, pomegranates, apricots, figs, and so forth, despite the existing primitive peasant methods of cultivation.⁵⁷⁴ In 1886, at a meeting of the Society of Arts, in London, Mr. G. Gordon Hake commended the agricultural development on Cyprus since 1878, saying “The effect of these and other less important reforms on the commerce of the island has been highly beneficial.” Furthermore,

The abolition of the tithe-farming system, and the adoption of the more generous as well as more politic measure, whereby the agriculturist was permitted to deal with his crop as he pleased, the collection of the tax being delayed till a later season, when he should have had ample time for the conversion into money of the produce of his holding, had a most favorable influence on the particular industries affected, and consequently on the trade of the island generally.⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁷³ Warren to Biddulph, Enclosure in Mediterranean No. 22a, Biddulph to Stanley, M. P., Dec. 18, 1885, CO 883/4.

⁵⁷⁴ Report on the Sanitary Condition and Drainage of the District of Famagusta and the Mesaoria in Cyprus, by the Chevalier David Bocci, Chief Engineer, Royal Engineers, Parma, June 5, 1880 (Colonial Office, Nov. 1881), CO 883/2.

⁵⁷⁵ *Science* magazine, June 18, 1886, Vol. VII., No. 177, pp. 576-577.

He noted the same rise in exports from £157,328 in 1878 to £287,521 in 1885.⁵⁷⁶

Two particularly successful agricultural development schemes involved cotton and silk; these also provided a connection with Mediterranean trade and with agricultural development in other parts of the world. Savile noted that under Venetian rule (1489-1573), 30,000 bales, or 6,600,000 lbs. of cotton were annually exported from Cyprus.⁵⁷⁷ During the American Civil War (1861 to 1865), American seeds were introduced and proved “a great success”, with a short but excellent staple.⁵⁷⁸ Unfortunately, when Consul Lang experimented successfully with New Orleans seed, he found peasant cultivators unwilling to follow his lead because of the hindrances of the tax collectors:

It appears that the pods produced by it [American cotton seed] open out at maturity so fully, that, unless the cotton is at once picked, it falls on to the ground and deteriorates, thus the picking during the season requires to be done almost daily, but this does not suit the tax-gatherer who has to be in attendance to receive his eighth portion; and this circumstance alone prevents many native growers from using this seed, although they acknowledge its advantages.⁵⁷⁹

Lang suggested that the cotton should be taxed when it is shipped, as nearly all cotton grown on the island is exported (mostly to France and Austria), rather than when the crop is gathered.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁷ In official report on Cyprus by Captain A. R. Saville, London, 1878, WO 106/6112. Cotton was a Mediterranean crop as early as the late sixteenth century, for example in Malta, where the Knights of the Order of St. John grew cotton seed for cattle feed, and spun cotton was a principal export (Brian Bouet, *The Story of Malta*, London, 1967, p. 145).

⁵⁷⁸ In official report on Cyprus by Captain A. R. Saville, London, 1878, WO 106/6112.

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid.

Still, not more than one-twentieth of the potential was grown in 1878.⁵⁸⁰ By 1897, Cyprus imported £27,464 worth of cotton piece goods and £16,179 of woolen goods, which dropped the following year to £25,637 in cotton goods but rose to £18,521 in woolen goods, due to a rising preference for woolen manufactures. Raw cotton exports also declined, from £4,986 to £2,582, due to low prices in Europe; a large part of the 1898 stock remained on hand unsold.⁵⁸¹ Also in 1898, the Director of Agriculture from America introduced to Cyprus the Peterkin cotton-seed, which was extended in the Solea District, “where the inhabitants have commenced to learn the importance of selecting their seed.”⁵⁸²

In 1863 Cyprus produced about 56,000 lbs. of silk annually, one-tenth consumed in native manufactures and the remainder exported to France. At the beginning of 1878, Consul Watkins reported a diminished production due to silkworm disease and a partial fall in prices in the French market. Savile suggested a better system of winding to be adopted to fetch a higher price and “to cause it to be more sought after in the markets of Lyons and Liverpool.”⁵⁸³ At the time, however, the best silk was the golden yellow variety produced at Baffo and the surrounding district, chiefly the result of the mulberry trees being older than in other localities and also because they are not grafted. Excellent silk was also produced at Varosha, close to Famagusta, at Kythraea in the Karpas district, and many other of the northern villages, and also at Maratasa in the Tröodos region,

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid. Savile suggested better irrigation to increase yields. Various irrigation schemes were later introduced.

⁵⁸¹ Cyprus Report for 1898-9, presented to both houses of Parliament, June 1900, High Commissioner Sir W. F. Haynes Smith to Mr. Chamberlain, 30 Jan. 1900.

⁵⁸² Cyprus Report for 1899-1900, presented to both houses of Parliament, March 1901, High Commissioner Sir W. F. Haynes Smith to Mr. Chamberlain, Jan. 12, 1901, p. 35.

⁵⁸³ Official report on Cyprus by Captain A. R. Saville, London, 1878, WO 106/6112.

where the cocoons were “remarkable for their beauty and the brilliancy of their colour.”⁵⁸⁴ In 1880, Bocci reported on silk growing, which “though little practiced”, supported the production in Nicosia of “silk stuffs and shirts of admirable workmanship” made with splendid quality silk.⁵⁸⁵ However, from 1898 to 1899, silk cocoon exports rose from £13,145 to £19,362 and the export of raw silk and silk manufactured articles was negligible.⁵⁸⁶

Grain production increased as well. By 1888, despite a drought season in 1887, wheat production rose from an average of 1,568,580 kiles for the period 1882-1886 to 1,930,720 kiles, and barley at 2,279,856 kiles in 1888 exceeded earlier averages of 1,689,040 kiles.⁵⁸⁷ The amount of land under cultivation for grain also increased, from 75,000 acres (in wheat and barley) in 1844, according to Mr. Fourcade the French Consul, to 100,000 acres in 1871, to 242,800 acres in 1898, ending with an average of 14 bushels per acre.⁵⁸⁸

By 1898 Cyprus sent exports to the United Kingdom, the British colonies, and more than 12 other countries, with a total value of £373,065 that year. The greatest amount of exports (in currency value) were in carobs, barley, oranges and lemons and other fruit, raisins, wine, raw cotton and wool, silk cocoons, hides and skins, and sponges.

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁵ Report on the Sanitary Condition and Drainage of the District of Famagusta and the Mesaoria in Cyprus, by the Chevalier David Bocci, Chief Engineer, Royal Engineers, Parma, June 5, 1880 (Colonial Office, Nov. 1881), CO 883/2.

⁵⁸⁶ Cyprus Report for 1898-9, presented to both houses of Parliament, June 1900, High Commissioner Sir W. F. Haynes Smith to Mr. Chamberlain, 30 Jan. 1900.

⁵⁸⁷ Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus during the second half of the nineteenth century* (1996), p. 107. A *kile* is a dry measure roughly equal to a bushel. (*The Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary* (2000), p. 531)

⁵⁸⁸ Cyprus Report for 1898-9, presented to both houses of Parliament, June 1900, High Commissioner Sir W. F. Haynes Smith to Mr. Chamberlain, 30 Jan. 1900, p. 33.

Of these, raisins, wine, silk cocoons, and hides and skins increased in 1899. The falling off of carobs (a decrease of 6,751 tons and £4,940) was due to a small crop, but was compensated by higher prices. Other exports included aniseed, which decreased when sesame (grown in preference to aniseed) increased, and sponges which decreased £1,648 because fewer sponge-fishing boats visited the island during 1898.⁵⁸⁹ The increase in exports and imports from 1894 to 1899 (fig. 6.2) demonstrate the success of Cyprus trade in Britain and its Empire, as well as throughout Europe. These particular dates coincide with the Colonial Development programs of Joseph Chamberlain (discussed in Chapter 8), but the increases, especially in agricultural products, must be seen at least partly as a result of efforts by earlier administrators and the consuls before them.

In 1900, the export of cereals increased significantly (especially to the United Kingdom, but also to France, Egypt and Turkey) due to an abundant harvest and good prices in Britain. High Commissioner Haynes Smith reported:

An increased quantity of grain was shipped to the United Kingdom, this being due to the good prices that obtained there, and to the presence of representatives of foreign and English houses with capital, the Cypriot merchants selling against cash on the spot, and thus avoiding the risks which exporters on a small scale, with a lack of knowledge of European markets, generally incur.

Egypt is the earliest market open to Cyprus barley, and the prices obtained during the early part of the season were 60 Egyptian piastres the ardeb, equal to 15-1/2 c.p. per kile out of store at Larnaca, a price that fell subsequently to 50 Egyptian piastres per ardeb, or 12 c.p. per kile at Larnaca.⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-25.

⁵⁹⁰ Cyprus Report for 1898-9, High Commissioner Sir W. F. Haynes Smith to Mr. Chamberlain, 30 Jan. 1900, p. 31.

Unfortunately, the price of all agricultural produce fell in early 1900, prompting Haynes Smith to counter that “the advance is slow, if sure”:

The methods of agriculture are very much the same as they were in the days of the Pharaohs; but efforts have been made to introduce the use of an improved plough, and an adaptation by Mr. Gennadius, the Director of Agriculture, of one of the Indian iron ploughs is being gradually brought into use with marked advantage. Attention is also being paid to the importance of using good seed, and the Government endeavour when supplying seed under the Seed Corn Law, 1898, to furnish selected seed.⁵⁹¹

There are movements in each of these directions, but the advance is slow, if sure. The peasantry, who almost all own and cultivate land, are industrious and thrifty, but in many cases they are in the hands of usurers who charge high rates of interest for any advances made before the crop is produced.⁵⁹²

Steps taken to ease these problems included the introduction of American varieties of cotton, and a renewed focus on improving the state of roads, of which in 1898 the Government maintained 440 miles (40 miles newly constructed).⁵⁹³

Haynes Smith reported a very significant export value in animals, numbering 18,614 valued at £30,955 in 1897 and 16,385 valued at £31,029 in 1898. This undoubtedly included the Cyprus mule and donkey trade. Haynes-Smith suggested that “a very large industry might be developed in mule breeding if a market could be obtained.” The Cyprus mule had gained a reputation as superior to the Italian and American mule: “it stands hard work better, is more docile and is cheaper.”⁵⁹⁴ Cyprus already provided an annual supply of stud donkeys for the Indian Government, prompting the initiation of a

⁵⁹¹ Ibid, p. 33-34.

⁵⁹² Ibid., p. 63.

⁵⁹³ Ibid., p. 63.

⁵⁹⁴ Cyprus Report for 1898-9, High Commissioner Sir W. F. Haynes Smith to Mr. Chamberlain, 30 Jan. 1900, p. 34.

committee for the improvement of Cyprus stock. The committee “placed selected stallions in different districts of the Island, and selected jacks whose services are given free to the peasants and others under rules framed on the model of the Indian rules on this subject.”⁵⁹⁵ By 1901 the committee had established a system of prizes on donkeys to be awarded at country fairs, for which the peasants showed increasing interest.⁵⁹⁶

At the same time that Cyprus enjoyed a growing export market, imports rose as well. In 1898 the greatest amount (in currency value) was in wheat, flour, butter, coffee, sugar, tobacco, and olive oil, the last due to a partial failure of the local olive crop. All of these rose the following year, except coffee and tobacco, which dropped in value. Imports of “provisions” were listed in the official report as increasing due to “a tendency to stock with English groceries, probably including Persian Sherbet”. As for guns versus diplomacy, arms and ammunition were minimally imported, while Mr. Apostolides imported 1,241 books to present to Cyprus libraries.⁵⁹⁷

Haynes-Smith’s report in 1900 (covering 1898-1899) forecast a positive outlook for Cyprus trade. Besides the mule market, he suggested improvements could be made in wine processing; silk manufacturing; sponge fishing; grain, cotton and tobacco cultivation; and carob planting, grafting and cultivation techniques. He indicated that modern machinery was being imported for the preparation of olive oil, and referred to

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁶ Cyprus Report for 1899-1900, High Commissioner Sir W. F. Haynes Smith to Mr. Chamberlain, Jan. 12, 1901, p. 35.

⁵⁹⁷ Cyprus Report for 1898-9, High Commissioner Sir W. F. Haynes Smith to Mr. Chamberlain, 30 Jan. 1900, p. 24.

experiments being made at the small Government garden at Nicosia in the processing of essences and perfumes from the aromatic herbs growing in the State forests.⁵⁹⁸

The increase in exports and imports on Cyprus from 1894 to 1899

	<i>Exports</i>					
	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899
	£	£	£	£	£	£
Live Animals, Food, Drink, And Narcotics	202,237	203,905	232,885	208,801	279,940	199,418
Raw materials	45,198	49,520	54,216	49,521	51,586	57,965
Manufactured Articles	9,467	21,184	10,041	6,480	12,161	7,468
Coin and Bullion	42,795	34,107	25,489	22,858	29,378	43,398
<u>Total</u>	299,697	308,716	322,631	287,660	373,065	308,249

	<i>Imports</i>					
	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899
	£	£	£	£	£	£
Live Animals, Food, Drink, And Narcotics	74,221	63,392	77,248	79,315	92,979	84,421
Raw materials	54,329	53,443	49,473	55,978	58,969	63,007
Manufactured Articles	126,889	125,233	113,330	128,053	136,258	142,340
Coin and Bullion	16,976	34,250	50,033	31,314	58,448	27,993
<u>Total</u>	272,415	276,318	290,084	294,660	346,654	317,761

Figure 6.2. From Cyprus Report for 1898-9, High Commissioner Sir W. F. Haynes Smith to Mr. Chamberlain, Jan. 30, 1900, p. 28, and Cyprus Report for 1899-1900, High Commissioner Sir W. F. Haynes Smith to Mr. Chamberlain, Jan. 12, 1901, p. 25.

⁵⁹⁸ Cyprus Report for 1898-9, presented to both houses of Parliament, June 1900, High Commissioner Sir W. F. Haynes Smith to Mr. Chamberlain, 30 Jan. 1900, p. 34.

The advent of steamship production facilitated the expansion of Mediterranean trade: by 1882 there were 22,000 steamships in the world, although sailing ships still represented slightly more shipping tonnage.⁵⁹⁹ To be sure, the activities of both sailing ships and steamships affected the expansion of import and export trade in Cyprus. In 1897, there was an increase of 14 sailing vessels entering at Papho, but a decrease of 4,165 tons because the ships were smaller. The number increased because, despite a falling off in the Egyptian sailing trade due to the quarantine enforced by Turkey against Egypt, the number of vessels from Turkey increased by 192, but they were mostly small craft from Syria and Asia Minor calling for grain. The sailing trade at Larnaca also increased dramatically. But large tonnage sailing vessels were seen less frequently during poor crop seasons (especially carob) and due to the interference of steamers in the trade. On the other hand, by 1898 the number of steam-vessels docking at Cyprus decreased due to the withdrawal of the Russian Steam Navigation Company's steamers and the stoppage of the vessels of the Austrian Lloyd Company that numbered 30 and 15 respectively. The levying of shipping dues on tonnage rather than amount of cargo landed or shipped prohibited large steamers from stopping in Cyprus unless they had already secured large cargoes. The Government proposed a Bill to modify this system, but it was turned down by the elective members.⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁹⁹ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire 1875-1914* (London, 1987), p. 27.

⁶⁰⁰ Cyprus Report for 1898-9, presented to both houses of Parliament, June 1900, High Commissioner Sir W. F. Haynes Smith to Mr. Chamberlain, 30 Jan. 1900, p. 40.

The Cyprus wine trade

The winemaking tradition in Cyprus is among the oldest in the world, beginning in ancient Paphos on the southwestern coast of Cyprus and blossoming during the Crusades. Richard the Lionheart took the island in 1191 and promoted winemaking, followed by the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, whose *Commanderías*—estates with vineyards—produced wine of the same name.⁶⁰¹ Although wine production decreased under Ottoman rule, in 1871 exports of Cyprus wines still amounted to 514,000 gallons, shipped almost exclusively to the coast of Syria and Alexandria.⁶⁰² Captain Savile, in his report in 1878, noted common wines being exported from Limassol in particular but also from Larnaca, to Egypt, Syria, and Trieste, “but never to Western Europe.”⁶⁰³ These common wines included Moscato, Morocanella, the ordinary wine called Mavro, Kokkino or Red wine, and Raki⁶⁰⁴:

There is another wine manufactured in Cyprus called “Mavro” (black), as all red wines are styled in Greek. It is very dry, and is consequently not much consumed, for the inhabitants, *like all Orientals*, prefer rich and sweet wines. Morocanella is another description of very fair quality. Muscadine is a white wine, which is very sweet, and becomes like syrup even when comparatively new.⁶⁰⁵

⁶⁰¹ André Dominé, ed., *Wine* (NY, 2004), pp. 734-5. Wine production on Cyprus nearly died out under Ottoman rule. Today Cyprus has around 74,000 acres (about 10 percent of its agricultural land) planted with vines, and directly or indirectly employs almost 25 percent of the population. See also Brian Bouet *The Story of Malta* (London, 1967), p. 51. The Order of St. John were driven from the Holy Land in 1291 and went first to Cyprus, then in 1308 took the island of Rhodes from the Byzantines. The Ottomans pushed them from Rhodes in 1522; in 1530 they settled on Malta, here they set up commanderies.

⁶⁰² “Cyprus,” by R. Hamilton Lang-Part I and Part II, in *MacMillan's Magazine*, Vol. XXXVIII, May 1878 to Oct. 1878, pgs. 325-403.

⁶⁰³ Report on the state of Cyprus, by Captain A. R. Savile, 1878, WO 106/6112.

⁶⁰⁴ Report on the Sanitary Condition and Drainage of the District of Famagusta and the Mesaoria in Cyprus, by the Chevalier David Bocci, Chief Engineer, Royal Engineers, Parma, June 5, 1880 (Colonial Office, Nov. 1881), Items 81-82, CO 883/2.

⁶⁰⁵ Report on the state of Cyprus, by Captain A. R. Savile, 1878, WO 106/6112, 6703363

Raki was a weak white brandy made from the commonest red wine; a good deal was consumed in the island and the remainder exported to Turkey.⁶⁰⁶

The best Cyprus wine, Commanderia, appears in numerous testimonies about Cyprus wine, being the most popular among the peasants despite its tarry flavor (its kegs were lined with tar).⁶⁰⁷ This “sweet malmsey wine” failed to suit English taste and was sent never to England but in large quantities exported annually to Trieste and Constantinople, and some of the older and best qualities shipped to France and Italy.⁶⁰⁸ “With improved methods of preparation,” Hamilton Lang declared, “it is certain that the wine trade in Cyprus may become very extensive; for the production of grapes may easily be increased fifty-fold.”⁶⁰⁹ In similar language, that is, that the wine trade would become “more extensive”, Captain Savile explained:

In 1852, the vines were attacked by a disease called “oidium,” which has prevailed more or less every since, and has greatly reduced the quantity of wine manufactured. With improved methods of preparation the Cyprus wine trade would doubtless become more extensive, for even the common wine of the country, which is sold at about 1*d.* per quart bottle, is a wine

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁷ Savile explains, “The best wine is that called Commanderia; it derives its name from a commandery formerly possessed by the Templars at Kolossi, about six miles west of Limasol on the road to Baffo. This is a sweet malmsey wine, but strong and heady; when quite new it is of a dark colour like a brown sherry, but after it has been kept two or three years it becomes very much lighter, though when old it again becomes dark, and eventually turns almost black, and thick like syrup.” Various grape varieties produced different wines. According to Savile: “Moscato, Xinisteri, or White tart and Commanderia *from well known sites*; there was also a grape specially adapted for producing Commanderia wine, called “*Florica*” (believed to have been introduced by the Venetians), which was now only found in the villages of Vicla, Kellachi, Klonari, and Eptagonia. The Moscato and Marocanella, are, immediately after gathering, placed on the roofs without touching, and are left there to dry up for at the most 15 days, they are then pressed, and the produce is collected in vats; it ferments twice a year.” Report on the state of Cyprus, by Captain A. R. Savile, 1878, WO 106/6112.

⁶⁰⁸ Report on the state of Cyprus, by Captain A. R. Savile, 1878, WO 106/6112, 6703363

⁶⁰⁹ “Cyprus,” by R. Hamilton Lang-Part I and Part II, in *MacMillan’s Magazine*, Vol. XXXVIII, May 1878 to Oct. 1878, pp. 325-403.

which in the opinion of competent judges, would be very valuable to the trade for mixing, if freed from its tarry taste.⁶¹⁰

By 1883, Biddulph argued that “the wine industry offers at the present moment a prospect of more immediate return than any other industry in the Island, and therefore it is one that deserves attention.”⁶¹¹

According to the analysis of David Bocci, Chief Engineer, land planted with vines in 1878 was about 27,000 hectares, although vines in plain and mountain vineyards were planted as stocks, without any support, and pruned in a hap-hazard manner. But wine production suffered from the fact that grapes were a principal food of the peasants, and also, if not certified by a tithe-agent in a timely manner, as often occurred, some grapes turned too dry to be made into wine, “which circumstance gives rise to a compulsory trade in raisins.”⁶¹² The peasants as early as 1863 complained that it was more profitable to sell their grapes or make them into raisins than to produce wine because of the double taxes, tithes and export duties collected “in a very harassing manner.” The growers had to pay, under the tax called “dimes”, an eighth part of the produce of grapes to the treasury; but this could not be taken in kind, so a money value was fixed yearly by the local *medjlis* or mixed tribunal, but as the assessment was based on the market price at the chief town of the district instead of the value at the place of

⁶¹⁰ Report on the state of Cyprus, by Captain A. R. Savile, 1878, WO 106/6112.

⁶¹¹ Mediterranean No. 8, Finances and Administration of Cyprus, Sir R. Biddulph’s Reply to Mr. Fairfield’s Memorandum (in continuation of Mediterranean No. 5), XXXII, May 1883, CO 883/2. Lord Kimberley sent Mr. E. Fairfield of the Colonial Office to Cyprus to confer with the High Commissioner and local officials in the autumn of 1881.

⁶¹² Report on the Sanitary Condition and Drainage of the District of Famagusta and the Mesaoria in Cyprus, by the Chevalier David Bocci, Chief Engineer, Royal Engineers, Parma, June 5, 1880 (Colonial Office, Nov. 1881), CO 883/2, Item 82.

growth, this tax, instead of being about 12-1/2 per cent, in reality amounted to over 20 per cent. Then again, when the wine was made, an excise duty of 10 per cent was levied, and on export a tax of 8 per cent had to be paid.⁶¹³ Another tax was levied for the privilege of entering the marketplace. As Mrs. Scott-Stevenson observed at Limassol:

Wine is the staple article of commerce at Limassol. Colonel Warren told me that this year (1879) seventy-five thousand tuns had been brought into the town from the neighbouring vineyards. It was a curious sight seeing the hundreds of donkeys, all standing in a large square, called a khan, which has been built to receive them. Each driver as he arrives must pay a toll of a halfpenny for leave to enter the market; and as sometimes two thousand come in on a single day, especially Fridays and Saturdays, a large part of the revenue of the district must be derived from this tax.⁶¹⁴

The natural consequence of these excessive impositions was “the diminution of a culture of which the island is particularly adapted”, according to Savile. He and Consul Lang agreed that it might be wise to free this production from all tax, except a proper export duty.⁶¹⁵

The problem of the wine tithe disappeared in January 1879, when the export duty, levied before taking wine to market, and the permit required to move wine both were abolished, but this led to a new problem. The grower now sold his wine to the best market available, making such large profits “that he became intoxicated with his success”, according to one report, and he demanded higher and higher prices. The wine merchants paid the high prices but then could not sell the wine at a profit. This cycle especially affected the wine trade with France, which, according to the Chief Collector of

⁶¹³ Report on the state of Cyprus, by Captain A. R. Savile, 1878, WO 106/6112.

⁶¹⁴ Scott-Stevenson, *Our Home in Cyprus*, p. 221.

⁶¹⁵ Report on the state of Cyprus, by Captain A. R. Savile, 1878, WO 106/6112.

Customs, ceased altogether in June 1881. Additional injury occurred with the discovery of Cyprus wine colored with aniline dyes. After a whole consignment of aniline colored Cyprus wine was thrown into the sea at Marseilles, the Cyprus government took immediate steps for the detection and prosecution of those who sold “adulterated wine,” and French confidence seemed restored. The Cyprus wine trade with France bustled in 1880 and up to June, 1881, during which time no new taxes burdened Cyprus growers. After that it fluctuated, and officials sought additional remedies such as an export tax on wine and grapes, for increasing wine production and foreign trade.⁶¹⁶

The first law enacted in the new Legislative Council in 1884 removed the tithe on wine grapes.⁶¹⁷ Also, in the Limassol district, the Council passed laws providing for the construction of some 40 miles of road, mostly through the mountains, to connect some of the principal wine-making villages with the port of Limassol. When Biddulph visited the area, he testified to “the great interest taken by the inhabitants in this movement, the willingness they express to carry out the obligations imposed on them by this law, as regards providing the necessary lands and contributing to the cost of the work.”⁶¹⁸ This process of inhabitants contributing land and labor to the wine roads succeeded so greatly that other villages followed suit.⁶¹⁹ Within a year the road was completed as far as Omodhos, only five miles short of the target at Platres.⁶²⁰ In 1886 by Government

⁶¹⁶ Report on Finances and Administration of Cyprus, Sir R. Biddulph’s Reply to Mr. Fairfields Memorandum (in continuation of Mediterranean, No. 5), May 1883, CO 883/2.

⁶¹⁷ PP1884 C. 4188, liv, 6 [662], cited in Susan Gole, *Cyprus on the Table* (Nicosia, 1996), p. 17, note 11.

⁶¹⁸ PP 1886 C. 4694, xlvi, 24-25 [284-85], cited in Gole, p. 17, note 11.

⁶¹⁹ PP 1887 C. 4961, lviii, 71 [129], cited in Gole, p. 18, note 13.

⁶²⁰ PP 1888 C, 5251, lxxiii, 17 [203], cited in Gole, p. 18, note 14.

Engineer S. Brown created a map called the *Limassol Wine Roads* (fig. 6.3).⁶²¹ Colonel Warren noted in 1880 that this “military road... has opened out the great districts of wine cultivation by allowing the mules to traverse the country in the darkest nights, thus insuring that the wine escapes risk of exposure to the sun.”⁶²² In the same year Biddulph favored a plan to retain excise on wine but remit the tithing of grapes, with the addition of a ten percent export duty on raisins. The plan would also raise the fixed land tax on vineyards “to make up for the loss of tithing on so much of the grapes as are consumed as grapes in the island, or turned into wine drunk in the island.”⁶²³ These measures emphasized increasing the foreign wine trade, although Herbert Kitchener would critically remark that, although the hill-slopes grow vines in profusion, the vineyards failed to reach their potential under British rule, and “Had the island been taken over by France, instead of England, the French would have soon developed the wine-trade enormously. All that is wanted is capital to clear the scrub and plant the vines.”⁶²⁴

The Government expansion of the wine industry after the first decade of the occupation can be followed in the High Commissioners’ reports for those years. From 1889 through 1896, Cypriots produced between around 2 million to 4 million gallons of wine. Exports rose slightly in 1890-91, but remained fairly consistent (fig. 6.3). While Cypriots imported 13,455 gallons of beer and ale in 1897 and 15,386 gallons in 1898, the local Commandaria wine exported increased from 51,472 gallons to 61,099 gallons in

⁶²¹ *Limassol Wine Roads*, 1886, 4 miles equals 10 cm., 51 x 51.5 cm, by S. Brown, Government Engineer, Aug. 20, 1880 (recto 1886), Enclosure in Sir H. Bulwer’s despatch of Aug. 20, 1886, PRO MFQ 799 (2), cited and illustrated in Gole, *Cyprus on the Table*, p. 43.

⁶²² Cited in Cyprus Memorandum on Financial Questions, p. 4, CO 883/2/10

⁶²³ Cyprus Memorandum on Financial Questions, p. 12, CO 883/2/10

⁶²⁴ J. B. Rye and H. G. Groser, *Kitchener in His Own Words* (London, 1917), pp. 50-51.

those years, and wine listed as “other sorts” went from 1,307,739 gallons to 1,211,657 gallons.⁶²⁵

	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Value</u>
	Gallons	£
1889	1,316,095	39,246
1890	1,468,007	53,698
1891	1,612,403	46,926
1892	1,608,593	32,800
1893	990,867	26,453
1894	1,187,132	24,388
1895	1,226,538	23,823
1896	1,472,578	30,469
1897	1,359,199	29,515
1898	1,272,710	38,638

Figure 6.3. Exports of wine from Cyprus, 1889-1898.⁶²⁶

Despite these fairly consistent numbers, in 1900 Haynes Smith explained that the export trade in “the most important manufacture of the Island” languished because of inconsistent production:

At present there are about 11,000 peasants each of whom manufactures wine, and 700 who manufacture spirits. Each peasant makes his wine in his earthenware pots, and each potful is of different quality and is different each year. The peasant takes his wine from these pots and puts it in tarred skins for transport on a mule or donkey to the town, and the merchant mixes these different products into a blend, which, with the cost of manufacture and transport, is valued at prices which have fluctuated during the ten years.⁶²⁷

The government continued to work toward higher yields and relative prices.

⁶²⁵ Cyprus Report for 1898-9, presented to both houses of Parliament, June 1900, High Commissioner Sir W. F. Haynes Smith to Mr. Chamberlain, 30 Jan. 1900, pp. 15, 21.

⁶²⁶ From Cyprus Report for 1898-9, presented to both houses of Parliament, June 1900, High Commissioner Sir W. F. Haynes Smith to Mr. Chamberlain, 30 Jan. 1900, p. 29.

⁶²⁷ Ibid.

Private British and foreign wine companies on Cyprus generally lasted only a few years. The Cyprus Wine Company held an office at 20 Princes Street, Cavendish Square, London, as of May 5, 1887. On August 27, 1887, the office moved to 3 Crown Court Buildings, Old Broad Street, London. In 1890, the company's members listed their personal addresses as Limassol, Cyprus. By January 1894, the government listed the company as "not in business" and dissolved it on August 3, 1894.⁶²⁸ Another venture, The Centaur Wine Company of Cyprus, opened an office at Dashwood House No. 9, New Broad Street, London, on Nov. 8, 1909, headed by Percy F. Chaplain and Wm. G. Masters, who already had premises at Perafedhi, Cyprus, formerly of Perapedhi Wine Association in Cyprus. The board of directors included Lawrence Chaplin and D. Leopold Moritz, both wine merchants from Hamburg, and M. Wm. George, listed as a "gentleman" at 42 Bleinham Gardens, Cricklewood. On August 9, 1911, the company moved to Gray's Inn in London, then liquidated on Dec. 1, 1913. The "final winding-up meeting" was May 22, 1916.⁶²⁹

There are several possible reasons for the failure of the private wine businesses. Throughout the occupation, efforts by administrators to bolster the wine trade were hampered by import and export duties levied by the Colonial Office, and by conditions in the European market. In some periods, peasants found it more profitable to turn their grapes into raisins because of the system of taxation: grapes were taxed according to their quantities in the field rather than at market, and often the peasant had to wait too long for the assessor to reach their field. In these cases, the grapes sometimes rotted before they

⁶²⁸ BT 31/3829/24063

⁶²⁹ BT 31/12975/105827

could get to market. The grape phylloxera disease that spread throughout France, Italy and Germany in the mid- to late-nineteenth century also affected wine supplies, and the peasants were slow to accept modern production methods to respond with increased production.

Summary

In addition to providing basic food staples, sponges, mules and donkeys, Cyprus became a site for production of luxury items like wine, silk, and experimental crops in American cotton, for local consumption as well as for trade within the Empire and in Europe. In November, 1878, M. Phillipot proposed a scheme for the assessment and re-cultivation of Cyprus vineyards, although it is unclear if the proposal was accepted⁶³⁰, and other private companies invested in the wine industry. Investment in the production of other Mediterranean items was less attractive; olive oil production, for example, suffered because olive trees were frequently cut down for fire wood.⁶³¹ In general, however, the revitalization of commerce and trade, despite the failure of outside private firms, succeeded at a slow but steady pace under British rule due to government programs.

Yet the revitalization of the island relied on more than cash investment. The regeneration of forests and agricultural lands, clean drinking water and irrigation for crops, and better sanitation and the treatment of diseases were important programs that, at the end of the nineteenth century benefitted from the expansion of colonial science throughout the

⁶³⁰ Letter from R. Giffen to Lord Salisbury, Undersecretary of State, Foreign Office, Office of Committee of Privy Council for Trade, Nov. 19, 1878, CO 67/3.

⁶³¹ Report on the Sanitary Condition and Drainage of the District of Famagusta and the Mesaoria in Cyprus, by the Chevalier David Bocci, Chief Engineer, Royal Engineers, Parma, June 5, 1880 (Colonial Office, Nov. 1881), CO 883/2.

empire. The following chapter examines the issues of sanitation, reforestation and colonial science in Cyprus.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Sanitation, reforestation, and colonial science

Sanitation and the problem of disease

In the early years of the occupation, progress and revitalization were hampered by problems of diseases like malaria that affected Cypriot and British alike. Like other colonies, Britons as agents of Empire also benefited from advances in colonial science; in many ways, in fact, Cyprus was a test case in that various approaches were used before these methods in science took hold. New approaches in sanitation and reforestation were attempted by local administrators, and finally by scientific experts. This was a period during which colonial scientists were accepted by the Colonial Office as the experts over the men on the spot.⁶³² Cyprus especially became a site of contention between the colonial expert and local administrators.

The treatment of endemic diseases, especially those called “fevers” by the native population and “ague” by the British, was one of the new administration’s most pressing concerns. “Roman fever” was identified in Italy in the 1880s by the medical profession as typhoid, but in Cyprus “fever” generally referred to malaria. Malaria afflicted both natives and European visitors from Italy, Sicily, and Algiers east to the Ionian Islands, Anatolia and throughout Cyprus⁶³³, but the disease seemed to afflict Europeans traveling or living in these areas more seriously than the indigenous population.⁶³⁴ For example, Dr. Joseph Schroeter, who in 1894 undertook a scientific expedition through Cyprus,

⁶³² See Joseph Hodge, *Triumph of the Expert* (Athens, Ohio, 2007).

⁶³³ John Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion* (Oxford, 1987), p. 242.

⁶³⁴ Mediterranean, No. 16, Second Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of Cyprus for the year 1881, Colonial Office April 1883, CO 883/2, Enclosure, p. 4.

Cilicia and the Taurus mountains in southern Turkey, contracted malaria “which developed into a fever upon his return home... in one of these attacks, which kept him upon a sick bed for only a few hours, he expired.”⁶³⁵ On Cyprus, David Bocci, Chief Engineer of the Royal Engineers, noted that “The mortality in 1878 was very great, and more so among foreigners than the indigenous population, as would naturally be the case.” He also noticed that the manner in which malaria affected the English troops, British civilians and the Cypriot population varied in intensity each year and each season:

It is known, from oral information, that the summer and autumn following upon a rainy year are always exceptionally dominated by intermittent fevers and cognate diseases. During the years of drought, which are the most frequent, the public health is always better...When the season is *propitious* (to agriculture) then intermittent, typhoid and pernicious fevers are frequent and of a malignant type. The English troops know this well, having experienced it shortly after landing on the island.⁶³⁶

Mrs. Scott-Stevenson wrote in 1879 that of the officers stationed at Famagusta, all had suffered most severely from fever, and “although manfully upholding their own district, I do not believe one of them enjoys a day’s perfect health.”

