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SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
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TRAVEL LITERATURE AS A POLITICAL ACT: DISCOURSE
HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF JAMES STANISLAUS BELL'S *JOURNAL OF
A RESIDENCE IN CIRCASSIA*

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TEZLİ YÜKSEK LİSANS PROGRAMI




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ABSTRACT

This work on the discursive and historical analysis of James Stanislauss Bell's *Journal of a Residence in Circassia* focuses on the political aspects of Bell's work and tries to exemplify the political dimensions of travel literature as a genre with this specific subject. It is argued that geo-political movements of the Russian Empire in Caucasia made it necessary for the British to take action on the matter. And that is when the author, Bell, was commissioned by British Diplomat David Urquhart to set sail to the land and send reports in this time of crisis. Bell's reports were later compiled into two volumes for publication and presented as pieces of travel literature. By taking the advantage of Discourse Historical Analysis methodology presented by Martin Reisigel and Ruth Wodak this work tries to realize its object.

Key Words: Travel Literature, Discourse, Politics, Critical Discourse Analysis, Discourse Historical Analysis, 19th century British-Russian Rivalry, Caucasia, Circassians, David Urquhart, James Stanislaus Bell

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1. INTRODUCTION

Travelling has been a tempting attraction for people throughout history. Not to mention that human kind started its voyage on the earth as a travelling species, people love travelling for different reasons and travel for different reasons. As much as they love travelling, they also write about it. And this inclination created one of the earliest forms of literature; the travel writing. Starting from the ancient times travellers from around the world have enjoyed or found it necessary to write about their voyages and narrate the unknown places for the others. To describe the general framework of the genre Christopher K. Brown states:

travel literature designates those texts that recount the journey of a person from one place to a significantly different place and that have enduring qualities —be they formal or content based— that resonate with readers from different eras with different interests and backgrounds. (Brown, 2000: viii)

Even though romantic and humanist perspective on travel writing indicates that voyagers of different ages and cultures took their courageous and adventurous journeys out of curiosity or the lust for exploration or for the sake of enlightenment, this might not have been the case for many of travel writers. Beginning from the ancient times writers like Homer, Herodotus or Pausanias produced different accounts of travel literature as the early examples in the genre. In the medieval ages, writers from Arab and Chinese worlds like Ibn Jubayr or Fan Chengda wrote about Arab and Asian geographies. Turkish explorer and writer Evliya Çelebi produced his grand work *Seyahatname* depicting a vast scale of geography from Europe to Asia and to Arab peninsula portraying their people, geography, culture and legends. Alexander von Humboldt and Charles Darwin, as the two aspirant scientists and explorers of the age of enlightenment, gave examples in the genre for scientific purposes. When the purposes of these writers are considered, one can read quite

curious, romantic, or scientific literary pieces. However, when some other writers, i.e. Gerald of Wales, Christopher Columbus, James Stanislaus Bell or Gertrude Bell, are considered a totally different perspective on the genre is quite visible. Except from geographical or cultural accounts, one can see notes that would serve for the benefit of politics of their countries, colonialist ideologies or religious missions.

Commenting on the elements of English Travel Writing canon Andrew Hadfield states that “the main strands in English writing representing countries within Europe was the use of a loosely defined generic form which furthered discussion of politics at home, the same can often be said of English writing which can be designated as 'colonial'.” (Hadfield, 1998: 69-70) He develops his commentary by demonstrating “the ways in which various forms of colonial literature, from the reign of Mary to that of James I, were forced to reflect upon the enterprises they were encouraging, and to articulate a political message which challenged the assumptions of their supporters at court.” in his work. (Hadfield, 1998: 70)

When the work of 19th century British officer, merchant and travel writer James Stanislaus Bell, *Journal of a Residence in Circassia Vol. I*, is reviewed with the same perspective a similar result appears. His intentions to pen this work does not seem to be merely artistic but also pragmatically politic.

To develop a better understanding on Bell’s intentions two important methods can be applied. Firstly, thanks to a text based approach general ideology and the discourse of the text and the writer can be understood. And in the second phase, with the specification of the historical context of his journey, that is the subject of his volume, his pragmatics can be better understood. To achieve this, unique methodology of Discourse Historical Analysis (DHA), (Reisegel & Wodak, 2017) which was

pioneered by Ruth Wodak and Martin Reisegel as a methodology in the field of Critical Discourse Analysis, can be applied.

Application of Discourse Historical Analysis to Bell's *Journal of a Residence in Circassia Vol I* to understand the political dimensions of Bell's work is the main concern of this study. To achieve this, following chapter, chapter 2, will try to introduce the history of travel literature to give a broader sense on the genre to the reader. After the introduction of the historical background of the genre, reader will be able to get information on the political dimensions of the genre through certain examples. And in the last part of the chapter 2 reader may find tradition of the genre in the British Literature with certain examples of pieces written in the 19th century specifically on the land of Caucasia.

In chapter 3, the subject work of this study, *Journal of a Residence in Circassia*, and the writer James Stanislauss Bell will be introduced to the reader. And In chapter 4, reader will be introduced with the concepts of rhetoric, discourse to give background information about the critical methods referred in this work; which are Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Discourse Historical Analysis (DHA). After a detailed explanation of these two approaches, specific methodology that is applied in this work will also be introduced in this chapter. Lastly, with the examination of Bell's work through DHA the chapter will be concluded.

As a result, this study aims to argue that as a genre travel literature may house certain examples that might be accepted as political acts. Not to claim that all the examples of the genre are subjected to this argument, quite a number of the works, especially ones that were written before the World War II, might be studied in this perspective. To shed the light on this point of view, the subject of this thesis, *Journal of a*

Residence in Circassia, might set an example as it will be examined in this frame. Following the analysis of Bell's work, we will try to come to a conclusion whether the *Journal* might be regarded as a political document or not.



2. TRAVEL LITERATURE AS A POLITICAL ACT

2.1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF TRAVEL LITERATURE

When the genre travel literature is taken into consideration two distinct terms stand out; *travel* and *literature*. Explaining the former Brown writes:

on the one hand, we have travel, which evokes images of a voyage, of a journey, or of going from one place to another... Travel as a modern English word grew out of the Middle English *travailen* (to toil or to make a toilsome journey), which comes from the Old French *travaillier* (to labour or to work at strenuous physical or mental activities). (Brown, 2000: vii)

And for the latter he emphasizes that “one aspect of the work of travel lies in recording the journey, the experiences, and the learning gained from them.” (Brown, 2000: vii)

Different explorers and writers from around the world has kept the record of unknown places, societies and cultures while travelling so as to learn about them and depict them for their countrymen. Besides, their works have been used as manuscripts thanks to which public people could have any idea about the place and the people told. In some cases, works of travel literature became the only source that illustrated the unknown lands in the minds of readers or hearers. Having this power of illustrating the unknown, some examples of the genre, in some cases, took the advantage of it and manipulated the depictions of unknown lands ideologically by using methods of rhetoric and discourse, and by doing so they added a political dimension to their works.

This, adding a political dimension to writings in the genre of travel literature, has seemed to be the case for the majority of the canon of British Travel Literature. With the start of colonial period many explorers, who travelled all the edges of the world for the purposes of finding new resources and widening the British Empire, not only occupied themselves as explorers but they also did write about the places they

visited. And thus, they contributed to the canon. This tradition is well placed in British Literature and British Politics through renaissance to the modern age.

One specific location that British explorers and travel writers found it necessary to visit and write about happened to be Caucasia in the early 19th century. With the start of Russian intervention to the regions of Caucasus, some political circles in British Empire felt uncomfortable foreseeing its possible consequences. They found it vital to stop their marching because it would clearly result in a march towards Ottoman Empire, who was an easy to control ally and who was also inclined to weaken every passing decade. British preferred their weakening ally, the Ottoman Empire, to a strengthening and alien force, the Russian Empire. They felt the necessity to take action on the matter and this feeling led to the need of exploring the subject land, Caucasia, and gain useful information against possible Russian military campaigns as of the early stages of the critical period. And this writing focuses on this subject matter, highlighting the political dimensions of the genre travel literature and concluding it with the endeavours of British explorers and travel writers, who visited and wrote on Caucasia in the early 19th century.

2.2. HISTORY OF TRAVEL LITERATURE AS A POLITICAL ACT

It is true that, regarding the focus of this article, which is European travellers, some writers of the genre write for ideological purposes explicitly. However, some others present their ideological point of view rather by implications in an implicit way. On the other hand, there are the writings of relatively more objective writers in which the perspective of Europeanness is, willingly or unwillingly, clearly visible in the discourses they use. Peter Hulme states that “during the colonial period large parts of non- European world were *produced* for Europe through a discourse that imbricated

sets of questions and assumptions, methods of procedure and analysis, and kinds of writing and imagery.” (Hulme, 1986: 2) As it would be understandable at this point, the idea of ‘we, the Europeans’ and ‘they, the others that dwell in the other parts of the world’ is a created perspective by European travel writers during the colonial period. That is not to say that this is a wrong perspective, on the contrary this is completely understandable and natural since the writer has to perceive the world around him/her and narrate it through the premises of his/her own culture. Besides, as the reader, we can understand the philosophy or the ideology of his/her narration through analysis in the same natural way he/she narrates it. Sara Mills explains this triangular relationship between the writer, the text and the reader in her work:

In Foucault’s terms ‘what happened’ and ‘what was seen to happen’ and ‘what was written’ are entirely dependent on the rules of discursive formations...The discursive formation mentioned here is obviously the product or the writer’s own with no counter idea to evaluate its factuality. Therefore it would not be wrong to say that writer’s ideology is the basis of the discourse of the text, hence, the ideology is visible in the text. (Mills, 1991: 85)

The discourses that the travel writers use is sharpened by the cultural or ideological point of view they have. From their stand point other societies, with all their premises, are reimagined and expressed accordingly, and moreover, they are categorised accordingly. In the frame of one of the major theories on colonialism, Orientalism Edward Said assumes that “the Orient is an integral part of European material civilization and culture.” (Said, 1977: 2) In the context of travel writing European writers have created such a discourse, which is called as colonial discourse, that different societies were divided into two groups as the ones that fit to their ideological frame of thought or their political agenda and as the ones that does not fit to European ideology or politics. This idea is shared by various social scientists. For example, “Peter Hulme states that there are several discourses within

colonial discourse, two of which concentrate on the discourse of the civilised other the discourse of savagery (Hulme 1986)” (Mills, 1991: 87)

Hulme shows how, within one geographical area, the division civilised/savage was made by Europeans between Arawak and Carib, and the Carib were associated with cannibalism, since they resisted colonial rule. This distinction can also be seen in Fanny Parks’s work, when she contrasts the ‘savages’ she visits on the way to a more ‘civilised’ India (Parks, 1850). (Mills, 1991: 87)

To sum up, it would not be wrong to say that travelling not only served as a mode of curious mobility on the earth but it also served as a tool of investigation for ideological and politic purposes. And as of the fact that the accounts given by travel writers helped their homeland institutions to evaluate and benefit from these investigations to set their politic or economic agendas. Starting from the colonialist period the works in the travel writing genre might have a strong connection with transnational political actions of different realms. Therefor it might be appropriate to examine these writings through linguistic and discursive approaches to clarify their political dimensions.

2.3. 19TH CENTURY BRITISH TRAVEL LITERATURE ON CAUCASIA

The focus of British men centred upon Caucasia when David Urquhart (1805–1877), a diplomat and a social activist, who worked for the behalf of British interests and who designed the Circassia’s national flag, appeared for the first time on the land. He did not appeared in Caucasia holding his own identity but he preferred to disguise himself as Daud Bey, who was a Muslim public figure as he introduced himself to Caucasian communities. (Brewda & de Hoyos, 1999: 24) His trip to Caucasia in 1834 had important effect on certain British political circles, which supported Ottoman defence against possible Russian intervention through the North Caucasus. He, then after, tried to raise Circassian opposition to Russian Empire with the

purpose of constructing a blockage that would stop Russian marching towards Ottoman Empire. Even though his ideology was well crafted and solid he did not have the full claim and public support on his cause. At this point he called for his fellow men on duty and thus paved the way for two of the most important travel books to emerge in 19th century. Prominent English scholar who works on Caucasian languages and history George Hewitt informs his readers about these two important writers:

James Stanislaus Bell, having arranged in 1836 for Vixen to run Russia's blockade of Circassia with a cargo of salt, saw the vessel illegally impounded. Lord Palmerston declined to demand restitution, setting a precedent for the insouciance toward unwarranted aggression against north Caucasians that the West has manifested ever since. With strengthened determination, Bell took up residence in Circassia (1837– 1839), accompanied for a year by Times correspondent J.A. Longworth. Both published poignant journals relating the Circassian, Ubykh, and Abkhazian mountaineers' heroic struggle to defend their independence against often wanton brutality, while giving sympathetic insights into a lifestyle that within 25 years was to vanish forever. (Hewitt, 2003: 199)

The two volume work of James S. Bell includes his memoirs while he resided in various locations in Northern Caucasia in years 1837, 1838 and 1839 (see Bell, 1840). He gives extremely detailed accounts on the land and its people. He does not only provides information on social, cultural or economic life of the land but he also writes about Russian military campaigns, state of local defence and comments on possible Russian strategies in detail (see Bell, 1840). J. A. Longworth, on the other hand, also writes two volume account on the Northern Caucasian people and their rightful resistance against Russian intervention (see Longworth, 1840). He visited Bell in his time on the land and they two produced four volume work on the subject matter. Both Bell and Longworth explicitly references David Urquhart's previous affords to unify Northern Caucasian people and organize a collective resistance against Russian Empire in their work. They state that their expeditions are

encouraged by David Urquhart as a patriarchal duty of providing information to their homeland:

the expedition was undertaken at the desire (as I was led to suppose) of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, intimated by the Under Secretary, Mr. Strangways, to Mr. Urquhart, then Secretary of Legation at Constantinople, who communicated it to and made arrangements with me.

The inducement for my remaining in Circassia — after I had ceased, from unexpected change in the councils at home, to have much hope that the political information I was acquiring would be made available to my country — was the expectation which I entertained, and was encouraged in, from time to time, by the letters received from my countrymen, of succeeding in the accomplishment of my original object — the establishment of a direct trade between Circassia and Great Britain.

These subjects are adverted to in the course of the Journal; but it cannot fail to be observed that, from first to last, expectations were held out to me which, from various causes still open for discussion, were not realised. My own private matters necessarily left much of my time unoccupied; and in a country so little known, and yet so singularly interesting, as Circassia is in many respects, I felt that I could not spend the leisure time on my hands with more pleasure to myself and perchance profit to my country. (Bell, 1840: v)

Urquhart never explicitly references works of James S. Bell or J. A. Longworth.

However, that is not to say that he did not take the advantage of informing himself through the accounts they provided. A political communication between the two writers and David Urquhart clearly took place at the time, yet, there is no direct reference to the accounts of Bell and Longworth by Urquhart. At this point an examination in the frame of discourse analysis may provide valuable insight to clarify their political connectedness and to understand the political purpose that this political circle tried to achieve.

It is important to notice that the political connectedness of these statesmen should not be regarded as an act of espionage. What they tried to achieve was more of creating a political agenda and to gain public support in the frame of their patriarchal ideology. They sought to serve their country to the best of their perspective. George Hewitt states that “all these British travellers were branded “spies” by Russian/Soviet tradition”. (Hewitt, 2003: 199) However the purpose of this article is not to claim

that these travellers were spies, the idea that they served as informants who operated in an imperialistic ideological frame and they used accounts of travel literature as a means of political communication might be a notable one.



3. JOURNAL OF A RESIDENCE IN CIRCASSIA, VOLUME I

3.1. ABOUT THE AUTHOR

The author of the journal, James Stanislaus Bell, was born in 1796 in Dundee, Scotland.¹ Even though there is not much information about his personal life, nor there is a biographical volume on him, it is possible to find his family tree online. It is known that he was born to Bell family, to William Bell and Anna Young and he had three siblings. He was married with Elizabeth Roberton and they had seven children together. Most of the little information about his personal life is as limited as stated here. However, it is possible to learn about his life and actions as a merchant and a servant to the crown through his journals and reports that he wrote on his different journeys.

His first appearance in the recorded history as a man on duty was with his involvement to the Mission of Vixen in 1836. He was on board of the British schooner Vixen which was carrying both mercantile and military supplies to Caucasian coast to be delivered to Caucasians fighting against forces of Russian Empire. “The mission was commissioned by the First Secretary of the British Embassy in İstanbul, David Urquhart. The schooner was carrying salt and, as later it was discovered by Russians, guns for Caucasians.” (Hobkirk, 1990: 158) The mission ended with a failure and the schooner was captured by Russians which created a diplomatic crisis between British and Russian Empires. After the capture of the schooner Bell returned to İstanbul as he stated in *The Journal Volume I*. (Bell, 1840)

¹ Geneanet. (2019). Family tree of James Stanislaus BELL. [online] Available at: <https://gw.geneanet.org/yuille?lang=en&iz=689&p=james+stanislaus&n=bell> [Accessed 18 March 2019].

Bell was commissioned to go on an expedition in Caucasia by David Urquhart. He states how he was appointed to this mission in the preface of his *The Journal Volume I*.

...the expedition was undertaken at the desire (as I was led to suppose) of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, intimated by the Under Secretary, Mr. Strangways, to Mr. Urquhart, then Secretary of Legation at Constantinople, who communicated it to and made arrangements with me.

(Bell, 1840: v)

This expedition started in 1837 and it lasted for three years during which he kept his well-known journals in two volumes. However he claims his expedition was intended for commercial reasons, it is also visible that he engaged in political activities providing intelligence to British officers in İstanbul regarding Russian-Caucasian military affairs. He ended the mission after it was made clear that Caucasians, who he had supported, was failing the resistance against the Russian Empire.

Bell put great effort on the issue of Caucasia for British Empire. In the years that he was on this mission 'The Eastern Question' was of great importance for the British and he took a prominent role following the steps of David Urquhart in Caucasia. After the failure of this mission his next known duty happens to be in Nicaragua. He spent most of the rest of his life in South America working both as a businessman and an officer informing his correspondents about the matters regarding commercial and governmental issues of the geography. He appears to involve in mahogany trade as he states 1851 dated letter to Sir William Jackson Hooker.² In another letter, he

² Bell, James Stanislaus, 1851, *Letter and illustrations from James Stanislaus Bell and Charles Napier Bell to Sir William Jackson Hooker; from Grey Town [San Juan de Nicaragua], Mosquito,*

wrote to the editor of *The Times* in 1857, he refers to how the boundary of the Mosquito Kingdom, a location between Nicaragua and Honduras, was fixed by the recommendation of Lord Palmerston himself.³

His time in South America became the last chapter of his life. It is not certain when he returned to Britain but it is known that he passed away in 1858 and is buried in his motherland. However there is not a direct official document positioning James Stanislaus Bell as a British Officer, it is possible to make an inference on his occupation through his life as a man on duty and his writings.

3.2. ABOUT THE VOLUME

The Journal of a Residence in Circassia During the Years 1837, 1838, 1839 is the primary literary work of James Stanislaus Bell. The volume consists of 18 letters written by the writer in 453 pages. They depict the writer's journeys in Caucasus in years 1837, 1838, 1839. However, It is not clear if his writings were intended for a publication in the first place. It can be understood that Bell actively used letters to inform his correspondent on the matters of Russian invasion and Circassian resistance in the span of three years.

The volume was first published by Bradburry and Evans Printers in London in 1840 after Bell's departure from Caucasia. Since then, it has been published many times by different publishing houses and in different languages.

To whom the letters are directed to is unknown as the name of his correspondent is removed either by the writer himself or by his editors possibly in the process of publication. However, it is known that letters are directly or indirectly sent to

[Nicaragua]; 19 Mar 1851; seven page item comprising six images; folio 30, [online on Jstor]

Available on:

<https://plants.jstor.org/stable/10.5555/al.ap.visual.kmdc1213>

³ Bell, James Stanislaus, 1857, *The Destruction of Greytown*, [published in *The Times Digital Archive* 2007], London, England

Istanbul to be read by David Urquhart, who is an experienced diplomat operating at the Secretary of Legation of United Kingdom in İstanbul. Except from the correspondent of the writer some other European personas are also obscure due to the fact that either their names are also removed from the letters or they are referred by pseudonyms



4. DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE VOLUME

4.1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF DISCOURSE&POLITICS

Use of language has been an inescapable premises in organized societies since the beginning of civilization. Societies have produced intricate language systems in accordance with social, cultural and political surroundings they have dwelled. And at the same time, social habitats have been influenced and reproduced by the systems of language in a mutual relationship. One important fact about language claims to it be both a social phenomenon and an ideological phenomenon. And regarding the history of civilization, it would be appropriate to state that it has helped people keep the record of their stories, philosophies and ideologies. While keeping the record of things, people developed artful and complex tendencies towards producing even more intricate systems of language. They have not found it enough to express their stories or ideologies in plain and simple ways for many reasons, but they found it necessary to develop different ways of language usage; for some cases artistic and enriching, and for some cases implicit and manipulative.