Mrs.-Scott-Stevenson blamed the existence of brackish water in the neighborhood, and the “constant oozing of the water from under the soil” for making Famagusta unfit as a residence for the English.⁶³⁷ A year or two later the health of the British population benefitted from “the good dwelling-houses and food now

⁶³⁵ J.C.A., “Dr. Joseph Schroeter”, *Botanical Gazette*, Vol. 20, No. 5 (May 1897), pp. 230-232. Schroeter was an eminent German mycologist who had made the study of parasitic forms of fungi his life’s work.

⁶³⁶ “Report on the Sanitary condition and Drainage of the District of Famagusta and the Mesaoria in Cyprus”, by the Chevalier David Bocci, Chief Engineer, Royal Engineers, Parma, June 5, 1880, CO 883/2.

⁶³⁷ Esmé Scott-Stevenson, *Our Home in Cyprus* (1880, 3rd ed.), pp. 284-5.

obtainable”⁶³⁸, but in 1878, stagnant water and the insalubriousness of the climate was a problem for most of the island. The treatment of these became of utmost urgency in British development schemes.

Malaria at this point was not yet attributed to disease-carrying mosquitoes; rather, most Cypriots and British believed that poor sanitation and stagnant water allowed “bad air” to infiltrate human and animal lungs and cause fever and other maladies. Captain Savile described “a white fog or vapour [that] ascends in the hottest weather, spreads over the whole of the adjacent country, and gives rise to ague and various intermittent fevers.”⁶³⁹ Adrian Dingli added to bad air the problems of filth and polluted water:

It is maintained by competent men that such malaria as exists in Cyprus, originates, as elsewhere, in removable causes, viz., stagnant waters in many places—large tracts of land under no sort of cultivation, with no trees, and probably with some water under a dry fissured surface,—the great, all-pervading, accumulation of filth in towns,—and polluted water. A benevolent Pasha, years ago, left his property to the Evkaf...for the preservation, good condition, of an aqueduct, by which beautiful water, in abundance, runs to Larnaca; but, from a point where the so called Tchiflick camp has been established, down to the town, the conduits are in various parts, uncovered for the benefit of dogs, sheep, pigs, and cattle; and the water reaches Larnaca in a most disgusting state. Houses in that town are generally furnished with filters; but I have reason to believe that all or many of those filters are unprovided with charcoal, the substance indicated for purification from organic matter. Water from those filters had still an unpleasant taste; and the two English gentlemen who lived in the house where I was, used, like myself, to pass it again through our own filters. Surely, many of the lower classes drink the Larnaca water, altogether unfiltered.⁶⁴⁰

⁶³⁸ Mediterranean No. 16, Second Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of Cyprus for the year 1881, Colonial Office April 1883, CO 883/2.

⁶³⁹ “Cyprus, compiled in the Intelligence Branch, Quarter-Master-General’s Department, Horse Guards, by Captain A. R. Savile”, London 1878, WO 106/6112.

⁶⁴⁰ Memorandum, Maltese Emigration to Cyprus, submitted to His Excellency the Governor by the Crown Advocate, A. Dingli, Oct. 17, 1878, CO 67/3, pp. 6-7. Dingli was trying to make the case that uncultivated land should be redeveloped by Maltese immigrants.

Dingli suggested that the lower classes drank unfiltered drinking water but that charcoal filters did not always work in upper class households either.

Assuming that “fever” was caused by poor sanitation and water drainage in the towns, the Government appointed Bocci to report on the sanitary conditions and drainage in Famagusta. He found that no assessments or surveys of Famagusta had ever been made, which discouraged him, but more perplexingly found “the lakes, pools, and marshes utterly devoid of water,” and the rivers with “no visible beds, such as would enable the student to form, from their appearance, an idea of their disposition, nature, and force.”⁶⁴¹ Bocci was frustrated:

How I was, under these circumstances, to study natural hydraulics, without water and without visible beds, without udometric (hodometric?) and hydrometric data, and, to add to my misfortunes, without any knowledge of the altimetry of the drainage-basins and the direction of the “Thalwege” (water-channels), I leave all those to judge who are at all acquainted with such matters.⁶⁴²

Bocci complained that the leveling instrument the Island Government provided “was a fairly good one (Adie, Optician, 15 Pall Mall, London), with an object-glass of 41 millimetres of thirty-fold magnifying power, fitted with compass, microscope, and ordinary air-level” but the axis of rotation “was not, however, vertical when the level set rue stood horizontally”.

Yet Bocci managed to carry out planimetric and altimetric surveys of the principal water courses, lakes, pools, and marshes. This alleviated to some extent the

⁶⁴¹ Report on the Sanitary condition and Drainage of the District of Famagusta and the Mesaoria in Cyprus, by the Chevalier David Bocci, Chief Engineer, Royal Engineers, Parma, June 5, 1880, CO 883/2.

⁶⁴² Ibid.

problem of having found only one geographical map of the Island of Cyprus (on a scale of 1:266,666), which “abounded with great and numerous errors respecting the course of rivers, position of localities, and orography,” and compelled him to make the necessary corrections “so as to leave me a picture something like the reality.”⁶⁴³ He also employed a staff consisting of Luigi Luigi, pupil-engineer, M. Gaietti, expert assistant acquainted with the territory, and a *dragoman* (interpreter), as well as muleteers carrying a camp-tent, provisions, blankets, mattresses, and other necessities. Fanning out from Famagusta, Bocci made an inspection tour which lasted 34 days, noting that “The sun was, during the whole time, antagonistic to our enterprise, and the refraction frequently augmented the difficulties usually encountered in making surveys and observations.”⁶⁴⁴

Bocci describes periods of drought and the absorption of soils, soil quality, and wind directions with precise statistics. He also notes “conditions favourable for the organic creation of parasitic plants and cryptogamic sporules, which are now recognized as the efficient causes of endemic diseases, such as the *Bacillus malariae* of Tommasi-Crudeli and Klebs.” Even the port at Famagusta had “a putrescent bottom and pestiferous drains, which envelop the city in noxious exhalations...”⁶⁴⁵ He recommends that the purification of the air should be a cooperative effort between the hydraulic engineer and the agriculturist, supported by the government:

In these places [Famagusta, Limassol, and Larnaca] the elements for producing malaria are never wanting...But not only is malaria generated in the drains of the lakes and in the lakes themselves when the water is scanty,

⁶⁴³ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid. notes 62 and 63.

as in the marshes, but this occurs also in the waste lands, not cultivated by man, where, although no pools are seen, yet the water sinks in and remains stagnant in the nearest sub-strata... the purification of the air is not only the work of the hydraulic engineer, but also that of the agriculturist, and Cyprus abounds with lands requiring the co-operation of both.⁶⁴⁶

However, Bocci assures the Cypriots that the British will solve these problems:

... I trust the honest inhabitants of Cyprus will bear with me if I say that the air of their poetical island is anything but good. The Cypriotes need not fear, however, that the British Government, precise as it is in the management of its own affairs, will fall into the error of neglecting to employ the needful capital for the benefit of the island of Cyprus in such works as are necessary and useful at the present time, rather than in such as may become so in a problematical or too remote future.⁶⁴⁷

He had, of course, had no authority to promise “needful capital” without consulting the Government, and indeed such capital was slow in coming.

Administrators, scientists, the Colonial Office and politicians would argue for decades over funding for and the proper approach to sanitation and the alleviation of the malaria problem. Various schemes including new sanitation systems and the replanting of forests and crops in uncultivated areas were attempted in subsequent decades.

In the meantime, the new local administrators provided some preventive and curative health care for native Cypriots as well as for the British staff. District Medical Officers were assigned to Larnaca, Limassol, Nicosia, Famagusta, Papho, and Kyrenia. Surgeon-Major Falwasser (Army Medical Department) acted as civil surgeon to the civil

⁶⁴⁶ Report on the Sanitary condition and Drainage of the District of Famagusta and the Mesaoria in Cyprus, by the Chevalier David Bocci, Chief Engineer, Royal Engineers, Parma, June 5, 1880, CO 883/2.

⁶⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, note 64.

staff in the camp on Tröodos. Other medical men were appointed as “vaccinators”⁶⁴⁸.

Mrs. Scott-Stevenson describes staff doctors who were required to keep a dispensary next to their house and to dispense drugs (except quinine) and vaccinations *gratis* to the poor:

Mr. William Johnson, the gentleman first appointed to the district of Kyrenia, worked most arduously amongst the poor, and did all in his power to reclaim them from the state of neglect in which he found them. He was succeeded by Dr. Manifold Craig, who most ably continued the work, and whose advice was of the greatest assistance to the Commissioners and to my husband in carrying out sanitary improvements among the natives.

One bright winter morning in January, I went down to the doctor’s house to see a “vaccination party”. I found about sixty women and children with a few men assembled in the quarantine yard. The women were mostly Greeks, and the children of every description, size, and age.⁶⁴⁹

Mrs. Scott-Stevenson wrote that she “sat in state in an arm-chair at the top of the yard” as the doctor went round and examined “the fat little arms”.⁶⁵⁰

During 1881 there were 6,947 persons vaccinated (against “fevers”) by the Medical Department, up from 4,522 in 1880. Of these, 493 were revaccinations that proved more successful than the first round. Many revaccinations were done as a safeguard because of the prevalence of small-pox in the Levant and especially for members of the police force who frequently acted as quarantine guards. A number of police were also treated for venereal diseases including syphilis and gonorrhoea.⁶⁵¹ This is significant in relation to malaria in that reported venereal diseases totaled almost half the

⁶⁴⁸ Mediterranean No. 16, Second Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of Cyprus for the year 1881, Colonial Office April 1883, CO 883/2, pp. 3-5.

⁶⁴⁹ Esmé Scott-Stevenson, *Our Home in Cyprus* (1880, 3rd ed.), pp. 128-9.

⁶⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵¹ Mediterranean No. 16, Second Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of Cyprus for the year 1881, Colonial Office April 1883, CO 883/2.

number of malaria cases. The district dispensaries reported in 1881 a total of 1,557 cases of malaria, 338 of syphilis and 320 of gonorrhœa.⁶⁵² It might be assumed that more cases went unreported.

Among the general population, shame and profession seemed to affect the number of those seeking treatment for venereal diseases. Dr. Barry, the Sanitary Commissioner, noted frequent cases of venereal disease at Limassol and Paphos, the latter where “Syphilis and gonorrhœa has increased in the district, although owing to shame on the part of the persons suffering, the number attending at the dispensary has been comparatively small.”⁶⁵³ Arab prostitutes were the only venereal disease patients at the “lock hospital” established by the municipality of Limassol (where the government supplied medical attendants and medicines):

From the returns it appears that the Arab prostitutes are the only ones who take advantage of the institution, and of these 54 have apparently presented themselves regularly for examination by the medical officer. Of these eight are stated to be natives of Constantinople, seven of Beyrouth, one of Salonica, one of Alexandria, 13 of Limassol and four of Nikosia, 18 were stated to be married, 16 unmarried. Of the total number under examination during the year, 14 were treated for gonorrhœa, 11 for primary syphilis, two for secondary syphilis, and seven for condylomata.⁶⁵⁴

According to Barry’s report, a sanitary bill being considered, based on the English Public Health Act, would transfer the local municipality and small village medical facilities, like the lock hospital, to Government control in order to better manage and improve them.

⁶⁵² Ibid., pp. 19-20.

⁶⁵³ Ibid., p. 19. F. W. Barry, Esq., M. D. was appointed Sanitary Commissioner in April 1880 (*The Cyprus Gazette*, April 23, 1880, CO 70/1), but the office of Sanitary Commissioner was abolished in 1882 (*The Cyprus Gazette*, Sept. 16, 1882, CO 70/1).

⁶⁵⁴ Mediterranean No. 16, Second Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of Cyprus for the year 1881, Colonial Office April 1883, CO 883/2., p. 19.

From sanitary condition reports from the various districts, one gets a view of the diseases and the progress in combating those diseases. According to the 1882 report for Larnaca, the British erected a hospital on land donated by Mr. R. Mattei. The administration of the hospital fell to a Committee of Subscribers, the Government making an allowance of 50*l.* per year toward expenses, and supplying medical attendance and drugs *gratis*. F. C. Heidenstam, the District Medical Officer stationed in Larnaca, wrote in February that during the year 113 civilians were admitted to the Larnaca hospital (most from outlying areas), and 3,485 attended the dispensary. The prevalent diseases were “fever” and ophthalmia. The fever was due to marsh miasma, although by this time in Larnaca the water supply was well regulated and the few ponds of water and muddy streams had been drained or filled in under British rule.⁶⁵⁵ However,

The land in the low plains, where you meet with arid dry soil almost completely void of vegetation, has existing a few feet below the surface swamps of water, lying between beds of sandy and argillaceous formation, largely impregnated with organic vegetable matter, which, favoured by a hot climate and a humid atmosphere greatly saturated with aqueous vapours form the malaria, easily evaporate through the dry and porous surface of the soil when parched by the summer heat. This miasma is carried by currents of air to other localities, thus accounting for fever being met with in a sort of epidemic form.⁶⁵⁶

Heidenstam recommended filling the subsoil marshes with large plantations, which the government had already begun.

The Larnaca hospital was the site of an experiment to educate Cypriot young men for subordinate medical appointments. Five such young men were instructed by Dr.

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid., Appendix F, Report for Larnaca District.

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid.

Heidenstam in practical dispensing and the compounding of medicines, in the elements of “*materia medica*”, and in the general duties of hospital assistants. All five passed examinations and were appointed to districts as subordinate medical staff.⁶⁵⁷ In addition, new doctors arrived in Cyprus periodically with expertise gained at various institutions in London, Beirut, Pisa, Naples, Athens, and Cairo (fig. 7.1).

By 1881, in addition to the new hospital at Larnaca, a government hospital operated in Limassol and a new small hospital entirely maintained by voluntary contributions opened in Paphos.⁶⁵⁸ Ophthalmia, a disease of the cornea prevalent among out-patients at the hospital, generally existed from mid-August to mid-October, but had been so severe that the peasantry referred to this year as the “epoch of ophthalmia”. Heidenstam blamed the origin of this disease “after some years of careful study on this subject” on “atmospherial local influences recurring every year sporadically and occasionally epidemically”, but credited the new dispensaries for checking the disease in its primary state. Vaccinations of various kinds were regularly performed in this district except in the winter months, when the inhabitants “have prejudice against this operation in the cold weather.” The vaccinators by this time were trained in the dispensary and served satisfactorily.⁶⁵⁹

⁶⁵⁷ Mediterranean No. 16, Second Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of Cyprus for the year 1881, Colonial Office April 1883, CO 883/2.

⁶⁵⁸ Mediterranean No. 16, Second Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of Cyprus for the year 1881, Colonial Office April 1883, CO 883/2.

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid., Appendix F, Report for Larnaca District.

Examples of new medical practitioners on Cyprus, 1880-1889

<u>Location of training</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Assignment</u>
St. Andrews and London:	W. H. Cullen	Nicosia ⁶⁶⁰
Beirut:	Amin Mughabghab	Paphos ⁶⁶¹
Pisa:	Peter Avjevinos	Nicosia ⁶⁶²
Naples:	Joseph Gianquitti	Morphou
	(licensed to practice as an Officier de Santé ⁶⁶³)	
Athens:	Nicholas T. Dervin ⁶⁶⁴	Limassol
	Michael D. Demakis ⁶⁶⁵	Limassol
	Kyriaco Hj. Michail	Famagusta ⁶⁶⁶
	Antonio Theodotou ⁶⁶⁷	Nicosia
	(all as “first class medical men”)	
Cairo:	Said Serkes Harfoush	Officier de Santé ⁶⁶⁸

Figure 7.1. Examples of new medical practitioners on Cyprus, 1880-1889.
From *The Cyprus Gazette*, 1880-1889

Also at Limassol was a dispensary to treat human maladies as well as diseases like smallpox among goats and foot-and-mouth disease among cattle. A system of quarantine proved to contain the diseases. The foot-and-mouth disease was determined to have come from a black cow, a Caramanian breed that must have been smuggled in from the Island of Caramania. Cattle were often smuggled in from Caramania or Syria to sell to cattle dealers on Cyprus.⁶⁶⁹ In Nicosia, W. H. Cullen, District Medical Officer, reported that patients attending the dispensary there increased from 1, 167 in 1880 to 1,754 in 1881. He complained however, about the unclean habits of the peasants:

⁶⁶⁰ *The Cyprus Gazette*, Dec. 8, 1880, CO 70/1.

⁶⁶¹ *The Cyprus Gazette*, Dec. 8, 1880, CO 70/1.

⁶⁶² *The Cyprus Gazette*, Jan. 19, 1881, CO 70/1.

⁶⁶³ *The Cyprus Gazette*, Nov. 7, 1885, CO 70/2.

⁶⁶⁴ *The Cyprus Gazette*, Feb. 14, 1885, CO 70/2.

⁶⁶⁵ *The Cyprus Gazette*, Sept. 12, 1885, CO 70/2.

⁶⁶⁶ *The Cyprus Gazette*, Nov. 1, 1889, CO 70/2.

⁶⁶⁷ *The Cyprus Gazette*, April 18, 1890, CO 70/3.

⁶⁶⁸ *The Cyprus Gazette*, May 17, 1889, CO 70/2.

⁶⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Appendix G and Appendix H, Report for Limassol District.

It will require yet some time before the prejudices of the Cypriote peasants can be overcome and they can be induced to apply at the commencement of the disease. Their ignorance and indifference are truly lamentable, and hardly credible, and I have had during the last six months several opportunities unfortunately of seeing blindness caused by their neglect. .. They have the greatest possible dread of an operation, and I am compelled to add nearly as much dislike to the use of water, and this want of cleanliness aggravates especially all affections of the eyes...Then again they appear to imagine that one visit to the dispensary and one bottle of medicine ought to cure any disease.⁶⁷⁰

The resistance of peasants to treatment for eye diseases probably contributed to the high incidence of ophthalmia (mentioned above).

Cullen notes that the upper story of the dispensary formerly used by the Turks as a hospital was repaired and refitted for the same purpose, and observing the difference between Greek and Turkish patients, comments that the Turks “have fortunately no objection to or superstitious dread of vaccination, and in this immediate neighbourhood 628 children have been efficiently protected, and no case of small-pox has been heard of.”⁶⁷¹ A chart shows a sample of the cases treated by the Civil Medical Department in 1880 to 1881 (fig. 7.2).

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid., Appendix E, Report for Nikosia District.

⁶⁷¹ Ibid.

Number of cases treated by the Civil Medical Department in Cyprus, 1880-1881

Cases	Number Treated		Died		Percentage of Deaths to Cases treated	
	1880	1881	1880	1881	1880	1881
Larnaka and Limassol civil hospitals	436	229	6	11	1-37	4-80
Sick police	506	705	3	--	-59	0-00
Sick prisoners (excluding executions)	714	874	2	3	-28	-34
Lock hospital, Limassol	24	34	--	--	--	--
Lunatic asylum	--	--	--	--	--	--
Leper farm	58	55	2	7	3-4	12-72
Total indoor	1,738	1,897	13	21	0-74	1-11
Six outdoor dispensaries	5,825	7,363	No record			
Cases treated by D. M. O. traveling (not classified)	1,200					
Total treated indoor and outdoor	7,563	10,460 = increase 2,897 cases				

Figure 7.2. Number of cases treated by the Civil Medical Department in Cyprus, 1880-1881. From Mediterranean No. 16, Second Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of Cyprus for the year 1881, Colonial Office April 1883, CO 883/2, p. 21.

A new hospital was opened in Nicosia in 1892, intended to be a Central Hospital for the treatment of serious cases of disease and injury from all parts of the island, and also for the district of Nicosia. It would treat inpatient and outpatients, for poor and indigent inhabitants (male and female), and especially surgical cases requiring a trained surgeon, but no chronic, maternity, incurable or venereal disease or police cases. Medical staff at this hospital included a Chief Medical Officer, a District Medical Officer, and two Compounders who lived on the premises (not to leave without permission), and maintained the stock of drugs, instruments, and appliances. Also living on the premises was a Lady Superintendent. She was responsible for internal arrangements of the hospital, under the direction of the Chief Medical Officer, and served

as Secretary and Treasurer. She also supervised diets and was in charge of nurses, cooks, and other staff. There were nurses, attendants, a cook, a laundress, and a water carrier and conservancy man (for water and latrines), and an interpreter.⁶⁷² Also in 1892, chemists and druggists were regulated by the government.⁶⁷³

In 1883, Dr. Barry reported an entire absence from the island, in an epidemic form, of any of the seven chief specific zymotic diseases. However, some mild cases of ague (malaria) and remittent fever occurred in July, August and September, developed by the action of extreme heat on the soil (reaching 111 degrees on August 28), permeated with decayed vegetable matter, followed by a heavy downpour of rain. The rain fell only in a certain area, and the fever occurred only in that area:

[The rain] affected only a certain portion of the Messarian plain, extending from a few miles to the west of Nikosia to an undetermined point within...To the north the rainfall was bounded by the Kyrenia range, but towards the south the rain appears to have affected the country in a progressively decreasing ratio to the coast, only one-fiftieth of an inch being registered at the Larnaka Station. Within the area so defined the abnormal prevalence of fever occurred.⁶⁷⁴

The fever was of the “Quotidian type” easily treatable by quinine, but Barry drew up a memorandum based on one issued by the Indian Government a few years previously, pointing out the chief sanitary defects in the towns and remedial measures that should be taken.

⁶⁷² *The Cyprus Gazette*, April 8, 1892, CO 70/3.

⁶⁷³ High Commissioner Walter Sendall issued the law on August 10, 1892. *The Cyprus Gazette*, Sept. 2, 1892, Supplement, CO 70/3.

⁶⁷⁴ Mediterranean No. 16, Second Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of Cyprus for the year 1881, Colonial Office April 1883, CO 883/2. District Medical Officers were assigned to Larnaca, Limassol, Nikosia, Famagusta, Papho, and Kyrenia. Surgeon-Major Falwasser, Army Medical Department, acted as civil surgeon to the civil staff in camp on Troodos.

“In Nikosia itself,” Barry observed, “there can be no doubt that the practice of running water through the streets in open grips cut in the soil, for the purpose of irrigating gardens, is most dangerous.”⁶⁷⁵ In 1881, Samuel Browne, the Government Engineer, recommended that the British government take control of all water rights:

There are, at the present time, continual quarrels and law suits concerning water rights, which are most difficult to settle, and the late Judicial Commissioner, Sir L. Phillips, was strongly of opinion that they would never be satisfactorily settled unless the Government assumed the whole control of the water supply. The subject is complicated by the fact that water rights have anciently been given by Imperial firman, so that in some cases the persons who own land near the source of a stream have no right to use any of the water for irrigation, but are compelled to leave it to the owner of the water, who lives many miles lower down...

The existing water supply does not irrigate one half of the land that it might do. The water is allowed to find its way along the roads or through tortuous earthen ditches, which waste an enormous quantity; and if the Government were to assume control of the sources I believe they could supply all those who now get the water with as much as they require and have a considerable amount to spare.⁶⁷⁶

According to Browne, water was being misused, misdirected and wasted.

While all parties agreed that Government control of the water supply would make it more efficient, they were discouraged by the great expense of boring artesian wells. Browne concluded that artesian borings (2,000 feet deep with a bottom diameter of 7 inches) would be too expensive but recommended Government control of the existing water supply, to “concert measures effectively to prevent the waste which now prevails, regulate the distribution of the water on equitable principles, and increase the supply in

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁶ Letter from Sir Biddulph to Earl of Kimberly, from Nicosia, May 18, 1881, referring to enclosed letter from Samuel Browne, Government Engineer, in Mediterranean No. 4, Further Correspondence reflecting the Affairs of Cyprus, July 1883, CO 883/2/4.

the first place by sinking chains of wells in the water-bearing strata (in extension of the present native practice), but above all by constructing storage reservoirs to retain the surplus flood waters of the torrents which now discharge themselves into the sea.”⁶⁷⁷

Regulating the water supply and waste disposal, and providing vaccinations and medicines like quinine on Cyprus reflected similar concerns with disease throughout the British Empire. Early experiments with inoculations against plague, cholera, and typhoid were conducted on prisoners in India during the 1890s and early 1900s (supposedly on volunteer basis).⁶⁷⁸ In England, entrepreneurs saw an opportunity to make money selling purified water in the colonies: bottled water, such as Apollinaris, was frequently advertised in *The Economist* (Fig. 7.3). Then, in July, 1898, the announcement of the discovery that malaria was transmitted not by bad air but by mosquitoes (Fig. 7.4) radically transformed the treatment of “fevers”. Surgeon-Major Ronald Ross of the Indian Medical Service and his mentor, Dr. Patrick Manson, initiated investigations into the transmittance of malaria through various types of mosquitoes in different areas of the world. A program for doctors to learn about malaria was instituted in 1899 at Seamen’s Hospital at the Albert Dock, and later became part of the University of London. In this case, the government was forthcoming with funds, as were other organizations like the Royal Society and private parties.⁶⁷⁹ By early 1900 the Colonial Office had established a

⁶⁷⁷ Letter to Chief Secretary from Samuel Browne, Government Engineer, in Mediterranean No. 4, Further Correspondence reflecting the Affairs of Cyprus, July 1883, CO 883/2/4

⁶⁷⁸ David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1993), pp. 108-9.

⁶⁷⁹ R. V. Kubicek, *The Administration of Imperialism: Joseph Chamberlain at the Colonial Office* (Durham, NC, 1969), Chapter 7, “Science and Empire: The Office Attacks the Mosquito”, pp. 141-153. See also P. H. Manson-Bahr, *History of the School of Tropical Medicine in London* (London, 1956); Douglas M. Haynes, *Imperial Medicine* (Philadelphia, 2001); and Mark Honigsbaum, *The Fever Trail* (NY, 2001).

malaria committee, which agreed with Ross that still pools should be filled in or coated with kerosene, observing that mosquito breeding extended beyond still pools and therefore it was a half-measure. Other prophylactic measures were considered, such as segregating Europeans from the native population, attempted primarily in Africa, and the use of mosquito netting.⁶⁸⁰

⁶⁸⁰ R. V. Kubicek, *Administration of Imperialism* (Durham, NC, 1969), pp. 147-151.

Apollinaris

—
“THE QUEEN OF TABLE WATERS.”
—

*“An especial boon in
places where we cannot
be sure of the purity of
the drinking water.*

*“Dr. HERMANN WEBER,
F. R. C.P.”*

“Probably our travelling
fellow-countrymen owe their
attacks of fever more to
drinking water contaminated
by sewage matter than to the
malarious influences which
pervade certain districts of
Southern Europe. The only
water safe for the traveller to
drink is a natural mineral
water.

“Sir HENRY THOMPSON, F. R. C. S.”

*“I quite agree as to the
danger of drinking water of
doubtful purity. No one need
do this in a country where
Apollinaris may be had at every
hotel.-*

“Dr. FRANCIS PARSONS.”

Fig. 7.3. From an advertisement for Apollinaris drinking water in *The Economist* (London), Vol. XLV, Saturday, January 1, 1887, No. 2, 262, front page.

The Cyprus Gazette

(Published by Authority.)

No. 684]

FRIDAY, 18TH JANUARY, 1901.

(No. 5428.)

THE BURIALS LAW, 1896.

REFERRING to Notification No. 4929, of the 14th October, 1899, contained in Official Gazette No. 644, of the 27th October, 1899, a fit and proper site having been selected and registered as a Christian place of burial in the village of Kathyka, Papho District, namely, a plot of land $1\frac{1}{2}$ donums in extent known by the name of Ayios Noufrios and belonging to the Church of Ay. Noufrio bounded on two sides by road and on the other sides by Yanni Evangelis and Yeorgi Ioanni Sarika, His Excellency the High Commissioner, under the powers vested in him by "The Burials Law, 1896," is pleased to order that, from and after the 1st day of February, 1901, no burial shall take place in the burial-ground in lieu of which the new burial-ground above referred to has been provided.

21st December, 1900. (C.S. 2151/99.)

(No. 5429.)

THE BURIALS LAW, 1896.

WHEREAS it has been reported that the Christian place of burial in the village of Derinia, Famagusta District, is dangerous to health.

Now therefore in pursuance of the powers vested in him by "The Burials Law, 1896," His Excellency the High Commissioner is pleased to order, and it is hereby ordered, that a new burial-ground, in substitution for the aforesaid, shall be provided under the provisions of the said Law.

27th December, 1900. (C.S. 3573/1900.)

(No. 5430.)

THE EDUCATION LAW, 1895.

IN continuation of the Order of the 28th November, 1900, published in the Official Gazette No. 682, of the 21st December, 1900, His Excellency is pleased to order that the village of Engomi shall be grouped with the village of Ayio Dometio for the support of a Girls' School aided by Government as prescribed by the said Order of the 28th November, 1900.

8rd January, 1901. (C.S. 3240/1900.)

(No. 5431.)

GREEK EXAMINATION.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE HIGH COMMISSIONER directs it to be notified that the following Officer has passed the examination in Greek prescribed by the minute of the 5th December, 1894, as amended by subsequent notices:—

Lower Standard.

Mr. H. A. Smallwood, Island Treasurer.

4th January, 1901. (C.S. 3398/1900.)

(No. 5432.)

THE CERTIFYING OFFICERS' LAW, 1888.

UNDER the power and authority vested in him by "The Certifying Officers' Law, 1888," His Excellency the High Commissioner has been pleased to appoint Youssouf Ali, Moukhtar of Louroujina, to act as Certifying Officer in the Nahihs of Deyrmenlik and Dagh.

5th January, 1901. (C.S. 3522/1900.)

(No. 5433.)

MEMORANDUM ON MALARIA.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE HIGH COMMISSIONER is pleased to direct the publication of the following Memorandum, for general information.

5th January, 1901. (C.S. 3519/1900.)

MEASURES TO BE TAKEN FOR THE PREVENTION OF MALARIA, by SIR MICHAEL FOSTER, K.C.B., F.R.S., M.P., and approved by LORD LISTER, President of the Royal Society—28th July, 1900.

Malaria (ague, intermittent fever) is due to the presence in the blood (in the corpuscles of the blood) of a minute organism. An attack of the fever is coincident with, and due to an active phase of, this organism; it then multiplies in a remarkable manner. Between the attacks the organism is quiescent and dormant; it may remain so for a long time.

Recent researches have shown that, at least in the vast majority of cases, probably in all cases, the organism is introduced into the blood, and thus the disease contracted, by the bite of a mosquito, generally, if not always, one species or other of the genus known as anopheles. The anopheles bites a malarious person, i.e., a person whose blood contains the organism, and sucks up with the blood the organism. This organism develops and increases in the body of the anopheles, and there produces germs which pass into the salivary glands and proboscis of the insect. Hence when the mosquito bites another person, it introduces the organism into the blood of that person and so starts the disease.

Every individual anopheles is not necessarily infected with the organism, but in a District where malaria occurs the probability is very great of any anopheles being so infected.

Hence malaria, in the vast majority of cases, probably all cases, may be prevented, by preventing oneself from being bitten by an infected anopheles.

Prevention may be secured—

1. By avoiding all bites of mosquitos.

A. By living in rooms to which the entrance of mosquitos is completely shut off by thin meshed gauzes to windows, doors, &c.

Figure 7.4. "Memorandum on Malaria".in *The Cyprus Gazette*, Friday, Jan. 18, 1901, CO 70/5.

Still an experimental measure with side effects even for Europeans⁶⁸¹, the administration of quinine for protection against malaria became systematically performed in prisons around 1907 in the Punjab, especially during the malarial season from August to November. (When Ramadan fell during that time, Muslims were inoculated after sundown.) Experimenting in prisons afforded controlled conditions for strictly regulated doses and consistent observation, and in a particularly devastating year for malaria, 1908, when over four hundred thousand deaths from malaria were reported in Punjab, prison sickness and mortality rates were significantly below those of the general population.⁶⁸² On Cyprus, no such experiments were reported, but the prison conditions improved under British rule, credited by official reports to better sanitary conditions, new lavatories, good food and water supply (including new ablutions rooms for Muslims), and, for example in Limassol, “no ill effects on their health could be traced to the work performed by the prisoners.” A Prison Committee report in 1880 found the diet to be insufficient for prisoners at hard labor (such as building piles for the new pier at Limassol), but now it was upgraded to include meat two days a week, cheese three days a week, vegetables, rice, and butter one day a week, and bread seven days a week, with fresh fruit in season.⁶⁸³ The Sanitary Commissioner in 1881 commented that of the island population, the prisoners and military police were the only two classes “of which we possess accurate

⁶⁸¹ R. V. Kubicek, *Administration of Imperialism* (Durham, NC, 1969), p. 153, n. 36. Kubicek notes that malaria was not under control for Europeans until the 1940s, when insecticides and man-made drugs with less detrimental side effects than quinine were successfully used. Honigsbaum observes that drugs like Chloroquine and “a promising new insecticide” called DDT were used by the World Health Organization and by the 1950s had virtually wiped out malaria from Cyprus, Greece, Sri Lanka and parts of India. (M. Honigsbaum, *The Fever Trail*, NY, 2001, pp. 224-5)

⁶⁸² David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1993), pp. 108-9.

⁶⁸³ Mediterranean No. 16, Second Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of Cyprus for the year 1881, Colonial Office April 1883, CO 883/2.

knowledge” of the effect of clean dwellings and good sanitary arrangements⁶⁸⁴, presumably because of the controlled environment.

Before the British occupation, Cyprus was one of the chief stations of the International Sanitary Commission. This station was appropriated by the Government in 1878 and used for commissariat, ordnance and other stores. In 1879, the quarantine system was reestablished due to an outbreak of plague in neighboring countries. Information that plague had erupted in Baghdad, and that Egypt, Turkey, and the countries on the Mediterranean were enforcing strict quarantine on arrivals from Syria and the Persian Gulf, reached Cyprus in 1881. “The Quarantine” at Larnaca, under the watch of Dr. Heidenstam, was cleared and fitted for the reception of passengers, luggage and merchandise, and a strict quarantine of three days, with landing of passengers and goods imposed on all vessels arriving from Syria. The quarantine on Syrian ships was enforced until the end of July, when it was extended to other vessels due to a prevalence of small-pox in Asia Minor. These vessels included four British and nine Austrian steamers, and 53 Turkish, one Italian, six Greek, and 23 Cypriot sailing vessels. They held a total of 710 passengers: 15 first-class passengers, 49 second-class passengers, 266 third-class passengers, 341 “pilgrims”, and 39 “paupers”. When the quarantine was lifted, the station was retained permanently and expanded to include space enough to isolate passengers, crew, cargoes and cattle from three ships, and also provided facilities

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid., pp.29- 30.

for the disinfection and storing of hides and skins, which benefited Nicosia's tanning and bootmaking industries.⁶⁸⁵

In March, 187[9?], the Scott-Stevensons made a second visit to Larnaca, which they found much cleaner than before. Drains previously running over the streets now ran under the streets, stray dogs had been banished, and flies disappeared when the merchants were ordered to whitewash the interior of their shops.⁶⁸⁶ Mrs. Scott-Stevenson also describes Government support of a leper village, a small colony living on a farm provided by the Government about a mile and a half from Nicosia, where the ill spent their last days cooking food and trying to find warmth in any sunny corner. She noted that the Government provided three small loaves of bread and twenty pennies a day, supplemented by donations from visitors.⁶⁸⁷ In 1881-82 the leper asylum was put under the management of the Medical Department, although with the exception of bread supplied by the Department, the patients bought their own "most unsuitable food". The government farm housed 39 men and 15 women, of which five men and two women died that year. The official report on the leper farm indicated a considerable improvement in 1881 in the accommodation and treatment of the lepers. The building roofs were repaired, new windows installed and the floors paved with native marble. A washhouse was also provided, to allow proper periodical white-washings and cleansings. About 100 acres of the 120 acres adjacent to the farm were planted with caroub and other trees to "add very greatly to the salubrity of the situation." Four acres were reserved for an orchard and

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid., pp.28- 30.

⁶⁸⁶ Esmé Scott-Stevenson, pp. 202-3.

⁶⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 141-149.

garden and six acres for growing cereals, all of which was worked by the lepers themselves. Chaulmoogra oil, recommended by Surgeon-Major Irving, the first civil surgeon of Nicosia, ameliorated some of the symptoms of leprosy.⁶⁸⁸

Undoubtedly, sanitation and medical care on Cyprus improved within the first few years of the British occupation. The occupation also provided new opportunities for service for British as well as Cypriot and other medical professionals from throughout the Empire, in many cases as their first professional assignment. *The British Medical Journal* reported in 1897 that in Cyprus there was a chief medical officer paid at the rate of £500 per annum, and two district medical officers paid £250 per annum; all enjoying private practice. These were “the only medical appointments in the island which are open to English candidates”. In general, all applicants for ordinary medical employment in the Colonies had to be

between the ages of 23 and 30, and must be doubly qualified: preference will be given to those who have held hospital appointments as house-physicians and house-surgeons; certificates of moral character and of sobriety will be required, and every officer before being appointed will be medically examined by one of the consulting physicians of the Colonial Office—Dr. Patrick Manson, London; Sir D. S. Maclagan, Edinburgh; and Dr. Hawtrey Benson, Dublin. In addition to the ordinary medical appointments, occasionally vacancies occur in the Colonies for specialists to take charge of a lunatic asylum.⁶⁸⁹

The article reported that from April 1887 to April 1888 there were no vacancies in Cyprus, but in 1894-1895 there were 14 vacancies in British Guiana, Cyprus, Fiji, Gold

⁶⁸⁸ Mediterranean No. 16, Second Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of Cyprus for the year 1881, Colonial Office April 1883, CO 883/2, pp. 16-18. Chaulmoogra oil was taken by mouth but had a repulsive taste and smell. Later it was injected but with considerable pain. See Philip Manson-Bahr, *Patrick Manson: The Father of Tropical Medicine* (London, 1962), p. 188.

⁶⁸⁹ “Medical Appointments in the Colonies”, *The British Medical Journal*, Aug. 28, 1897, pp. 558-560.

Coast, Lagos, Leeward Islands, Trinidad, and Windward Islands. The following year there were 15 vacancies in the Gold Coast, Lagos, Gambia, Jamaica, St. Vincent, Straits Settlements, Cyprus and Zululand.

The problems of locusts and goats

In the initial period of British rule on Cyprus, administrators sought not only to bring under control the misuse of government and insufficient medical care but also the devastation of natural resources which Ottoman governance had failed so miserably to reverse. However, at least two persistent natural disadvantages—drought and locusts—contributed to this failure and also hampered British efforts. Under British rule, planting trees benefited the problem of drought, which with the renewal of forests occurred less frequently. But the locust problem was not so easily cured. Despite almost a decade of Ottoman locust programs, in 1878 locusts still swarmed the island:

All the open reservoirs stink with dead locusts...When the locusts are in march you cannot put down your foot without stirring them. I have seen columns of them a mile and a quarter in breadth and half a mile in depth.⁶⁹⁰

Rather than alleviating “the scourge of locusts” (as Lang described it), would-be locust killers had merely bilked the peasants of their money with no result.⁶⁹¹

A previous Ottoman governor, Osman Pasha, attempted to rid the island of locusts, but he died before completing the task. His successors “either levied a tax upon

⁶⁹⁰ R. H. Lang, *Cyprus, Its History* (London, 1878), pp. 249-251.

⁶⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 240-243.

the peasants for the purchase and destruction of locust eggs, or ordained that each peasant should deliver a certain quantity” but most of the cash was misappropriated and accomplished nothing.⁶⁹² An Italian gentleman and large landed proprietor, M. Richard Mattei, furthered the project somewhat when he observed that

in their march the locusts never turned back, whatever was the obstacle in their way. When they got into a town they would spend days in climbing over the walls of the houses if the direction of their march required it, rather than follow the streets and go round corners.⁶⁹³

This led Mattei to conceive a plan using canvas cloths topped with oil-cloth, on which the locusts slipped and fell into newly dug pits, whose sides were lined with zinc over which the locusts could not pass. The pits often filled in about four hours.

After 1878, Mattei’s scheme evolved into a “screen and trap” system using local labor in the various districts with limited success. Biddulph reported to the Colonial Office in August 1883 that the locust destruction project the previous year had leaned too much on the individual efforts of the District Commissioners, and that he had centralized the operations under one head in order to coordinate the very expensive “great mass of material and labour” needed for locust eradication.⁶⁹⁴ Biddulph requested 4, 617*l.* for up to 4,000 additional screens to complete the project.⁶⁹⁵ Samuel Browne, Government

⁶⁹² Ibid., pp. 246-7.

⁶⁹³ Ibid., pp. 248-9.

⁶⁹⁴ Biddulph to the Earl of Derby, received Aug. 1, 1883, No. 251, Mount Troödos, July 18, 1883, in Mediterranean No. 17, Cyprus, Report on the Locust Campaign of 1883 by the Government engineer, Colonial Office August 1883, CO 883/2.

⁶⁹⁵ Ibid. The system is described by Major General E. R. Kenyon of the Royal Engineers (quoted in J. V. Thirgood, *Cyprus: A Chronicle of its Forests, Land, and People*, Vancouver, 1987, p. 344, note 10): “Canvas screens three feet high and 150 feet long were erected at right angles to the line of march of the column of hopping locusts which might be 150 yards to several miles wide. Along the top of each screen was a broad strip of oilcloth, kept slippery by men with sponges full of oil. At intervals were similar

Engineer, who had been assigned to oversee the project, reported that a total of 8,223 screens (made in England and locally) were distributed and laborers paid weekly and then fortnightly by six paymasters, all permanent officials, acting directly under Mr. Bistachi as superintendent paymaster of the Auditor and Accountant-General's office. The "screen and trap" system resulted in 55,478 pits filled with locusts, each when full containing about one cubic yard (about 623-1,005 lbs.). Young locusts, trapped and burned before their wings developed, were nearly wiped out in Larnaca district but less in other areas because of inadequate supply of material. Browne estimated for the whole period of the campaign 4,673,635 locusts per pit for a gross total of between 195,000 to 259,284 millions of locusts destroyed, depending on whether pits were entirely full.⁶⁹⁶

One problem, according to Browne, was that the *nazirs* (locals hired to supervise the local operations) proved "incompetent, idle, and careless" or too unintelligent to carry out instructions, "each man pretending that it is the duty of his neighbour to look after [the locusts]".⁶⁹⁷ Additionally, during harvest time, but sometimes earlier, there was an insufficient supply of labor. Some villagers withheld their services, bargaining on being offered higher rates of pay. Browne complained⁶⁹⁸:

To illustrate the case I may give an example... On approaching the village of Mathiati I found the locusts swarming in the corn fields, and invading the streets of the village itself, crawling out of the pits and outflanking the

vertical oily strips, leading into deep pits lined with zinc strips, and four feet deep, six feet long and three feet wide. The locusts could not pass the oilcloth, fell into the pits "so fast that the sound was like rushing water" and were smothered by shovelfuls of earth."

⁶⁹⁶ Report of the Government Engineer (S. Brown), Nicosia, June 11, 1883, Enclosure in Mediterranean No. 17, Cyprus, Report on the Locust Campaign of 1883 by the Government engineer, Colonial Office August 1883, CO 883/2.

⁶⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁸ Ibid.

screens, which were attended by three or four old men and boys...I found the café full of able-bodied men, who excused themselves on the ground that the wages were insufficient; they demanding 12 copper piastres a day while (as harvest had not begun) we were paying 9 piastres.

Also, since the project began on February 19, the cold windy weather in March and April and the intervention of the Greek Easter holidays slowed the work.

Browne recommended every *zaptieh* possible be spared from other duties and formed into a corps for locust work, perhaps with tongue in cheek calling it a “flying squadron” to be moved rapidly from place to place. He remarked that the outdoor gangs of short sentence prisoners were useful near Nicosia and Larnaca in supplementing free labour. He also recommended that the owners of fallow land where locust eggs are deposited must be required under threat of heavy penalty to plough that land to destroy the eggs.⁶⁹⁹ In the event, the destruction of the swarms of locusts was completed in Larnaca district in 1883, under the central control of Mr. Cunningham of the Government Engineer’s Department, whereas considerable numbers of locusts escaped in the Nicosia district due to the lack of adequate supervision and labour.⁷⁰⁰ Yet as General Kenyon observed, the government eventually “mastered the plague of locusts”.⁷⁰¹

⁶⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁰ Biddulph to the Earl of Derby, received Aug. 1, 1883, No. 251, Mount Troödos, July 18, 1883, in Mediterranean No. 17, Cyprus, Report on the Locust Campaign of 1883 by the Government engineer, Colonial Office August 1883, CO 883/2.

⁷⁰¹ General Kenyon, quoted in Thirgood, *Cyprus: A Chronicle of its Forests* (Vancouver, 1987), p. 29, note 10. Locusts were a problem throughout the region. The celebrated British traveler, Wilfred Thesiger, wrote about seeing swarms of locusts (in the 1950s) in the deserts of the Sudan, “rolling across the horizon like clouds of smoke...thick in the air as snowflakes in a storm”, and how they stripped green fields bare in a few hours. He learned about locusts from Vesey FitzGerald, who was running a locust campaign in Saudi Arabia. Locust officers were some of the few allowed to travel freely in all parts of Saudi Arabia. The Middle East Anti-Locust Unit was active in this period, even gaining permission from King Abd al Aziz ibn Saud to carry out a campaign in Saudi Arabia in 1943-4 (Wilfred Thesiger, *Arabian Sands*, 1991 ed., p. 41).

Kenyon then indicated that “the next problem is goat grazing.”⁷⁰² Sir Harry Luke explained that the goats damaged young trees by nipping off the opening bud, the shoot piercing the bark, and the seedlings pushing up from the ground.⁷⁰³ One can imagine the extent of damage, given that when the British arrived the national goat herd was a quarter of a million head, or 150 goats per square mile, almost two for each human, although there were also comparable herds of sheep.⁷⁰⁴ On the other hand, the goat provided the peasant with milk, cheese, meat, and leather for boots, so peasants naturally resented any effort to restrict the herds. To encourage the villagers to adopt a new law that gave villagers sheep pasture in exchange for banishing the goats, Luke held anti-goat meetings and invoked Ezekiel xxxiv. 10, “Thus saith the Lord God: ‘Behold, I am against the shepherds’”.⁷⁰⁵ David Bocci, an Italian sanitary engineer, in a survey performed for the Cyprus government, recommended a tax on goats and other indirect measures like prohibiting corporations from owning land, but stopped short of asking peasant owners to stop cutting their own trees (for fuel).⁷⁰⁶ In 1913, the government passed a law giving villages the option to banish the goats from their boundaries in exchange for sheep pastures.⁷⁰⁷

The problems of locusts and goat grazing had little relation to the new government’s efforts at bringing “good government” to Cyprus, that is, in regard to

⁷⁰² General Kenyon, quoted in Thirgood, *Cyprus: A Chronicle of its Forests* (Vancouver, 1987), p. 29, note 10.

⁷⁰³ Harry Luke, *Cities and Men, Vol. II* (1953).

⁷⁰⁴ Sir Samuel Baker (1879) cited in Thirgood, *Cyprus: A Chronicle of its Forests* (Vancouver, 1987), p. 44.

⁷⁰⁵ Harry Luke, *Cities and Men, Vol. II* (1953).

⁷⁰⁶ Bocci, Item 85, in “Report on the Sanitary condition and Drainage in Cyprus”, by the Chevalier David Bocci, June 5, 1880, CO 883/2.

⁷⁰⁷ Harry Luke, *Cities and Men, Vol. II* (1953), pp. 35-6.

representative government and court systems, for example, but nevertheless were urgent questions that needed to be addressed in order to further the development of the island. In tandem with these problems was the need to revitalize the island's forests: reforestation was the key to alleviating the "bad air" of swamps and breeding grounds for mosquitoes, and for providing new sources of wood for building and firewood. Reforestation, however, became a site for debate and struggle for control over the island resources between local administrators, the Colonial Office, and a new set of scientific experts.

Reforestation and the botanical experts

A. E. Wild, in *Report on the Forests in the South and West of the Island of Cyprus* (1879), explains that Cyprus was by all accounts a densely wooded country in ancient times, but shipbuilding during the periods of the Lusignan and Venetian dynasties, and subsequent aggressive cutting as well as neglect by the Ottomans had decimated many forest areas.⁷⁰⁸ During the Ottoman period, peasants felled trees indiscriminately, usually cutting them at the bottom in order to extract tar.⁷⁰⁹ After 1839, a tax was levied on forest products but not until 1874 did the Ottomans show much interest in forestry, and this only reached the stage of assessing the damage. Still, although in principle all naturally growing trees belong to the State, in practice the State only protected *les grandes arbres* near the naval arsenals. Pious foundations, or *evkaf*, managed some rare stands of trees for their own profit, but the peasants and villagers used the rest for fuel wood. Additionally, pine bark for tanning hides was often stripped

⁷⁰⁸ A. E. Wild, *Report on the Forests in the South and West of the Island of Cyprus* (London, 1879), p. 1.

⁷⁰⁹ J. V. Thirgood, *Cyprus: A Chronicle of its Forests, Land, and People* (Vancouver, 1987), pp. 74-78.

from fully grown trees as high as a peasant could reach, killing the tree, and the shepherds burned forests to open up grazing land. By 1878, the Mesaoria plain was treeless.⁷¹⁰

Of the forests in the south and west portions of the island, the few left were mostly in inaccessible areas of the higher ranges and larger slopes. The forests around the villages had nearly disappeared, and in many areas remained only barren hills and prickly shrubs.⁷¹¹ In place of trees in the middle of slopes, vineyards had been planted, as grapes and wine brought better prices than wood.⁷¹² Near the Troöditissa Monastery, only about 23 trees stood per acre where dense forests once existed, presenting “a very forlorn appearance,” according to Wild.⁷¹³ He recommended the delimitation of Cyprus forests into classes, including state forests and “open forests” for villagers’ use, but even with this kind of management, forest renewal or regeneration should be expected to take as long as 60 years.⁷¹⁴ Additionally, the villagers saw no advantage to working for the Government to reverse the forest decline, particularly in regard to forest fires. The Forest Officer complained:

On returning to my encampment I found 29 labourers... sitting on the border of the stream; a fire in the meantime burning at 15 minutes walk off...40 arrived on the following day, but the insubordination increased daily, my interpreter was insulted and threatened, and it was impossible to get anybody to work. I at last had recourse to force... On the 17th... all the labourers revolted and abandoned their work... they did their best to

⁷¹⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹¹ A. E. Wild, *Report on the Forests in the South and West of the Island of Cyprus* (London, 1879), p. 1.

⁷¹² Ibid., pp. 7-10.

⁷¹³ Ibid., pp. 2-4.

⁷¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 7-10.

persuade the workmen just arrived from Statos not to stop with us, and I had to set another example.⁷¹⁵

He noted also that the Commissioners of Paphos believed the fires were incendiary.

This situation, as the British found it in 1878, provided an opportunity for scientists, inventors and agriculturalists to pursue new models of scientific experimentation in the effort to revitalize the forests and agriculture. In 1879, the first Woods and Forests Ordinance was passed, which brought all the forests under the protection and control of the Government, and a Forest Department was established.⁷¹⁶ The new administrators ordered maps, surveys, and scientific analyses to determine the species of trees and other vegetation, and consulted scientists and foresters, who produced reports such as Wild's report and D. E. Hutchins' *Report on Cyprus Forestry*, written in 1909.⁷¹⁷ According to these reports, certain species of trees, such as the eucalyptus, could succeed in various areas of the island, and in the subsequent decades numerous trials with eucalyptus and other trees were made on Cyprus.⁷¹⁸ In April 1881, however, when Biddulph's Principal Forest Officer requested funds for planting trees on the Mesaoria plain, the Colonial Office rejected the plan on the advice of Sir Joseph Hooker, Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew.⁷¹⁹ In September Biddulph

⁷¹⁵ Memorandum on Financial Questions, in Mediterranean No. 8, Finances and Administration of Cyprus, Sir R. Biddulph's Reply to Mr. Fairfield's Memorandum, Colonial Office May 1883, CO 883/2/10.

⁷¹⁶ J. V. Thirgood, *Cyprus: A Chronicle of its Forests, Land, and People* (Vancouver, 1987), p. 91.

⁷¹⁷ D. E. Hutchins was the Chief Conservator of Forests in British East Africa. Another important report, in 1953, on the Cyprus eucalyptus species was written by Esther F. Chapman for the Cyprus Government; she identifies what species were found on Cyprus when the British arrived in 1878, what trees were brought to Cyprus by Kew foresters, and the success or failure of this replanting relative to what survived in 1953.

⁷¹⁸ Most of the eucalyptus species came from Australia and were chosen for their potential to survive in comparable conditions on Cyprus.

⁷¹⁹ Letter from the Earl of Kimberley to Major-General Sir R. Biddulph, telegraphic, May 20, 1881, FO 78/3374.

reported that Cyprus must be added “to the list of countries in which the timber is rapidly diminishing.” Although the inhabitants believed the forests to be growing, Biddulph quoted Mr. Madon, the Forest Officer, that “the remaining forest of Cyprus is on the eve of disappearing, and if care is not taken, the Mediterranean will soon count one island less and one rock more.”⁷²⁰

William Turner Thiselton-Dyer’s appointment as assistant director of the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew in 1875 and then as director in the 1880s until his retirement in 1905 marked a new era in that institution’s association with the Colonial Office and with the British Empire. Kew became a center for scientific and economic advice and development in the Empire, and in turn, the Empire provided opportunities for field experimentation and supplied botanic and agricultural samples for laboratories at Kew.⁷²¹ Colonial Office documents show that Thiselton-Dyer was directly involved in the environmental resuscitation of the forests on Cyprus, but also used Cyprus as a stage for his Colonial Garden experiments.

Thiselton-Dyer, born in 1843, first studied mathematics at Oxford, graduating in 1867, but his interests turned to natural science. He served as Professor of Natural History at the Royal Agricultural College in Cirencester, and Professor of Botany at the Royal College of Science in Dublin, and then, on the recommendation of Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker, director of the Royal Botanic Gardens in Kew, accepted a professorship at the Royal Horticultural Society in London in 1872. From 1875 to 1885 he served as

⁷²⁰ Memorandum on Financial Questions, in *Mediterranean No. 8, Finances and Administration of Cyprus*, Sir R. Biddulph’s Reply to Mr. Fairfield’s Memorandum, Colonial Office May 1883, CO 883/2/10. P. G. Madon was a French forester from the Service des Eaux et Forêts. He had lived in the Aleppo pine forest near Toulon and served in Algeria. (Thirgood, *Cyprus: A Chronicle*, 1987, p. 94)

⁷²¹ Joseph Hodge, *Triumph of the Expert* (Athens, Ohio, 2007), pp. 57-62.

Assistant Director at Kew, under Joseph Hooker, who was the son of the previous Director, Sir William Jackson Hooker. When Joseph Hooker retired, Thiselton-Dyer was appointed Director of Kew. It was a family affair all around, as Thiselton-Dyer was Joseph Hooker's son-in-law. His tenure was successful, however, and unique, in that he turned Kew from a domestic garden to an experimental institution supporting the Empire.⁷²²

In 1878 the Foreign Office had hired Mr. Wild as permanent conservator, succeeded by M. Madon, and Thiselton-Dyer became the liaison between the Cyprus forest managers and administrators, Kew, and the Foreign Office. Wild and others early on had recommended the use of eucalyptus trees for replanting the forests, but this had proved a contentious solution. The tree had been known to halt marsh fevers within three years of planting in plantations in Algiers and in the Roman Campagna in the 1860s⁷²³, and fifteen years of experimentation with *Eucalyptus globulus* had produced “marvelous” results “from a sanitary point of view” in Provence, especially at the mouths of rivers where water tended to stagnate.⁷²⁴ Yet the method of planting and the correct species for specific climates and soil situations was hotly debated in Cyprus among administrators, engineers, the Colonial Office, and Kew scientists. Wild suggested, for example, planting the species *Eucalyptus resinifera* over some of the low, arid, and bare limestone hills in the neighbourhood of Larnaka, and *Eucalyptu globulus* and *Resinifera* in the hills near

⁷²² “William Turner Thiselton-Dyer”, in *DNB* .

⁷²³ In 1860 and 1861 some seeds were brought from Australia to Europe and Africa, and they grew to 98.5 feet in a few years. The tree spread successfully along the French Mediterranean coast from Cannes to Monaco and grew well in Algeria. (C. Lenthéric, *The Riviera: Ancient and Modern*, London, 1895, pp. 417-419)

⁷²⁴ Dr. Gimbert, *Étude sur l'influence des plantations d'eucalyptus globules dans les pays fiévreux* (1875), cited in C. Lenthéric *The Riviera: Ancient and Modern* (London, 1895), p. 420.

Kuklia.⁷²⁵ Bocci, on the other hand, scoffed at the use of eucalyptus on Cyprus altogether:

Would that the Government of the island cease to uphold the erroneous belief that the *Eucalyptus* will ever thrive in Cyprus without the utmost efforts, and that it would have the effect of freeing the island from malaria. This plant has become fashionable even among learned men who like novelties; but it is only a species of *Revalenta Arabica*, nothing more. In its turn the Eucalyptus will have to make room for some other fashionable plant, perhaps the *Tamakaspi* (tree of rain), and this, again, for some other prodigious tree, and so humanity will go on rocking itself asleep in this, as it has done in many other vain hopes, forgetful of the stern reality surrounding it.⁷²⁶

Bocci felt, apparently, that the eucalyptus was a temporary fashion, and its use in Cyprus ignored the actuality of the terrain and climate.

Proving him wrong, by December, 1879, High Commissioner Biddulph could point to the promise of new eucalypti gardens. In Famagusta, district commissioner James Inglis wrote in hopes of extending the gardens there:

Just outside the walls on the landward slope of the spur on which Famagusta is built, and below the old cemetery, is the new eucalypti garden; about 2,000 were planted in August, of these only about 800 or 1000 lived, but they are doing very well indeed...The other species planted, the "corunta," are doing well, and I lost none. Neither the people here nor myself could get the seedlings to grow before. I hope this garden will be extended next year.⁷²⁷

⁷²⁵ A. E. Wild, *Report on the Forests in the South and West of the Island of Cyprus* (London, 1879), p. 11. Wild suggested that other types of trees, such as the *P. maritime* should be grown in nurseries for distribution to the forest guards, to be "dibbled in all over the existing forests wherever opportunity offers and cattle-grazing is not to be feared."

⁷²⁶ Bocci, Item 94.

⁷²⁷ James Inglis, Commissioner, in Doc. 38, Inclosure in Doc. 36, Report on the District of Famagusta for Year ending 31st December 1879, p. 244, in Confidential Print, Series B The Near and Middle East, 1856-1914, Vol. 5 The Ottoman Empire in the Aftermath of the Berlin Settlement, 1878-1883.

In 1883, Biddulph proclaimed the garden at Government House in Nicosia as “indispensable” and the trees in great demand:

The garden at the Konak is used for raising trees, of which there are 30,000 eucalyptus, mimosa, and casuarinas in pots, more than 70,000 other trees of a commercial value of at least 1,200*l.* (at an expense of 86*l.*). The trees have been in great demand for the last year, not only by the Europeans but by the inhabitants of the towns and the proprietors of ‘Chiftliks’.⁷²⁸

D. E. Hutchins, the Chief Conservator of Forests in British East Africa, reviewing the state of Cyprus forests in 1909, noted that at that time in Cyprus there were seven small nurseries supplying young trees to the public for private planting.⁷²⁹

Despite the struggles between Cyprus administrators, the Colonial Office, and Kew scientists, reforestation and garden experimentation on Cyprus proceeded well, and served its purpose within the Empire. Hutchins recommended looking to similar forest nurseries in South and East Africa, and to forest arboretums such as one near Cape Town (which coincidentally contained 120 species of eucalyptus), but he commended the Cyprus Forest Department, noting that “In spite of its somewhat chequered career, it has repaid its cost many times over.”⁷³⁰

Summary

The first few decades of the British occupation of Cyprus coincided with an era of medical advances and scientific experimentation in the British Empire. Cyprus was a site

⁷²⁸ Mediterranean, No. 8, Finances and Administration of Cyprus, Sir R. Biddulph’s Reply to Mr. Fairfields Memorandum (in continuation of Mediterranean, No. 5), Colonial Office, May 1883, CO 883/2.

⁷²⁹ D. E. Hutchins, *Report on Cyprus Forestry* (London, 1909), p. 58.

⁷³⁰ *Ibid.*

of experimentation by local administrators and colonial experts as well. In medicine, Cyprus provided jobs for new British doctors and nurses but Cypriots were encouraged to pursue medical careers as well, yet all were engaged in the service of the Empire. Scientists and foresters from other parts of the Empire also found on Cyprus employment and opportunities for learning about reforestation and the various species of eucalyptus and other plants.

The work done by British experts on Cyprus during the initial occupation was clearly intended to benefit the British Empire as well as the Cypriots. In 1923, Cyprus forests were featured at the British Empire Forestry Conference in Canada, along with forests in the Gold Coast, Nyasaland, Trinidad, British Guiana, Somaliland, Bahamas, Barbados, the Leeward Islands, Ceylon, Kenya, and Jamaica. And by 1953, of the 68 species introduced in Cyprus after 1878, 27 still survived, including Number 5, the *Cyprus Cornuta Hybrid*.⁷³¹

By the end of the nineteenth century, the designation of “British Cyprus” was no longer even thinly veiled. The work of the consuls, High Commissioners, and scientific experts finally achieved official status under Joseph Chamberlain’s tenure as Colonial Secretary. Cyprus became a test case for colonial development, now enjoying official designation as a colonial dependency. The following chapter explores Chamberlain’s

⁷³¹Esther F. Chapman, *Cyprus eucalypts: a report on the Eucalyptus species found growing in Cyprus, 1953* (Nicosia: Cyprus Government Printing Office, 1953), p. 1

work on Cyprus, and his relationship with the men-on-the-spot and outside experts in achieving the goals the local administrators had sought from the beginning of the occupation.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Cyprus as Imperial Estate

Cyprus development and Colonial Office cooperation

By the second decade of the occupation, despite the tremendous steps forward in government, agriculture, medicine and education, the shadow of the Tribute loomed ever larger over the island. Projects already begun faltered and proposed projects never materialized. Cypriots and local administrators alike were frustrated that most income from taxes and revenue went to pay the Tribute and that as a result, little benefit was evident on the island itself. Additional funding would be critical but the Colonial Office resisted, preferring instead that colonies be self-supporting. In the 1890s, however, a new era emerged that changed the tenor of cooperation between local administrators and the Colonial Office. Joseph Chamberlain became Colonial Secretary in 1895 and finally, colonial development received the stamp of official support in Cyprus and throughout the Empire. In this effort, however, the help of local administrators would be critical. This chapter outlines Chamberlain's efforts at development in Cyprus, his relationship with local administrators, and the attempt to continue his programs after his tenure. It further demonstrates how Chamberlain treated Cyprus as a British colony, with potential not only for Cypriot progress but even moreso as a permanent cog in the economic machine of the British Empire.

In the autumn of 1881, Lord Kimberley initiated a new set of official inquiries into the potential of Cyprus for the British Empire. He sent E. Fairfield of the Colonial Office to Cyprus to confer with the High Commissioner and the local officials. Fairfield

wrote an extensive memorandum, enumerating various schemes for developing and improving the island which “have been advocated on the ground, amongst others, that they would result in so great an increase of revenue that there would no longer be any necessity to ask Parliament to aid the island in paying the obligations imposed by the agreements under which its administration was handed over by the Sublime Porte to Her Majesty’s Government.” Yet with all the projects added together, the cost “is seen to come to a very large sum, which it would be out of the question to ask Parliament to vote, even if the claims of Cyprus on this country were greater than they are.”⁷³² Fairfield urged, however, a grant-in-aid for Cyprus, and indicated that the Cypriots were anxious that the government should provide more improvements on the island. The response from the Colonial Office was terse, suggesting that the islanders should be happy with what they have:

If it had not been for the action of Her Majesty’s late Government in 1878 Cyprus would have remained for an indefinite time burdened with heavy payments to the Central Government at Constantinople, and falling probably more and more into decay. For the islanders themselves, the intervention of Her Majesty’s Government in their affairs has been undoubtedly a fortunate event.⁷³³

Still, since “many of these projects have been advocated in newspapers of high position, or in books by English writers, whilst as to three or four of them, it is a matter of common knowledge in Cyprus, that specially selected officers have been deputed to inquire and report upon them,” Lord Derby suggested

⁷³² Mr. Fairfield’s Memorandum, Mediterranean No. 5, CO 883/2

⁷³³ Colonial Office to Treasury, May 1883, Mediterranean, No. 13 (Draft), p. 2, CO 883/2

it should be announced, once for all, that there is no thought and no prospect of Cyprus being developed by the bounty of Parliament, but that, aided for a time by such moderate assistance as proposed in this letter, the inhabitants must work out their development at their own cost and by their own labour.⁷³⁴

One exception that Lord Derby allowed was some increase on education spending, but overall he, reflecting the collective imperial mind, held that the colonies should be self-supporting propositions.

Throughout his tenure as Secretary of State for the Colonies from 1895 to 1903, Chamberlain preached that progress and prosperity in Britain depended upon developing the Empire. He also believed that colonial development required government support.⁷³⁵

He complained to Salisbury about the lack of support for the colonies:

Up to the present time the Imperial Government has done hardly anything to aid our Colonies and Dependencies in opening up the Countries which are under the British Flag. We have trusted entirely to individual enterprise and capital... yet it is certain that in many case progress has been delayed, and in some cases absolutely stayed, because the only methods by which improvement could be carried out were beyond the scope of private resources.⁷³⁶

⁷³⁴ Ibid.

⁷³⁵ He succeeded in getting it to a certain extent, due to his position, in that as Colonial Secretary he could authorize projects and then seek aid to pay for them. See Robert Kubicek, *The Administration of Imperialism: Joseph Chamberlain at the Colonial Office* (NC, 1969), p. 80.

⁷³⁶ Cabinet Memo., enclosed in Chamberlain to Salisbury, Nov. 26, 1895, S. P. (Colonial Office, Private, 1895-1900), cited in Robinson, Gallagher, and Denny, *Africa and the Victorians* (1961, NY: 1968 ed.) p. 397, n. 3.

By 1897, Chamberlain had nudged Salisbury toward more imperialist ambitions, prompting a friend to observe Chamberlain's increased anxiety that "we must stand fast for Imperial expansion now or never, whatever the result."⁷³⁷

Chamberlain had called for tariff protection among the white colonies in the 1880s in order to counteract tariffs put up by other nations in the depression of the late 1870s. Now he felt even more of a sense of urgency to compete with the great empires of Russia and the United States, whose growing populations and natural resources would soon overtake those of Britain. In a speech to the Royal Colonial Institute in March, 1897, Chamberlain declared:

It seems to me that the tendency of the time is to throw all power into the hands of the greater empires, and the minor kingdoms – those which are non-progressive – seem to be destined to fall into a secondary and subordinate place. But if Greater Britain remains united no empire in the world can surpass it in area, population, in wealth, or in the diversity of its resources.⁷³⁸

⁷³⁷ Ibid., p. 404. Salisbury was Prime Minister until 1880, then returned in 1895 also as Foreign Secretary with a coalition of Conservatives and Liberal Unionists. This government was no longer distracted by the Irish question nor divided on foreign policy. Chamberlain was appointed Colonial Secretary (Liberal Unionist) and was entirely focused on imperial unification. In 1895 Armenian massacres threatened European intervention at Constantinople, and in April 1895 Germany, France and Russia united to protect China from Japan, so that Britain no longer held her position as arbiter in the Far East. The problem of Turkey prompted some talk of its partition and Russia entered the discussion. Salisbury's third Cabinet included A. J. Balfour, First Lord of the Treasury; Duke of Devonshire, Lord President; Sir Michael Hicks Beach, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Joseph Chamberlain, Colonial Secretary; Marquess of Lansdowne, Secretary for War; G. J. Goschen, First Lord of the Admiralty; and Lord James of Hereford, Chancellor of the Duchy, and eleven other members, all Conservatives. (Robinson, Gallagher and Denny, *Africa and the Victorians*, pp. 339-340)

⁷³⁸ Chamberlain's speech to the Royal Colonial Institute, 31 Mar. 1897, Boyd, *op. cit.*, II, 5: quoted in Robinson, Gallagher, and Denny, *Africa and the Victorians* (NY, 1961, 1967 ed.), p. 404.

Now Chamberlain's program for colonial development had a dual purpose – to serve the needs of the subject population, and to prepare the British Empire “to survive in a world of continental super-states.”⁷³⁹

Chamberlain's two main objectives were to bring the self-governing colonies closer to Britain, and to develop the resources of these areas, which he called “undeveloped estates”, while improving their trade with Britain and opening up new markets.⁷⁴⁰ Claiming “We are landlords of a great estate; it is the duty of the landlord to develop his estate”, Chamberlain saw Britain's duty in her colonies as not only to bring good government to oppressed peoples, but to support British trade and industry and “sooner or later earn a large reward either directly or indirectly.”⁷⁴¹ He requested unprecedented amounts of funding. Initially, the funds to build railways and other public works would come from the profits of the government-owned Suez Canal shares. This suggestion, viewed by some in the Treasury as a “crooked expedient”, was rejected by the Treasury on grounds that a British taxpayer had bought the shares and the profits should go to the United Kingdom.⁷⁴² This funding scheme thereby became a dead letter, but for the next eight years Chamberlain continued to seek support for his program, with an eye toward long-term imperial trade.⁷⁴³

⁷³⁹ Robinson, Gallagher, and Denny *Africa and the Victorians* (NY, 1961, 1967 ed.), p. 404-5.

⁷⁴⁰ Ronald Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century* (London, 1993), p. 249.

⁷⁴¹ Chamberlain speech to the Birmingham Jewellers and Silversmiths, *The Times*, April 1, 1895, cited in Robert Kubicek, *The Administration of Imperialism: Joseph Chamberlain at the Colonial Office* (NC, 1969), p. 68.

⁷⁴² Hicks Beach, Cabinet Memo., Dec. 29 1895, and Sir E. Hamilton, Cabinet Memo., Dec. 14, 1895, S. P. (CO, Private, 1895-1900), cited in Robinson, Gallagher, and Denny, *Africa and the Victorians* (1961, NY: 1968 ed.) p. 400, n. 1.

⁷⁴³ Robinson, Gallagher, and Denny, *Africa and the Victorians* (1961, NY: 1968 ed.) p. 399.