Field of literature is one of the many fields in which different perspectives of language usage are applied. Even though general idea on literature assumes it to be an artistic form, the idea that in some cases it is also ideological is also factual. In this regard, literature can be divided into two groups as ‘fictional literature’ and ‘non-fictional literature’. Ideology may exist in a literary piece in different ways; i.e. ideology of the writer, ideology of the social group in which the writer places himself/herself, the ideology of the culture or the subculture in which the work is produced, etc. Even though both fictional and non-fictional works may include an explicit or implicit ideological frame of thought, non-fictional works are prominently

linked with this idea. Travel literature is one of these non-fictional literary genres that includes elements of ideology in its content. Different explorers and writers from around the world have kept the record of unknown places, societies and cultures while travelling so as to learn about them and depict them for their countrymen and future generations. Besides, their works have been used as manuscripts thanks to which people could have any idea about the place and the people told. In some cases, works of travel literature became the only source that illustrated the unknown lands in the minds of readers or hearers. Having this power of illustrating the unknown, some examples of the genre, in some cases, took the advantage of it and manipulated the depictions of unknown lands ideologically by using methods of rhetoric and discourse.

Using a rhetorical language has been a commonly practised technique of expression used by public figures who have had the power of influencing people or who have had the power of directly affecting the lives of people during the course of history. As a technique of language usage rhetoric obviously includes elements of linguistic and semiosis. It also adapts various figures of speech to produce an influential and effective form of language. Even though rhetoric is an ancient practice, the elements it includes and the methods it offers are still practised in contemporary societies. In a similar frame of thought, discourse also helps people produce and understand a refined system of language that is produced with a certain ideology or philosophy behind it.

20th century gave rise to linguistic analysis of different forms of semiosis to understand the ideology of a text. This linguistic analysis has sought to understand the discourse of a text which is created including the elements of rhetoric; namely

discourse analysis. Even though the study field of discourse analysis have been quite wide since its beginning, the methods it applied were limited to the analysis of linguistic elements. However, in the late 20th century a group of scholars of linguistics put forward a new approach to the field. What they offered was basically the analysis of a text not only in the frame of formal linguistics or structures of semiosis but also to add sociological and historical dimensions to the analysis. The approaches mentioned here are Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA). And the idea tried to be supported in this article is that analysing a work of travel literature in the frame of some methods offered by CDA and DHA might help researchers understand the work and the ideology behind it better.

4.1.1. LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY

To put it at its simplest, language can be defined as a social medium of audial or visual communication. However, it is never a simple task to comprehend such an intricate structure at full length for there are greater number of variables in its constitution and the way it is used. As a comparatively young field of research, linguistics, enables not only the structural analysis of a language system through its subfields like phonology, morphology, syntax or grammar, etc. but it also approaches the study of language in an interdisciplinary fashion to grasp it in a wider perspective.

Commenting on the correlation between linguistics and other disciplines, anthropological linguist Edward Sapir, who is a key figure in the development of the field, remarks “the mutual interests which tie up linguistics with anthropology, culture history, sociology, psychology, philosophy, and more remotely, with physics

and physiology.” (Sapir, 1929: 396) And another key figure in the discipline of linguistics Ferdinand de Saussure states that “[when] we study speech from several viewpoints simultaneously, the object of linguistics appears to us as a confused mass of heterogeneous and unrelated things... [the] procedure opens the door to several sciences -psychology, anthropology, normative grammar, philology, etc.” (de Saussure, 1916: 6) It is not surprising that the study of language exceeds beyond the borders of formal linguistics, yet, it is still a highly complex system to be understood properly even with the help of other scientific disciplines.

One important aspect of language, which majority of the experts in the field would agree, is that ‘it is a social phenomenon’ (Kress, 1989; cited in Wodak and Meyer, 2001). “It is both a social product of the faculty of speech and a collection of necessary conventions that have been adopted by a social body to permit individuals to exercise that faculty.” (de Saussure, 1916: 9) Language is accepted to emerge as the fundamental element operating as the medium of communication for the complex social needs of human kind. It is vital to notice that, at this point, language did not emerge prior to organized social groups but it has been shaped by social, cultural, ethnographic, geographic, etc. variables and conventions at the same time. In short, it is not wrong to say that there has always been a dual interaction between language and society simultaneously.

4.1.2. POLITICS AND LANGUAGE

Since the emergence of organized societies people divided into two groups; first one being governor group and the second being governed group (see Marx, 1867, Gramsci, 1971). Even though there occurs a relative balance between the demands of these two groups, societies have always been governed by the will of the governors.

Some may argue that in democratic societies people have direct effect on government policies. However, this may not be the case as Terry Eagleton states that “people are supposed to believe they govern themselves.” (Eagleton, 1991: 112) The ideologies they have set the primary basis for the social contracts and the frame of their ideologies have been embodied in the language they have used. At this point, the function of the language that governors choose to use is crucial and it manifests the relation between politics and the language. Pual Chilton and Christina Schaffner illustrate this idea by referring to two remarkable philosophers in their article. They state that “some philosophers – Descartes is the best known – have defined humans as essentially linguistic animals. Aristotle, on the other hand, famously defined humans as political animals.” (Chilton & Schaffner, 1997: 206) While the relation between language and politics is quite observable, for what purposes this relation is abused and how it is used are two important questions that arise in this context.

The relation between the governor groups and the governed groups in different societies and in different periods of the history can be summed up as the relation of power or the relation of hegemony; which means the continuous dominance of one social group over the rest of the society. There have been various ways and tools of hegemony throughout the history; from explicit applications of hegemony, i.e, dictation, violence, inquisition or colonialism etc. to implicit applications, i.e. political campaigns, media control, ideological advertising, etc. The common feature of both explicit and implicit applications of hegemony is the use of language in the ideological frame of the speaker because “language is also a medium of domination and social force. It serves to legitimize relations of organized power... language is also ideological” (Habermas, 1977; cited in Wodak and Meyer, 2001).

As a comment on the implicit application of the power Chilton and Shaffner states that “politicians and political institutions are sustained by ‘persuasive’ or ‘manipulative’ uses of language of which the public is only half aware.” (Chilton & Schaffner, 1997: 207) Politicians, governors, have applied different methods to use such a language that would serve for their ideology without creating public awareness. This might be the case when a hegemonic power successfully interfere and manipulate social dynamics of the subject social group.

4.1.3. ON RHETORIC AND POLITICAL DISCOURSE

One of the most important tools on the way to achieve power or public support for politicians and governors is obviously the language. How well and effectively a speaker transfers his/her frame of thought to listeners through a well-crafted usage of language, the more chance of appreciation and support he/she might get. This art of creating influential discourse is referred as ‘rhetoric’. In Aristotle’s terms “[it is], in the general sense of the use of language in such a manner as to impress the hearers and influence them for or against a certain course of action, is as old as language itself and the beginnings of social and political life.”⁴

As old as the history of civilization it might be, the art of rhetoric have been used by rulers, governors, politicians and ideology makers throughout the history. It is certainly used as a “possible means of persuasion”⁵ in public forums of ancient Athens or when Constantine explained himself why he adopted Christianity over Roman polytheism. The most influential ideologist of French Revolution, Maximilien Robespierre is known to be a great rhetorician. And Winston Churchill,

⁴ Aristotle, *The Art of Rhetoric*, Trans. Freese, John Henry, London; William Heinemann, p. vii

⁵ Aristotle, *The Art of Rhetoric*, Trans. Freese, John Henry, London; William Heinemann, p. 15

thanks to his well-known ability of rhetoric, could influence English people deeply and gained public support for his decision to go on war against the Third Reich.

It is understandable that politicians or persons of power use rhetorical speeches to influence people. However, they are not necessarily the only ones to use this method. Persons of literature have applied the same method to attract their hearers and readers better or in the contemporary society the world of advertisement and economics also use the method of rhetoric, which is referred as discourse in the modern sense, to influence people.

However the art of rhetoric is associated majorly with the act of speech, it is also an element of writing since writing and speech differs from each other as a matter of form. Claiming that written works of literature bares the elements of rhetoric, or discourse, for specific purposes, analysis of non-fictional literary works, in connection with social and historical contexts, would pave the way for a better understanding of the philosophy behind the art of rhetoric and discourse, and moreover, of the works themselves.

4.2. THE STUDY OF COLONIAL DISCOURSE IN THE FRAME OF TRAVEL WRITING

Travelling has been a tempting attraction for people throughout history. Not to mention that human kind started its voyage on the earth as a travelling species, people love travelling for different reasons and travel for different reasons. As much as they love travelling, they also write about it. And this inclination created one of the earliest forms of literature, the travel writing. Starting from the ancient times travellers from around the world have enjoyed or found it necessary to write about

their voyages and narrate the unknown places for the others. As the general framework of the genre Christopher K. Brown states:

travel literature designates those texts that recount the journey of a person from one place to a significantly different place and that have enduring qualities —be they formal or content based— that resonate with readers from different eras with different interests and backgrounds. (Brown, 2000: viii)

Even though romantic and humanist perspective on travel writing indicates that voyagers of different ages and cultures took their courageous and adventurous journeys out of curiosity or the lust for exploration or for the sake of enlightenment, this might not have been the case for many of travel writers. Beginning from the ancient times writers like Homer, Herodotus or Pausanias produced different accounts of travel literature as the early examples in the genre. In the medieval ages, writers from Arab and Chinese worlds like Ibn Jubayr or Fan Chengda wrote about Arab and Asian geographies. Turkish explorer and writer Evliya Çelebi produced his grand work *Seyahatname* depicting a vast scale of geography from Europe to Asia and to Arab peninsula portraying their people, geography, culture and legends. Alexander von Humboldt and Charles Darwin, as the two aspirant scientists and explorers of the age of enlightenment, gave examples in the genre for scientific purposes. When the purposes of these writers are considered, one can read quite curious, romantic, or scientific literary pieces. However, when some other writers, i.e. Gerald of Wales, Christopher Columbus, James Stanislaus Bell or Gertrude Bell, are considered a totally different perspective on the genre is quite visible. Except from geographical or cultural accounts, one can see notes that would serve for the benefit of politics of their countries, colonialist ideologies or religious missions. Commenting on the elements of English Travel Writing canon Andrew Hadfield states that “the main strands in English writing representing countries within Europe

was the use of a loosely defined generic form which furthered discussion of politics at home, the same can often be said of English writing which can be designated as 'colonial.'" (Hadfield, 1998: 69-70) He develops his commentary by demonstrating "the ways in which various forms of colonial literature, from the reign of Mary to that of James I, were forced to reflect upon the enterprises they were encouraging, and to articulate a political message which challenged the assumptions of their supporters at court." in his work (Hadfield, 1998: 70)