Chamberlain also met resistance from businessmen in London who were satisfied with the *status quo*. After his speech at the Colonial Conference in 1897, an editorial in *The Economist* suggested that the best thing to do with the British Empire was to leave it alone:

Mr. Chamberlain's own speech, we must confess, only serves to confirm us in our opinion that the wisest, safest, and best thing to do with the British Empire is to leave it alone. We have a status quo which produces excellent results, and we would advise our statesmen to think long and deeply before embarking upon any change, or any attempt to forge new bonds for uniting us with the Colonies. We know that the old bonds do not gall, and yet serve their purpose. Can we be sure that new ones would do their work as well? For this reason we cannot express much sympathy with Mr. Chamberlain's speech... In our view the present position is, on the whole, quite satisfactory, and nothing ought to be done to alter it, unless and until new conditions arise to change that position for the worse.⁷⁴⁴

The Economist continued that, remembering the disaster of the American colonies, if the present colonies were to participate more fully in the Empire, they would also have to help bear the financial burden of empire, which most of the colonies preferred not to do. To pursue this kind of change,

is, we believe, only too like likely to end in a disaster like that which overtook Lord Norton and George III. They honestly believed that they were only making the American colonies pay something towards a military and naval expenditure incurred in their interests.⁷⁴⁵

The newspaper noted that the Conference, too, disagreed with Chamberlain and declared that the current relations were generally satisfactory.

⁷⁴⁴ "Mr. Chamberlain and the Colonial Conference," in *The Economist*, Aug. 28, 1897, p. 1230.

⁷⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

Nevertheless, Chamberlain pushed forward. By 1903, he advocated new tariff restrictions which would protect and guarantee trade between the colonies and Britain, in effect unifying the British Empire. The idea of unifying the Empire paralleled the late nineteenth century movement called “constructive imperialism”, which sought to organize, categorize, and unite the Empire and to re-establish the relationship between Britain and her Dominions and colonies.⁷⁴⁶ Chamberlain would incorporate new technologies and modern science in his program, an idea that was not unique among the Great Powers. France’s “mission civilisatrice” program, the Dutch “ethical policy” (1901), and the German development programs under Bernhard Dernburg, colonial secretary (1906), all sought to redevelop those countries’ respective colonies with the aid of new technologies and modern science.⁷⁴⁷

From 1895 through 1896, Chamberlain looked to Cyprus as one of his first attempts at formal colonial development.⁷⁴⁸ He clearly saw Cyprus as a colonial territory to be integrated into the British Empire. He supported the development effort already established by the local administrators and pushed in particular for an irrigation system and railways, begging Salisbury for “a little money...to make Cyprus a paying proposition”.⁷⁴⁹ He then sent a message to the Treasury that

⁷⁴⁶ For the link between “constructive imperialism” and Joseph Chamberlain’s colonial development program, see E. H. H. Green, “The Political Economy of Empire, 1880-1914,” in *OHBE, Vol. III, The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 346-368.

⁷⁴⁷ Joseph Hodge, *Triumph of the Expert* (Athens, OH, 2007), pp. 42-3.

⁷⁴⁸ Robert Kubicek, *The Administration of Imperialism: Joseph Chamberlain at the Colonial Office* (NC, 1969), p. 72.

⁷⁴⁹ Chamberlain to Salisbury, Aug. 1, 1895, cited in Robinson, Gallagher, and Denny, *Africa and the Victorians* (NY, 1968), p. 399, n. 2. Chamberlain noted he had a similar problem in the West Indies.

Since his assumption of office he [Chamberlain] has given special attention to the question of the condition of Cyprus, and the financial relations between Her Majesty's Government and that island, and has come to the conclusion that these relations are not satisfactory.⁷⁵⁰

The administration had been decidedly "starved", according to Chamberlain, especially in the matter of education, and in order to keep within the financial limits laid down, ordinary and necessary repairs of works constructed since the British occupation had been neglected.⁷⁵¹

Although Chamberlain blamed the worsening of the island economy to the falling value of almost all the products of the island, he emphasized that the situation could not continue, both for the benefit of Cypriots but also to maintain Britain's reputation. "It is shortsighted to treat the island as it has been treated," he said, "and looking at the circumstances which attended the acquisition of the island, it seems hardly creditable to us as a nation to continue the practice which has hitherto prevailed." Chamberlain sought a fixed grant-in-aid of 40,000*l* for Cyprus, and promised that this money would not be "frittered away" by adding to the salaries of existing officers, the construction of Government offices merely for the convenience of the administration, or to the creation of new offices, except in the Public Works Department. The money would go first for public works, and also possibly drastic measures for the suppression of

⁷⁵⁰ Colonial Office to Treasury, Sept. 6, 1895, No. 21, in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (Confidential), Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3.

⁷⁵¹ *Ibid.*

lawlessness in a few remote places.⁷⁵² Here Chamberlain turned to his plans for Cyprus within the greater Empire:

Mr. Chamberlain would invite their Lordships to look at the question from the larger point of view of regarding the less known and more neglected of the Crown Colonies as being possibly undeveloped estates, in which an expenditure of British capital might be remunerative to the taxpayer. If Cyprus is such an undeveloped estate—a point on which Mr. Chamberlain does not desire finally to commit himself at present—the line of development most strongly indicated would be either a railway or an increase and regulation of the water supply available for agriculture to be brought about by engineering works in or connected with the Great Messaoria Plain...the Indian Government are prepared to send an irrigation expert to Cyprus as soon as desired.⁷⁵³

Chamberlain wanted an irrigation expert from India to work with Mr. Ashmore, the Receiver-General of the island, to examine the commercial side of the question and to determine whether a loan to Cyprus for irrigation for “say, 300,000*l*, would be a profitable investment” by the Home Government at about 2-1/2 per cent, with a sinking fund to be extinguished in 30 years or less.⁷⁵⁴

By November an Irrigation Officer had been sent from India, one J. H. Medlicott, an executive engineer engaged on irrigation work in Madras.⁷⁵⁵ In addition to assessing commercial benefits, Chamberlain wanted Medlicott and Ashmore to investigate the need for reservoirs and wells, and claims to water rights. They were furnished with General

⁷⁵² Ibid. The first year of Chamberlain’s tenure as Colonial Secretary, 1895, marks the end of a global depression, thus “falling prices” were a result of numerous causes outside as well as inside the island. (Discussion with Dr. Mark Metzler, University of Texas at Austin, Dec. 2008)

⁷⁵³ Ibid. A gang of criminals had been harassing some remote towns.

⁷⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁵ Walpole, India Office in London, to Colonial Office, Nov. 8, 1895, No. 47 in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (Confidential), Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3. Apparently Sendall was happy with Medlicott. He was back in Cyprus when Medlicott arrived. (Sendall to Chamberlain, Government House, Cyprus, Feb. 15, 1896, No. 73 in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus, Confidential, Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3)

Kitchener's map of Cyprus, Russell's report on the existing water supply of the island, Bocci's report on sanitary conditions in Famagusta, and part of Gennadius's recent report on agriculture.⁷⁵⁶ Ashmore had served for several years in Ceylon, where he was involved with Government irrigation plans. "In Ceylon," Chamberlain pointed out, "as their Lordships are perhaps aware, much has been done by Government expenditure on irrigation to improve the condition of the people and the revenue of the island."⁷⁵⁷

Parliament approved the 1,000*l* from Cyprus revenues for the engineer and Mr. Ashmore, but further parliamentary grants-in-aid were refused.⁷⁵⁸ Chamberlain countered a few days later that to bolster the condition of the people of Cyprus, the irrigation project should receive a "judicious expenditure of money"—no mere "eleemosynary expenditure"—from Imperial funds:

You are aware that my attention has been for some time directed to the question whether the condition of the people of Cyprus could not be improved, and the chronic deficit lightened, or possibly made to disappear, by a judicious expenditure of money advanced from Imperial funds for some large work of public utility, and that I am, as at present advised, inclined to consider that a scheme for regulating and increasing the water supply available for agriculture in or in connexion with the great Mesaorea Plain, affords the most hopeful prospect of at once doing good to Cyprus and giving a commercially satisfactory return to the Imperial Exchequer for any moneys which it may advance. As I need hardly say, I do not contemplate a merely eleemosynary expenditure of Imperial money, which would no doubt do good to Cyprus whilst that money was in course of disbursement, but would prove a failure and involve an ultimate loss to the British taxpayer.⁷⁵⁹

⁷⁵⁶ Chamberlain to Sendall, Dec. 16, 1895, No. 67 in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (Confidential), Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3.

⁷⁵⁷ Colonial Office to Treasury, Sept. 6, 1895, No. 21, in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (Confidential), Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3.

⁷⁵⁸ Treasury to Colonial Office, Dec. 10, 1895, No. 65 in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (Confidential), Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3.

⁷⁵⁹ Chamberlain to Sendall, Dec. 16, 1895, No. 67 in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (Confidential), Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3.

Chamberlain predicted a commercial return in exchange for the advance, but this argument was met with skepticism. Unfortunately, Chamberlain's plans for Cyprus conflicted with a move at the same time by Sir Edward Hamilton, financial secretary of the Treasury, to protect the expected near-record surplus of the treasury in the next fiscal year (1895-6) by drawing back spending. Chamberlain was also in competition with George Goschen at the Admiralty, who wanted money for the navy, and Salisbury for the Uganda railway.⁷⁶⁰

In Cyprus, in September, 1895, Chamberlain had sought to at least end the tribute. He encountered the same problem as had the Colonial Office when it sought to reduce the tribute in 1883 and 1892, that is, Salisbury refused to approach the French government, a partner in the tribute agreement.⁷⁶¹ Then Chamberlain requested an annual grant for Cyprus for five to seven years of £40,000 for administration, roads, bridges and public buildings, and loans or grants up to £300,000 for railways and irrigation systems. Hicks Beach, Salisbury's Chancellor, rejected this proposal as well. Hicks Beach did, however, offer to ask Parliament for loans for irrigation works on Cyprus. The assistance would continue only if the money was recouped through island revenues or taxes and if the projects were successful.⁷⁶² In all, Chamberlain asked for eighteen loans for thirteen

⁷⁶⁰ Robert Kubicek, *The Administration of Imperialism: Joseph Chamberlain at the Colonial Office* (NC, 1969), pp. 71-2.

⁷⁶¹ Hicks Beach to Salisbury, Sept. 22 and Oct. 5, 1895, Salisbury MSS, and Hamilton to Chamberlain, Jan. 31, 1898, JC 9/3, both cited in Robert Kubicek, *The Administration of Imperialism: Joseph Chamberlain at the Colonial Office* (NC, 1969), p. 73, n. 15.

⁷⁶² Treasury to Colonial Office, Dec. 10, 1895, T 7/29, cited in Robert Kubicek, *The Administration of Imperialism: Joseph Chamberlain at the Colonial Office* (NC, 1969), pp. 72-3, and p. 73, n. 16.

colonies. Parliament approved three, totaling £160,000 for Barbados, St. Vincent and Cyprus.⁷⁶³

Three years later, observers remarked upon “the astounding transformation wrought by English occupation” in Cyprus.⁷⁶⁴ In British eyes, Cyprus had become a model of scientific experimentation, transportation, and agricultural development under Chamberlain’s “constructive imperialism”. The Cyprus High Commissioner’s Report for 1898-9 reported that exports were up, including cereals (mostly to the United Kingdom and barley to Egypt), silk cocoons, and sesame. American cotton was introduced with some success, some improvements made in tobacco cultivation, and modern machinery was installed for the production of olive oil. The Government also initiated a program to breed superior donkeys and mules, which were already being used in India. The total number of elementary schools increased dramatically, and fourteen teachers graduated from the Gymnasium at Nicosia. The police department was revamped, and “all the non-commissioned officers and a large proportion of the troopers are now literate.” Forty miles of new road were constructed (440 total miles maintained by the Government), and irrigation works commenced to supply water for 100 square miles of agricultural land. Cyprus’s wine industry was recharged with the construction of “wine roads” to remote vineyards, and wine was being exported to England and Malta.⁷⁶⁵

In June 1900, High Commissioner Haynes Smith declared,

⁷⁶³ Treasury to Colonial Office, July 12 and 17, 1899, T 7/31, cited in Robert Kubicek, *The Administration of Imperialism* (NC, 1969), p. 82, n. 48.

⁷⁶⁴ Cyprus High Commissioner’s Report for 1898-9, p. 64.

⁷⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-64. Colonial Office documents list both donkeys and mules on the island. Cyprus mules had also been favored by Greek military officers, who purchased 143 in 1880 during the Greek-Turkish war. Cypriots donated 107 more. (Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus, Vol. IV*, Cambridge, 1952, p. 411)

The Island of Cyprus is just now an object lesson of the kind of government England can give. It has been for twenty years an English possession. An American observer, Dr. George E. Post, of the college at Beirut, who knew Cyprus well under Turkish rule, has recently been writing in enthusiastic terms of the astounding transformation wrought by English occupation. The Government has but a small personnel—only about 100 officials all told—but it has simply revolutionized the island for the better. Taxation has been lightened and made a fixed and rational system, instead of a means of rapacious extortion, agriculture has been improved, and trading put on a securer basis, while a complete system of public schools is in operation. Dr. Post saw on all sides, in a recent visit, contentment and prosperity where thirty years ago only terror and wretchedness were visible. No wonder that every oppressed people in the world, dimly awakening to the possibility of better government, prays for English intervention and English rule.⁷⁶⁶

As the observer was “well known throughout the Levant”, according to Haynes Smith, this glowing opinion was presumably widely known.⁷⁶⁷

Yet despite the British perception of “contentment and prosperity”, many Cypriots increasingly saw British rule as invasive and threatening, and certainly not prosperous for most Cypriots. Several times they invited Chamberlain to visit the island but he declined. On rejecting an invitation to visit Cyprus during his trip to Malta, November 6, 1900, Chamberlain’s reply to Haynes Smith was published in *The Cyprus Gazette*: “I am grateful for invitation to visit Cyprus and much regret that my present engagements will not permit on this occasion, but hope to have opportunity some other time and visit Island in whose prosperity I am so greatly interested.”⁷⁶⁸ Chamberlain’s claim of interest rang hollow as the tribute continued to draw its full amount from Cyprus revenues: the philosophical aspect of Cyprus taxes paying off British creditors

⁷⁶⁶ High Commissioner’s Cyprus Report to Parliament for 1898-9, June 1900, London, 1900, p. 64.

⁷⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁸ Joseph Chamberlain to Haynes Smith, *The Cyprus Gazette*, Nov. 9, 1900, p. 4332, CO 70/5.

hurt as much as the financial devastation. Chamberlain's development programs in the tropical territories also began to draw criticisms, especially after the Anglo-Boer War in 1899 to 1902, which focused public attention on the exploitation of the rights of native populations.⁷⁶⁹ These criticisms led to Colonial Office refusal to fund major projects that the Cypriots so desperately sought.

In 1902, the election for the fifth Cyprus Council installed new native members who immediately expressed their frustrations with the British government. Although they did not specifically request self-government, they resented the restrictions on their decision-making powers:

When the decisions of the Council are subject to the right of veto of the suzerain power every other restriction becomes superfluous, and it is not just that the Council which is crippled in its very organism should, moreover, be so very crooked-legged.⁷⁷⁰

The continued taxation of the island proved particularly frustrating:

...at the elections, the people of Cyprus had regard to their oppression by taxation and to their maladministration in many respects, and that their verdict has rightly been characterized as the people's condemnation of the Governmental system which is imposed in Cyprus by which the English Government has, through the Cyprus Government, squeezed, unmercifully,

⁷⁶⁹ Joseph Hodge, *Triumph of the Expert* (Athens, Ohio, 2007), pp. 46-7.

The South African War, or Boer War was fought between Great Britain and the two Boer (Afrikaner) republics-the South African Republic (Transvaal) and the Orange Free State-from 1899 to 1902. It was caused by the refusal of the Boer leader Paul Kruger to grant political rights to Uitlanders ("foreigners," mostly English) in the interior mining districts, and by the aggressiveness of the British high commissioner, Alfred Milner. Initially the Boers defeated the British in major engagements and besieged the key towns of Ladysmith, Mafikeng, and Kimberley; but British reinforcements under H. H. Kitchener and F. S. Roberts relieved the besieged towns, dispersed the Boer armies, and occupied Bloemfontein, Johannesburg, and Pretoria (1900). Continuing Boer commando attacks led Kitchener to implement a scorched-earth policy: Boer farms were destroyed and Boer civilians were herded into concentration camps. More than 20,000 men, women, and children died as a result, causing international outrage. The Boers finally accepted defeat at the Peace of Vereeniging (quoted from *Britannica ReadyReference*, "South African War").

⁷⁷⁰ *The Cyprus Gazette*, Friday, May 23, 1902, CO 70/5.

by a most onerous taxation, every resource of the Island, effecting thereby the exhaustion of the financial powers of the country.

And the worst of it is that, in order to respond, to...the reasonable and persistent claims of the Cypriot people for their social improvement, they have devised and systematized a special taxation of the country whereby the Island runs the risk of being entirely crushed from a financial point of view.⁷⁷¹

The Council pointed to frustrated efforts to establish an agricultural bank and the lag in the execution of public and productive works, and they resented excessive taxation that “on the one hand, scourges the country and, on the other, locks up the small savings of the inhabitants and turns them away from industrial enterprises to the incalculable prejudice of the Island.”

The Council opined that “Cyprus should pay from her revenue only the expenses of her wants generally and of her administration, which have been greatly increased since the English occupation and that England should herself pay the heavy obligations undertaken by her in furtherance of her aims in the East.” They particularly resented that Cyprus had missed out on the “prosperity and progress” enjoyed by other Ottoman territories under the protection of the other European powers:

The council is unable to understand how it is that so little attention has been given by the English Government to Cyprus, which as regards its circumstances from the time of the English Occupation, is liable to comparison with other countries which have been detached from the Ottoman Government at about the same time and are also governed by European powers under better conditions and under a system which affords much better results to prosperity and progress, notwithstanding that Cyprus had, from a moral and material point of view, all the elements necessary for the purpose in a more abundant degree and that most of the countries which may be compared to Cyprus were almost in a ruined state when they were

⁷⁷¹ Ibid.

occupied by the other European powers owing to long and destructive revolutions.⁷⁷²

The Council believed in the potential of the island's resources that had attracted the earliest British administrators, but felt the opportunity had been squandered.

Their complaints continued. The agricultural class in particular was suffering under heavy British taxation. But taxes and "manifold and considerable port dues" also were levied that made the lack of progress on harbour works at Famagusta a frustration. The council did commend the appointment of Mr. Gennadius to supervise tree planting but complained about the restrictions on collecting dry timber for fuel. They complained about taxes for sanitary and medical facilities and the Land Registry Department, and exclaimed that "it is very astonishing that there should have been no such layout of the streets [on a regular plan] in Cyprus as yet". They did, however, thank the government for protection of the Island's antiquities, and the removal of the plague, although the continuous quarantines of incoming ships resulted in great loss to trade. Yet they looked forward to improvement under the new king, Edward VII, for "improvement we expect from the liberality of the English people and of the most sympathetic King."⁷⁷³

There were improvements, but most of the positive changes between 1895 and 1903 are generally attributed to Chamberlain's colonial development programs, not any effort by the King. The public works that Chamberlain enacted in Cyprus (and Lagos, British Guiana and the Gold Coast) have been acknowledged by historians, and his work

⁷⁷² Ibid.

⁷⁷³ Ibid. Queen Victoria died on Jan. 22, 1901. Cyprus High Commissioner W. F. Haynes-Smith proclaimed Feb. 2, 1901, as a special day of mourning in Cyprus, and the island population expressed its regrets in letters to *The Cyprus Gazette*. Victoria was succeeded by her son, who became King Edward VII.

on railways in Nigeria and Uganda are often discussed. All these efforts, however, were hindered by resistance from the Treasury, including a group still in that office often called the “Gladstonian garrison” because they followed the traditions of economy earlier established by William Gladstone.⁷⁷⁴ Eventually, the “Gladstonian garrison” imposed fiscal constraints impossible to overcome⁷⁷⁵ and Chamberlain’s overextension of colonial financial resources brought down his ambitious programs. After the elections of 1900 and the new majority of Unionists in the House of Commons, Chamberlain was forced to resign.⁷⁷⁶ With no other champion of Cyprus development in the Colonial Office to follow him, Chamberlain’s colonial development program in Cyprus came to an end.

Finally, Chamberlain’s thinly veiled attitude that the colonies should remain part of the Empire contributed to the colonial resentment and nationalist struggles which arose in the early twentieth century and led to the eventual dissolution of the British Empire by mid-twentieth century. As one historian commented,

In a speech at Glasgow on 6 October 1903 Chamberlain made a fatal remark implying that the object of his preferential policy was to keep the colonies from pressing on with their own industrial development. He never repeated this mistake, but he never quite lived it down. To the end a suspicion remained, especially in Canada, that the colonies would be kept as primary producers, confined to subordinate positions in a centrally planned economy.⁷⁷⁷

⁷⁷⁴ E.H.H. Green, “The Political Economy of Empire, 1880-1914” in *OHBE, Vol. III, The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1999), p. 351, and Robert Kubicek, *The Administration of Imperialism: Joseph Chamberlain at the Colonial Office* (NC, 1969), p. 70. Gladstone was Prime Minister in 1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, and 1892-94. Salisbury was Prime Minister 1895-1902.

⁷⁷⁵ E.H.H. Green, “The Political Economy of Empire, 1880-1914”, p. 351.

⁷⁷⁶ Robert Kubicek, *The Administration of Imperialism*, p. 154.

⁷⁷⁷ Ronald Hyam, *Britain’s Imperial Century* (London, 1993), p. 255.

It is no wonder that colonies, having been developed and trained for “responsible government”, would resent a mother country that refused their independence.

Walter Sendall and Cyprus development

Chamberlain had been supported on Cyprus by the local administrators, in particular by Walter Sendall who served as High Commissioner of Cyprus from 1892 to 1897. Sir Walter Joseph Sendall (1832-1904) is generally considered to be a champion of Cyprus progress; he received the jubilee medal at the end of his term in Cyprus in 1897 and was respected for his sound judgment and integrity. The son of a Church of England clergyman, Sendall was educated at Christ’s College, Cambridge and in 1859 joined the educational branch of the civil service in Ceylon. The climate and work caused him to resign in 1872 and until at least 1878 he involved himself in inspection and studying of the poor laws. From 1885 he served as the first governor of the Windward Islands, living on Grenada and Barbados, and in 1892 became the High Commissioner of Cyprus. Following a successful five-year term in Cyprus, he received the governorship to British Guiana in 1897, knighthood in 1899, and retirement in 1901. He became interested in scientific and ethnic studies, serving as a fellow of the Linnean, Royal Microscopical, and other scientific societies, and of the Hellenic Society⁷⁷⁸. Perhaps he was inspired by his term in Cyprus, where he must have been informed of scientific experiments with diseases and with Greek irredentist movements.

⁷⁷⁸ C. A. Harris (rev. Lynn Milne), “Sendall, Sir Walter Joseph”, *DNB* (Oxford, 2004-8).

Sendall pursued improvements on Cyprus aggressively, taking leave in 1895 to plead his case in Whitehall. In August 1895, he met with Chamberlain in London to discuss some proposals that had been made for dealing with the Turkish Loan of 1855 with the intent to “materially lighten the burden which is borne by the Cyprus revenue on account of this loan.” His examination of the loan revealed that under Article 3, after 20 years from the commencement of the sinking fund (which would be 1859 to 1879) it was possible to “redeem the whole loan at par”, but since 1876 no bonds had been paid off and interest continued to be paid.⁷⁷⁹ He further outlined the capital expenditures required to develop the natural resources of the island, comparing Cyprus to “an individual estate”.⁷⁸⁰

On March 18, 1895, Charles Christian had proposed to Edward Hamilton, Permanent Assistant Secretary to the Treasury (Whitehall) that Britain should pay off the remaining odd 115,200*l* of the 1855 loan from accumulate funds annually retained from the Cyprus tribute, and raise by a special loan at 2-1/2 percent interest the remaining 3,700,000*l* required to pay off the bondholders. They would ask the Turkish Government (a) to rehypothecate to England for a term of 55 years the sum of 72,000*l* from the Egyptian tribute now applied to the service of the present loan, and (b) to reduce permanently and for all time the present annual tribute or rental payable by Cyprus to a nominal sum of 1,000*l*. Christian suggested that by continuing to pay a small rental for

⁷⁷⁹ Sendall to Lord Amphill, Colonial Office, August 16, 1895, No. 16 in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (Confidential), Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3.

⁷⁸⁰ Sendall to Colonial Office, No. 18, in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (Confidential), Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3. Sendall, upon hearing of Chamberlain’s plans for Cyprus, modified Young’s proposed annual expenditures budget, that more should be spent on Public Works Department and on education. Chamberlain concurred. (Fairfield in Colonial Office to Treasury, Mar. 17, 1896, No. 79 in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus Confidential, Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3)

Cyprus Britain would confirm the Sultan's rights of sovereignty over the island. He pointed out that during the 16 years of British administration the surplus revenues of Cyprus had averaged 63,000*l* per annum, more than enough to assume the reduced charge of 52,000*l* plus 1,000*l* rental. This would support additional funding for Cyprus coming from private enterprise rather than the government:

Such an arrangement as this would indeed place the finances of Cyprus on a sure and satisfactory basis, and there can be little doubt that the confidence which would be established in the permanency of our administration would lead to the rapid development of the resources of the island by private enterprise.⁷⁸¹

Sendall reiterated this argument for supporting private investment, noting that

a loan for works of improvement and development in Cyprus would have such an immediate effect in inspiring confidence in the stability of our hold over the country and its resources...that capitalists, who are now 'shy of embarking in any enterprise in Cyprus' would readily come forward and might safely be trusted to discover for themselves in what directions money might be profitably invested, to their own great advantage and to the lasting benefit both of the people and the Government.⁷⁸²

Sendall believed that private investors would, with government loans, become partners in redeveloping the island. Here again he supported Chamberlain's goals.

The relationship between Sendall and Chamberlain appears to have been cordial and cooperative; Chamberlain may have seen Sendall as a beneficial partner (if a lesser partner) in his colonial development scheme for Cyprus. However, Chamberlain's goal of tapping scientific experts for his projects sometimes set those experts at odds with

⁷⁸¹ C. Christian to E. Hamilton, Enclosure 2 in No. 16, March 18, 1895, in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (Confidential), Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3.

⁷⁸² Sendall to Colonial Office, Aug. 23, 1895, No. 18 in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (Confidential), Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3.

Sendall and other administrators, staff, and officials, who already had experience working in the local conditions and their own ideas about the island's development. For example, when Thomas Wardle, President of the Silk Association, whose efforts on behalf of the silk industry in Bengal had increased that market in Britain and France, offered to do similar work on Cyprus⁷⁸³, Chamberlain referred him to Sendall, writing, "you may possibly find it of advantage to consult, in the first instance, with Sir Walter Sendall, the High Commissioner of Cyprus, who is in this country on leave and whose present address is 29, Eaton Square."⁷⁸⁴ Sendall in turn recommended Wardle to Dr. Heidenstam, who enlightened Wardle on silk production on Cyprus. Chamberlain at the same time wrote to the Royal Gardens, Kew, requesting an opinion.⁷⁸⁵ Thiselton-Dyer responded on October 10 with information on cultivation in Cyprus of "plants producing tannin, sumach, valonia, and galls of commerce". The tannin-producing plants were of interest to Chamberlain but he also decided to instruct the Governor of Hong Kong, on Wardle's suggestion, to procure a supply of the Tusser silk worms from northern China to introduce to Cyprus, since they could feed on the leaves of native Cyprus oaks.⁷⁸⁶ On

⁷⁸³ Wardle to Colonial Office, Aug. 23, 1895, No. 23 in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (Confidential), Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3. Wardle saw no reason that Cyprus could not become as important in the production of the higher qualities of silk as Italy. He discovered in 1886 that the cocoon-fibre of the native race of silkworms in Cyprus was "considerably stronger than that of any other country; the cocoons are anxiously sought in Marseilles". He also compared Cyprus plant production favorably against that of Sicily and other places in the Levant, and saw potential markets in England, America, and the Continent for the tanning of leather, silk-dying, etc.

⁷⁸⁴ Colonial Office to T. Wardle, Sept. 5, 1895, No. 20 in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (Confidential), Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3.

⁷⁸⁵ Bramston for Chamberlain to Royal Gardens, Kew, No. 31 in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (Confidential), Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3. Chamberlain forwarded numerous communications from Sendall regarding agriculture, silkworms and tannin plants, to Thiselton-Dyer for his comments. (Fairfield for Chamberlain to Royal Gardens, Kew, Feb. 28, 1896, No. 74 in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus, Confidential, Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3).

⁷⁸⁶ Chamberlain to Young, Oct. 25, 1895, No. 40 in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (Confidential), Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3.

hearing this Thiselton-Dyer responded that Tusser silk in Northern China, a wild silk similar to the wild silk of India, was not of high commercial value and most probably the worms would not thrive on those leaves nor in the climate of Cyprus. He recommended reviving the trade in mulberry silk, since there were already large quantities of Tusser silk produced in India and China. Thiselton-Dyer was supported in this opinion by Dr. Augustine Henry of the Imperial Chinese Customs, now at Kew, who had an extensive knowledge of economic subjects in China and who believed a wild silk industry in the Mediterranean had no prospect of success.⁷⁸⁷

Sendall wrote to Chamberlain on January 20, 1896, that he had procured a small quantity of the Tusser worm as an experiment on Cyprus, because he still believed there was some commercial value to them and it would be a way to utilize the large number of oaks found on the island, if they can be proved to suit the Tusser worm.⁷⁸⁸ The disagreement continued for several weeks, with Sendall and Thiselton-Dyer jockeying for the final say on the subject. In March, Thiselton-Dyer wrote an aggressive, critical letter, calling the efforts of local authorities “amateurish and not sufficiently thought out from a practical point of view to hold out any convincing promise of success”⁷⁸⁹:

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of February 28 transmitting copy of a Despatch from the High Commissioner of Cyprus with

⁷⁸⁷ Thiselton-Dyer to Colonial Office, Oct. 26, 1895, No. 41 in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (Confidential), Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3. Thiselton-Dyer later suggested raising the valonia oak from seed on the island (Thiselton-Dyer to Bramston, Oct. 28, 1895, Enclosure in No. 42 in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus Confidential, Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3).

⁷⁸⁸ Sendall to Chamberlain, from Government House, Jan. 20, 1896, No. 71 in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (Confidential), Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3.

⁷⁸⁹ Thiselton-Dyer (Royal Gardens, Kew) to Colonial Office, Mar. 2, 1896, No. 75 in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (Confidential), Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3.

enclosures, herewith returned, on the subject of the production of Tusser silk and the cultivation of plants yielding tannin in the island.

2. As regards the first point, I see nothing in the papers which would lead me to modify the opinions expressed in my letter of October 26 last.

3. The November number of the Kew Bulletin (copy enclosed) contained full information with regard to the production of sumach in Sicily. The fact stated on p. 294 that the demand is "much slacker than formerly" should be borne in mind.

4. The information as to the use for tanning of the leaves of the shinia is new to me. I propose to publish it in the Kew Bulletin in the hope that it may attract attention and stimulate the demand. There is no reason to doubt that the plant is *Pistacia Lentiscus* which is found throughout the Mediterranean region. Shinia is perhaps a corruption of the Greek name Schinus.

5. I concur with Mr. Bovill in thinking it "advisable to make another trial to introduce the (Valonia Oak?) *Quercus Ægilops*." Fifteen years ago I urged this upon the Government. If my advice has been followed and some of the money wasted on planting eucalyptus had been devoted to the experiment, there might by this time be flourishing plantations which would probably have begun to bear.

The Pylloxera regulations, of course, present a difficulty. But if the acorns were sent from Smyrna without soil in canvas bags which were changed at the custom house in Cyprus and the old ones burnt, I do not think that the importation would be attended with any appreciable risk.

6. With regard to Australian wattles, no doubt their bark is very rich in tannin. I should not have expected them to succeed in Cyprus any more than eucalyptus. And for the most part this seems to have been the case. Mr. Bovill, however, finds that two species *A. cyanophylla* (as I suppose) and *A. leiophylla* are exceptions. Both are West Australian species; the latter is known to be rich in tannin and the former may be so possibly. It does not appear whether the profit which Mr. Bovill expects from growing these two species is founded on actual commercial results or is merely conjectural. It all turns on whether he is growing the right thing.

7. The madder industry is absolutely dead.

8. Canaigre has been fully discussed in the Kew Bulletin for April 1890 (copy enclosed).

9. Reviewing the papers as a whole, I am bound to say that the suggestions, as so often occurs in colonial work, strike me as well meant but essentially amateurish and not sufficiently thought out from a practical point of view to hold out any convincing promise of success.

I am, &c. W. T. THISELTON-DYER.

A few weeks later, Wardle wrote to Chamberlain that he still strongly endorsed and confirmed his earlier suggestions, noting that when examining and comparing the Cyprus cocoons at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London in 1886, he was "very much

surprised to find that amongst the cocoons from 19 Colonies those of Cyprus yielded the strongest silk.⁷⁹⁰

Sendall had also envisioned a direct weekly mail service, and in 1893 worked out a steamer service at a cost of about 2,000*l*. Lord Ripon had rejected the proposal, but Arthur Young, as Acting High Commissioner during Sendall's leave in London, wrote now to Chamberlain renewing the request for a direct weekly service between Egypt and Cyprus. He argued that the wine growers had suffered a loss of remunerative market: "The fruit and vegetables of Cyprus are of excellent quality but the supply being greater than the demand, they can be purchased at absurdly low prices (one penny for 3 lbs. of grapes which in England would cost at least 4s. a lb.)." The Alexandria market, serving Cyprus at the time with only occasional steamer service, offered prices at least three times the current market rate in Cyprus, clearly providing a way to buoy the wine, fruit, and vegetable growing industries, as well as trade in cattle and sheep, in Cyprus. Young also noted that, as Sir Henry Bulwer already had pointed out in December 1890 and Sir R. Meade in a letter to the Treasury in January 1891, a direct communication service with Egypt would augment and help develop trade and tourism between Cyprus and Britain. Young proposed an agreement with the Austro-Hungarian Lloyd Company (that he had already arranged), to run weekly steamers between Cyprus and Alexandria.⁷⁹¹

⁷⁹⁰ Wardle to Chamberlain, March 24, 1896, No. 83 in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (Confidential), Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3.

⁷⁹¹ Young to Chamberlain, Aug. 27, 1895, No. 22, in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (Confidential), Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3. Arthur Young seems to have been a maverick of sorts. In 1891, while District Commissioner of Famagusta and without the approval of the High Commissioner, Sir Bulwer, he campaigned for a seat as Elected Member on the Cyprus Legislative Council. He was defeated soundly but appealed the case on grounds that the election of Liasides and Chakalli should be declared void because their agents, the Bishop of Kyrenia and the Archimandrite Philotheos, had used

Chamberlain considered Young's request for a direct weekly mail service between Cyprus and Alexandria, writing to Sendall on September 13 requesting his observations on the proposal.⁷⁹² The advantages of such a service to and from Alexandria, and thus with the United Kingdom and the outside world "are too obvious to be dwelt upon", wrote Sendall.⁷⁹³ Chamberlain agreed to address the Treasury with the proposal.⁷⁹⁴ In October a contract was approved with Bell's Company for the free conveyance of mails and parcels to and from Egypt, at a subsidy of 1,500*l.* a year for three years.⁷⁹⁵

Returning in February 1896 from his seven-month leave in London, Sendall received praise from Chamberlain, who noted "with satisfaction the demonstrations of welcome and expressions of loyalty to the Queen and to the Government with which you were received in the Island."⁷⁹⁶ Sendall continued to push for improvements. He wrote to Chamberlain that "Bridges are the work which I should propose to take first in hand.

threats, bribery and violence. The judge ruled in favor of Young's claim, but also noted that Young's agents had included the Commissioner's employees, which was improper conduct on the part of Government officials. Bulwer was directed to order that no Government employee should stand for election without permission from the High Commissioner. In the next election Chakalli and Liasides were elected but Young did not run again. He was appointed as an Official Member to the Legislative Council on Nov. 24, 1892, and to the Executive on Jan. 6, 1894. In 1895 he was appointed Chief Secretary with Sendall's recommendation, then served as Governor of the Straits Settlements and High Commissioner for the Federated Malay States. (Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus, Vol. IV*, Cambridge, 1952, pp. 441-442)

⁷⁹² Bramston for Chamberlain to Sendall, Sept. 13, 1895, No. 24, in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (Confidential), Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3.