It is true that, regarding the focus of this article, which is European travellers, some writers of the genre write for ideological purposes explicitly. However, some others present their ideological point of view rather by implications in an implicit way. On the other hand, there are the writings of relatively more objective writers in which the perspective of Europeanness is, willingly or unwillingly, clearly visible in the discourses they use. Peter Hulme states that "during the colonial period large parts of non-European world were *produced* for Europe through a discourse that imbricated sets of questions and assumptions, methods of procedure and analysis, and kinds of writing and imagery." (Hulme, 1986: 2) As it would be understandable at this point, the idea of 'we, the Europeans' and 'they, the others that dwell in the other parts of the world' is a created perspective by European travel writers during the colonial period. That is not to say that this is a wrong perspective, on the contrary this is completely understandable and natural since the writer has to perceive the world around him/her and narrate it through the premises of his/her own culture. Besides, as the reader, we can understand the philosophy or the ideology of his/her narration through analysis in the same natural way he/she narrates it. Sara Mills explains this triangular relationship between the writer, the text and the reader in her work:

In Foucault's terms 'what happened' and 'what was seen to happen' and 'what was written' are entirely dependent on the rules of discursive formations. The discursive formation mentioned here is obviously the product of the writer's own with no counter idea to evaluate its factuality. Therefore it would not be wrong to say that writer's ideology is the basis of the discourse of the text, hence, the ideology is visible in the text. (Mills, 1991: 85)

The discourses that the travel writers use is shaped by the cultural or ideological point of view they have. From their stand point other societies, with all their premises, are reimagined and expressed accordingly, and moreover, they are categorised accordingly. In the frame of one of the major theories on colonialism, Edward Said assumes that "the Orient is an integral part of European material civilization and culture." (Said, 1977: 2) In the context of travel writing European writers have created such a discourse, which is called as colonial discourse, that different societies were divided into two groups as the ones that fit to their ideological frame of thought or their political agenda and as the ones that does not fit to European ideology or politics. This idea is shared by various social scientists. For example, "Peter Hulme...states that there are several discourses within colonial discourse, two of which concentrate on the discourse of the civilised other the discourse of savagery (Hulme 1986)" (Mills, 1991: 87)

Hulme shows how, within one geographical area, the division civilised/savage was made by Europeans between Arawak and Carib, and the Carib were associated with cannibalism, since they resisted colonial rule. This distinction can also be seen in Fanny Parks's work, when she contrasts the 'savages' she visits on the way to a more 'civilised' India (Parks, 1850). (Mills, 1991: 87)

To sum up, it would not be wrong to say that travelling not only served as a mode of curious mobility on the earth but it also served as a tool of investigation for ideological and politic purposes. And as of the fact that the accounts given by travel writers helped their homeland institutions to evaluate and benefit from these investigations to set their politic or economic agendas. Starting from the colonialist

period the works in the travel writing genre might have a strong connection with transnational political actions of different realms. Therefore it would be appropriate to examine these writings through linguistic and discursive approaches.

4.3. METHODOLOGY

As one of the subfields of linguistic analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) basically focuses on the interrelation between socio-political dynamics in societies and discursive elements in related texts. Influential linguist Teun van Dijke describes the field by stating that “[it] has become the general label for a special approach to the study of text and talk, emerging from critical linguistics, critical semiotics and in general from a socio-politically conscious and oppositional way of investigating language, discourse and communication.” (van Dijke, 1995: 11) As a separate field of research CDA differs from formal linguistics and benefits immensely from, and undoubtedly contributes to, various social sciences. Student of Ruth Wodak, young Turkish scholar Can Küçükali specifies some of the social sciences that are interrelated with CDA in detail:

In the CDA literature, there are studies which delve into the problem of language use in politics from a critical perspective. While some focus on the relationship between macropolitics and language on the basis of issues like political leadership, identity construction in European politics, globalization, discrimination, anti-Semitism or mass media (Charteris-Black 2011, 2007; Wodak, 2009; Wodak et al., 2009; Fairclough, 2006; Reisigl and Wodak, 2001; Van Dijk, 1985, 2011; Van Leeuwen, 2007; Van Leeuwen & Wodak 1999; Wodak & Van Dijk 2000; Wodak & Richardson 2013), others delve into more theoretical and methodological problems concerning political discourse (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012; Forchtner, 2011; Cap and Okulska, 2010; Cap, 2008; Chilton 2005, 2004; Reisigl 2007; Wodak, 1989, 2007, 2009, 2011; Wodak et al. 2013). (Küçükali, 2015: 48)

The focus on the discourse analysis in the context of power relations in society started as early as 1970s (see Anthonissen, 2001, Wodak 1996, Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000). “The 1970s saw the emergence of a form of discourse and text

analysis that recognized the role of language in structuring power relations in society.” (Wodak and Meyer, 2001) However, the main focus of this generation of linguists was the formal elements of language such as ‘language variations, language change, and the structures of social communication with limited attention to issues of social hierarchy and power (Lobov, 1972; Hymes, 1972; cited in Wodak and Meyer, 2001). In the late 80s and the early 90s group of scholars, Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen and Ruth Wodak published several works concentrating mainly on systematic usage of discursive elements to establish socio-political, sociocultural and socio-economical hegemony. Besides, their works analysed the language of the speaker in relation with the response of the hearer on a contextual basis rather than on the basis of formal linguistics (see Wodak, Meyer, 2001). With the gathering of this group of scholars in January 1991 and discussion of the commonalities and differences in their works they took part in the development of the field.

Norman Fairclough explains the general framework of CDA in his essay *Critical Discourse Analysis as a Method in Social Scientific Research* (Fairclough, 2001):

1. Focus upon a social problem which has a semiotic aspect.
2. Identify obstacles to it being tackled, through analysis of;
 - a. Network of practices it is located within.
 - b. The relationship of semiosis to other elements within the particular practice(s) concerned.
 - c. the discourse (the semiosis itself):
 - structural analysis: the order of discourse
 - interactional analysis
 - interdiscursive analysis
 - linguistic and semiotic analysis
3. Consider whether the social order (network of practices) in a sense ‘needs’ the problem.
4. Identify the possible ways past the obstacles.
5. Reflect critically on the analysis. (Fairclough, 2001)

To demonstrate the practical application of the stages mentioned above, Fairclough examines the Foreword written by the British Prime Minister Tony Blair to the Department of Trade and Industry's White Paper on competitiveness in 1998 (see Fairclough, 2001 for a detailed perspective). To sum up his analysis, he firstly focuses on the social and historical context in which the text is produced and highlights the common problem that exists both in the social arena and the text. As for the second article mentioned above, he demonstrates how the problem highlighted in the first part finds place in the specific social network which favours the spread of problematic discourse. In his example, the problem he highlights is the discourse that claims integration of new capitalistic, or globalist, economic operations are obligatory. And as for the second part he specifies the social institutions that favour the similar kind of a discourse, while giving specific examples of the usage of the discourse in different cases by these institutions. In the third step, he demonstrates the inescapability of the usage of this discourse for the ideology of the speakers. In the fourth part, Fairclough practices some semiotic and linguistic analysis for a formalistic examination of the discourse. And in the last part he elaborates the relation between the discourse of the text, social network that uses the same kind of a discourse and the ideology behind it. As would be understood from this example, CDA not only focuses on a text, to provide a formalistic analysis, but it also takes the social context into account and enables shading light on the ideology of the text in a different perspective.

Linguist Norman Fairclough uses CDA as a method that could be applied to social scientific approaches (Fairclough, 2001). He does not perceive CDA as a mere linguistic method but he claims it to be more of a unique perspective on language. As

of the borders of the theory, Fairclough perceives it to be a ‘trans disciplinary’ study rather than just an ‘interdisciplinary’ one. What he means is that CDA and other social sciences could be amalgamated with each other to enlarge the borders of each other as long as both disciplines are open to theoretical logics of each other. (see Fairclough, 2001)

According to Fairclough, inescapable partaking of semiotic elements into any kind of social activities, i.e. economic, political, and cultural, etc., makes it possible to create the link between CDA and social activities or naturally the social sciences. It is important to notice that Fairclough’s perspective focuses on the application of CDA on contemporary social activities. However, that is not to say that CDA cannot be applied to older historical contexts. On the contrary, as indicated in The Discourse Historical Approach (DHA), any given historical context, as long as it includes elements of semiosis, can be analysed by applying methods of CDA; which will be evaluated later in this chapter. Moreover, the ancient relation between language and society, and language and discourse might be other factors that would link this method with a given socio-historical context.

Fairclough’s perspective of CDA analyses the relation between the premises of a society and the texts produced by and on that society. And as mentioned before he applies his methodology mainly focusing on the contemporary society. Another perspective of CDA, The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA), which was pioneered by Ruth Wodak furthers the frame of CDA from a contemporary context to a historical one. Wodak explains the historical relation of DHA as such:

In investigating historical, organizational and political topics and texts, the discourse-historical approach attempts to integrate a large quantity of available knowledge about the historical sources and the background of the social and political fields in which discursive ‘events’ are embedded. Further, it analyses the historical dimensions of discursive actions by exploring the ways in which

particular genres of discourse are subject to diachronic change (Wodak, et al.,1990; Wodak et al., 1994). Lastly, and most importantly, this is not only viewed as ‘information’: at this point we integrate social theories to be able to explain the so-called context. (Wodak, 2001: 65)

The problem about DHA is that even though it includes retrospective historical process of constitution of a discourse, of course in relation with the social institutions that helped produce the discourse, its methodology seeks to analyse historical continuum only to arrive the contemporary time and to reflect upon future and upon concrete social applications (see Reisigl, 2017). Wodak sorts the aspects of a critique in the frame of DHA as such:

1. *Text* or discourse-immanent critique aims at discovering inconsistencies, self-contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas in the text-internal or discourse-internal structures.
2. *Socio-diagnostic critique* is concerned with demystifying the – manifest or latent – persuasive or ‘manipulative’ character of discursive practices. Here, we make use of our contextual knowledge and draw on social theories as well as other theoretical models from various disciplines to interpret the discursive events.
3. *Future-related prospective* critique seeks to contribute to the improvement of communication (for example, by elaborating guidelines against sexist language use or by reducing ‘language barriers’ in hospitals, schools and so forth).⁶

Keeping in mind the fact that the approaches of CDA and DHA require a link with contemporary society, it might be accurate to claim that elements of methodology of both approaches can be applied in combination to a historical context that started and ended in the past, yet the discourse it created still resonates in contemporary society.

4.4. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE VOLUME

4.4.1. TEXT

Example 1 - James Bell refers his object of visit to the land as mercantile several times in different parts of the book. However, he also refers to another object which

⁶ Reisigl, M., Wodak, R., 2017, The Discourse-Historical Approach , Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/251636976_The_Discourse-Historical_Approach_DHA, [Accessed 08 April 2018]

he explicitly expresses as providing political information to his countrymen. He successfully accomplishes this object throughout his stay in Caucasia. Providing political information from a political conflict zone can be considered as a direct act of intelligence. (see Appendix Exercise 1)

Example 2 - James Stanislauss Bell gives details on what kinds of information he will be providing. However, in the proceeding chapters he gives accounts on various different matters as well.

...gaining such a thorough acquaintance, as opportunity would afford, with the habits, manners, and general character of the natives, and of their political and civil institutions. (Bell, 1840: VI)

Example 3 - In this passage the writer informs the reader that he is assigned to both of his objectives, mercantile and intelligence vice, by the government of the United Kingdom, that makes the reader aware his mission is not a personal endeavour but is a governmentally planned organization. (see Appendix Exercise 3)

Example 4 - It might be accurate to interpret Bell's word choices "prosecuting" and "inquiries" as James Stanislauss Bell might consider himself as an authority on justice since these words are commonly used in juristical and formal contexts. Following this idea he refers Russian campaign as "cruel" and "unprincipled". Linking these word choices together it is possible to arrive to a conclusion on James Bell's position on the affair. (see Appendix Exercise 4)

Example 5 - In this passage, he highlights the condition of the conflict between the Empire of Russia and Caucasian people at the time, and explains why and how he positions himself into this conflict giving some personal thoughts and involving

himself with the affair. Bell refers his direct participation to the conflict as an advisor to Circassians. (see Appendix Exercise 5)

Example 6 - Bell expresses his ideas on the legitimacy of his existence and of providing aid to Circassians in these accounts. He also comments on how a Russian-free Caucasia might be of great importance and fertile for Great Britain. (see Appendix Exercise 6)

Example 7 - The writer references to another Englishmen, J.A. Longworth, who accompanied James Stanislauss Bell in his journeys of Caucasia for a year and who produced his own travel literature volumes giving similar accounts on the land in a similar perspective. It is understandable that James Stanilaus Bell was not the only Englishmen in Caucasia and, as would be clear in the proceeding examples, they were working together in their endeavours. (see Appendix Exercise 7)

Example 8 - Another critical theme penned by Bell concerns with the fate of Turkish realm, that is Ottoman Empire at the time, as the next possible land of invasion for the Empire of Russia in case of their victory over Circassian people. It is understandable that Bell comments on the possible scenarios of aftermath of Russian-Circassian conflict. He clearly does not wish Russia to proceed towards Southwards, since it would be against the interests of British Empire. (see Appendix Exercise 8)

Example 9 - Once again, Bell states his distressing and solely political contemplation on what might happen in case of Russians progression over Constantinople succeeds and why a British agenda against this progression is fatally requisite. (see Appendix Exercise 9)

Example 10 - Bell tells the brief story of his present journey to Circassia in his first letter. It is important to emphasize the connection between the journeys to the land taken at the time of the Mission of Vixen and the present journey that was being taken by the writer at the time of the letter. This connection is important because Vixen already was a political scandal between Brits and Russians at the time and Bell was a part of also the Mission of Vixen. Another important detail is that the name of his correspondent is removed from the text, which indicates a necessity of secrecy. (see Appendix Exercise 10)

Example 11 - Bell gives details about the load of his ship. Clearly, carrying guns, sabres or telescopes to a war zone and carrying them as presents is a direct involvement to the conflict.

Preparation having been made for the expedition in the form of a plentiful assortment of presents: guns, sabres, and telescopes, for the chiefs; necklaces and bracelets for their ladies; and other articles for their dependants... (Bell, 1840: 1)

Example 12 - Bell stresses his intention to discuss political matters with the Circassians who sails with him from Sinop to the land of Caucasia. Except from his loads, he also refers to luggage that Circassians carry on the same ship, which are also ammunition and arms. It is clear that Bell is travelling on a boat full of armament. (see Appendix Exercise 12)

Example 13 - It is implied by the writer that the sails to the shores of Caucasia are controlled by Russian Naval Forces and therefor they take precautions against a possible seizure since they sail against the interests of Russians.

What we now want is a stiff breeze to enable us to get sight of land before night, and thus take measures for making a run through the Russian cruisers. (Bell, 1840: 8, 9)

Example 14 - Bell shares a story of the captain of his ship, Old Khader, being captured by Russian cruisers on the Circassian coast. He once again refers to anti-humanitarian applications of Russian forces during the war.

Despite of being scared of and threatened by Russian forces Bell and the people on the deck try to take every possible chance when they get close to the shore. After spending two nights trying to make it to the shore, and even losing hope to land after a few unsuccessful attempts, they engage in a fight with Russian vessels on their last attempt. After a brief engagement, they manage to step on the land with the help of Circassian warriors waiting on the shore. (see Appendix Exercise 14)

Example 15 - James Stanislass Bell informs his correspondent about the first week that he spends in the land of Circassia. He spends his days on the southeast part of the geography referred as the North Caucasia during these days. While most of his observations focuses on his first impressions of Circassian people, their customs and the landscape, he also curiously collects data on the warfare. He is lodged by a Circassian family during this period and introduced with many others. (see Appendix Exercise 15)

Example 16 - About the villages around and the landscape of the coast line that he has landed and is staying at the time he writes:

This part of the country has a beautiful Highland aspect, and the coast, from Anapa to Sukum-Kaleh, presents, I am told, similar features—a continuous range of wooded mountains, with little valleys opening here and there. At this spot the hills extend to the sea in ridges resembling vast unbroken walls; but elsewhere they assume a conical, and, indeed, every variety of form. Almost all of them are clothed with forests, chiefly oak, to their very summit; and the trees are now putting forth their first tender leaves. The hills, as far as I can judge from a very hasty and superficial inspection, consist of a friable clay-slate; the

detritus has filled the bottoms of the numerous dells with a deep and excellent soil-of which, indeed, the quantity of oak is a sufficient indication. The narrow valley of the Subesh—the mountain-stream on the banks of which I am at present residing — seems particularly rich, and is highly cultivated. Trees are numerous, and all the larger ones are festooned with enormous vines, from the grapes of which, I am told, many of the inhabitants make excellent wine and brandy. Low hills skirt the valley, clothed, where not under tillage, with fruit-trees, and a beautiful carpet of grass and wild-flowers. No houses are to be seen in the valley; they lurk in clusters in the wooded dells above—a consequence, probably, of the war so long waged on this coast. Half-way up one of these hills, about a mile and a half from the beach, stands the cot I now occupy. I have an exquisite view from the green plateau in front, of the hills on either side, a part of the valley and the delta of the Sübesh, and the sea beyond. (Bell, 1840: 26, 27)

Example 17 - At the house that he is residing he encounters a Russian soldier who was captivated by Circassians and being kept as a prisoner and a servant. He claims captive Russian soldier is happy with his life among Circassians. (see Appendix Exercise 17)

Example 18 - Bell references prior relationship between Circassians and Englishmen, one of whom was David Urquhart, who is referred as Daud Bey for some occasions throughout the volume, and reflects his opinion on how Circassians perceive Englishmen. According to Bell Circassians are grateful for English intervention and they have high expectations from Englishmen. (see Appendix Exercise 18)

Example 19 - After giving numerous details about the daily customs of local people, the writer feels the necessity to explain his functionality for England.

I also was much engaged writing letters for England, to be despatched by the vessel I came in... ...I think it right to give these details, as criterions for estimating the manners of the people, and their disposition toward Englishmen. (Bell, 1840: 31)

Example 20 - Bell writes about another occasion of acquaintance between Circassians and Englishmen. It reads as such:

He [a Circassian noble man named Achmet with whom Bell encounters personally] was the principal adventurer in freighting the Lord Charles Spenser, and his speculative turn seems as decided as ever. (Bell, 1840: 36)

Example 21 - At the gatherings that are held by Circassian chiefs and warriors, at the time Bell is welcomed as a participant to these gatherings, Russian military campaigns and possible response strategies constitutes the main objective of discussions. James Bell reports these gatherings and discussions unmistakably and he also points out the courage, eagerness and determination of Circassians to defeat Russian troops. (see Appendix Exercise 21)

Example 22 - Bell writes that despite of great determination and courage Circassians show, strong military force of Russians have the upper hand regardless of English aid and this cause a potential discouragement amongst Circassians. (see Appendix Exercise 22)

Example 23 - He concludes his letter expressing his wish that the letter should be delivered to David Urquhart, who is referred by the pseudonym Daud Bey.

Meanwhile I must finish my letters, in order to send them to Júbghé by this deputation. They may be sent thence by another, which proceeds forthwith to Constantinople, to inform Daúd Bey of the present posture of the affairs of the country, and has only been delayed until the nature of my mission was ascertained. (Bell, 1840: 43)

Example 24 - While giving information about the landscape and the topography of the land, Bell also expresses his ideas on how the specific location might be used logistically and also reports how the locals use The Bay of Mamai. (see Appendix Exercise 24)

Example 25 - In the same perspective, another important task he takes is specifying the locations of possible Russian attacks and reporting them.