⁷⁹³ Sendall to Chamberlain, Sept. 18, 1895, No. 25 in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (Confidential), Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3. Sendall noted that the economic development of Cyprus, now engaging Chamberlain's attention, might also benefit from a tithe imposed upon exported grapes, if grapes now were to be exported as substantially as wine (which was free from duties) under the new service

⁷⁹⁴ Chamberlain to Young, Sept. 26, 1895, No. 28 in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (Confidential), Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3.

⁷⁹⁵ Chamberlain to Sendall, Oct. 21, 1896, No. 155, and Treasury to Colonial Office, October 28, 1896, No. 158, both in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (Confidential), Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3.

⁷⁹⁶ Notice on July 6, 1895, in *The Cyprus Gazette*, Monday, July 8, 1895, CO 70/4, and Notice from Chamberlain to Sendall, published in *The Cyprus Gazette*, Feb. 14, 1896, CO 70/4. During Sendall's absence, the government was administered by Captain Arthur Henderson Young, Chief Secretary of Government.

Putting aside such undertakings as railways and works of irrigation, there is no work of general utility comparable, in my opinion, to that of bridging over the rivers and torrent beds which in all directions obstruct the natural routes of trade and traffic.”⁷⁹⁷ At the end of March, Chamberlain authorized funding of 19,000*l* on public works, plus funding for a temporary Government Engineer in the Public Works Department, and 500*l* over the previous year’s expenditures on education. The Cyprus Council hailed “with unfeigned pleasure” the increases sanctioned by the Home Government, but credited Sendall’s persistence for the accomplishment, writing to him: “While thus placing on record this expression of its gratitude the Council cannot overlook the fact that the welcome intelligence recently communicated is in a great measure due to the continued and energetic representations made by your Excellency for the welfare of Cyprus and of its people.”⁷⁹⁸

Sendall eagerly complied with Chamberlain’s subsequent request for an outline of public works most needed.⁷⁹⁹ At the same time, Sendall and Young handled domestic problems: in addition to capturing a band of criminals that were terrorizing the countryside, they had to deal with tensions between Greeks and Turks on the island, partly aggravated by frustration with the lack of island development despite higher

⁷⁹⁷ Sendall to Chamberlain, Government House, Cyprus, Feb. 4, 1896, No. 72 in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (Confidential), Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3.

⁷⁹⁸ Reply of the Legislative Council to the Message of His Excellency the High Commissioner, April 22, 1896, Enclosure 2 in No. 100, Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (Confidential), Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3.

⁷⁹⁹ Sendall to Chamberlain, Nicosia, May 27, 1896, No. 110 in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (Confidential), Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3.

taxes.⁸⁰⁰ The point is that while Chamberlain sought to support public works on Cyprus as part of his colonial development scheme, the men on the spot, in this case Sendall and Young, did the ground work and served as liaisons with the Cypriot people. In 1897, his last year as High Commissioner of Cyprus, Sendall received commendations for British rule from the Cyprus Council, who indicated that the Cyprus population “will hail with joy and satisfaction the celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the accession to the Throne of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and Empress of India; and will offer up fervent prayers for Her continued prosperity and longevity.”⁸⁰¹

Throughout Sendall’s term, the Cypriots continued to express loyalty to the Crown. Yet they felt slighted in relation to other colonial territories, noting that “Her subjects are happy, and have cause for self-gratulation for the reason that they enjoy all the blessings that good Government can bestow”, whereas Cyprus had not enjoyed such prosperity as other colonies, due to excessive taxation disproportionate to the resources

⁸⁰⁰ A gang of criminals were finally captured after having been at large for more than twelve months during which they were credited with eleven murders, five acts of abduction and rape, nine of shooting and wounding, and numerous acts of highway robbery and sheep stealing. Sendall credited the police with behaving extremely well; one sergeant and a corporal died and several were seriously wounded. The criminals were captured by a native officer and his men. Fourteen other persons associated with the gang were dealt with by the police, one was shot, four sentenced to death, and the remaining imprisoned with from 5 years to life sentences. Other people were imprisoned for harboring or assisting the outlaws, under the provisions of the law passed in autumn, 1895 (Sendall to Chamberlain, Feb. 28, 1896, No. 77 in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus, Confidential, Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3). Chamberlain commended Sendall on the capture (Chamberlain to Sendall, Mar. 26, 1896, No. 86 in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus, Confidential, Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3). The fluctuations in relations between Greek and Turks, and increasing requests for further development of island assets are noted by Young in October, 1895 (Young to Sendall, Government Cottage, Mount Troodos, Oct. 2, 1895, Enclosure in No. 53, Sendall to Colonial Office, Nov. 18, 1895, in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus, Confidential, Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3)

⁸⁰¹ Address of the Legislative Council in reply to the Speech of His Excellency the High Commissioner at the opening of the Session on the 17th February, 1897, *The Cyprus Gazette*, March 19, 1897, p. 3285, CO 70/4.

of the country.⁸⁰² Subsequently Sendall enacted laws such as the law “To Encourage the Development and Improvement of the Silk Industry”⁸⁰³ and a law enacted “To Facilitate the Cultivation of Tobacco in Cyprus”.⁸⁰⁴ On November 29, 1897, Sendall was appointed as Governor of British Guiana, and Sir William Haynes Smith, the Governor of the Bahamas, became High Commissioner of Cyprus.⁸⁰⁵ Sendall died at home in London on March 16, 1904.⁸⁰⁶

The persistence of Sendall and Young in urging the Colonial Office to support the initiatives they and earlier administrators had long sought can be seen as the first link in a chain between Cyprus administration and Whitehall support. Without their ground work, little would have been accomplished. The final link, however, was Chamberlain in his capacity as Colonial Secretary. Their unofficial goals were facilitated by Chamberlain’s official empire-wide colonial development program that began in 1895.

Summary

Walter Sendall’s successes on Cyprus are significant because he began his reforms three years before Joseph Chamberlain initiated his “constructive imperialism” program in 1895. However, Chamberlain’s efforts on Cyprus overshadow those of Sendall because they were put into place as part of formal policy within the Colonial Office. The

⁸⁰² Ibid.

⁸⁰³ Law for development of the silk industry enacted August 19, 1897, published in *The Cyprus Gazette Supplement*, Nov. 26, 1897, p. 3509, CO 70/4.

⁸⁰⁴ Law for cultivation of tobacco in Cyprus, enacted May 18, 1897, published in *The Cyprus Gazette Supplement*, Nov. 26, 1897, p. 3511, CO 70/4.

⁸⁰⁵ Announcement of appointment on Nov. 29, 1897, published in *The Cyprus Gazette*, Dec. 1, 1897, p. 3545, CO 70/4.

⁸⁰⁶ C. A. Harris (rev. Lynn Milne), “Sendall, Sir Walter Joseph”, *DNB* (Oxford, 2004-8).

consequences of this are considerable when it is remembered that until Britain annexed Cyprus in 1914, Cyprus was still nominally under Ottoman suzerainty, not an official British possession. The extent of attention paid to colonial development on Cyprus, however, indicates that the British saw Cyprus as a colonial dependency at least as early as 1895.

Chamberlain's work also points out how Cyprus fit into the schemes of the Greater Empire. For one thing, Chamberlain has been seen as initiating a period of increasing reliance on scientific experts.⁸⁰⁷ This is demonstrated on Cyprus, when he called on Thiselton-Dyer at Kew to review the recommendations made by local administrators on sericulture and reforestation. Yet administrators on Cyprus had already consulted botanical experts from Kew to experiment with replanting schemes as early as 1878, and by 1895 local administrators had acquired enough confidence to gather their own set of British experts from India, China and Ceylon. When a series of medical crises arose in strategically sensitive areas of Britain's African Empire like Zululand, where the tsetse fly disease surfaced in 1894 and in Uganda, the center of the 1901 sleeping sickness epidemic, and Chamberlain advocated the use of scientific experts in colonial dependencies, Cyprus was not a priority, since administrators since 1878 had already nearly eradicated mosquito breeding grounds by filling in and reforesting low-lying swamp lands and still waters. Nor did Cyprus contribute to the Tropical Diseases

⁸⁰⁷ Joseph Hodge, *Triumph of the Expert* (Athens, Ohio, 2007), p. 24. Hodge argues that Chamberlain's years at the Colonial Office "represent a critical moment in the British Empire, marking the effective beginning of the story of the triumph of the [scientific] expert."

Research Fund, one of Chamberlain's pet projects designed to make funds available for research as well as education.⁸⁰⁸

Despite the fact that development projects already had been pursued by earlier local administrators—or perhaps because of them—Chamberlain saw Cyprus as an opportune test case in agricultural crops, silk, and tobacco. His overall goal, however, was imperial unity, which rested not only on scientific and medical expertise, but also on improved trade and commerce, facilitated by updated infrastructures. On Cyprus, he especially supported projects for railways and irrigation, and in these and other projects he benefited from the work of progressive administrators like Sendall and Young. His relationship with Sendall continued into Sendall's tenure as colonial governor of British Guiana, where Chamberlain consulted him and another staff member, Everard Im Thurn, on the handling of concession seekers.⁸⁰⁹ Thus the role of administrators on the spot in Cyprus in promoting colonial development should not be overlooked. However, although the needs of Cyprus were soon overtaken by those of colonies in Africa, and Chamberlain himself failed to win complete Treasury support for his overall program, his tenure marked a turning point for Cyprus. In effect, the year 1895 marks a shift from informal development in Cyprus to a formal colonial development policy.

The institution of colonial development policies served to bring Cyprus into the fold of the greater British Empire. The next chapter discusses how Britons—from administrators to soldiers to British families—maintained a sense of Britishness related to being members of the Empire.

⁸⁰⁸ Douglas Haynes, *Imperial Medicine* (Philadelphia, 2001), p. 156-165.

⁸⁰⁹ Robert Kubicek, *The Administration of Imperialism*, p. 129.

THEME III: THE MANTLE OF BRITISHNESS

Another very noticeable sign would be our action when we take some new place. We do not merely strengthen it and set up fortifications, government-buildings and churches. What else do we do? We begin a Cricket ground, and perhaps a ground for Football, Lawn Tennis, Polo, and so on; these come hardly second to the fortifications and government-buildings.

-Eustace H. Miles (c. 1900)⁸¹⁰

⁸¹⁰ Eustace H. Miles, "Sport and Athletics and the British Empire", in *The Isle of Man, Gibraltar, Malta, St. Helena, Barbados, Cyprus* (London, 1902), pp. 489-518 (491). Miles was an amateur tennis champion, Cambridge lecturer and author of *The Training of the Body*.

CHAPTER NINE
Britishness in Cyprus

Britishness in Ottoman Cyprus

In the process of creating “British Cyprus”, Britons brought to the island a set of social behaviors and attitudes distinctly “civilized” and rooted in British tradition—distinct, that is, from the “other” of the native population. Britishness was synonymous with civilization, moral uprightness, and progress. This Britishness went beyond mere nationality, for were not the Maltese and Indians also of British nationality? One might argue that their passion for cricket, for example, made Indians seem more British than the Maltese, who as residents of a British-occupied island also held British citizenship but rarely played cricket. Yet Britishness also went beyond sport: it was a collective state of mind, expressed on Cyprus in what have been called “the cardinal British institutions—tea, tubs, sanitary appliances, lawn tennis and churches”⁸¹¹, as well as tent-dinner parties, cricket, horse racing and theatre, and in humanitarian endeavors. These institutions of Britishness supported the collective attitude of a nation of Britons unified by the monarchy and by Christian attitudes of superiority over their subject peoples.⁸¹² In the colonies they also helped to maintain a comfortable familiarity in a foreign land. “English folk”, as the novelist Rider Haggard commented in 1903, “would celebrate book teas and play golf or any other accustomed game upon the brink of Styx”.⁸¹³

⁸¹¹ John Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion* (Oxford, 1987), p. 45.

⁸¹² David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (Oxford, 2001), p. 123.

⁸¹³ Rider Haggard, *A Winter Pilgrimage* (1903), quoted in John Pemble, *Mediterranean Passion* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 271, 266.

Some saw this persistent refusal to be overwhelmed by the people [of the Empire] as the mark of a ruling race. But to maintain this superiority, segregation and distinctiveness were essential.⁸¹⁴ Thus on Cyprus the highest social events took place in the government retreats in the mountains or in government homes and compounds in the capital, and sporting events and theatre remained British domains. Social niceties extended first to officers and their wives and important visitors, second to lower officials and soldiers, and rarely to the Cypriot native community. Later, when Britain annexed Cyprus in 1914 and made it a Crown Colony in 1925, the attribute of British citizenship, or nationality, for native Cypriots became a legal issue, but “Britishness” was slow to be acquired by Greeks or Turks on the island, even those working in the Government. If anything, the divisions between British, Greek, and Turk became more pronounced.

In this chapter, Britishness is discussed in relation to the unique sport, dress, religion, architecture, and social status that separated the new British community from native Cypriots. However, it is clear that Britons assigned to Cyprus not only segregated themselves from the indigenous Cypriots but also participated in the class stratification of their own race, and in Cyprus as in other far-reaches of the Empire, men and women often acquired a higher class level in British society than they would have at home in England. While Wolseley, for example, saw his governorship of Cyprus as an opportunity for self-aggrandizement in military service, he also sought recognition in British society. For him, Britishness and civilization went hand in hand, and civilization, despite the “decrepit” environment on Cyprus, meant dinner parties (even if in a tent),

⁸¹⁴ Ibid.

English gardens, house servants, lawn tennis, hunting, and political brown-nosing.⁸¹⁵

Immediately in July 1878, he set up his household and prepared for visitors. He wrote to his wife:

This day month I hope to see you installed in Government House, if all goes well...I shall have no difficulty in finding a couple of Greek women as housemaids for our own private part of the house ...I have just got the silk for the Queen, and have ordered enough for a dress to be sent to Eyty. I am sending Lady Cowell a chemise like the one I sent the Queen. When you come here, I think we can please friends by sending them gold coins which I can buy for a pound apiece.⁸¹⁶

With silk for the Queen and gold coins for his friends, clearly Wolseley expected his new position in Cyprus to raise his position in British society.

In December, Wolseley smugly wrote to his wife about a visit from Mr. Blunt and his wife, Lady Anne Blunt—“a daughter of old Lord Lovelace by his first wife and so a granddaughter of Lord Byron—*en route* for Damascus and the Desert.”⁸¹⁷ John Pender, chairman of the Eastern Telegraph Company, visited Wolseley at Government House, arriving in his luxurious steam yacht the *s. s. John Pender* on a trip round the island towards Brindisi, Italy, carrying Mr. Edwards, M.P., Member for Weymouth, and other dignitaries. (Mrs. Scott-Stevenson remarked on Pender’s invitation to dinner on the yacht

⁸¹⁵ Mrs. Scott-Stevenson reports in her book *Our Home in Cyprus* (London, 1880) about the fine game hunting, tent dinner parties, and the reassuring familiarity of the British community, that is, many officers and their families who had served together before arriving in Cyprus.

⁸¹⁶ Letter from Lord Wolseley to Lady Wolseley, July 18, 1878, in Arthur, *Letters of Lord and Lady Wolseley*, pp. 32-3.

⁸¹⁷ *Ibid.*

when he docked at Kyrenia, during which was served a sirloin, “the first we had seen for so long a time”.)⁸¹⁸

For the essentially English garden, Wolseley instructed his wife to bring mignonette, sweet pea, hop, wallflower, heartsease seed, and a few dozen crocus roots (“anything and everything will grow here”). For lawn games, she should also bring enough good grass seed to sow an acre and “a set of lawn-tennis things—the best rackets and five dozen of the best covered balls”—and for examining maps, a hand magnifying-glass.⁸¹⁹ Gentlemen and ladies soon enjoyed tennis and croquet at the tent camp in Tröodos (fig. 9.1) and later, guests like Colonel Green reported playing tennis at the courts at Wolseley’s bungalow⁸²⁰ (fig. 9.2). Wolseley wrote in his journal on Saturday, October 5, 1878, that he played lawn tennis in the evening: “I should imagine it was the first time the game was ever played in Cyprus”. Through the winter months it became his habit to play tennis in the evenings.⁸²¹

⁸¹⁸ Esmé Scott-Stevenson, *Our Home in Cyprus* (London, 1880), p. 108.

⁸¹⁹ Wolseley notes in his personal journal, written before his wife arrived in Cyprus, about playing lawn-tennis several times a week in the evening. See Cavendish, ed., *Wolseley’s journal* (Nicosia, 1991)

⁸²⁰ Lou Taylor, “Dress, Etiquette and Colonialism”, in L. L. Hadjigavriel and Rita C. Severis, eds., *In the Footsteps of Women: Peregrinations in Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1998), p. 54.

⁸²¹ Wolseley’s journal, entries for October through December, 1878 (Cavendish, p. 10)



Figure 9.1. Tennis at Tröodos Mountain camp, photographed by J. P. Foscolo, c. 1879-1880.
In Andreas Malecos, ed., *J. P. Foscolo*, Cultural Centre Cyprus Popular Bank (1992).

Sport and games on Cyprus represented a growing attitude throughout the Empire that considered sports and athletics to be imperial necessities. Indeed, sport as a sign of Britishness prompted Eustace H. Miles, amateur tennis champion, Cambridge lecturer and author of *The Training of the Body*, to write in 1902 about the importance of sport and athletics for individuals as well as for a ruling and imperial nation. Miles proposes that sport breaks down class divisions, increases the health of mind and moral character, and develops a person's "promptitude" (the capability to be prompt and ready to start), calmness, self-control, patience, pluck, a sense of humor, discipline, and "the power of

playing an uphill game”.⁸²² Games are also splendid class levelers and bring men and women together in a healthy way:

No favour is shown to the man who has eaten a huge champagne-lunch and smoked expensive cigars, as compared with the man who has only had his bread and cheese...

Besides this they bring the sexes together in a pleasant way. It is much better that they should meet at some form of Athletics than at the typical crowded At-Homes: the mere intercourse is good at all times, but it is best that it should be in the open air and that the occasion should be healthy.⁸²³

For the most hopeless class—the idle rich—Miles proposes sport for men and bicycling for women as the only chance for exercise.⁸²⁴

In Cyprus, however, as in other parts of the Empire, sport was anything but a “class-leveller” as Miles saw it. Rather, the recreational activities of the officers and their wives drew them together as an elite group. In addition to tennis, croquet, and tent dinners, a typical Sunday afternoon could see Sir and Lady Wolseley, Colonel Greaves, and Captain and Mrs. Scott-Stevenson riding by horse or mule around the castle ruins on Mount Hilarion above Kyrenia, often stopping for a picnic.⁸²⁵ The soldiers and their wives had to concern themselves more with keeping a budget. Single men found themselves between the two: the career of a rising young officer could be distracted by marriage, but wives and families also could bring stability to outpost assignments. It was

⁸²² Eustace H. Miles, “Sport and Athletics, and the British Empire”, in *The Isle of Man, Gibraltar, Malta, St. Helena, Barbados, Cyprus* (London, 1902), pp. 489-518.

⁸²³ Ibid.

⁸²⁴ Eustace H. Miles, “Sport and Athletics, and the British Empire”, in *The Isle of Man, Gibraltar, Malta, St. Helena, Barbados, Cyprus* (London, 1902), pp. 489-518 (507).

⁸²⁵ Esmé Scott-Stevenson, *Our Home in Cyprus* (London, 1880), pp. 112-113.

a good thing, young Herbert Kitchener wrote in his letters home, that “There are a good many ladies up here now,” including Lady Biddulph.⁸²⁶



Figure 9.2. Tennis court at government cottage in Tröodos, photographed by J. P. Foscolo, c. 1879-1880. In Andreas Malecos, ed., *J. P. Foscolo*, Cultural Centre Cyprus Popular Bank (1992).

A single man himself, Kitchener spent the months of August during his surveying duties at the government’s summer capital, a camp about 6,000 feet above the sea, below Mount Tröodos, with pine trees, magnificent views and “simply heavenly” climate. He celebrated the battle of Minden (August 1, 1759) with the Lancashire Fusiliers, drinking to the “health” of the heroes and watching the band marching around the table playing the Minden March. Kitchener also had rolls in garrison theatricals, and attended balls and

⁸²⁶ John Pollock, *Kitchener: Architect of Victory, Artisan of Peace, Vol I* (NY: 1998, 2002 ed.), pp. 45-6.

dinners with other military men and couples. When not surveying, Kitchener enjoyed hare hunting and horse racing. His first horse, a mare named *Selim* he brought from Palestine, was fairly successful but on March 16, 1881, his new Arabian horse, *Kathleen*, won the Cyprus Stakes and the Welter Steeplechase⁸²⁷. The races were as follows:

1881, MARCH 16.

NICOSIA RACE MEETING

First race, match about one mile

Mr. H. Kitchener's *Selim*, Owner, 1

Mr. C. Tyser's *Squint*, Owner, 2

The Cyprus Stakes

Mr. Kitchener's *Kathleen*, 1

Capt. Croker's *Deli Kaz*, 2.

Fifth race, Welter Steeplechase

Mr. Kitchener's *Kathleen* (owner up), 1

Capt. Croker's *Grey Dawn*, 2

The *Cyprus, an Independent Newspaper*, reported that the Welter Steeplechase,

was a splendid race...After the first time round *Kathleen*, *Derviche*, and *Grey Dawn* drew away to the front, which position they held the finish coming down the straight. It was nip and tuck between *Kathleen* and *Grey Dawn*, the former, however, being landed in half a head in front of the other horse."⁸²⁸

The next day, Kitchener finished second on *Selim* in the Nicosia Hunt Steeplechase.⁸²⁹

Small game hunting also separated the British from the native, since a tax of ten shillings was levied for persons carrying a gun, which as Mrs. Scott-Stevenson remarked, "will prevent many of the peasants going out". She identified the district of Karpas as best for hunting francolin, partridge and hares and the lakes near Famagusta and the

⁸²⁷ Ibid.

⁸²⁸ Rye and Groser, *Kitchener in His Own Words* (London, 1917), p. 65-69.

⁸²⁹ Ibid.

marshy ground between the Messaorian Plain and Nicosia for wild duck. “Some of the largest bags of woodcock” were garnered at Kormakiti, north of Morphou.⁸³⁰

Mrs. Scott-Stevenson also wrote in 1879 about cricket matches in Cyprus.⁸³¹ Cricket particularly represented a higher level of Britishness in Cyprus, as it did in other parts of the Empire. In 1880, *The Illustrated London News* declared:

Wherever English gentlemen reside or sojourn, in every region of the globe, they may be found playing cricket; in Australia or India, in the Arctic Circle, or in the spice islands of tropical seas, they contrive, at some hour and season, to enjoy the display of skill in batting and bowling, which few men of other nations have attempted to imitate with any degree of success.”⁸³²

Apparently where gentlemen played cricket and ladies played croquet, soldiers found satisfaction in more common British sports like horse-racing, but despite these differences, all contributed to the idea of Britishness and to the separation of the British from the Cypriot community.

Despite Wolseley’s efforts, the social scene of the British community on Cyprus paled in comparison to that in Cairo, where Lady Tweedsmuir “moved in a heady excitement” of dances and picnics on the Nile⁸³³. Yet, as in Egypt and India, social and state functions ensured a sense of civilization on the island, as well as the separation of the British community from the island’s native population. In only a few cases there was

⁸³⁰ Esmé Scott-Stevenson, *Our Home in Cyprus* (London, 1880), p. 110. Wolseley wrote to Salisbury that the peasants were charged 20 shillings to hunt (Wolseley to Salisbury, Aug. 21, 1878, CO 67/1, No. 27).

⁸³¹ Esmé Scott-Stevenson, *Our Home in Cyprus* (London, 1880).

⁸³² “A Cricket-match at Constantinople”, in *The Illustrated London News*, Nov. 27, 1880, p. 524.

⁸³³ Susan Tweedsmuir, *The Lilac and the Rose* (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1952) cited in Lou Taylor, “Dress, Etiquette and Colonialism: The Clothing of British Women in Cyprus 1878-1918”, L. L. Hadjigavriel and Rita C. Severis, eds., *In the Footsteps of Women: Peregrinations in Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1998), p. 53.

some interaction with higher ranking native officials. In 1893, Mrs. Lewis wrote about formal tea parties, colonial receptions and full dress state occasions, such as the Queen's birthday balls, where "the Cadis of Nicosia was to be seen resplendent in gold embroidered robes".⁸³⁴

Some Britons also traveled marginally within British society. Lady Annie Brassey, who sailed throughout the Middle East and Mediterranean with her husband, a successful archaeologist, despite her wealth, title and personal museum full of Cypriot antiquities, failed to fit into British social circles on Cyprus because of her "new money" and her reputation as an "exotic" woman author-voyager. For a dinner with Wolseley in Nicosia on November 10, 1878, Lady Brassey dressed in a formal gown ordered by mail but Wolseley wrote later in his journal that she "looked like the maid in her mistress's clothes". Wolseley and his wife, Loo, both disdained Lady Brassey's poor taste in furnishings on the Brassey's yacht, the *Sunbeam*, which was filled with new, historical-revival ornament and furniture. Loo Wolseley furnished Government House in Nicosia with hand-built, modern arts-and-crafts pieces and wallpapers shipped from William Morris's shop in London and with eighteenth-century family heirlooms. Lady Brassey, from an industrial and mercantile background, owned no such family antiques. Class divisions, however, did not prohibit Wolseley from enjoying "the first really delicious

⁸³⁴ Mrs. Lewis, *A Lady's Impressions of Cyprus in 1893* (London, 1894), p. 200, cited in Lou Taylor, "Dress, Etiquette and Colonialism: The Clothing of British Women in Cyprus 1878-1918", L. L. Hadjigavriel and Rita C. Severis, eds., *In the Footsteps of Women: Peregrinations in Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1998), p. 54.

meal I have had since I left England”, washed down with dry champagne, with the Brasseys aboard the *Sunbeam*.⁸³⁵

In addition to sports, dinner parties, and modern furniture, civilization was facilitated by the extension of the British postal system. All the principal Colonies provided for the carriage and delivery of correspondence, as well as services for money orders, postal orders, and savings bank services. L. T. Horne of the General Post Office noted that postal relations were regulated by the Convention of the Postal Union, “of which all the civilised and half civilised countries of the world are members, with the exception of China.”⁸³⁶ The first British post office on Cyprus was established on July 27, 1878, with offices at the principal towns installed towards the end of the year. The officers in charge of the postal service on Cyprus were transferred from the Imperial Postal Office for special service in Cyprus, but the Post Office remained under the control of the Postmaster General until April 1, 1880, when it was transferred to the local Government. The island mails were conveyed generally on mules under a contract with local muleteers for the whole island, at a cost of about 1-1.2*d.* a mile.⁸³⁷ In 1884

⁸³⁵ Lou Taylor, “Lady Brassey, 1870-1886: traveler, writer, collector, educator, woman of means and the fate of her Cypriot artefacts”, in V. Tatton-Brown, *Cyprus in the 19th Century AD* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 239-247 (244-245).

Annie and Thomas Brassey M.P. visited Cyprus in the autumn of 1878. He had inherited a huge fortune from his father, the famous, international railway contractor and was an accomplished Master Mariner. (Lou Taylor, “Dress, Etiquette and Colonialism: The Clothing of British Women in Cyprus 1878-1918,” in L.L. Loizou Hadjigavriel, ed., *In the Footsteps of Women, Peregrinations in Cyprus*, Nicosia, 1998, pp. 44-69 (45-6))

⁸³⁶ L. T. Horne, “The Postal Communications of the Empire”, in *The Isle of Man, Gibraltar, Malta, St. Helena, Barbados, Cyprus* (London, 1902), pp. 313-331 (330-31). [328-9? Check page numbers] Home likened the Convention of the Postal Union, with delegates from Australia, Canada, British South Africa, and India, to the “nearest approach yet realized to The Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.”

⁸³⁷ Report from Col. Warren, Aug. 28, 1885, Enclosure in Mediterranean No. 22, Biddulph to Stanley (M.P.), Dec. 18, 1885, CO 883/4/5, pp. 22-23. There was a limited problem with muleteers secretly transporting letters and packages without postage.

arrangements were made for the interchange of money orders between Egypt and Cyprus, and an inland money order system was established.⁸³⁸

The parcel post commenced in India in 1885 and soon was extended to all the Colonies and provided, apart from the benefit to trade, “a cheap and accessible means of sending small presents and mementos between friends in distant lands”, according to L. T. Horne of the General Post Office. “The parcel post”, he continued, “has its importance in keeping fresh the ties of sentiment, as witness the thousands of parcels of plum pudding, holly and mistletoe dispatched from England about Christmas time, and the heather which finds its way in the late summer to Scotsmen who are building up the Empire in all parts of the world.”⁸³⁹ Such mementos between friends in distant lands likely included picture postcards from Cyprus (fig. 9.3).

From tennis to horseracing Britons on Cyprus maintained their sense of Britishness but also their separateness from the Cypriots and between their own classes. At the same time, dinner parties with old friends, patriotic songs and celebrations, letters and picture postcards sent through the British postal service connected all Britons on Cyprus with Britain and helped instill a sense of membership in the greater British Empire.

⁸³⁸ Ibid.

⁸³⁹ L. T. Horne, “The Postal Communications of the Empire”, p. 328.

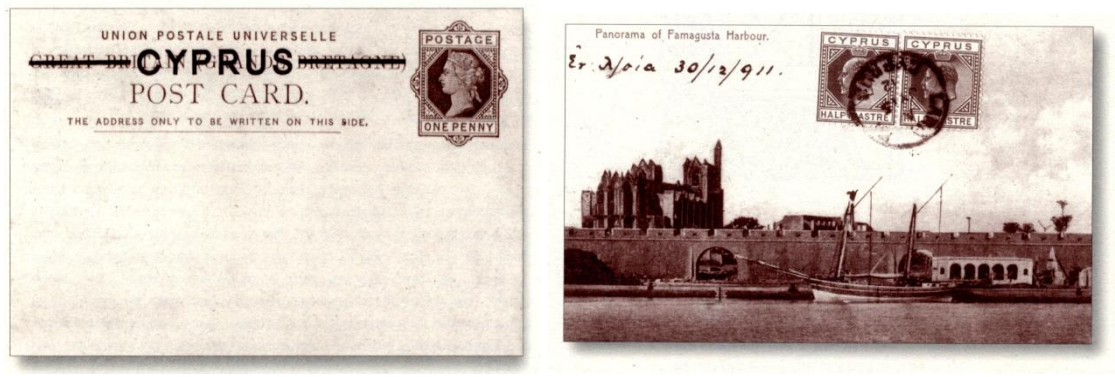


Figure 9.3. (Left) Official Cyprus postcard with a printed stamp, 1880. (Right) Cyprus postcard mailed from Nicosia, 1911. In Stavros G. Lazarides, *Souvenir of Famagusta, the Town of the Three Continents, 1600 BC – 1960 AD*, Nicosia: The Cultural Centre of the Popular Bank Group, 1999, pp. 302-305.

British women in Cyprus

Perhaps the most important influence on civilized behavior was British women. The 1880s and 1890s mark a period in which British women in the Empire struggled with conflicting roles, just as ideas of feminine emancipation gained prominence at home in Britain. Nevertheless, women provided a sense of stability, propriety and Christian manners. On Cyprus, the wives of officers, in particular, but also wives of lower status as well as independent women created their own roles, sometimes clinging to traditional convention and others finding opportunities for freedom never before experienced. In most cases, however, British women felt the compulsion to preserve ladylike etiquette and correctness, even when riding or playing golf or other sports, and this helped maintain a standard of civility and superiority. As Mrs. Scott Stevenson observed, “their notions [Cypriot women] are entirely different to those of an English lady, as in truth,

might naturally be expected".⁸⁴⁰ To take on any semblance of "foreignness" in dress or behavior would damage the British image as civilized and Christian, not to mention the respectability of their husbands' positions for those who were married, thus British women wore English riding habits and rode side saddle, and endured corsets and bustles⁸⁴¹. J. P. Foscolo photographed British women playing croquet and tennis in such attire at the High Commissioner's summer cottage in the Tröodos Mountains (fig. 9. 4).

Yet the conflict between moral superiority and curiosity about indigenous peoples created a conundrum for that portion of the superior race who themselves were not yet franchised in England.⁸⁴² Furthermore, the "otherness" of Cypriot people as opposed to the British perhaps found even greater expression in the relations between mistress of the house and her native servants, and in the mistress's role as moralizer and humanitarian rather than governor. The British woman on Cyprus not only served as her husband's helpmate, she often felt a need to understand and perhaps give aid to the Cypriots she deemed uncivilized or in need of raising up but also found curious and exotic. At the same time, she sought to establish her position in British society on the island.

⁸⁴⁰ Esmé Scott-Stevenson, *Our Home in Cyprus* (London, 1880), p. 5.

⁸⁴¹ Lou Taylor, "Dress, Etiquette and Colonialism: The Clothing of British Women in Cyprus 1878-1918", in L. L. Hadjigavriel and Rita C. Severis, eds., *In the Footsteps of Women: Peregrinations in Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1998), pp. 56-7.

⁸⁴² Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History* (Chapel Hill, 1994), p. 65.

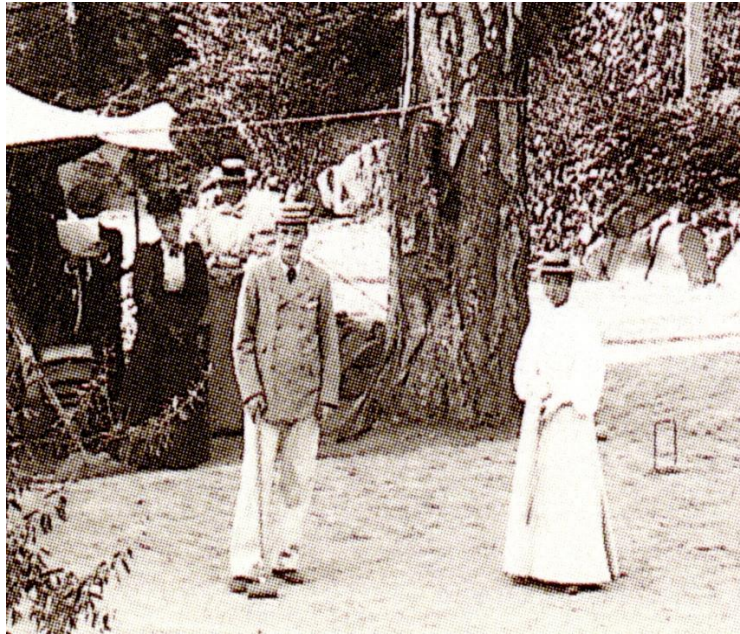


Figure 9.4. British ladies and gentlemen playing croquet at the Tröodos summer retreat, photographed by J. P. Foscolo, c. 1879-1880. In Andreas Malecos, ed., *J. P. Foscolo*, Cultural Centre Cyprus Popular Bank (1992).