The precipitous shore was succeeded by rolling ground, covered with gigantic forest, except at one point, to which I was conducted, and informed that here the descent of the Russians was expected to be made. It was a small grassy plateau at the termination of the valley or rather glen of Psikha, or Mamai. Along the face of this plateau, and up a portion of the higher shore to the south-east, the Circassians have constructed six or eight rude, yet not inefficient breastworks. (Bell, 1840: 49, 50)

Example 26 - Bell provides information not only regarding the geography but also about the demographics of the land and the mobility of the people due to the warfare.

A conical hill, just beyond the Sutsha, was pointed out to me as the boundary of the territory of the Adighes or Circassians... I was told that many inhabitants of the district (they are estimated at 5000) were leaving it and moving towards Mamai, for the sake of a greater supply of wood—such is the profusion with which it is consumed and the difficulty of transport in this neighbourhood. (Bell, 1840: 51)

Example 27 - It is known, and also stated by the writer, that Caucasian land has always been an ethnically diverse geography. People of different ethnicities such as Turks, Armenians, Georgians, Tatars or Cossacks have resided on the land as neighbouring communities for many centuries. Speaking of an Armenian merchant, Bell raises an important question that might cause great trouble during a warfare. He gets the impression of a double-crosser from this Armenian merchant. Bell might fear that the Armenian may inform Russians of his or Circassian's affairs, which would cause a great trouble for their endeavours. (see Appendix Exercise 27)

Example 28 - Bell writes about his meeting with the prince of Sutsha, Ali Achmet, and states the prince's high hopes of English interference to support the Circassian cause. Bell responds the prince by stating the sensitiveness of Englishmen on the matters of justice.

Example 29 - Bell mentions that Hassan Bey, who has been his companion since his departure from Sinop, is known to Daud Bey, who is actually David Urquhart. It is

understood that David Urquhart is a widely known and respected figure amongst Circassians. (see Appendix Exercise 29)

Example 30 - It is understandable from the writing of the Bell that some behaviours and ideas of the prince of Sutsha, Ali Achmet Bey is not approved by Circassians. They fear that Ali Achmet Bey might have behaved in a false manner when he and the writer met. When Circassians express their discontent on this matter, Bell express his own perspective of English point of view.

...they fear much, if I report his [Ali Achmet's] conduct to Daúd Bey, the English may change their opinion of the Circassians generally. They say he was known before to be a man of bad character, and that it was most unlucky that I fell into his hands. I have sent to allay their fears about the English condemning all for the faults of one. (Bell, 1840: 60)

Example 31 - Bell writes about his journeys through rivers. He starts his journey from Jubghe to arrive Tshopsine and then to Beshi only to arrive his destination Pshat. He gives importance to describe the geographical structure of coastlines he sees on his route. He thinks that it would be useful if an English geologist saw and maybe worked on the structure of this coastline. (see Appendix Exercise 31)

Example 32 - He states the hopes of another elderly Circassian man on English interference to the warfare.

“We are too poor,” continued the old chief, “to recompense the English properly for thinking of us in our distress; but God will reward them; and every day in my prayers, I pray God to do so. I am now old and very infirm, and my only wish before I die is, that I may see my country free and at peace.” (Bell, 1840: 82)

Example 33 - Bell brings up another example of a possible double-crosser. However, this time the subject is not an outsider but a Circassian. He might be giving these examples to show Russians might have allies among the Circassian community.

...an idea seems to exist that this chief is friendly to Russia, of which I see no proofs; and his countrymen, at whom I have inquired about him, all say that he was friendly at the time Russia made the experiment of trade, (he still expresses great esteem for Monsieur de Marigny) but is so no longer, and has taken his share in the war against her on the Kuban. (Bell, 1840: 83)

Example 34 - He gives numerous accounts on the landscape of Phsat and after leaving Phsat he passes by a valley named Ghelenjik, where there is a Russian garrison on an active conflict with Circassian warriors. At this point, Bell also describes what a Circassian warrior group actually is.

...the Russian garrison at Ghelenjik. But the peace of this valley has lately been a little broken in upon, as the Russian neighbours have, whether forced there to by the neglect of their commissariat, or merely for mischief's sake, attempted by stealth this season, for the first time, four forays among the cattle in this district. The last of these occurred but a fortnight ago, when the Russians were severely repulsed, although four times as numerous as the Circassians, who were only the warriors (that is, every male fit to bear arms) of this and the adjoining hamlets, amounting in all to about fifty persons. Cannon had to be sent from Ghelenjik to enable the soldiers to affect their retreat. The Circassians are not likely to be taken unawares again, as they have now sentinels constantly on the neighbouring hills to watch the motions of the garrison. (Bell, 1840: 89, 90)

Example 35 - Bell gives detailed account on the conflict between local Circassian and Russian garrison commander Williamineff at the location of Gellinjik. (see Appendix Exercise 36)

Example 36 - Even though in the course of this volume written by James S. Bell Circassians are referred as a unified body of community, they are in fact separate bodies of smaller communities spread to the land of Caucassia. Each of these communities carry their authentic names in their separate dialect or language. It is true that they share common ancestors and have lived alongside each other for millenias and therefor have shared a common history and body of culture. However, individuality and freedom of each separate community have been preserved throughout centuries. Even though Circassians did not have the concept of unified

realm or flag, they carry the sense of nation in terms of blended fellowship. David Urquhart became the inventor of the idea of unified realm of Circassians and its flag in 1830's. And Bell informs his correspondent how this flag is now perceived by Circassians. (see Appendix Exercise 36)

Example 37 - Bell states that he does not only sends letters but he also receives letters from Constantinople, which arouse excitement among Circassian people who appeals to Daud Bey's words and English backing. (see Appendix Exercise 37)

4.4.2. SOCIO-DIAGNOSTIC CRITIQUE

In the historical context when the book was written an on-going Anglo-Russian rivalry is clearly visible. First starting with the competition for the dominion over Ottoman territory after the break of Ottoman hegemony on its geography, which was historically named as 'Eastern Question', this rivalry continued throughout the 19th century since the two Empires united against Germans and Ottomans in the World War I. Balkans created the first land of dispute and it was followed by lands of Caucasus and Central Asia. It might not be wrong to say that first two of these lands became conflict zones because the British Empire was afraid of Russian march towards the Ottoman Empire and open seas. They sought to block this highly strategic Russian progression by organizing Greek and Circassian uprisings and supporting them with the intention of gaining local allies.⁷

The British Empire's search for blockage in Caucasia made it necessary for them to support the opponents of Russian forces on the land. It is not to say or claim that

⁷ see Morgan, Gerald, 1981, *Anglo-Russian Rivalry in Central Asia 1810-1895*, Routledge, London for a detailed reading on the subject.

Russian cause was a just one but Russians clearly pursued their imperial interests invading the land of Caucasus. And with the same point of view, the British sought their own imperial interest and they took action. Charles King explains this conflict of interests and British action in his book *Ghost of Freedom*:

...Circassian cause came to play a particular role in the overall strategy of Britain, Russia's main rival in the Near East. Just as the Afghans were meant to provide a brake on Russian expansion toward British possessions in India, so the Circassians represented a similar bulwark against a Russian push to the south, toward British interests in Persia. It was through the Circassians' place in the grand gambits of the "Great Game" that their reputation as noble freedom fighters first became cemented in the Western imagination. It is no exaggeration to say that for several decades in the middle of the nineteenth century "Circassia" became a household word in many parts of Europe and North America. Correspondents from major newspapers found their way to Circassia or gleaned information from foreign consuls and merchants in Trebizond and Constantinople. The "Circassian question," the political status of the northwestern highlands of the Caucasus, was debated in parliaments and gentlemen's clubs. For a time in the 1830s British spies crisscrossed the region, seeking to mold the disparate Circassian tribes into a unified military force. In fact, even the Circassian national flag—which bears a stars-and-arrows design that today can be found flying across the northwest Caucasus and among the ethnic Circassian diaspora—was the handiwork of David Urquhart, a querulous Scottish publicist who became the highlanders' chief intercessor in the West and took on their cause as his own. (King, 2008: 93)

As it was mentioned before in the course of this work, British Diplomat David Urquhart was commissioned for taking part in both Greek Uprising against the Ottoman Empire (Senior, 1950: 7-21) and the Circassian Resistance against the Russian Empire. Urquhart was the first British diplomat to visit Caucasus in the time of Russian-Circassian conflict "...he had been sent into the region [Caucasia] on a special mission in 1834 by British intelligence. Urquhart had been a protégé of Jeremy Bentham, the founder and head of the newly organized British secret services in the aftermath of the American Revolution. At the point that he was posted to the Ottoman Empire in 1833, Urquhart reported directly to Sir Herbert Taylor, private secretary to King William IV, as well as to Foreign Minister Lord Palmerston." (Brewda, de Hoyos, 1999: 24) The same idea was expressed by Charles King as

“...it was the public activity of Urquhart and his British associates, both in the mountains and abroad, that helped cement the idea of the Circassians as an embryonic nation fighting for survival against the tsar.” (King, 2007: 240)

It is understood that Russians were also aware of the activities of David Urquhart at the time:

In the Caucasus, the earliest and most important of these intercessors was the peevish diplomat and publicist David Urquhart, a figure sometimes celebrated, sometimes derided, in Russian and local histories of north Caucasus nations.⁸ Soviet historians tended to see Urquhart as no more than a reactionary agent of British imperialism, seeking to alienate Caucasus highlanders from the progressive influence of the Russian empire. As one standard Soviet history remarked:

In 1834 the Russophobe David Urquhart even attempted to fashion several [highland] princes, whom he had bribed, into a "government" under the protection of England. ... Foreign emissaries [such as Urquhart] were concerned not for political unity, but rather for the organization in the northwest Caucasus of an anti-Russian union, which they could use for their selfish aims of bringing about a conflict with Russia.⁹ (King, 2007: 239)

After his visit to Caucasus in 1834, David Urquhart made another organization under the flag of the British Empire and he sailed to the land on a British schooner *Vixen*, loaded with armament, in 1836, which resulted with the schooner's capture by Russians and caused a diplomatic crisis between Russians and the British. Even though it is known that British Foreign Secretary Lord Palmerston was quite upset with the result of the event, the King William supported all the British interests and the mission itself. (Hopkirk, 1990; 156, 157)

⁸ For general studies of Urquhart's diplomatic and political career see G. H. Bolsover, "David Urquhart and the Eastern Question, 1833-37: A Study in Publicity and Diplomacy," *Journal of Modern History* 8 (December 1936): 444-67; Peter Brock, "The Fall of Circassia: A Study in Private Diplomacy," *English Historical Review* 71 (July 1956): 401-27; Charles Webster, "Urquhart, Ponsonby, and Palmerston," *English Historical Review* 62 (July 1947): 327-51; Richard Shannon, "David Urquhart and the Foreign Affairs Committees," in *Pressure from Without in Early Victorian England*, ed. Patricia Hollis (New York, 1974), 239-61; and Margaret H. Jenks, "The Activities and Influence of David Urquhart, 1833-56, with Special Reference to the Affairs of the Near East" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1964).