These contradictions are evident in the experiences of Esmé Scott-Stevenson, the wife of Captain Scott-Stevenson, a Royal Highlander officer and Civil Commissioner of Kyrenia. She is now known for her letters and books, describing her life in Kyrenia and other travels with her husband, although she kept them secret from her husband before they were published.⁸⁴³ Mrs. Scott-Stevenson's memoir, published in London as *Our Home in Cyprus* in 1879, while not an official record of British administration on Cyprus provides a unique view of the every-day life of British families on the island—"civilizing" yet embracing certain parts of the indigenous culture and landscape. Upon arriving first in Larnaca just after the occupation, she remarks on the strange mixture of races from Greek to Ethiopian, and the date, banana and palm-trees. She has never before

⁸⁴³ The books are *Our Home in Cyprus* (London, Chapman and Hall, 1879), *Our Ride through Asia Minor* (London, Chapman and Hall, 1881), and *On Summer Seas including the Mediterranean, the Aegean, the Ionian, the Adriatic, and the Euxine, and a voyage down the Danube* (London, Chapman and Hall, 1883).

seen a camel “except at the Zoological Gardens”—and they fascinate her to the extent that descriptions of camels occupy three pages of her book.⁸⁴⁴ Her book is also filled with descriptions of dinner parties and cricket matches, as well as travels around the country, where she saw leper colonies and decrepit villages.

Although intrigued by her new surroundings, Mrs. Scott-Stevenson, as other British ladies on the island, separated herself from Cypriot women. On one occasion, a visit with her husband to the house of the Turkish Mudir Neim Effendi, Commandant of the *zaptiehs* (police force), Mrs. Scott-Stevenson complains about Neim Effendi’s bad table manners, despite his having traveled in Europe. But the women at the house (in a separate apartment) are particularly irksome:

I have no sympathy with Turkish ladies. They are as utterly devoid of intelligence as they are uneducated, and it is impossible to converse without an interpreter, who, of course, is inadmissible.⁸⁴⁵

As for the Greek women, upon observing their custom of wearing their gowns open over the chest as far down as the waist, Mrs. Scott-Stevenson remarks coolly, “In England their dress would be considered indecent.”⁸⁴⁶

While elevating herself above Cypriot women, Mrs. Scott-Stevenson appreciates her status as District Commissioner’s wife and puts herself above British wives of lower rank. She disdains the petty narrowness of the ladies’ every-day life in garrison towns

⁸⁴⁴ Esmé Scott-Stevenson, *Our Home in Cyprus* (London, 1880), pp. 8-13.

⁸⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 173. Later Mrs. Scott-Stevenson and her husband spent a more civilized evening, sleeping on “a real bed”, served tea *à la Russse* with a slice of lemon and a plate of raisins by an attendant in the morning.

⁸⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

and the gossip at the clubs, where “any natural conceit of hobbledehoyishness is trebly increased by the silly flatteries of silly women and the example of second-rate men.”⁸⁴⁷

As Civil Commissioner of Kyrenia, Captain Scott-Stevenson received use of a small one-story, flat-roofed house, built around a courtyard filled with orange, lemon, quince and mulberry-trees, facing the sea⁸⁴⁸ Mrs. Scott-Stevenson describes how the roof, covered in mud, exploded in the springtime with iris and anemones, and wistfully explains the view:

The back of our house faced the sea, and our drawing-room was built on piles right over it, so that on looking out of the windows I could see the fish swimming about among the rocks below. My husband often shot them with a rifle, and in this way we had many a capital dish of mullet or rock-fish, or even basses for breakfast...⁸⁴⁹

From her breakfast table Mrs. Scott-Stevenson also watches boats from Asia Minor arriving with piles of rugs and carpets, building wood, locust beans, tins of paraffin oil and lard, barrels of olives and figs, and living shiploads of donkeys, “queer cargoes of things never heard of in England.”⁸⁵⁰

The Turkish bath attached to the house is never used, as none of the servants know how to use it. The long dining room with six windows looks on to the sea, and low divans around the walls serve as couches. The sitting room is painted in “true Turkish

⁸⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 68.

⁸⁴⁸ Netice Yıldız, in “Ottoman Houses in Cyprus” (1996), describes the Scott’s house as “a little Turkish house at the harbour” (p. 83). Most of the Ottoman houses in Cyprus are located within the walled cities of Nicosia and Famagusta and are stylistically partly Mediterranean and partly Anatolian. (p. 79) The author notes that most of the Ottoman houses today date back to the last decade of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth-century. The Arapahmet Quarter in Nicosia is being partially restored under a restoration and preservation project of UNESCO. (p. 87)

⁸⁴⁹ Esmé Scott-Stevenson, *Our Home in Cyprus* (London, 1880), p. 95.

⁸⁵⁰ Ibid.

style”, with many-colored stars and crescents around the top of the walls, above verses from the Koran and different proverbs such as:

“Let God keep away from us the man who has the face of a friend, but the heart of an enemy.”

“Wine and women turn a wise man into a tyrant.”

“He who knows how to keep his tongue silent saves his head.”

“At Constantinople fire devours your goods, plague takes your life, and women your wit.”

“May God protect His servant from the hands of the doctor and the lawyer.”

“The mouth of the wise man is in his heart, and the heart of the fool in his mouth.”

The Scott-Stevensons leave these painted phrases on the walls, as well as the almond-shapes painted in graduating shades of canary, amber, gold, orange, brown blues, reds, and greens on the ceilings. However, they deem the basin and ewer at the end of the room unnecessary in an English drawing-room and fill it with flowers, and place a few pieces of English furniture around the room on a floor covered with cool Turkish matting.

Opposite the house stands a mosque—a square building with a graceful minaret—from which the Muezzin walks “thrice round this minaret four times a day” calling the faithful to prayer. Mrs. Scott-Stevenson mentions no visit from the Muezzin, but the local priest, who calls the Captain “Pasha”, arrives on the day after the couple moves in to bless them and their house, their dogs, beds, chairs, and so forth with a sprinkling from a little brown vessel in his hand. A crowd of natives follows the priest, grasping the

opportunity to see the inside of the Pasha's house.⁸⁵¹ Mrs. Scott-Stevenson sees the Cypriots as strange but amusing:

The natives amuse me most. Some of them were the very blackest people I ever met; so intensely black that I know of nothing to which to compare the colour of their skins. They were always dressed in the gaudiest and brightest hues—marvellous combinations of blues and greens, yellows and crimsons—which it must have severely taxed the invention of the manufacturer to produce.⁸⁵²

It is curious that Mrs. Scott-Stevenson sees the Cypriots as black, although it has been argued that Britons saw the inhabitants of their Empire in terms of crude stereotypes of black and white, and “no-less crude” relationships of superiority and inferiority.⁸⁵³

Certainly this confusion may be understandable for a young woman inexperienced in the world. However, while British documents do comment on black slaves from Africa, Mrs. Scott-Stevenson's black Cypriots may be a reference to natives like the darkly tanned water girls and men in John Thomson's photographs. But she separates the black “natives” from the “dignified Turks” in their white turbans and long fur-lined robes (she notes the robes are generally fox-skin) of “charming soft hues, beautiful olive greens, shaded yellows and browns, such as would have delighted the eye of an artist.” The Turks recall for Mrs. Scott-Stevenson the great delights of *The Arabian Nights* and “Aladdin with his Wonderful Lamp” of her childhood (despite Neim Effendi's

⁸⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 95-8.

⁸⁵² Ibid., pp. 19-20.

⁸⁵³ David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (Oxford, 2001), p. 123.

bad table habits).⁸⁵⁴ Thus sometimes Cypriots could stir a connection between Britishness and the exoticism of the Empire.

As Mrs. Scott-Stevenson describes how she accompanies her husband on rides through the countryside and the mountains, climbs through archaeological sites and rough terrain, shops alone in the bazaar and visits a leper village, a remarkable theme emerges from her writing. Much like the opportunity for freedom away from constricting society in Britain often appealed to men in the Empire, Mrs. Scott-Stevenson, too, enjoyed a “curious feeling of freedom” in Cyprus:

I felt for once in my life that I was queen of all I surveyed—that we were absolutely our own master and mistress, with no one to have to obey. The feeling was not only curious, but exhilarating...The first advantage I took to my liberty was to go, with Don Pasquale and our dogs as escort, and wander through the empty camp. Forbidden ground to me before, like everything else that is forbidden, I was now very curious to see it.⁸⁵⁵

Curiosity overtakes British domestic reserve and now, away from England, the forbidden is accessible and possible. Her experience of moral superiority becomes more an experience of self-definition and youthful adventure.

At the same time, Mrs. Scott-Stevenson often finds it “a great trial” to bear the indigenous inquisitiveness about her, for example when her side-saddle riding strikes “the natives, whose women always ride ‘man-fashion’”, as an amazing phenomenon.⁸⁵⁶ All

⁸⁵⁴ Esmé Scott-Stevenson, *Our Home in Cyprus* (London, 1880), pp. 19-20.

⁸⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 69. Don Pasquale was a Maltese stowaway who became the Scott-Stevenson’s servant.

⁸⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-13.

these feelings—freedom, moral superiority, separateness—represent the mixed experiences of many late Victorian women in the colonies.⁸⁵⁷

Unaware of the movements in British feminist history to define her as a “woman in the nation,” Mrs. Scott-Stevenson in 1878 certainly participated in women’s progress toward emancipation in her own way. Women like Mrs. Scott-Stevenson and Loo Wolseley, wives of British administrators, came to Cyprus as supporters of their husbands’ work and helped create British Cyprus by transplanting civilized modes of behavior from England to Cyprus. They also traveled the island, experienced their own new adventures and impacted the indigenous people. Some wrote home about these experiences and enjoyed some professional success—Scott-Stevenson’s book about Cyprus went into two published editions, and Lady Brassey’s five books had an enthusiastic following in England.⁸⁵⁸

Like many men away from the restricting conventions at home, many British women in the colonies thought of themselves as more adventurous and independent than

⁸⁵⁷ Antoinette Burton, in *Burdens of History, British Feminists, Indian Women and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915* (Chapel Hill, 1994) posits that while the British considered themselves a “missionary race,” feminists argued that British women, not men, acted as the moral agents in national life. Women’s moral superiority became one of the chief justifications for female emancipation, suffrage, and involvement in national and imperial political life; that is, women would “raise the moral tone of the political process.” Feminists emphasized the connection between female moral superiority and the progress of Britain as a nation. Secondly, British women needed to be emancipated in order to do “women’s work” of redeeming the weak, oppressed and dispossessed, which again aided the nation and the Empire. Thirdly, whereas Britain considered herself racially superior to her subjects and the rest of the world (despite increasing fears of racial deterioration and national decline in the 1870s), British women claimed their roles as “mothers of the race,” with as much if not more responsibility for continuing the race and nurturing it, and thus deserving of equal power in “the councils of the nation.” In other words, the imperial nation-state could not be considered “an exclusively masculine preserve” because women were essential to its health, welfare, and future progress (A. Burton, pp. 52-60).

⁸⁵⁸ Lady Brassey wrote *A Voyage in the Sunbeam: Our Home in the Ocean for Eleven Months* (London: Longmans, 1878), *Sunshine and Storm in the East: or, Cruises to Cyprus and Constantinople* (London: Longmans, 1880), *Tahiti* (London: Sampson Low, 1882), *In the Trades, the Tropics, and the Roaring Forties* (London: Longmans, 1885), and *The Last Voyage, to India and Australia, in the Sunbeam* (London: Longmans, 1889). See Jane Robinson, *Wayward Women* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 203-4.

women at home. Caroline Matilda Middleton, wife of J. P. Middleton, participated in business and commerce, owning twenty shares in the Cyprus Wine Company, with her own address listed as Limassol, Cyprus (as of June 24, 1880).⁸⁵⁹ Lady Anne Blunt (Baroness Wentworth), who Wolseley entertained with her husband during their stop on Cyprus in 1878, continued on to a career of travel writing and temporarily lived as a nomad, riding alone across Arabia in Arab dress.⁸⁶⁰

Single women also found their way to Cyprus after the occupation. Agnes Smith and her sister Margaret traveled in Turkey, Egypt, the Holy Land, and Greece before embarking on a second trip in 1887 to Cyprus. After studying the guide books by Hamilton Lang, Franz Von Löher, and Scott-Stevenson, Agnes wrote in her own book *Through Cyprus* that “several years have elapsed since their works saw the light; Cyprus has undergone a few changes, and it is just possible that the eyes of two lady travelers may have been able to discern something new and worth telling.” While the sisters found comfort in meeting other Britons on their travels, their interests lay more in discovering the new and exotic, often preferring a tent to a room, meeting with Turkish sheikhs, and riding mules around the island.⁸⁶¹ Dorothea Minola Alice Bates, a paleontologist who explored the bone caves in Cyprus on a Royal Society grant in 1901-1902, traveled in remote areas and slept in deserted shepherd’s huts. She also attended balls at Government

⁸⁵⁹ BT 31/3829/24063.

⁸⁶⁰ Jane Robinson, *Wayward Women* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 6-7. Lady Blunt lived on a generous annual income from her father

⁸⁶¹ Agnes Smith, *Through Cyprus* (London, 1887), excerpt reprinted in L. L. Hadjigavriel, ed., *In the Footsteps of Women, Peregrinations in Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1998), pp. 170-187 (172). The Smith sisters later married distinguished Cambridge scientists but after both husbands died, the sisters traveled to Mount Sinai to interpret the Sina Codex, the oldest manuscript of the Gospel, written in Syrian script. They then retired to Cambridge to continue their research. Agnes founded the Chair of Modern Greek at Cambridge University. She died in 1926, her sister in 1920.

House and played croquet and tennis.⁸⁶² Bates at age 22 was commissioned by the Royal Research Society to visit Cyprus and research the island's natural history. She explored caves, and discovered and studied the phenomenon of fossils of pygmy hippopotamus.⁸⁶³

Beyond the experiences of personal discovery, work, and adventure, British women served the ideology of Britishness in their capacity as moral agent for the Empire. In 1900 Reverend George Smith cited the British woman's "influence on her own sex" in forwarding the moral and social progress of the natives of the Empire, especially in connection with Christian missions.⁸⁶⁴ But some women sought secular roles as humanitarians, especially beginning in the early autumn of 1894, when escalating tensions between the Armenian minority in Asia Minor and their Turkish rulers erupted with continuous massacres of Armenians. After the worse massacres occurred in the winter of 1895-6⁸⁶⁵, humanitarians toured the area, including Emma Cons (1838-1912), an activist in London. Cons served as manager of the Central London Dwellings Improvement Company and in 1879 bought property of her own through her own company, the South London Dwellings Company. An active member of the temperance movement and an activist for the improvement of poor families, she also formed the Coffee Music Hall Company and experimented with theatre matinees and "purified"

⁸⁶² Karoyn Shindler, "Dorothea Minola Alice Bate" in *DNB* (Oxford, 2004-6).

⁸⁶³ L.L. Hadjigavriel and R. C. Severis, *In the Footsteps of Women* (Nicosia, 1998), pp. 204-205.

⁸⁶⁴ George Smith, "Christian Missions especially in the British Empire", in *The Isle of Man, Gibraltar, Malta, St. Helena, Barbados, Cyprus* (London, 1902), p. 556.

⁸⁶⁵ Baron von Saurma to Prince von Hohelohe, Dec. 16, 1895, reprinted in M. S. Anderson, *The Great Powers and the Near East 1774-1923* (NY, 1970), pp. 126-7. The British ambassador in Constantinople, Sir Philip Currie, claimed nearly 100,000 people slaughtered. Although public opinion in Britain supported some form of action to protect the Armenians, the disagreements of the powers prevented any effective action.

entertainment (*sans* gin) for poor families at the Old Vic Theatre.⁸⁶⁶ In 1896, after traveling to observe the atrocities in Armenia and Constantinople, Cons recounted harrowing stories: “I believe that the newspaper accounts were by no means exaggerated [about] the sickening details of butchery”.⁸⁶⁷ Cons and a friend then stopped in Cyprus to assist Mrs. Sheldon Amos, already on the island, with Amos’s scheme to establish a silk factory for Armenian widows and orphans. Cons describes the event in an article published in *The Contemporary Review* in December 1896:

Mrs. Sheldon Amos’s scheme for starting a small establishment for Armenian widows and orphans in Cyprus has not been brought prominently before the public; but a friend of mine and I, happening to hear of it, were greatly interested, and resolved to do what we could to help it...Mrs. Amos is now in the island, taking care of such women and children as have yet found their way thither.⁸⁶⁸

She explains how she intervened with authorities to bring a group of Armenian refugees to Cyprus with her rather than let them be imprisoned or murdered. Once in Cyprus, Cons organized work parties according to refugee capabilities—tobacco sorters, coppersmiths, silk weavers, carpenters, blacksmiths, dressmakers, block printers, porters, and so forth—to be distributed in various locations on the island.⁸⁶⁹

“Mrs. Sheldon Amos” was Sarah Maclardie Amos (née Bunting), the daughter of a Manchester solicitor and granddaughter of the prominent Wesleyan Methodist Jabez Bunting (1779-1858), and sister to Percy William Bunting, editor of the *Contemporary Review* after 1882. She became the superintendent of the Working Women’s College in

⁸⁶⁶ Judi Leighton, “Emma Cons” in *DNB* (Oxford, 2004-6).

⁸⁶⁷ Emma Cons, “Armenian Exiles in Cyprus,” in *Contemporary Review*, Dec. 1896.

⁸⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

Queen Square in 1865 where she met her future husband, Sheldon Amos, a volunteer lecturer in law at the Working Men's College in Camden Town. They married in 1870 and were politically active in campaigns for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts. They traveled extensively and settled in Egypt in 1880, where in Cairo Sarah Amos founded and managed a home for emancipated women slaves. Sheldon Amos died in 1886, but Sarah continued her political activities and traveled in India, Japan and China. She worked with the Women's Liberal Federation, the National Union of Women Workers, and the Salvation Army. One biographer suggests that she lived for several months in Cyprus in 1896⁸⁷⁰; this is supported by Emma Cons' report on Amos's refugee work in Cyprus.

Women like Emma Cons and Sarah Amos found the Empire a way to facilitate such projects. Whether they consciously saw themselves as agents of Empire is debatable, but certainly being part of the Empire made their work possible. Like the early administrators' wives, they defined themselves as superior to the "other woman" (be it Armenian, Cypriot, or non-activist at home), but to their credit they used this superiority to aid women and their families.⁸⁷¹ On the other hand, Cons chastises the British government and its failure to develop Cyprus to its potential. She accepts, or seizes, her role as moralizer of the nation as well as the outside world:

⁸⁷⁰ Philippa Levine, "Amos [*née* Bunting], Sarah Maclardie", in DNB online. Later Amos was active in the National Vigilance Association, the Social Purity Association, the British Women's Temperance Association, the London Morality Council, and the British committee of the Abolitionist Federation. Her article in support of women's suffrage was published in the *Contemporary Review* in June 1892. She died January 21, 1908.

⁸⁷¹ Burton uses the term "Other woman" to refer to Indian women (Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History*, Chapel Hill, 1994, p. 63).

Cyprus came into English hands by means which are open to much criticism from the Great Powers of Europe, and under a treaty by which we took pledges from the Sultan to treat his Armenian subjects better. Those pledges have been systematically broken, and the Armenians driven to exile, prison, or death. Would it not be simple justice that the island, so far as not utilized by the present inhabitants, should be applied by England, so far as possible, for the benefit of the exiles?⁸⁷²

Here Cons appeals to humanitarian instincts to help the Armenians, yet understands the politics of Empire. She turns to an economic argument:

[to make Cyprus pay its way] Is it not folly not to bring in an industrious, energetic, and progressive Armenian population? ... Surely this is a case for Mr. Chamberlain to develop one of the imperial estates which are under the management of the Colonial Office.⁸⁷³

Thus we arrive at the moment of official colonial development, for the benefit of the native inhabitants of the colonies as well as for the Empire.

Religion, missions, and social progress

When John Thomson photographed Cyprus in the fall of 1878, he often took special care to frame landscapes in a way that demonstrated how Christian (Gothic) churches had been converted to Muslim mosques. He captioned them explicitly, as in for example “The Front of St. Katherine’s Church (Now a Mosque), Famagosta”.⁸⁷⁴ Foscolo photographed “St. Nicholas Church, Nikosia: old English Church” (fig. 9.5). Others took the opportunity of the occupation to open new churches. Major Donne reported in 1885

⁸⁷² Emma Cons, “Armenian Exiles in Cyprus,” in *Contemporary Review*, December 1896.

⁸⁷³ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁴ James Ryan, *Picturing Empire* (London, 1997), p. 69.

that the Church of Scotland set up its headquarters in Cyprus in 1878, which was now located in Limassol. With no other information it is unclear who that church served.

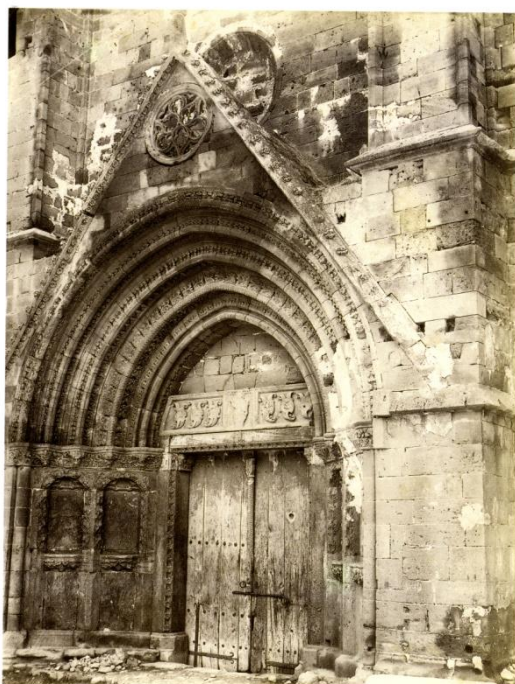
The British troops (and presumably their families), however, were attended by a Presbyterian Chaplain:

The Revd. W. Ferguson, Minister, holds also the appointment of Acting Presbyterian Chaplain to the Troops in Cyprus. Hours of Service on Sunday in St. Andrew's (Temporary) Church 9.30 a.m. and 6 p.m., at Plymedia Cantonment (Parade Service) 11:30 a.m. The Services are held at Tröodos during the season; and Mr. Ferguson holds himself open to urgent calls from any part of the Island.⁸⁷⁵

Mrs. Ferguson had for some years given instruction in the English language (gratuitously) to a number of Greek young ladies of the higher class.⁸⁷⁶

⁸⁷⁵ Major Benjamin Donne, *Records of the Ottoman Conquest of Cyprus and Cyprus and Directory* (Limassol, 1885), 2nd ed., 2000, p. 233.

⁸⁷⁶ Ibid.



St. Nicholas Church, Nicosia. (An old English Church.) 1891

Figure 9.5. St. Nicholas Church, Nicosia (An old English Church) photographed by Foscolo.

A resident agent for the British and Foreign Bible Society was appointed to Cyprus in 1879, but the company sent “colporteurs” occasionally before that time. The society in the past 80 years had promoted the translation, printing or distribution of the Scriptures in 363 languages or dialects. In Cyprus, the Greek clergy, including Archbishop Sophronius “who is independent of the Greek Patriarch,” greatly supported the society’s work. Over 16,000 copies were sold by 1885, including Bibles and Testaments.⁸⁷⁷ Some people however

⁸⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 237. The British and Foreign Bible Society was formed in 1804, largely supported by Christian donations. In 1884 the income of the Society was about £233,309, with 3,118,304 copies of bibles and separate portions of Holy Writ published for the year 1883. The total for 80 years was 100,035,933 copies. The sole object of the Society was to encourage the wider circulation of the Scriptures, without note or comment, both in the United Kingdom and abroad. According to Donne, “Although it is not the aim of the Society to interpret the Bible, the efforts of those who do interpret it is not undervalued; but on the contrary such efforts have received most liberal support.”

are prevented from buying the entire Scriptures by poverty; and, whilst every endeavour is made to satisfy the desire for entire copies of the Holy Writ, there are still numbers who do not yet possess it. Every year however, further demands are made for whole bibles, and the increase of intelligent readers make the sale of the Scriptures more encouraging.⁸⁷⁸

The society provided additional money for its agents to visit even obscure villages, and met with “much kindness”, according to British observers, indicating “appreciation of the Society’s work and expresses some measure of gratitude for the liberal dissemination of the Word of God”.⁸⁷⁹

In 1900 Reverend George Smith indicated that this liberal dissemination of religion by British Christian missions was not only beneficial to subject peoples, but also the key to British imperialism:

The British Empire is based on religion and on the toleration which the Christian religion alone teaches and secures. It is religion which has given the comparatively small United Kingdom its imperial power and responsibilities.... When that religion claims to be at once supernatural and universal, missionary and yet tolerant of all others whom only it would persuade and benefit, Foreign Missions come to be an essential part of the foreign politics and history of the Empire.⁸⁸⁰

⁸⁷⁸ Major Benjamin Donne, *Records of the Ottoman Conquest of Cyprus and Cyprus Guide and Directory* (Limassol, Cyprus, 1885), 2nd ed., 2000, p. 237.

⁸⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁰ George Smith, “Christian Missions especially in the British Empire”, in *The Isle of Man, Gibraltar, Malta, St. Helena, Barbados, Cyprus* (London, 1902), pp. 542-557. This book comprises a collection of lectures about the British Empire by various authors that were given in the Sunday Afternoon Course at the South Place Institute, Finsbury, from 1895 to 1898. Smith’s essay includes a chart titled “Propaganda Missions to the Heathen, 1898” (p. 553).

Smith correlated the expansion of the British Empire with the progress of the Foreign Missions, with the first period (“sowing”) in 1799-1859, and a second period (“growth”) in 1859-1900, that is, with the “first British Empire” and the “second British Empire”.⁸⁸¹

While Smith proclaimed that “the Empire owes to Christian principles and to Christian men and women, at once its expansion and its influence on the dark races of mankind,” he also argued that the missions should work in tandem with the “new and fertile field of sociology” to promote education and English language training, and to advance scholarship and science. The philanthropic spirit would be awakened and new national aspirations and higher conceptions of government introduced. In short, the Christian missions provided the foundation for “a new and upward social order.” That Christian missions could be associated with social progress was evidenced in the publication of three volumes titled *Christian Missions and Social Progress* (1897-1900) by Professor James Dennis.⁸⁸²

An example of combining social and moral progress with science in Cyprus is in the effort to improve the silk industry. About the same time that Cons and Amos worked to establish Armenian refugees in the silk factories, Mr. and Mrs. Patrick Geddes lectured on this “most important possible source of wealth of the island”. Because of the particular strength of the Cyprus silkworm thread, the market potential was great. A School of Sericulture was opened at Nicosia with a branch at Larnaca, both under the direction of an Armenian silk expert. The school opened in spring 1897 with over 40 students

⁸⁸¹ Ibid. See also Andrew Porter, “Religion, Missionary Enthusiasm, and Empire”, in *OHBE, Vol III, The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 222-246, describing surges of missionary activity in the 1790s, between c. 1836 and 1844, and at the end of the 1850s (p. 235).

⁸⁸² George Smith, “Christian Missions especially in the British Empire”, in *The Isle of Man, Gibraltar, Malta, St. Helena, Barbados, Cyprus* (London, 1902), pp. 556-557.

including 15 native Cypriots and about 25 Armenians. Instruction was given in the Pasteurian methods of eliminating disease and in rearing silkworms, at no cost to the students other than their services, and with one shilling per day paid to the Armenian students who had no other means of subsistence.⁸⁸³ Thus

many of these students have become qualified to be sent out into the villages where silk-rearing is practised, to spread this so much needed instruction in scientific methods, which mainly consist in microscopic examination to guarantee the eggs, and in antiseptic cleanliness during the rearing. (What a reformation might be brought about in the East were this habit of cleanliness necessary to silk-rearing once learned and applied to daily life!)⁸⁸⁴

In time “every Silk School should even pay its way, from the sale of eggs of guaranteed quality”.⁸⁸⁵

The Geddes noted that Cypriots and Armenians were required to work together (another successful social experiment), but that the purpose was to provide trained and disciplined workers who could return to Armenia when the country was safe and settled. In this way, Cyprus would become “a rallying centre from which to send out captains of industry, who unite with Western science that comprehension of, and sympathy with, Eastern needs and habits, which we Westerns are first naturally lack, and which we can never hope completely to supply.” They also promoted Armenian colonies on Cyprus, an

⁸⁸³ Mr. and Mrs. Patrick Geddes, “Cyprus and some of its Possibilities”, in *The Isle of Man, Gibraltar, Malta, St. Helena, Barbados, Cyprus* (London, 1902), pp. 101-109.

⁸⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁸⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 104-5.

improved water supply, native industries like needlework and metal work, and the importation of Eastern goods.⁸⁸⁶

Summary

Britishness on Cyprus fused together traditions and social structures brought from Britain with freedoms acquired through the act of colonizing in a distant land. While clinging to expected, civilized behaviors of sports, dinner parties, and appropriate dress, Britons on Cyprus enjoyed lives of higher status and independence than would have been possible at home. This independence allowed them to participate in the greater Empire, observing with interest or actually embracing the lives of the native population. Britons on Cyprus also served, particularly British women but also missionaries and ministers, as agents of Empire, as moralizers and civilizers for the native population as well as the British community. As agents of Empire this included using Cyprus as a site for humanitarian efforts and refuge.

Britishness was as important to Britons on Cyprus as it was to Britons at home, or probably moreso. It was in many ways an emotionally charged label; more materially, it signified membership in a superior nation, represented legally by symbols such as flags and international passports. The nationality of Cypriots, however, proved more and more contentious by the end of the century. The following chapter examines how Cypriot nationality became a complex and oftentimes ambiguous label, and how the British dealt with the legality of Cypriots as British subjects.

⁸⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 105.

CHAPTER TEN

Cypriots as British subjects

Cypriot nationality under British rule

This dissertation examines the role of British imperialists in transforming an eastern Mediterranean island ruled by the Ottomans into a British colonial dependency. Accompanying this process is the question of nationality, and the ambiguous use of certain symbols, such as flags and passports, demonstrate the ambiguity of Cypriot nationality itself. As simultaneously subjects of a protectorate and British colonial dependency, were the Cypriots citizens of Turkey or Britain? There was also the problem of international shipping status. In 1878, Sir Garnet Wolseley had asked the burning question, “Under whose flag do we sail?” During the subsequent decades, Cypriots living or traveling in other countries, such as shipping agents sailing under the Ottoman flag, found themselves unprotected, without a viable nationality. The Ottoman flag carried by these ships offered little protection or rights, yet to allow Cyprus ships to carry the British flag would fly in the face of the Ottoman Sultan. Some Cypriots sailed under the Greek flag, but again, to allow this to continue in light of rising *enosis* sentiments could lead to problems for British authority.

In 1904, Haynes Smith warned the Colonial Office that Ottoman flags on Cypriot shipping vessels offered little or no protection in foreign ports but neither should Greek flags be encouraged:

The result of the present position of matters, if no action is taken, must be that all the Cypriot shipping will exclusively fly the Greek flag. If the

native Cypriot, as an Ottoman subject, uses the Ottoman flag on his vessel, he receives in foreign ports neither the rights nor the protection of the flag. He would be disowned by the Turkish authorities and he cannot be protected effectually by the British authorities. In Turkish ports the British authorities could have no ground for interference. The Greek-speaking Cypriots accordingly obtain the assistance of a Greek subject and thus secure the protection of the Greek flag. The Cypriot shipping at present is small; but if this question is settled in the way of giving a proper status to it, I think there would be a great development of it.⁸⁸⁷

Haynes Smith further noted that Cretan shipping was now under a special flag that is recognized internationally, and suggested the same for Cyprus.

N. R. O'Connor, the British ambassador at Constantinople, cautioned against such a measure, as it might irritate the Sultan and his subjects:

I entirely concur in Mr. Lyttelton's remarks that, in view of the fictitious agitation in Cyprus (propagated by Athenian Chauvinists) for union with Greece, any step that would emphasise the permanency of the British occupation is much to be desired.... At the same time, I venture to think that the present moment is not favourable for the adoption of a change of flag, a step that could not fail to be resented by the Sultan, as also by a large portion of his Mahommedan subjects. However much I might explain to the Ottoman Government that the measure was directed against Greek propagandism rather than against the position of Turkey, considerable soreness would be felt.⁸⁸⁸

He suggested instead some distinctive Cyprus emblem on the Turkish flag.

I would ask your consideration of the question whether you could favourably place before His Majesty the King the proposal to graciously grant to Cyprus a flag, which the Cypriots might lawfully use. Such a grant would, to some extent, satisfy the craving for a corporate existence, and place the Islanders in this respect on an equally favourable footing

⁸⁸⁷ Sir Haynes Smith to Colonial Office, from Queen's Acre, Windsor, Sept. 30, 1904, No 9. in Mediterranean No. 59 Confidential, CO 883/6/6

⁸⁸⁸ N. R. O'Connor to Marquess of Lansdowne, from Therapia, Aug. 9, 1904, Enclosure in No. 7 in Mediterranean No. 59, Confidential, CO 883/6/6.

with Crete. Samos has its own flag, and I understand Crete is allowed its own flag. If Cyprus were granted a flag, the use of the Greek flag could be quietly checked without exciting attention or rousing passions. A suitable flag might be devised without offending any sentiment, and I think a St. George's cross, red on a white ground, with the arms of Richard Coeur de Lion in the upper quarter, would be readily adopted. St. George is one of the heroes of the Greek-speaking community. In Famagusta one sees in close proximity churches to St. George of the English, to St. George of the Greeks, and to St. George of the Latins. Such a flag, too, would not offend the Turkish community.”⁸⁸⁹

O’Conor also suggested raising a military force for service in all parts of the world would do much to consolidate the British influence in Cyprus and in adjacent countries, but both ideas were dismissed.

As the permanence of British rule became more apparent, the Greek agitation for Greek nationality (the movement for *enosis*) was heard increasingly more often. Some feared that Cyprus would be turned over to a Latin power, namely Italy.⁸⁹⁰ Sendall believed the movement for *enosis* was a reaction to the latter fear. In May 1895 he wrote to Ripon:

A gentleman, who is certainly very well acquainted with the sentiments of his countrymen, has recently assured me that as a matter of fact neither union with Greece nor restoration to Turkey is regarded by them as being within the range of practical discussion; they consider that the public opinion of Europe protects them from the latter, and that Greece herself is not in a position to entertain the former.

What they really fear, according to my informant, is that Cyprus, if given up by England, may pass into the hands of a Latin Power. They profess to believe that overtures have been made, and have been quite recently renewed, for giving Cyprus to Italy; and the bare thought of such a

⁸⁸⁹ High Commissioner Haynes Smith to Joseph Chamberlain, from Government House, Nicosia, Nov. 28, 1901, No. 221A in Mediterranean No. 7, Confidential, Correspondence Dec. 31, 1894 to Dec. 24, 1903, relating to Affairs in Cyprus, Colonial Office, Sept. 1904, CO 883/6/5.

⁸⁹⁰ Sendall to Ripon, May 4, 1895, Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (Confidential), No. 9554, Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3.

contingency excites their religious susceptibilities to the last degree. As they cannot put this forward openly and directly, they confine themselves to advocating union with Greece as the only alternative to British rule; because, they say, England is the only Power that can be trusted not to interfere with their religion....while I do not think that the Cypriot Greeks as a body could be roused to any display of active enthusiasm upon the simple question of union with Greece, I should certainly expect that if they could be brought to believe that there was any design of placing them under the control of a proselytizing Power, the situation thus created would be one of very grave menace to the public peace.⁸⁹¹

According to Sendall, despite England's "civilizing" attitude, that is, bringing British government and a sense of Britishness to Cyprus, Britons had interfered very little with Cypriot religion. Another power, such as Italy, might do so.

One week later, Sendall learned of a public meeting called by the inhabitants of Varoshia, in the Famagusta district, where they resolved "The deliverance of the inhabitants of the Island from the Tribute", a reduction of the taxation, and the union with mother Greece, "in case the English Government intends to evacuate the Island, with a firm determination to repel any other different solution."⁸⁹² By November the mood had softened somewhat. Sendall wrote that the Cypriot attitude was now "a balance of conflicting fears":

The feelings with which the Cypriote Greeks regard their political prospects are necessarily of a mixed character. Union with Greece is a genuine object of desire, but thoughtful Cypriotes know well that such a measure is beset with difficulties, that it would be violently opposed by the Ottoman portion of the population, and would probably be found to be incapable of realization, at least for the present, even if it were to be regarded with favour by those who control the destinies of Cyprus. Their

⁸⁹¹ Ibid.

⁸⁹² Enclosure in No. 3, Sendall to Ripon, May 4, 1895, Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (Confidential), Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3.

attitude towards the future may therefore be described as a balance of conflicting fears, rather than an attitude of hopefulness; the chief apprehension being lest, should England hold loosely by her acquisition of Cyprus, the island might fall into the hands of another European Power, which would be less scrupulously careful of their religious liberty.⁸⁹³

Since Cypriots feared that Cyprus might be taken by another European Power that would disrespect their religious liberty, Sendall continued that “so long as nothing occurs to throw doubt upon the continuance of British occupation, the political tranquility is absolutely assured.”⁸⁹⁴ This, of course, proved a perilous balancing act.

The permanence of British rule

As some conditions on Cyprus improved (although by no means all), and members of the Cypriot Council gained experience and maturity in their roles, many Cypriots began to envision a change in government in which they would play a more integral role and participate in the control of their own future. However, for several decades Britain continued to rule the Cypriots more as a controlling parent, refusing to acknowledge the increasing calls by the Cypriot Council for more recognition. Clearly Britain did not yet envision Cyprus as Ottoman, Greek, Italian, or independent. On the other hand, Sendall and some of his successors increasingly sympathized with the Cypriots and sought to mediate between the Cypriot Council and the Colonial Office, generally with an eye to relieving the complaints of the Council regarding the tribute,

⁸⁹³ Sendall to Colonial Office, Nov. 18, 1895, in Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Cyprus (Confidential), Mediterranean No. 45, CO 883/5/3.

⁸⁹⁴ Ibid.

public works, and so forth. They saw that the Cypriots could be moved by Greek agitation if the present situation continued.

Sendall seems to have enjoyed the respect of the Cyprus Council, who consistently complained about public works and other projects left undone but did acknowledge the improvements thus far carried out under his tenure. Sir William Frederick Haynes Smith succeeded Sendall as High Commissioner in 1898 and served until 1904. During that time, improvements continued but complaints about excessive taxation and the tribute, and the unfulfillment of the larger projects like irrigation and railroads, grew louder and occurred more often. The continuing tribute became the particular sticking point. Two days after Christmas, 1898, Haynes Smith wrote to Chamberlain that the Greek community “are much moved by the recent occurrences in Crete”, and by the report that Crete, now under a Greek High Commissioner appointed by the Great Powers, free from Turkish authority, was no longer obliged to pay any tribute to Turkey. Demonstrations led by the authorities of the Greek Church, and a new society formed in Athens with branches on the island attempting to bring about the same results in Cyprus, had engendered ill will and resentment among the Turkish community.⁸⁹⁵

However, like Sendall, Haynes Smith recommended that in order to quell the rising tide of *enosis* agitation from outside the island, both nationality and the tribute should be addressed. Cypriots were in rather a state of limbo; still as Ottoman subjects, outside of the island they enjoyed neither Turkish nor English protection. He suggested that to occasionally grant permission to some Greek (and later Turkish) Cypriots to

⁸⁹⁵ Haynes Smith to Chamberlain, Dec. 27, 1898, Confidential, No. 75, CO 883/6/5

assume British nationality might ease these anxieties. In fact, it might be good to make the inhabitants of Cyprus “into an English-speaking community, with British aspirations and sentiments”:

The feeling of unrest amongst the Greek population would be prevented from acquiring any force if permission could be granted occasionally for some of the Greek Cypriots to become English subjects, with the permission of the Turkish Government. At present, if any of them go out of the Island, they are Ottoman subjects, a position they greatly dislike, and are practically without either the Turkish or English protection. You have intimated that there are objections to naturalizing Cypriots who are Ottoman subjects, but these objections, perhaps might not apply if the applicants had first obtained the consent of the Turkish authorities. I understand permission is issued at times in Turkey to individuals on payment of a fee to become naturalized under another Power, and if applications to become naturalized as English subjects could be occasionally entertained from Cypriots who have received the permission of the Turkish Government, I believe it would have a very good effect on the future contentment of the Island. Some of the Cypriote Turks would be glad to follow the same course.

...The question of the tribute is, however, the main cause of agitation. It enters into almost every question in every corner of the Island, and whenever any man's land, or house, or cattle, or crops may be sold for taxes, he curses the tribute, which he considers has ruined him, and now the fomenters of the agitation allege it would be worth the suffering Crete has gone through to be rid of the burden...

I report these matters merely to inform you of what is the feeling of a portion of the community. A great number realize the benefit of the British administration, although all earnestly desire some fair settlement of the question of the tribute. I understand that those who have had authority in Greece advise the agitators here that Greece can only obtain Cyprus through England, and that they should help the Administration. I trust I may be excused for saying that the inhabitants of Cyprus, in the meantime, may be made an English-speaking community, with British aspirations and sentiments.⁸⁹⁶

⁸⁹⁶ Haynes Smith to Chamberlain, Dec. 27, 1898, Confidential, No. 75, CO 883/6/5

Thus Haynes Smith suggested that the mainland Greece agitators for *enosis* had found arguments for persuasion that the British could counter if they would, but not seeing any progress toward that end, Cypriots might be swayed in either direction. At the same time, some agitators believed that their goals could be accomplished by working with the British.

The tribute was due to be reconsidered in 1900 (the year the Turkish Loan of 1855 guaranteed by England and France would become payable), and the Greek members of the Cyprus Council saw an opportunity. Having seen the result of events in Crete, where the tribute was eliminated, they agitated to also eliminate the tribute in Cyprus. The Turkish members withdrew from any discussions of a Council resolution against the tribute, “respecting the tribute by a deep feeling of loyalty to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan of Turkey.” Finally a Resolution was passed in the Legislative Council of Cyprus on April 13, 1899:

That the Elected Members of this Council, being informed from what the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies stated in the English Parliament on the 8th of August, last year, and from what has been published in the English newspapers on the same subject, that the negotiations for a conversion of the Cyprus tribute are approaching completion,

RESOLVE: That it is just and proper that the whole of the benefit to be derived from the conversion of the tribute should be applied to the reduction of the burdens to which the Cypriot taxpayer is subject, and that the Imperial Treasury should continue to pay annually towards the Budget of Cyprus a sum not less than the average sum paid since the British occupation by the same Imperial Treasury;

AND REQUEST That the Government in England may receive favourably this resolution of the Elected Members of this Council, which is adopted in the name of the whole population of the island.⁸⁹⁷

Unfortunately, the resolution resolved nothing; the tribute and high taxation still troubled the Cypriots by the turn of the century, pushing the Council to increasingly aggressive agitation.

On November 28, 1901, High Commissioner Haynes Smith wrote to Chamberlain outlining the nature and the extent of the agitation now being carried on amongst the Greek speaking Cypriots for union with Greece, according to the man on the spot, Mr. Michell, the Commissioner of Limassol. In Limassol, reports of “the disloyal movement” with the constant flaunting of the Greek flag came to light:

The Chief Commandant states that he feels it is “his duty to represent to the Government lest trouble should arise in the future that the time has arrived for some check to be put upon the disloyal movement spreading among the District population who, though contented at present, may be made the ignorant tools of the demagogues who appear to be desirous of emulating the people of Crete.” He alludes to the constant flaunting of the Greek flag, which would lead anyone to suppose Cyprus was a Greek Island, and which is being increasingly used as the banner of the agitation. Mr. Michell, the Commissioner of Limassol, who has been here since the British Occupation, and who views the question quite dispassionately, after noticing the effect which events in Crete have had on this agitation, points out that union with Greece is now being held out by the Press and the town agitators as a remedy for all the evils attributed to the Government, such as excessive taxation, the payment of tribute, and other like cries, and that it is now linked with baseless attacks on the Government and deliberate misrepresentation of its acts; and concludes his report by saying that “with a more or less ignorant peasantry the constant repetition of statements based on the grossest misrepresentation cannot fail to have in great measure the effect that it is intended should be

⁸⁹⁷ Enclosure in No. 101, Haynes Smith to Chamberlain, April 22, 1899, CO 883/6/5

produced—and that if the causes which are in operation without check continue to operate, the feeling will continue to become intensified.”

In order to appreciate the motives of the agitation it is fair to look at the matter as it appears to many of those who are leading the movement. The agitation has hitherto been confined to the towns and to the professional classes which are exceptionally large as compared with the population, and have little to do. Considerable numbers go to Athens to qualify as advocates and doctors, and come back with a superficial education, many of the doctors being mere apothecaries. They return imbued with the Hellenic propaganda. These men, as Cypriots, find they have no citizenship, for they endeavour to repudiate being Ottoman subjects, and they are now allowed to become British citizens, and they bitterly complain that they have little or no protection in neighbouring countries. They have no flag and there is no outlet for any sentiment of nationality, and no satisfaction for the natural craving to belong to some nation.

They belong to a generation which has experienced none of the actual evils of a Turkish Administration, and they are constantly rebelling at the payment of the £60,000 per annum, which is annually drawn from the Island to pay a portion of the tribute. They have been bred up in the history of the success of agitation when applied to the Ionian Islands, and they have seen the success of organized agitation and violence in Crete. They have nothing to lose, while if they could organize an agitation which would make England willing to give up the administration, they would at once gain nationality, and as they believe, get rid of the tribute, for they consider that in some way Greece would escape paying it, and would never compel the Cypriots to pay it... How this is to be brought about they do not say—but if their thoughts were expressed I have no doubt that they consider it would be done by violence, as in Crete. Some of their advocates are training themselves to arms and to lead bodies of men; although the violence most often thought of is probably the sniping from behind walls or from places of concealment.⁸⁹⁸

Michell had identified a compelling reason for a reconsideration of British rule on Cyprus, that is, the latest generation of Cypriots only knew British rule. They had not experienced Ottoman tyranny (according to the British view of Ottoman rule) but had grown up in an atmosphere of Mediterranean agitation for independence, regardless of

⁸⁹⁸ Haynes Smith to Chamberlain, Nov. 28, 1901, No. 221A in Confidential, CO 883/6/5.

any beneficence in British rule. The administrators at the turn of the century were dealing with a different, more educated and worldly generation of Cypriots.

In 1902, the election for the fifth Cyprus Council installed new native members who immediately expressed their frustrations with the British government, including lack of autonomy and excessive taxation:

When the decisions of the Council are subject to the right of veto of the suzerain power every other restriction becomes superfluous, and it is not just that the Council which is crippled in its very organism should, moreover, be so very crooked-legged.

...at the elections, the people of Cyprus had regard to their oppression by taxation and to their maladministration in many respects, and that their verdict has rightly been characterized as the people's condemnation of the Governmental system which is imposed in Cyprus by which the English Government has, through the Cyprus Government, squeezed, unmercifully, by a most onerous taxation, every resource of the Island, effecting thereby the exhaustion of the financial powers of the country.⁸⁹⁹

The continued taxation of the island was particularly frustrating:

And the worst of it is that, in order to respond, to...the reasonable and persistent claims of the Cypriot people for their social improvement, they have devised and systematized a special taxation of the country whereby the Island runs the risk of being entirely crushed from a financial point of view.⁹⁰⁰

The Council pointed to frustrated efforts to establish an agricultural bank and the lag in the execution of public and productive works, and resented excessive taxation that “on the one hand, scourges the country and, on the other, locks up the small savings of the

⁸⁹⁹ *The Cyprus Gazette*, Friday, 23rd May, 1902, CO 70/5.

⁹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

inhabitants and turns them away from industrial enterprises to the incalculable prejudice of the Island.”⁹⁰¹

The Council opined that “Cyprus should pay from her revenue only the expenses of her wants generally and of her administration, which have been greatly increased since the English occupation and that England should herself pay the heavy obligations undertaken by her in furtherance of her aims in the East.” They particularly resented that Cyprus had missed out on the “prosperity and progress” enjoyed by other Ottoman territories under the protection of the other European powers:

The council is unable to understand how it is that so little attention has been given by the English Government to Cyprus, which as regards its circumstances from the time of the English Occupation, is liable to comparison with other countries which have been detached from the Ottoman Government at about the same time and are also governed by European powers under better conditions and under a system which affords much better results to prosperity and progress, notwithstanding that Cyprus had, from a moral and material point of view, all the elements necessary for the purpose in a more abundant degree and that most of the countries which may be compared to Cyprus were almost in a ruined state when they were occupied by the other European powers owing to long and destructive revolutions.⁹⁰²

The Council saw the potential of the island’s resources that had attracted the earliest British administrators, but felt the opportunity had been squandered.

Their complaints continued. The agricultural class in particular was suffering under heavy British taxation. But taxes and “manifold and considerable port dues” were also levied that made the lack of progress on harbor works at Famagusta a frustration for

⁹⁰¹ Ibid.

⁹⁰² *The Cyprus Gazette*, Friday, 23rd May, 1902, CO 70/5.

the rest of the population. The council commended the appointment of Mr. Gennadius to supervise tree planting but complained about the restrictions on collecting dry timber for fuel. They complained about taxes for sanitary and medical facilities and the Land Registry Department, and exclaimed that “it is very astonishing that there should have been no such layout of the streets [on a regular plan] in Cyprus as yet”. They did, however, thank the government for protection of the Island’s antiquities, and the removal of the plague, although the continuous quarantines of incoming ships resulted in great loss to trade. Yet they looked forward to improvement under the new king, Edward VII, for “improvement we expect from the liberality of the English people and of the most sympathetic King.”⁹⁰³

An uneasy relationship between British administrators and the Council continued through the next decade. In response to the Council’s increasing demands, the administrators countered that if the Council would listen to and support their plans, more would be accomplished. Haynes Smith wrote to Lyttelton in January, 1904:

On reviewing the action of the Council since its constitution and their conduct during recent years, can it be reasonably hoped that this small oligarchy will ever address itself to the work of developing the Island, or of promoting the well-being of the working population?⁹⁰⁴

The Council complained, again, that the administration ignored their appeals and suggestions.

⁹⁰³ Ibid. Queen Victoria died on Jan. 22, 1901. Cyprus High Commissioner W. F. Haynes-Smith proclaimed Feb. 2, 1901, as a special day of mourning in Cyprus, and the island population expressed its regrets in letters to *The Cyprus Gazette*. Victoria was succeeded by her son, who became King Edward VII.

⁹⁰⁴ Haynes Smith to Lyttelton, Government House, Cyprus, Jan. 14, 1904, No. 9 in Mediterranean No. 58, CO 883/6/6

It was true that the Colonial Office had dragged its heels in some development projects, not only in financing under Chamberlain's programs, but also in negotiations with British companies, for example, in rebuilding the port at Famagusta. The administration failed to check abuses on the island, too, such as unscrupulous money-lenders. Haynes Smith warned the new Secretary of State for the Colonies, Alfred Lyttelton, of the pressing urgency for the establishment of an Agricultural Bank on Cyprus, similar to the one in Egypt, to make guaranteed low-interest loans to the farmers and villagers, who could then avoid being taken advantage of by unscrupulous usurers who often charged as much as one hundred percent interest. "Usury is eating out the industry of the country," Haynes Smith wrote to Lyttelton in December, 1903.⁹⁰⁵ Haynes Smith also requested that the allowances for reforestation, an experiment that had succeeded for the last three years, should become permanent. These and other issues, including a request by some members of the Council for a revision of the Constitution in order to allow the Cypriots more control of their island's administration, set Haynes Smith between the Cypriots and the Government. He wrote to Lyttelton appealing for such measures, while at the same time complaining that the Greeks in the Council continued to push for union with Greece using their position in the Council.

Lyttelton answered that the Constitution was "distinctly limited" by Her late Majesty's treaty engagements with Turkey. Its purpose was "to enable the people of Cyprus, through their representatives, to assist and cooperate with the local Government in carrying on the business of administration and legislation subject to the conditions

⁹⁰⁵ Haynes Smith to Lyttelton, from Government House, Cyprus, Dec. 29, 1903, No. 5 in Mediterranean No. 58, CO 883/6/6

demanded by public faith, not to facilitate a campaign for the abolition of these conditions, and for bringing about a breach of Her Majesty's Treaty obligations." He noted that the Greek members came to the Council with "the avowed programme of union with Greece" and refused to listen to measures proposed by the Government, or to acknowledge the benefits brought by British governance.⁹⁰⁶ Here the Colonial Office documents show the conflict between *enosis* agitators and the "good government" sought by the British. The Legislative Council meetings were the only venue available to reach the Government directly, and they used it to agitate for union with Greece, citing the tribute, excess taxation, and unfinished public works projects to demonstrate the need to be released from British governance. The British had no intention to leave, by now firmly entrenched in Cyprus. Events outside Cyprus influenced those inside, and a new approach was needed to avoid violence and revolt. Indeed, a slight shift from antagonism to sympathy occurred with the next administration.

However, by 1905, the Council members were extremely frustrated.⁹⁰⁷ Sir Charles Anthony King-Harman, the next High Commissioner, sympathized and repeatedly appealed to Lyttelton for a reconsideration of taxation and expenditures. In May, 1905, he appealed for relief from usury:

Were Cyprus a rich country it might be held to be justifiable to lay upon her a burden such as no Colony of similar resources in the British Empire is called upon to bear; but when the poverty of the people, their incapacity to meet without assistance from the Government any one unfavourable season, the absolute want of capital which fetters them in grinding usury;

⁹⁰⁶ Lyttelton to Haynes Smith, Downing Street, May 5, 1904, No. 24 in Mediterranean No. 58, CO 883/6/6

⁹⁰⁷ King-Harman served as High Commissioner 1904-1911.

when these painfully patent facts are considered, the realization of a super-abundance of revenue gives food for bitter reflection.

May the struggling people of this over-burdened country not be allowed to profit at all by the large sums paid by them in taxation? May the material development of her wonderful resources not be assisted by retaining for beneficial objects a portion at least of the excessive amount so rigidly exacted and so hardly paid!⁹⁰⁸

King-Harman argued that the people of Cyprus should benefit from the taxes they so painfully paid.

Garnering little support from Lyttelton by August, King-Harman, quite exasperated, turned now to arguing for the commercial progress of Cyprus as part of the British Empire. He, like Haynes Smith, urged the establishment of an Agricultural Bank on Cyprus. The vision of the Agricultural Bank having “long dazzled these poor people,” King-Harman wrote, “they yearn for the day of its establishment as the dawning of an era of liberty and fortune.” He appealed to the Loan Commissioners:

Apart from the natural humanity which prompts one to deliver the poor people from the swift and rapidly advancing ruin which threatens them, there is such a great political advantage to be gained by attaching the agricultural community to the British administration that I venture to hope that His Majesty’s Government will favourably entertain my representations and agree to the scheme which I have submitted.⁹⁰⁹

Now King-Harman saw his job as one of appeasement, to the local Legislative Council as well as to the Colonial Office and the Treasury, with the goal of winning the situation on

⁹⁰⁸ King-Harman to Lyttelton, from Government house, Nicosia, May 17, 1905, No. 66 in Mediterranean No. 59, Confidential, CO 883/6/7. Holland and Markides describe King-Harman as “a new, mildly philhellenic replacement.” (Robert Holland and Diane Markides, *The British and the Hellenes*, Oxford, 2006, p. 172)

⁹⁰⁹ King-Harman to Lyttelton, from Government House, Troodos, Aug. 21, 1905, No. 82A in Mediterranean No. 59, Confidential, CO 883/6/7

all sides. His governance was well-intentioned but awkward and, rather than calming the situation, his efforts failed to ease the growing antagonisms in regard to the tribute and what the Cypriots saw as excessive taxation with no representation and no benefit to the island.

In February 1906, after King-Harman's annual High Commissioner's address to the Cyprus Council, which emphasized the accomplishments since the occupation, the Council responded by insisting that "the people of Cyprus are taxed too highly and to a greater extent, in proportion to their resources, than any other people." The Cypriots simply no longer trusted the British promises. The Council cited "unbearable oppression by taxation":

In face of such financial exhaustion of the country, carried on for upwards of twenty-seven years now, during which a sum of about £1,640,000 has been taken away from the Island, whereby all the wants of the country could have been satisfied, the people of Cyprus are amazed at the magnitude of the continuous loss they sustain and have now exhausted all the means of decorous representations and entreaties with those who are able to put a definite stop to their really unbearable oppression by taxation.⁹¹⁰

The address and the Council response were published in *The Cyprus Gazette*. As if to support their claims and negate his own, on the same page in *The Cyprus Gazette* King-Harman announced a new levy on lime shipped from any port on the island as wharfage dues.⁹¹¹

⁹¹⁰ *The Cyprus Gazette*, Feb. 23, 1906, p. 5811, CO 70/7.

⁹¹¹ *Ibid.*

The battle continued to be waged for public consumption. In March, King-Harman had an announcement from *The Board of Trade Journal* of December 7, 1905, reprinted in *The Cyprus Gazette*. It explained that the new harbor works at Famagusta were practically complete:

At Famagusta there is a large outer harbour (formed by a reef of rocks), with 4-1/2 to 7 fathoms of water.

An approach channel (250 ft. wide) and entrance to the inner harbour has been dredged to a depth of 26 ft.

An inner harbour has been constructed 900 ft. long, 600 ft. wide, and 24 ft. deep. A quay wall has also been built 900 ft. long with 24 ft. of water alongside, and large steamers are already constantly using it.

An additional basin at the southern end of the inner harbour 450 ft. long, 200 ft. wide, and 15 ft. deep, with an iron jetty 390 ft. long, with 15 ft. water alongside, is also nearly completed, and will be ready for use by the end of 1905.⁹¹²

The article also noted that the Cyprus Government Railway now ran from the new quay to Nicosia, the capital of the Island.

The tribute remained in place. The disappointed Council argued that the proper progress and development of the island was impossible under the burden of the tribute:

The Council is exceedingly sorry that no adequate measures are taken by the Government to strengthen the productive powers of the country and no protective measures against the products of those Foreign Governments which have imposed and are imposing very heavy duties on various products of the Island which tend to prevent any exportation of such products. A factor which makes the proper progress and development of the Island an impossibility is the enormous burden which it is required to bear to give effect to the obligations entered into between the British and Ottoman Governments. The Council considers that the Island should not

⁹¹² *The Cyprus Gazette*, March 23, 1906, p. 3840, CO 70/7.

be called upon to contribute this large monetary obligation, known as the Tribute, and is confident that the Right Honourable the Secretary of State will see that justice is granted to the Island, and so decide that this intolerable burden of £92,000 odd may be removed and only a very small portion of it may be determined as the contribution to be exacted from Cyprus.⁹¹³

The Council resented that the government failed to protect Cyprus from foreign trade restrictions and at the same time continued to levy heavy duties on Cyprus exports. The tribute exacerbated the problem.

King-Harman at this point decided to take things into his own hands. After “an inordinate amount of correspondence having taken place on the subject...without any tangible result having been obtained,” and waiting almost a year to hear back from Lord Elgin, in April, 1906, he entered into an agreement with Sir William Willcocks, President of the Anglo-Egyptian Land Allotment Company, to establish an Agricultural Bank in Cyprus. The concession was for fifty years and, according to the agreement, the Government promised “to assist the Bank in the collection of its debts on payment of one-half per cent on all sums so collected.” Although King-Harman felt authorized to engage in this agreement as High Commissioner of Cyprus (citing the provisions of Law 23 of 1890), he was censured by the Earl of Elgin for not first gaining his approval. King-Harman wrote on June 11, “I note with the utmost concern that your Lordship considers that I should have submitted the draft agreement for your approval, and the censure implied in your Lordship’s telegram causes me the keenest disappointment and

⁹¹³ *The Cyprus Gazette*, Feb. 23, 1906, CO 70/7.

mortification.”⁹¹⁴ He tempered his activities under this censure, but until leaving office in 1911, King-Harman continued to pressure the Government to relieve the Cypriots of the tribute and other excessive financial burdens.

Pressure came from other quarters as well. In November 1907, Winston Churchill visited Cyprus and then wrote to Lord Elgin that he was “concerned about the condition of Cyprus”:

I had not realized that we have drawn from this island, exhausted as it was by 300 years of Turkish misgovernment, upwards of 1,800,000*l*, since our occupation thirty years ago. The impression which I had formed was that Cyprus was kept going by a more or less generous grant-in-aid from the Exchequer. [...] But it is quite erroneous. By the Convention of 1878 we bound Cyprus to pay a tribute to the Sultan of 92,800*l*. This Convention was made for our own purposes, because it was then thought a matter of high military importance to have a place of arms and strategic base in the Levant, whence Egypt and Constantinople could be surveyed. The Cypriotes were not consulted by us in fixing the amount of tribute. They never agreed to it, and it was fixed upon the basis of what Turkey declared she had been able to screw out of the island by regular Turkish methods. We were anxious, however, to have the island, and could not afford, or did not care, to boggle about the terms, particularly as they affected only other people’s interests. Reviewing this original transaction, I cannot help thinking it improper.⁹¹⁵

Churchill’s disapproval apparently had only a short-term effect. In 1910, at the end of the three-year grant-in-aid, the Colonial Office again withdrew its support.

King-Harman’s disappointment at this turn of events seems nearly to the same extent as that of the Cypriot Council, who, having finally seeing a small surplus and a slight relief from the tribute, were shocked when the Colonial Office decided the grant-

⁹¹⁴ King-Harman to the Earl of Elgin, June 11, 1906, No. 57 in Mediterranean No. 61 (Confidential), CO 883/6/9.

⁹¹⁵ Winston Churchill to F. Hopwood and Lord Elgin, Oct. 19, 1907, Mediterranean No. 65 Confidential, CO 883/7/3.

in-aid had done its job and need not be renewed. It “has come as a bolt from the blue”, King Harman wrote, “at the moment when the financial position of the Island has recovered from the perennial exhaustion and bankruptcy resulting from the system so happily replaced by the fixed grant-in-aid,” and when “the era of peace and prosperity, so confidently and joyously anticipated at the time of the British occupation...the burden of the Tribute is more firmly to be placed upon the shoulders of the people, and the fruition of all their hopes is blasted.” King-Harman noted that now the Cypriot Council, no longer using “extravagant and volcanic language,” delivered their complaint “under a manifest sense of restraint, as unusual as it was noteworthy.” He expressed his sympathy and warned

There is no doubt that the people and their representatives are in deadly earnest over this matter of the Tribute, and in my concern for the welfare of Cyprus I am bound to be in full sympathy with them in their anxiety and distress.

In this matter of the Tribute His Majesty’s Government and the people of Cyprus have arrived at a parting of the ways, and on the reply to the people’s resolution will depend the future of the local administration. I earnestly hope that the reply will be favourable; that His Majesty’s Government will agree to demand from Cyprus in future a fair proportion only of the sum to be paid to Turkey, and that, apart from the payment of that fair assessment the revenue of the Island may be allowed and devoted to the development of the country and to meeting the necessities of the people. This is what the resolution means, and this is the policy which will ensure the peace and prosperity of Cyprus and will redound to the credit and glory of England in the East.⁹¹⁶

⁹¹⁶ King-Harman High Commissioner to the Secretary of State, April 21, 1910, No. 42 in Mediterranean No. 65 Confidential, CO 883/7/5.

King-Harman appealed to “the credit and glory of England in the East,” echoing the arguments of earlier imperialists.

It is not clear how much influence King-Harman’s pressure tactics had in turning the heads of the British government, or maybe it was the constant complaining of the Council, but in August the Government agreed to a fixed annual grant-in-aid of £50,000 toward paying the tribute.⁹¹⁷ This would reduce the Cypriot contribution to the tribute by nearly one-third, and was considered to be the Government’s final offer:

By this decision the contribution of the people of Cyprus will be less by nearly one-third than the average of their contribution during the last 33 years, during which period their resources and their ability to bear taxation appear to have increased nearly twofold; and further additional taxation can now, if necessary, be voted by the Legislative Council to meet the needs of the Island without the apprehension that such taxation would only inure to the benefit of the British Exchequer.

I trust, therefore, that the decision will be accepted by the people of Cyprus and their representatives as a final and generous settlement of a long-standing question, and that they will in future cooperate cordially with the Government in its efforts to enhance the prosperity of the Island.⁹¹⁸

In December, after a round of letters and discussions between L. Harcourt as Secretary of State, the Comptroller’s office, and the High Commissioners, the Colonial Office also agreed to waive all claims by the Imperial Exchequer to the balance (in excess of £90,000) of the surplus that had accumulated in the previous four years.⁹¹⁹

⁹¹⁷ H. Bertram Cox (Colonial Office) to Treasury, Aug. 8, 1910, No. 59, CO 883/7/5.

⁹¹⁸ Crewe to King-Harman, No. 63, CO 883/7/5.

⁹¹⁹ H. Bertram Cox of the Colonial Office, to the Comptroller and Auditor-General, Dec. 24, 1910, No. 74, CO 883/7/5.

In June, 1911, however, the Council rejected the offer, insisting that the Cypriots should pay no part of an obligation taken on by the British toward the Sultan, rather, that all revenues taken from the Cypriots should stay in Cyprus.⁹²⁰ For the time being there was no further offer by the Government, and in April 1912, Hamilton Goold-Adams, who had become High Commissioner in December, reported the resignation of the Greek-Christian members of the Council. These members cited as their reasons for resigning, however, not the problems of the tribute but of certain settlements of the archiepiscopal question, as a result of, according to the High Commissioner, “a consequent desire on the part of those persons who gain their livelihood by agitation and unrest to find fresh sources for their energies.” The resigning members renewed their desire for Greek nationhood, communicating that

we notify that no oppression, however tyrannical the same may be, can alter our national sentiments or weaken our patriotic aspirations and dissolve our sweet dream, which has always been, continues to be, and will continue to be unalterably, the union with our free Mother Greece.

Wielding a much heavier hand than his immediate predecessors, Goold-Adams already had incurred the mistrust of the Greek Cypriots by attempting to repress Greek sentiments and liberties. He claimed it was a charge trumped up by the Greek leadership and press, explaining that on a visit to outlying areas, he had

deemed it desirable to issue a notice...to the effect that I desired all deputations to eliminate from their addresses matters of a political nature, and to avoid the use of political flags and emblems. Immediately on this

⁹²⁰ Acting High Commissioner J. E. Clauson to Secretary of State, June 24, 1911, No. 22, CO 883/7/10.

becoming known in the capital, orders were sent out by the Greek leaders that everywhere were my wishes to be ignored, and Greek flags and banners to be made as conspicuous as possible wherever I went.⁹²¹

Goold-Adams argued that where the agitators had not sent out orders, the Greek population seemed satisfied with British rule and apathetic toward Greek irredentism, and he definitely witnessed no flying of Greek flags in those areas.

On the other hand, Goold-Adams reported, a central committee had been formed consisting of the Archbishop, the bishops, and principal Abbots of the Orthodox Church, and the Christian ex-members of the Council, “to direct a movement in England and on the Continent in favour of granting to the people of Cyprus more extended executive and legislative powers, and where possible, of furthering the idea of annexation to Greece.”⁹²²

A memorandum sent by this group requested an increase in numbers of Greeks on the Council, since presently the minority Turks always sided with the English and outvoted the Greeks.⁹²³ Over the subsequent few years, the balance between Turks and Greeks on the Council, and the predominance of Turks on the police force would concern the British. They were especially given cause, for example, in May, 1912, in the case of a riot in Limassol between Greeks and Muslims, when the police were accused of firing from doors and windows against unarmed crowds, killing some and wounded various others. Such action of the police “generally qualified as criminal,” declared the Mayor of

⁹²¹ Hamilton Goold-Adams to Secretary of State, April 25, 1912, No. 66, CO 883/7/10. Holland and Markides suggest that the flying of Greek flags was more a demonstration of aspirations against the British rather than for Greek *enosis*. (Robert Holland and Diane Markides, *The British and the Hellenes*, Oxford, 2006, p. 175.)

⁹²² Ibid.

⁹²³ Enclosure 1 in No. 66, Extract from “Phone Tes Kyprou,” No. 1313, of the 7/20 April, 1912, “To the people of Cyprus” (Fellow-Countrymen), CO 883/7/10.

Larnaca, noting that the society of Larnaca “denounced with indignation action stigmatizing every Government” and expected exemplary punishment.⁹²⁴ British troops arrived the next day and restored order. But antagonism between the two groups continued to grow, each vying for the attention of the British.

By mid-1912, Cypriots seem to have accepted to some extent the idea that as Ottoman subjects they might better be served in their role as British citizens. Increasingly, Cypriots traveling outside the island sought to claim British protection. In November, 1912, amended regulations regarding passports were issued:

Passports are only issued to British subjects and to natives or non-natives of Cyprus who are Ottoman subjects and who are resident in Cyprus.

In no circumstances will passports be issued, without the prior authority of the Government, to Ottoman subjects who have not been resident in Cyprus for six months.

[...] Passports issued to Ottoman subjects give no claim to British protection within the limits of the Ottoman Empire. British Consular Officers in that Empire will, nevertheless, give Ottoman subjects who are natives of or resident in Cyprus and holding passports such unofficial assistance as may properly be afforded.

The phrase “Passports issued to Ottoman subjects give no claim to British protection within the limits of the Ottoman Empire” is significant because it protected Britain from the rapidly rising number of such claims, although by this time most Turks on Cyprus saw their only possible future as British citizens and Greeks looked to the mainland.

⁹²⁴ Telegram from Mayor (Themistocles) of Larnaca to Secretary of State, May 31, 1912, No. 83, CO 883/7/10.

In November, 1914, with war looming, leading Muslims agreed with Goold-Adams that Britain would be justified in taking action against Turkey “as was thought fit” and that if Cyprus was annexed by England, they would be “released from the intrigues of Constantinople.” This would assure the Muslim population of protection as British subjects.⁹²⁵ Then, on the declaration of war between Britain and Turkey, Muslim notables accepted the news of their new British citizenship with “dignified resignation”.⁹²⁶ The Archbishop and Greek-elected members of the Council also expressed the “sympathy and honour” of the Greek people and Church in Cyprus for Great Britain’s role “on behalf of the supreme moral principle” of liberty in international relations.⁹²⁷ Despite this display of loyalty to the British, the annexation of Cyprus by Britain in 1914 was viewed by Cypriots, especially the Greek leadership, as a transitional stage leading to *enosis*. As it happened, the British did offer Cyprus to the Greek government in October 1915, with the condition that Greek troops would join British in the Balkans. Yet the pro-German leanings of the Greek king Constantine led him to refuse the offer, and thereafter the idea of Britain handing Cyprus over to Greece became a dead letter, much to the chagrin of the Greek population on Cyprus, who appeared “perplexed and passive”, according to acting High Commissioner Clauson.⁹²⁸

⁹²⁵ Holland and Markides, p. 177, citing Sir Harry Luke, *Cities and Men: An Autobiography*, ii, London, 1953, p. 3.

⁹²⁶ Ibid.

⁹²⁷ Goold-Adams telegram to Harcourt, Nov. 2, 1914, CO 67/174, cited in Robert Holland and Diane Markides, *The British and the Hellenes*, Oxford, 2006, p. 177.