⁹ A. L. Narochitskii, ed., *Istoriia narodov severnogo Kavkaza (konets XVIII v-1917 g.)* (Moscow, 1988), 117.

In this turmoil of events the writer of *Journal of a Residence in Circassia* James Stanislaus Bell was commissioned by David Urquhart to visit Caucasia again in the spring of 1837. He explicitly writes about this assignment in the journal:

...the expedition was undertaken at the desire (as I was led to suppose) of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, intimated by the Under Secretary, Mr. Strangways, to Mr. Urquhart, then Secretary of Legation at Constantinople, who communicated it to and made arrangements with me. (Bell, 1840; V)

It might not be irrelevant to interpret his visit as another attempt on above discussed British strategy to help Circassian resistance on the purpose of blocking Russian march towards Anatolia and open seas.

Regarding the historical context when the subject of this work *Journal of a Residence in Circassia* was written and the author's visit to Caucasia took place, it is visible that a disastrous war between Russians and Circassians was existent. And as it is clear from many historical sources busy Anti-Russian activities by the British were also operated by British diplomats and officers. Therefore it might be unrealistic to consider Bell's endeavours and writings outside a political frame of thought.

5. CONCLUSION

Throughout the second chapter this study I have firstly tried to focus on travel literature and tried to highlight its political dimensions. It is concluded that as an ancient literary genre travel literature has served as a means to keep record of unknown lands, cultures and histories through the lenses of various perspectives. However, it was not the case for many different writers, some of them felt the necessity to include ideological perspectives on their pieces. As linguistic and political beings, we may not isolate the language systems we use from our ideological perspectives. Writing a work as travel for the purpose of providing political information would be an unexpected endeavour for the public perception. Some writers of the genre, whom I referred to in the second chapter, took this difficult task and visited corners of the world in order to provide political information to their countrymen. The examples I offered and perspectives of different scholars I cited on the subject matter was intended to convey the idea that there have always been a link between travel writing and politics in numerous cases throughout the history. Even though the colonialist era became the period that this phenomenon was quite common, it lasted even up to the times of World Wars.

After I highlighted this link between travel literature and the world of politics, I discussed the case of the 19th century British travel writers who visited Caucasia for political purposes to focus on my main subject matter more closely. At this point, David Urquhart, who served the Empire as a hard working diplomat, stood out as the leading British figure on the operations concerning North Caucasia. As stated in the second chapter, Urquhart visited North Caucasia under disguise in 1834 serving as a member of British Intelligence Service and after this date he started his political

campaign against Russia, which was to organize the Northern Caucasian people as a unified military force that would prevent Russia leaning on Ottoman borders through Transcaucasia. After he dealt with military organization himself on the field, he returned to İstanbul and Britain to gain public support on his cause and to provide military aid to Caucasian forces. At this point, James Stanislaus Bell was called for duty by Urquhart. He was sent to Caucasus and travelled the region sending strategic information about the conflict between Russians and Caucasians besides writing insightful accounts of travel literature.

While different accounts and endeavours of British gentlemen set examples in a broader scope in the second chapter, I introduced James Stanislaus Bell and his work as the specific subject of this work in the third chapter. When the life of Bell is considered, there was not much information neither on his private life nor on his life as a British Officer. However, his books about Caucasia and South America indicated that he served to the British Kingdom's imperial interests as a loyal officer and a travelling merchant.

And In chapter 4, I introduced with the concepts of rhetoric, discourse to give brief background information about the critical methods referred in this work. I tried to emphasize the interconnectedness of language, society and politics. It was important to highlight how politicalness of language has been explicitly persistent throughout the history. After this introduction to link between language and politics I introduced modern discursive methodologies I took advantage of in this study; namely Critical Discourse Analysis and Discourse Historical Approach. I provided a detailed explanation of these approaches and tried to demonstrate the logic behind the application of DHA to the subject matter of this study. I arrived at the conclusion that

elements of methodology of both approaches can be applied in combination to a historical context that started and ended in the past since the discourse it created would be resonating in the future either in the same context or with the change in its social context.

Lastly, I concluded the chapter 4 with the examination of Bell's work through DHA. The examination took two steps. In the first step I focused directly on the text and made a semiotic and semantic analysis of Bell's writings. In this part, it was clear that Bell had a political discourse throughout his work. As they are clearly visible in the examples I provided he expressed his duty as political in some cases (see Example 1 and 2), he had an Anti-Russian discourse (see Examples 4, 6, 8 and 14), his active involvement to the war between Circassians and Russians was visible in Examples 5 and 6. And direct link between his endeavours and the interests of British Empire was also apparent (see Examples 3, 8 and 9). The text itself made it quite clear that subjects Bell referred and the discoursed he used was openly political.

In the second step of the examination I referred to the historical context of Bell's journeys and his work. As it was mentioned at this part, an on-going rivalry between the Russian and the British Empires was present for the major part of the 19th century. And also, a disastrous war between Russians and Circassians was existent at the time of his visit. And as it is clear from many historical sources busy Anti-Russian activities by the British were also in operation in the same period of his visit. Therefore it would be unrealistic to consider Bell's endeavours and writings outside a political frame of thought.

Returning back to the arguments that are introduced in the introduction part of this study, it might be just to argue that as a genre travel literature may house certain examples that might be excepted as political acts. It is not to say that all the examples of the genre are subjected to this argument, however, quite a number of the works, especially ones that were written before the World War II, might be studied in this perspective. And the subject of this thesis, *Journal of a Residence in Circassia*, might set an example to this frame of thought and might be regarded as a political act rather than a plain example of travel literature.



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APPENDIX

Example 1

The inducement for my remaining in Circassia—after I had ceased, from unexpected change in the councils at home, to have much hope that the political information I was acquiring would be made available to my country—was the expectation which I entertained, and was encouraged in, from time to time, by the letters received from my countrymen, of succeeding in the accomplishment of my original object — the establishment of a direct trade between Circassia and Great Britain. (Bell, 1840: VI)

Example 2

...gaining such a thorough acquaintance, as opportunity would afford, with the habits, manners, and general character of the natives, and of their political and civil institutions. (Bell, 1840: VI)

Example 3

...the expedition was undertaken at the desire (as I was led to suppose) of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, intimated by the Under Secretary, Mr. Strangways, to Mr. Urquhart, then Secretary of Legation at Constantinople, who communicated it to and made arrangements with men. (Bell, 1840: V)

Example 4

...While prosecuting these inquiries [that would serve the purpose of]...arresting the progress of the cruel and unprincipled warfare which Russia has been carrying on, for the last twelve years especially, in this interesting country. (Bell, 1840: VIII)

Example 5

...the ambition and insatiable thirst for dominion of one individual, the Emperor of Russia, we could not restrain our indignation; we therefore freely took part in the councils of the natives, and gave them the benefit of such knowledge as our experience and reading had afforded us, in counselling them as to the particular species of warfare which seemed best suited for the troops they could bring into the field, and most likely to defeat the tactics of their enemies; and I believe we may not unreasonably take partial credit to this advice for the heroic achievements which had

begun before I quitted the country, and have since been so admirably accomplished in the capture of almost all of the forts which Russia had erected in the country. (Bell, 1840: VIII)

Example 6

I trust I do not require to make any apology for this interference in the military affairs of another country, so foreign certainly to the pursuits of a British merchant. However inconvenient it may be for the Government of Great Britain at the present moment to bring to solution the question, whether Russia has any claim whatever over the territory of Circassia, there cannot be a doubt that such a claim has no existence, in right or in fact, and that the independence of that country, not only as a fertile source of commerce, but as a check upon Russia's movements, is of vital importance to Great Britain. (Bell, 1840: IX)

These considerations alone would have been sufficient inducement to give such insignificant aid as was within my power to defeat, or at least retard, the aggressions of Russia, independently altogether of my sympathy for the inhabitants, for whom I had insensibly contracted an affection, as well as enthusiastic admiration. (Bell, 1840: IX)

Example 7

Since writing the above, I have seen the advertisement of a publication by my friend Mr. Longworth, viz., "A Year among the Circassians." I am glad to catch this opportunity of asserting for his work the same titles derived from actual experience as I have claimed for my own, and of giving my humble testimony as to the pleasure and profit that may be expected in perusing Mr. Longworth's narrative; for although I have not yet read it, I think that the experience of nearly a year (during which we were associated intimately and most amicably). (Bell, 1840: XIV)

Example 8

The fate of Turkey I believe to be intimately connected with that of Circassia. The destruction of one Mussulman state in the Crimea, first put Turkey in imminent jeopardy: the destruction of another in Circassia will in all human probability precipitate her doom. (Bell, 1840: XV)

No one who has studied the history of Russia (meagre though it be), and has watched the general tendency of her policy and transactions in the East, can well doubt of a resolution having been formed when the Crimea was captured, and having been

ever since acted upon by her government, to make of Constantinople the southern capital of the empire... (Bell, 1840: XV)

Example 9

...[Russia is] becoming more intimately acquainted than he can be at a distance with the vast yet well organised agency the Russian Government has established, and keeps in constant operation, for the gradual disruption of all the social bands that have hitherto constituted the strength of the fabric of Ottoman power. From the complacency, however, with which the public journals—almost without exception—view a recurrence to the ultima ratio of England's force as an eventual and effectual remedy for any errors in our Eastern policy into which the present Government may be leading us, it would appear that no suspicion is entertained of anything materially wrong being actually in progress; while the fact is, that the whole moral and political machinery necessary for the accomplishment of Russia's designs is at this moment, as it has long been, in full and effectual operation ; and any disagreement that could lead to our effectual remedy must therefore be carefully avoided. To promote these designs are rebellions in Turkey excited; her territory invaded and curtailed; her fiscal regulations interfered with; her Christian subjects taken under protection; the navigation of the Danube impeded; and the Black Sea closed against the war ships of other countries. To these ends separation of interest and of policy is caused between England and France—to the hastening of the desired crisis in the affairs of Europe when Constantinople may be taken possession of, without the risk of any of the distracted states of Europe interfering, amid dangers still greater and more imminent; and England may yet find, when too late, that she has been even more fatally duped in the Convention of London of 1840, for the strengthening of Turkey, than she was in the Treaty of London of 1827, for “the pacification of the East”—resulting in the destruction of the Turkish fleet at the Battle of Navarino; the invasion, bankruptcy, and dismemberment of Turkey; and the appropriation of Circassia! (Bell, 1840: XVI, XVII)