⁹²⁸ Robert Holland and Diane Markides, *The British and the Hellenes*, Oxford, 2006, p. 178, n.78.

Summary

The questions over legal status symbolized by flags and passports serves as a powerful reminder of the predicament in which the Cypriots found themselves, and for the British, a predicament into which they had backed themselves. Amidst rumors emanating from Egypt that England had negotiated a deal to turn Cyprus over to Greece, the British sought on one hand to reassure the Muslims that they would be protected in such event, while on the other hand declaring that actually no such event was contemplated or inevitable.⁹²⁹

To hand Cyprus over to Greece would suggest two alternatives: either it would acknowledge that Britain's rule was only temporary, or it would suggest that Britain had such a permanent claim on the island that it was free to use the island as a pawn or bribe in their own negotiations with Greece or Turkey. In either case, there was also a claim on Cyprus by France, and in January 1916, the Sykes-Picot Agreement specified that France had to be consulted before Britain would give up Cyprus to anyone.⁹³⁰ This was based on the recognition that by siding with Germany, Turkey had forfeited any and all claims to the island. This status was made explicit in the Treaty of Lausanne in July 1923, and on May 1, 1925, Britain made Cyprus officially a Crown Colony. The conflicts that ensued between Greek *enosists*, nationalists, and British rulers in the subsequent decades are well documented and analyzed by other historians. The argument here is that the process of transition to a colonial dependency was essentially complete, regardless of its level of continued success, by the time Britain annexed the island in 1914. The question was

⁹²⁹ Hamilton Goold-Adams to Secretary of State, Jan. 21, 1913, No. 6, CO 883/6/15.

⁹³⁰ Robert Holland and Diane Markides, *The British and the Hellenes*, Oxford, 2006, p. 179, n. 80

whether Cypriots would become English subjects. Would they, in fact, be transformed into “an English-speaking community, with British aspirations and sentiments”?

CONCLUSIONS

It is not surprising therefore, [after the “spectacle of India”] that the occupation of Cyprus should be welcome to the people, nor that their neighbours should rejoice at the effect which a well-governed province of an empire, protected on the condition that it shall reform its administration, must inevitably produce. Even the Constantinople Turk may see the moral of a contented country with a constantly increasing revenue.

– R. Stuart Poole (1878).⁹³¹

Granted that three centuries of that “Turkish misrule,” which has now almost passed into a proverb, account for a great deal of deterioration and distress, have eighteen years of just and wise government by able and upright English administrators done nothing to repair the mischief caused by neglect, oppression, improvidence, and extortion?

... It comes to this, then, that we have not done our duty to Cyprus, nor even acted wisely in our own interests.

– E. G. Browne

(1896).⁹³²

⁹³¹ R. Stuart Poole, “Cyprus: Its Present and Future”, in *The Contemporary Review* (London: Strahan and Co., Ltd.), Vol. XXXIII (Aug.-Nov. 1878), (138).

⁹³² E. G. Browne, “England’s Duty to Cyprus”, in *The New Review* (London: William Heinemann), Vol. XV (July-Dec., 1896), No. 89, Oct. 1896, pp. 510-523 (514).

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Conclusions

Cyprus for the Empire

The argument can be made that Britain had her eye on Cyprus as a partner in her Empire even before the secret deal to occupy the island occurred in 1878. British consuls were active in the island by the early-nineteenth century. After the occupation, the British employed engineers, scientists and agricultural experts from Britain, India, and Italy to officially assess the potential of the island's resources and to make recommendations for improvements and development. They calculated the amount of trade and goods going to England and other parts of Europe; they analyzed the climate, topography and natural ground waters and soils for the purpose of making plans to restore agricultural activities; they planned irrigation, drainage, roads and crop rotations; and they drew up and initiated plans for restoring the harbor at Famagusta for the purpose of defense and trade. Cloaked in Her Majesty's promise in 1878 "to promote and extend the commerce and agriculture of the country, and to afford to the people the blessings of freedom, justice and security"⁹³³, Britain haltingly but increasingly developed the island's resources, redirected its revenues and taxes, and enlisted its men as British soldiers and minor administrators (and even its donkeys) for the benefit of the British Empire. Thus administrators in Cyprus beginning in 1878 began to develop Cyprus as a British

⁹³³ Proclamation by His Excellency Lieutenant General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley Knight Great Cross of the most distinguished order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Knight Commander of the most honorable order of the Bath Her Majesty's High Commissioner for the Island of Cyprus, Larnaca, July 22, 1878, CO 67/1.

possession—as part of the Empire—decades before Chamberlain’s programs began in 1895.

The significance of this analysis is that it parallels empire-building in other parts of the British Empire, especially India. For example, in 1881 William Thiselton-Dyer, director of the Royal Gardens at Kew, advised the formation of forest reserves in Cyprus like those in India to help alleviate problems of destructive goat herds and indiscriminate cutting by peasants.⁹³⁴ Indeed the idea of “good government” reverberated throughout the Empire, and even the imperialist Disraeli argued that the British Empire had given millions “justice and order”.⁹³⁵ As has been shown in this dissertation, the documents outline the initiation of a full-fledged colonial infrastructure in Cyprus in this early period based on experience gained in other parts of the Empire. New British coinage, a new British-style government administration and new legal systems, land tenure and taxation, British prisons, health services, English education, and even British theatre, cricket, lawn-tennis and horse racing contributed to the creation of “British Cyprus” that remained in place after the end of British rule in 1960. The remnants of British trappings to this extent, that is, the enduring colonial infrastructure, not only formed the basis for the entrance of an independent, modern Cyprus into the global economy and world political system in the mid- to late-twentieth century, but also allowed a continuing relationship between Cyprus and Britain, both economic and political, that benefited both nations. In fact, Cyprus joined the British Commonwealth one year after independence.

⁹³⁴ Letter from Thiselton-Dyer to R. Herbert, Colonial Office, Feb. 15, 1881, FO 78/3374.

⁹³⁵ Thomas Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 63.

In cases like Cyprus, territories were occupied and developed as if they were British, under the guise of “protection”, suggesting they would forevermore be *like* Britain if not *part* of Britain. In fact, the colonial infrastructure established in British Cyprus parallels that of “British Burma” in John S. Furnivall’s seminal study *The Fashioning of Leviathan: The Beginnings of British Rule in Burma*.⁹³⁶ Furnivall personifies “the masterful modern state” as a man called Leviathan⁹³⁷:

‘By Art,’ says Hobbes, ‘is created that great Leviathan called a Commonwealth or State (in latine Civitas) which is but an Artificial Man.’ Yet, when discussing the generation of Leviathan, he terms him, more reverently, a Mortall God, and invents for him a mythical origin... [Therefore] That may be one reason why studies in the physiology of Empire rarely enquire into the circumstances of its birth, but deal rather with its decline and fall. Not until Leviathan is dead is he so far leveled with the common run of mortals that you can say what you like about him; while he still lives, you must say what *he* likes, on pain of incurring his resentment... especially if Leviathan himself be uneasy about his birth certificate or the social status of his parents the searching light of truth may be embarrassing.⁹³⁸

The embarrassment Furnivall identifies is that of a British “colonial state” imposed by the British in areas not yet legally British, such as occurred in Cyprus.

Also referring to *Leviathan*, Behan Wijeyewardene suggests:

It may say something about the nature of the colonial power that neither Maingy nor Blundell is easily recoverable except through Furnivall. This may, perhaps, be because until the second Anglo-Burmese war Tenasserim

⁹³⁶ J. S. Furnivall, “The Fashioning of Leviathan: The Beginnings of British Rule in Burma”, Canberra, 1991, reprinted from *Journal of Burma Research Society*, XXIV (1939), pp. 3-137.

⁹³⁷ Ronald Hyam uses the term “masterful modern state” in discussing Furnivall in “The British Empire in the Edwardian Era,” in *OHBE, Volume V, Historiography*, p. 58.

⁹³⁸ Furnivall, *Leviathan*, p. 1.

was not ‘British Burma’, and in the early years it was even possible that the territories might have been returned to the Burmese king.⁹³⁹

Because Burma in the early years remained clearly Burmese, not British, records of the early years of British administration are not easily accessible.

By contrast, the archives of early administrators in Cyprus are readily available because the island was considered to be a British territory from the beginning of the occupation. Although, according to the stipulations of the Congress of Berlin, Cyprus was to remain under Ottoman suzerainty, conditionally under British protection, and could be returned to Turkey when she either regained economic stability or until Russia returned certain territories, Britain annexed the island as British territory in 1914 when Turkey allied with Germany. When in 1918 talk turned to handing Cyprus over to the Greeks at the end of the war, the British dug in their heels and refused to consider that possibility.⁹⁴⁰ By 1925, when Cyprus became a British Crown Colony, the *Leviathan* found himself fully settled in and in charge.

According to W. R. Louis, Furnivall’s essay anticipates the idea of “colonial state” but also represents the 1930s trend for comparative studies.⁹⁴¹ In today’s era of global perspectives, comparative studies deserve perhaps even more attention. Colonial

⁹³⁹ Behan Wijeyewardene, “Introduction” to 1991 reproduction of Furnival, *Leviathan*, p. i. Furnival was an administrator in Burma and had access to unpublished documents.

⁹⁴⁰ Secret note from H. C. Clauson to Sir H. Read, 21 Nov. 1918, regarding status of Cyprus, CO 537/693. Clauson told Read that M. Venizelos had been asked to deny that he had stated that promises had been given him that Cyprus would be ceded to Greece at the end of the war, and that Venizelos had subsequently denied making such a statement.

⁹⁴¹ Wm. Roger Louis, “Introduction,” in Robin Winks, ed., *OHBE, Volume V, Historiography*, pp. 1-42 (27, n. 101).

rule in Cyprus can be compared to Burma, India, Malaya⁹⁴², or to stretch a point, to the United States in Iraq. The models certainly seem similar. Perhaps the establishment of “revitalization” projects before actual possession became commonplace among civil administrators. After all, how could the British show subject peoples how to create ‘good government’ without re-establishing government in their own image (not to mention making them feel at home in a strange land)? Such arrogant paternalism permeated Victorian attitudes.

Certainly lessons learned in India and elsewhere were often applied in Cyprus, for example in scientific experimentation and in experiences with plural indigenous populations. One difference between development in Cyprus and later colonies in Africa and elsewhere, however, is that British Cyprus was not a white settler colony. Britons filled the top official posts and in society separated themselves from the indigenous population, but underneath this upper strata of management and socially “civilized” society, indigenous Cypriot society would be reorganized and managed in such a way as to facilitate forward-thinking progress and integration of Cyprus into the British empire. Preparing Cypriots for self-rule, at least until the mid-twentieth century, was not part of the agenda.

The British were keenly aware that Cyprus remained nominally under Ottoman suzerainty, and struggled to reconcile treaties and agreements with the Ottomans and the French, and certainly the uncertainty of the occupation weighed on their minds. But while

⁹⁴² See J. S. Furnivall, *Colonial Policy and Practice: A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands India* (Cambridge, 1948); and T. N. Harper, *The End of Empire and the Making of Malaya* (Cambridge, 1999).

Greek Cypriots hoped for union with the Greek mainland, and the Turks became increasingly nervous about their eventual plight when that happened, the British really had no intention of releasing the island to any third party. Cyprus was valuable not only for its new resources and strategic location but also, for example, for providing relief for overcrowded territories in other parts of the Empire. This was demonstrated with the immigration of several small colonies of Maltese agricultural workers (Malta being a British colonial dependency) imported in 1879 and maintained on the island for many years.⁹⁴³ Already in 1879, Cyprus had a role within the greater British Empire.

Cyprus in the era of “new imperialism”

Some historians view the British Empire during the 1840s to 1860s as a period of “anti-imperialism,” or “disinterest in Empire,” mostly due to the success of free-trade competition.⁹⁴⁴ The acquisition of new territory was avoided, and any development of colonies was meant to prepare native groups for eventual self-rule, and of course, trade with Britain. However, as the century wore on, and as the weakness and confusion of European and American competitors died down, Britain’s power began to decline.⁹⁴⁵ Yet the second half of the century saw a dramatic increase in the expansion of the British Empire, with tightened trade controls and the formal annexation and expansion of British territory. Thus the century ended with the conquest of India (1857), the occupation of Egypt (1882), the partition of and “scramble” for Africa (c.1878-1900), and the

⁹⁴³ Report by Commissioner James Inglis, Famagusta (Cyprus), Aug. 19, 1880, CO 883/2. However, the Maltese were not considered by the British to be “white settlers”.

⁹⁴⁴ John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, “The Imperialism of Free Trade,” in *The Economic History Review*, 1953. The authors explain but argue against this theory.

⁹⁴⁵ Ronald Hyam, *Britain’s Imperial Century* (London, 1993 ed. (1976)), p. 20.

annexation and colonization of tropical territories. Consequently, the second half of the nineteenth century is often seen as a period of “new imperialism.”⁹⁴⁶

One motivation for Empire and colonial development was the assumption that Britain must protect and improve the plight of other peoples, the lesser races. Nineteenth-century imperialists (the “official mind” of the British Government) never doubted that they had the right – and the duty – to manipulate indigenous peoples, or for that matter the British public, for their own good. According to William L. Langer, in *The Diplomacy of Imperialism 1890-1902* (1935), they were convinced that they were the patricians of the human race, and that they had been called upon to fulfill a certain duty. He claimed, “They are not, they think, imperialists because they want to be, but because they are called upon to be, because they must be.” The logical conclusion from all this, says Langer, is that any interference with the progress of British imperialism is an attempt to counteract the will of God.⁹⁴⁷

Later, the imperialists were shocked to find that many indigenous peoples didn't want to be “civilized” or Christianized according to British dictum and that many countries had no need of trade with Britain. Still, the British maintained – at least until World War I – that “their ability to improve the human condition everywhere was as tremendous as their capacity to produce wealth.”⁹⁴⁸ In 1950, C. E. Carrington, among

⁹⁴⁶ Robin Winks, ed., *OHBE: Historiography* (Oxford, 1999) pp. 64-5.

⁹⁴⁷ William L. Langer, *The Diplomacy of Imperialism 1890-1902*, 2nd ed. (NY, 1935, 1960). After World War I, imperialists moved to an attitude of economic development of the colonies for the good of the inhabitants (indigenous and colonists) and the good of the world. In 1922, Sir Frederick (Lord) Lugard (1858-1945), published *Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa*, a handbook for district officers. Lugard held that the District Officer had a dual duty to protect indigenous subjects and to promote economic development for the benefit of the world at large.

⁹⁴⁸ Robinson, Gallagher, and Denny, *Africa and the Victorians* (1961), p. 1.

others, argued that a new conception of Empire as a duty (to bring good government to oppressed peoples), emerged between 1865 and 1885, and that imperial expansion exhibited a great surge at the end of the century. This idea derived from the doctrines of Froude and Seeley, and was expressed in Rudyard Kipling's India and Cecil Rhodes's plan to unite South Africa.⁹⁴⁹

Bernard Porter, in *The Lion's Share, A Short History of British Imperialism 1850-2004*, posits that Britain's waning influence was actually the reason for the increased expansion. For example, crises in the tropical colonies, such as encroachment by native populations and European powers, spurred Britain to annex territories in an effort to buoy her weakening control and as a desperate measure to prevent usurpation by the other powers. He further argues that by continually expanding her territories, Britain projected an image of power but that expansion in itself contributed to the downfall of the Empire after World War I and II.⁹⁵⁰ In the meantime, however, Porter credits Britain with achieving "the most extensive formal empire ever known to man, with constructive achievements to its credit at which only the much less scrupulous Romans probably ever excelled."⁹⁵¹ E.H.H. Green links this late-century "constructive imperialism" with Joseph Chamberlain's colonial development program from 1895 to 1903 and his campaign for

⁹⁴⁹ C. E. Carrington, *The British Overseas* (Cambridge, 1950), p. 662. The last event, highlighted by British failure in the Boer War, separated the "Little Englanders", the minority, from the "imperialist" majority in England and the colonies.

⁹⁵⁰ Bernard Porter, *The Lion's Share: A Short History of British Imperialism 1850-1995* (3rd ed., London and NY, 1996). Porter explains that after WW I, for example, when Britain and other powers divided the Middle East, she had a larger empire but her peacetime army was not big enough to defend it nor could her economy support it. See also fourth edition, *The Lion's Share: A Short History of British Imperialism 1850-2004* (2004).

⁹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 371.

Imperial Preference in May 1903.⁹⁵² Cyprus was perceived as a blank slate on which to write a new chapter of the Empire – fitting into this need to buoy weakening control in the eastern Mediterranean, and as a test site for Chamberlain’s “constructive imperialism” programs at the turn of the century.

While many historians accept the thesis that the nineteenth century was a period of great change from “anti-imperialist” attitudes to a renewed enthusiasm for Empire (both in England and Europe), the exact beginning of the change is debated. Some see the 1780s, the 1830s, and the 1860s as points of significant change away from focus on the Colonial Secretaries and Governors to a focus on ideology, power, and indigenous politics. Others look to a move from informal to formal empire after 1880, that is, the partition of Africa and “New Imperialism”. Livingston Schuyler, in *The Fall of the Old Colonial System: A Study in British Free Trade, 1770-1870* (London, 1945) sees 1870 as the end of the old colonial system, and others see Empire in the early 1870s as a buffer against resurgent Russia and Germany. Ronald Hyam, in *Britain’s Imperial Century, 1815-1914: A Study of Empire and Expansion* (London, 1976) cites uprisings such as the American Civil War and the Indian Mutiny in 1857, as another disjuncture.⁹⁵³ C. C. Eldridge places the beginning of the new imperialism with Benjamin Disraeli’s Abyssinian expedition of 1867-8. Cederic James Lowe set it at the year 1878, the year that the British position as a European Power was re-established after forty-five years of Palmerston and Gladstonian isolation, then a divided Cabinet, and in 1869 to 1870 a

⁹⁵² E.H.H. Green, “Political Economy of Empire” in *OHBE, Vol. III, The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 346-368.

⁹⁵³ Robin Winks, pp. 64-5. Also Hyam (1996 ed. (1973)), pp. 134-142.

withdrawal from Empire. C.W. Lowe argues that the Berlin Congress of 1878 brought Britain back into the European sphere, not the least because of her strategic occupation of Cyprus in the eastern Mediterranean.⁹⁵⁴

The motivations for expanding the Empire are also debated, ranging from humanitarian reasons to economic reasons to no rational reason at all. In 1883, Professor J. R. Seeley, noted observer of empire, declared in his classic series of lectures and later in the text, *The Expansion of England*, that “We seem, as it were, to have conquered and peopled half the world in a fit of absence of mind.”⁹⁵⁵ Indeed, Seeley’s book helped spur a reexamination of the Empire, or, as assessed by E. H. H. Green, an acknowledgement of the existence of the Empire.⁹⁵⁶ Late nineteenth-century policy-makers sought to organize, categorize, and unite the Empire and to re-establish the relationship between Britain and her Dominions and colonies. The first Colonial Conference met in 1887, with annual meetings afterward until World War I. The conferences were a result of “a most strenuous public effort to reconsider and reshape imperial relations,” or as W. A. S. Hewins called the movement in 1899, “constructive imperialism”. Green sees constructive imperialism as a response to Britain’s waning influence compared to that of growing industrial and military strengths and overseas activities of Germany, France, the United States, and Russia.⁹⁵⁷

Leonard Woolf, in *Empire and Commerce in Africa: A Study in Economic Imperialism* (1920), argues that a new kind of imperialism began in the early nineteenth

⁹⁵⁴ C. W. Lowe, *The Reluctant Imperialists: British Foreign Policy 1878-1902* (London, 1967, vol. 1), p. 19.

⁹⁵⁵ John R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England* (Chicago and London, 1883), p. 12.

⁹⁵⁶ E.H.H. Green, “Political Economy of Empire”, pp. 346-368.

⁹⁵⁷ Ibid.

century which was strikingly different from the imperialism of old kings and conquerors. It began when France entered Algeria in 1830 because (1) the Dey of Algiers had struck a French officer in the face with a fly-whisk, (2) France wanted to show the world she had recovered from the Napoleonic wars thinking and acting imperially, and (3) possession of the coast of Algeria was a counter in the strategic “Mediterranean question.” Britain was drawn into the European scramble for territory led by the French, but for different reasons, in particular for economic reasons. According to Woolf, by 1833, for Britain at least, this new era of imperialism had more to do with commerce than strategic position. British merchants at Canton demanded the British State protect their right to trade “with the people who did not want to trade with them” (leading to the Opium War and Treaty of Nanking in 1842). Thus began “economic imperialism”.⁹⁵⁸

Joseph A. Schumpeter, however, in *Imperialism and Social Classes* (1919), sees the economic motivations (which were developed as a model earlier by Adam Smith and Karl Marx) as merely a pretext for expansion. While Woolf claims the new imperialism differs from the imperialism of old kings and conquerors, Schumpeter compares the “new” imperialism to the desire for conquest held by medieval warrior classes. He argues that pre-capitalist elements were still entrenched in the social order; therefore, popular ideas of national expansionism and militarism, religious ideology, and economic benefit had the ability to influence the wider public and convince them to support and carry through with the whims of the Government.⁹⁵⁹ Never mind that, as Bernard Porter

⁹⁵⁸ Leonard Woolf, *Empire and Commerce in Africa: A Study in Economic Imperialism*, (London, 1920), pp. 22-23.

⁹⁵⁹ Joseph A. Schumpeter, “The Sociology of Imperialisms,” in *Imperialism and Social Classes* (1991, original 1919).

complains, “the men who were the agents of its acquisition and then its administration were a mixed bunch of villains, adventurers and idealists, with motives ranging from Christian philanthropy to pure greed, and more than a touch of madness.”⁹⁶⁰

D. K. Fieldhouse argues in *Economics and Empire 1830-1914* (1973) that the alleged discontinuity between “anti-imperialism” of the mid-nineteenth century and the “new imperialism” of the end of the century is largely illusory, is focused on Europe, and ignores conditions in the outside world. In general, relationships between Europeans and other peoples were becoming unstable and some readjustment was becoming necessary.⁹⁶¹ At the same time, the proliferation of European activities in the outer world triggered problems with indigenous political structures and a desire for more effective European control. The result was that by the early 1880s in these outside areas there were an unprecedented number of European powers in tension or crisis with indigenous groups or with each other⁹⁶²:

The vital link between economics and formal empire was therefore neither the economic need of the metropolis for colonies nor the requirements of private economic interests, but the secondary consequence of problems created on the periphery by economic and other European enterprises for which there was no simple economic solution.⁹⁶³

Thus in the 1870s and 1880s Britain acquired new territory in order to protect and control the economic advantages in those territories she already controlled or influenced.

⁹⁶⁰ Bernard Porter, *The Lion's Share* (third edition, 1996), p. 371. Also, C. C. Eldridge cites a renewed “unashamed, militant and illiberal” imperial spirit that emerged in the third quarter of the nineteenth century (C. C. Eldridge, *Disraeli and the Rise of a New Imperialism* (Cardiff, 1996), p. 1.

⁹⁶¹ D. K. Fieldhouse, *Economics and Empire 1830-1914*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell U. Press, 1973, pp. 93-4.

⁹⁶² *Ibid*, pp. 462-3

⁹⁶³ *Ibid*, p. 476.

“By 1880,” suggest Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher, “almost two thousand million pounds of credit had accumulated abroad. More than twelve million Britons emigrated between Waterloo and the end of the eighteen eighties, to settle new lands and help supply the growing volumes of food and raw materials consumed in the Mother Country.”⁹⁶⁴ Although policy in 1883 discouraged “any increase of territory in tropical countries already occupied by native races,”⁹⁶⁵ defense of the trade routes to India predicated the eventual occupation of Egypt, which led to conflict with France and upheavals in the Egyptian government; strategic maneuvering in the Mediterranean, including the occupation of Cyprus in 1878; and eventually the partition and annexation of African countries in the great “scramble” between European powers. The principle emerged that the British would expand “by trade and influence if possible, but by military, imperial rule if necessary.”⁹⁶⁶

Peter Harnetty, in *Imperialism and Free Trade: Lancaster and India in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*, supports the Robinson and Gallagher thesis by pointing to expansion in India which continued after “the victory of free trade” in 1846, namely, the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, Berar and Nagpur in 1853, and Ouhd in 1856, not to mention the replacement of the East India Company with Crown rule in 1858. Nagpur and Ouhd were annexed “specifically with an eye to their cotton-producing potential”. These examples contradict arguments that the Manchester School “looked upon the connection with India

⁹⁶⁴ Robinson, Gallagher, and Denny, p. 1.

⁹⁶⁵ Robinson, Gallagher and Denny, pp. 10-13.

⁹⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 10.

as a burden and was unaware of the importance of India to British trade.”⁹⁶⁷ Harnetty further notes that Lancashire encouraged private enterprise in India by financing certain developments such as railroads, public works, experimental cultivation of cotton, and so forth:

In all these measures, India’s effective subordination to British imperial power was clearly revealed. And all these policies were undertaken at the behest of free traders at a time when *laissez-faire* attitudes supposedly generated indifference, if not hostility, to empire.⁹⁶⁸

In Cyprus, the government also encouraged private enterprise, but financing from London was less forthcoming.

In their now-famous article, “The Imperialism of Free Trade” published in 1953, Robinson and Gallagher outlined the faults of discontinuity theories:

Their argument may be summarized in this way: the mid-Victorian formal empire did not expand, indeed it seemed to be disintegrating, therefore the period was anti-imperialist; the later-Victorian formal empire expanded rapidly, therefore this was an era of imperialism; the change was caused by the obsolescence of free trade. The trouble with this argument is that it leaves out too many of the facts which it claims to explain.⁹⁶⁹

Robinson and Gallagher point to the British occupation or annexation of New Zealand, the Gold Coast, Labuan, Natal, the Punjab, Sind and Hong Kong; control of Berar, Oudh, Lower Burma and Kowloon, Lagos and Sierra Leone, Basutoland, Griqualand and the

⁹⁶⁷ Peter Harnetty, *Imperialism and Free Trade: Lancashire and India in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Vancouver, 1972), p. 5.

⁹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁹⁶⁹ Gallagher and Robinson, “The Imperialism of Free Trade”, in *The Economic History Review*, Vol. VI, No. 1, 1953.

Transvaal; and new colonies in Queensland and British Columbia, all within the supposed “anti-imperialist” period.

In their subsequent book, *Africa and the Victorians, the Climax of Imperialism* (1968), Robinson and Gallagher, with Alice Denny, claim that an “informal Empire” was thriving and expanding throughout the nineteenth century, through informal influence rather than outright annexation of territory. This is what happened in Cyprus. While Little Englanders and imperialists certainly debated the merits of taking Cyprus in the 1870s and 1880s, as if the expansion of empire was a new concern, the men on the spot began building influence over the affairs of Ottoman Cyprus and developing Cyprus informally as a resource and defensive site for Britain at least a century earlier. The acquisition of Cyprus as a protectorate in 1878 enabled the British to expand that influence and apply more formal changes in government and trade. “Britishness” found a home in Cyprus in the subsequent decades. Finally, the annexation of Cyprus in 1914 formally established Britain’s intention to continue to rule Cyprus indefinitely as a colonial dependency. Thus Britain gained control of Cyprus in degrees, shifting from informal to formal empire in three stages: informal influence, formal control, and legal annexation.

The argument of bringing “good government” to Cyprus figured in speeches and confidential documents as one motivation, or at least an excuse, for occupying the island in 1878. The threat of encroachment of other European powers – a sort of “scramble” for eastern Mediterranean territories of the Ottoman Empire expressed in the Congress of Berlin – was another motivation. Economic imperialism also certainly applies to Cyprus, suggested by the immediate establishment of British businesses and banks, the attempt to

revitalize the ports, and the redevelopment of resources for trade both in and out of the Empire. Therefore Cyprus, while ranking low in priority for funding and competing with Colonial Office favored projects such as those funded by wealthy entrepreneurs in South Africa and other more profitable, “official” colonial territories, demonstrates an example of imperial expansion in the late nineteenth century. Yet, while Cyprus fits many theories of imperial expansion, at the same time it was a unique imperial experiment. It can be seen, however, that it was an experiment that ultimately failed.

The results of “good government” in British Cyprus

In 1878, the British believed that many Cypriots welcomed British protection from the “Ottoman yoke.” Lieutenant Herbert Kitchener, touring Cyprus in 1879 observed the popularity of English rule in Cyprus, particularly with the Greeks:

... in the village of Kethroea on New Year’s Eve, while the clocks were chiming the advent of another year, shouts and cheers for Victoria and the English woke us up. No English were with them, and the shouting was quite spontaneous... The Turks are also pleased with the new rule. They are not worried by *zabtiehs*, they have no fear of conscription, and they rather like the English.⁹⁷⁰

These observations gave validity to British intentions to bring “good government” to Cyprus.

Certainly the installation of new roads, the removal of problems with pests like locusts and goats, and better education, health facilities and agricultural methods

⁹⁷⁰ H. Kitchener, “Notes from Cyprus”, in *Blackwood’s Magazine*, August 1879.

improved the lives of the Cypriots. By 1895, however, the Cyprus experiment in good government began to fail. As E. G. Brown commented in *The New Review*:

Granted that three centuries of that “Turkish misrule,” which has now almost passed into a proverb, account for a great deal of deterioration and distress, have eighteen years of just and wise government by able and upright English administrators done nothing to repair the mischief caused by neglect, oppression, improvidence, and extortion?
... It comes to this, then, that we have not done our duty to Cyprus, nor even acted wisely in our own interests...⁹⁷¹

The Victorians had, in Brown’s eyes, failed miserably in their duty to their subject peoples, especially toward Christians previously under what the British considered the ‘Ottoman yoke.’

Then, during Joseph Chamberlain’s tenure as Secretary of State for the colonies from 1895 to 1903, informal good government policies were reframed as formal colonial development programs throughout the empire. Cyprus was brought into the fold of the Empire while still under Ottoman suzerainty, and most Cypriots patiently watched while some progress was made. But that progress was slow, mostly due to Chamberlain’s inability to win full support in the Colonial Office. The growing frustrations of the Cypriots regarding the tribute and the inability to participate as full members of the governing body of their own island fed the Greek irredentist movement from the mainland and provided reasons for resistance and agitation. Independence movements in other Ottoman territories inspired Greek Cypriots to seek independence from British rule as well.

⁹⁷¹ E. G. Brown, “England’s Duty to Cyprus”, in *The New Review* (1896), pp. 510-523.

Thereafter, any improvement in the governance of the island still could not satisfy those Cypriots who looked forward to independence from British rule. Community relationships grew more strained as “British Cyprus” became more entrenched. By World War I there could be no doubt that the British considered the island their possession and that “British Cyprus” had become part of the British Empire as a colonial dependency. When the Ottoman government allied with Germany, Britain declared all protective agreements null and void and annexed Cyprus in 1914.⁹⁷² After Cyprus became a Crown Colony in 1925, Cypriot unrest led to the burning of Government House in 1931, as well as communal violence.⁹⁷³ By the 1940s and 1950s economic decline and Cypriot unrest marked the island. Many observers claim British failure in Cyprus and one, “a record of neglect”⁹⁷⁴. Yet, in 1961, the year after Cyprus gained its independence, Cyprus became a member of the British Commonwealth.⁹⁷⁵ The infrastructure and skeleton—the “steel frame”—of good government established by the early men on the spot remained.

It is seen then, that though local administrators struggled with the power of the Colonial Office, British attitudes of arrogance and paternalism, and indigenous traditions,

⁹⁷² The announcement declaring Cyprus as a colony in *The Cyprus Gazette* (Extraordinary No. 1, No. 1691, May 1, 1925) details the steps leading to possession, including annexation of the Island in 1914 to “form part of our Dominions” (CO 380/169 Cyprus, Gibraltar, Vol. 5, 1906-1925).

⁹⁷³ Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus 1954-1959*, pp. 1-3. For a thorough analysis of the destruction of Governor House and the eventual decolonization of Cyprus, see Robert Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus, 1954-1959* (1998). For a comparison of British rule and decolonization in the Ionian Islands, Crete, and Cyprus, see Robert Holland and Diana Markides, *The British and the Hellenes: Struggles for Mastery in the Eastern Mediterranean 1850-1960* (2006).

⁹⁷⁴ Reddaway, *Burdened With Cyprus: The British Connection*, p. 30

⁹⁷⁵ For a thorough analysis of the destruction of Governor House and the eventual decolonization of Cyprus, see Robert Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus, 1954-1959* (Oxford, 1998). For a comparison of British rule and decolonization in the Ionian Islands, Crete, and Cyprus, see Robert Holland and Diana Markides, *The British and the Hellenes: Struggles for Mastery in the Eastern Mediterranean 1850-1960*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

much of the British infrastructure that persists in Cyprus today initiated with early consuls, Wolseley, his staff, and his immediate successors, that is, the man (and woman) on the spot. With Cyprus still under Ottoman suzerainty, but with a sense of permanence, they immediately began to improve transportation, civil services, and defensive ports; to install British governmental structures; to survey agricultural lands and villages and to develop the island as an “estate” of fresh agricultural resources, finished exports, and raw materials for other parts of the Empire. The British maintained the Ottoman district system of administration to a certain degree, inserting British district commissioners in six districts throughout the island, but totally replaced other Ottoman institutions like its monetary system. Britain’s idea of good government became a reality—or at least a work in progress—within several decades.

Had British administrators viewed their appointment to Cyprus as a temporary, military occupation, the development of the island most likely would have taken another course or not happened at all. Yet the fact that the British immediately saw Cyprus as a British possession allowed them to invest time and money with the full expectation of imperial reward. The strategic location of Cyprus in the eastern Mediterranean provided a base for the protection of Suez and a block to Russian encroachment. The tribute provided an opportunity to reimburse British and French investors who probably otherwise would have lost portfolios when the Ottomans defaulted in their obligations. Yet it is indisputable that British rule improved the lives of Cypriots even if unevenly and haltingly.

The problem was that Cyprus was not the blank slate the British had anticipated. British “good government” and the accompanying sense of Britishness and imperial destiny held within it the trappings of imperialist prejudices against native Cypriots, allowing for the seizure of native resources and the imposition of British mores and attitudes. More importantly, the attempts by the Cypriot Council to participate in island governance and the Government’s rebuff of those attempts signaled that “good government” meant government by British rule, not by native Cypriots. Conservative attitudes of western superiority, and the belief that Cyprus should be absorbed within the network of British imperial trade and commerce, precluded ever turning the island over to native Cypriot rule, whether Greek or Turkish. It could be said that Britain came to Cyprus with full intentions of creating British Cyprus, but the Cypriots got in the way.

This clearly flies in the face of the earliest justifications for occupying the island. Where the British sought to provide an example of what British governance can do, the underlying assumption was that Cyprus must become British Cyprus. In effect, the British came to Cyprus to grow the Empire.

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- BDEEP British Documents on the End of Empire
PRO Public Record Office, now the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, England
BT Board of Trade documents, in National Archives of the United Kingdom (Public Record Office), Kew, England
CO Colonial Office documents, in National Archives of the United Kingdom (Public Record Office), Kew, England
FO Foreign Office documents, in National Archives of the United Kingdom (Public Record Office), Kew, England
HO Home Office, in National Archives of the United Kingdom (Public Record Office), Kew, England
PD Parliamentary Debates (*Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*)
PP Parliamentary Papers

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- DNB Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004-6
OHBE Oxford History of the British Empire, Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press
RCS Royal Commonwealth Society
RGS Royal Geographical Society
RH Rhodes House at Oxford University

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