Example 10

MY DEAR _____, My resolution to return to Circassia, in order to complete the researches which had been so unseasonably interrupted, was formed the day after my arrival at Constantinople, subsequent to the capture of the Vixen. (Bell, 1840: 1)

Example 11

Preparation having been made for the expedition in the form of a plentiful assortment of presents: guns, sabres, and telescopes, for the chiefs; necklaces and bracelets for their ladies; and other articles for their dependants... (Bell, 1840: 1)

Example 12

Our Circassian passengers are five in number; they came on board with a goodly quantity of luggage — merchandize I presume. Their first care was to examine their arms and ammunition, thereby keeping me in mind of the possibility of my becoming involved “in politics” — as a friend in Constantinople expressed it — before reaching the Circassian shore. (Bell, 1840: 6)

Example 13

What we now want is a stiff breeze to enable us to get sight of land before night, and thus take measures for making a run through the Russian cruisers. (Bell, 1840: 8, 9)

Example 14

Old Khader has “roughed it,” for he has been in the Circassian trade, winter and summer, and in spite of the Russian blockade, for the last twenty five years; and at the very time when the Russians were shedding their crocodile tears for his country at Unkiar Skellessi, his vessel was captured by their cruisers on the Circassian coast; he, his crew, and passengers, including a Circassian female, to the number of nine persons, escaping in such a little cock-boat as we now tow astern; in which they made their way to the coast near Samsun in four days. (Bell, 1840: 11)

Example 15

The name of this family is Arslanghaer. Though not wealthy, it is much respected; and my present host, a young man about twenty-eight years of age, is extremely attentive, and gentle in his manners. He scarcely leaves me for a moment, and sleeps here for the greater security of my effects. Our meals are brought from the family-house, and he never eats till I have done. The hospitality of this people seems to be on a liberal scale. The night before last, Hassan, the companion of my voyage, came to visit me, and spent the night

here. Last night we had another visitor, whom I somehow took for a brother of my host; but of whom, I have this morning discovered, he knows nothing, although he has lodged and fed him. On the evening of my arrival, my host, who is a rigid Mussulman, asked me if I drank wine or brandy. On my declining both, I observed him send back a piece of cotton cloth he had brought from his house, with the intention, no doubt, of bartering it for liquor. (Bell, 1840: 25, 26)

Example 16

This part of the country has a beautiful Highland aspect, and the coast, from Anapa to Sukum-Kaleh, presents, I am told, similar features—a continuous range of wooded mountains, with little valleys opening here and there. At this spot the hills extend to the sea in ridges resembling vast unbroken walls; but elsewhere they assume a conical, and, indeed, every variety of form. Almost all of them are clothed with forests, chiefly oak, to their very summit; and the trees are now putting forth their first tender leaves. The hills, as far as I can judge from a very hasty and superficial inspection, consist of a friable clay-slate; the detritus has filled the bottoms of the numerous dells with a deep and excellent soil—of which, indeed, the quantity of oak is a sufficient indication. The narrow valley of the Subesh—the mountain-stream on the banks of which I am at present residing — seems particularly rich, and is highly cultivated. Trees are numerous, and all the larger ones are festooned with enormous vines, from the grapes of which, I am told, many of the inhabitants make excellent wine and brandy. Low hills skirt the valley, clothed, where not under tillage, with fruit-trees, and a beautiful carpet of grass and wild-flowers. No houses are to be seen in the valley; they lurk in clusters in the wooded dells above—a consequence, probably, of the war so long waged on this coast. Half-way up one of these hills, about a mile and a half from the beach, stands the cot I now occupy. I have an exquisite view from the green plateau in front, of the hills on either side, a part of the valley and the delta of the Sübesh, and the sea beyond. (Bell, 1840: 26, 27)

Example 17

One of the servants is a Russian, taken prisoner in one of the many vessels which have fallen into the hands of the Circassians. He enters my apartment, —the door of which is kept open all day to admit the light—freely with the rest, and joins as freely in the conversation. He speaks highly of the Circassians, and of this family in

particular, and says he would be quite happy if he had only money to get a wife. (Bell, 1840: 28)

Example 18

Owing to the absence of Hassan Bey—one of the most influential persons in this district, and already known to the English—the people here seem quite at a loss what to do with me. My presence, and my coming for their benefit, having become known, I have daily large levees; during which two or three of the elders have generally retired to the plateau to consult about my disposal, while the rest have embraced the opportunity of consulting me on all sorts of surgical and medical cases,—every Englishman being supposed to know everything. (Bell, 1840: 30)

Our visitors expressed the most lively satisfaction at my arrival; esteeming it an additional proof that the English were really taking an interest in their affairs, and were likely to do something for them. (Bell, 1840: 38)

Example 19

I also was much engaged writing letters for England, to be despatched by the vessel I came in... ...I think it right to give these details, as criterions for estimating the manners of the people, and their disposition toward Englishmen. (Bell, 1840: 31)

Example 20

He [a Circassian noble man named Achmet with whom Bell encounters personally] was the principal adventurer in freighting the Lord Charles Spenser, and his speculative turn seems as decided as ever. (Bell, 1840: 36)

Example 21

It seems that war is anticipated here as well as in the north. The Russians are reported to have drawn together a force of 15,000 men at Sukum-Kaleh, where Baron Rosen is expected from Tiflis to take the command. It is expected that they will attempt a descent at Mamai, about ten miles to the south of where I now am, and where there are the ruins of a Genoese fort and excellent anchorage for large ships. The Circassians apprehend no result from a descent at this point beyond the erection of a fort: they say the country is so difficult that they would not fear an attempt to penetrate into it by a force of 100,000 Russians. (Bell, 1840: 36, 37)

I am given to understand that throughout this north-western region of the Caucasus the combination of the tribes is complete. A permanent assembly of delegates is assembled in the neighbourhood of the Kuban. The policy of Russia confirms the old members of the league in their hostility, and drives new ones into its ranks. Hassan Bey declares that his only wish is to see the power of Russia broken before he dies. (Bell, 1840: 37)

Example 22

...my arrival had been heard of, and had caused the greatest satisfaction and encouragement. Ali stated that they had immediately despatched couriers to notify it in the more distant parts of the country. This step was necessary, because in these less-informed districts, a report had been spread, upon the Vixen's arrival, that a great English vessel was off the coast, loaded with cannon, powder, &c.; and the subsequent report of her capture they looked upon as a proof that the Russians were not afraid even of the English. The consequence had been great discouragement. This, he said, the knowledge of my arrival had already to a considerable extent removed, and my presence in the North "would make them as lions."

For these reasons, he begged that I would proceed there as soon as possible; for the Russians had taken the field, and the Circassians had already had three desperate engagements with them, in two of which they had been successful. (Bell, 1840: 42)

Example 23

Meanwhile I must finish my letters, in order to send them to Júbghé by this deputation. They may be sent thence by another, which proceeds forthwith to Constantinople, to inform Daúd Bey of the present posture of the affairs of the country, and has only been delayed until the nature of my mission was ascertained. (Bell, 1840: 43)

Example 24

The bay of Mamai had been repeatedly spoken of to me as an excellent and safe harbour for large ships... .. It faces toward the south-west. I have, however, since been assured that the anchor age-ground is so good, and the sea-winds blow home with so little force (owing to the height of the hills a little way inland), that large vessels can remain there without any danger. This is the reason why the Circassians apprehend an attack upon this part of the

coast, similar to that which was inflicted upon the territory of Beislam of Ardler. (Bell, 1840: 48)

Example 25

The precipitous shore was succeeded by rolling ground, covered with gigantic forest, except at one point, to which I was conducted, and informed that here the descent of the Russians was expected to be made. It was a small grassy plateau at the termination of the valley or rather glen of Psikha, or Mamai. Along the face of this plateau, and up a portion of the higher shore to the south-east, the Circassians have constructed six or eight rude, yet not inefficient breastworks. (Bell, 1840: 49, 50)

Example 26

A conical hill, just beyond the Sutsha, was pointed out to me as the boundary of the territory of the Adighes or Circassians... .. I was told that many inhabitants of the district (they are estimated at 5000) were leaving it and moving towards Mamai, for the sake of a greater supply of wood—such is the profusion with which it is consumed and the difficulty of transport in this neighbourhood. (Bell, 1840: 51)

Example 27

I have had a long conversation with Hassan Bey upon the folly of permitting this person, in the present posture of affairs, to pass and repass to the Russian or Turkish territory, where, doubtless, one who drives such a trade as he does, makes a trade also of the information he acquires regarding the state of Circassia, and thus obtains permission to violate the Russian sanitary laws. Hassan has promised to have him detained in the mean while; but I fear that the cunning of the Armenian may get the better of the distrust I have endeavoured to create among his confiding friends. (Bell, 1840: 53)

Example 28

...and then expressed a strong hope that England might soon interfere in their favour, as this long-continued war pressed very hardly upon them. He said, (Hassan Bey previously made the same remark,) England and the other powers of Europe had interfered in behalf of Greece, (Russia, be it always remembered, having been the instigator,) although that country had not fought for its liberty a quarter of the time that Circassia had. "The Russians," he added, "cannot conquer this country: they may, by means of their ships and cannon, possess themselves of some more points on our coast; but granting they could gain the whole of it, that shall make no difference in our determination to resist to the last; for if they gain these hills, we will retire," said the old chief, pointing eastward, "to these snowy mountains and fight them." I gave him what hope I could of England becoming sensible of the justice of their claim, exhorting him to keep up the courage of his countrymen in the mean while, and then begged him to excuse my present hurried visit to this part of the country, as my chief errand was to the actual seat of war in the north. (Bell, 1840: 54, 55)

Example 29

He [Hassan Bey] says he purposes sending it [a Georgian steed] to Constantinople as a present to Daúd Bey, whose name and character seem universally known to the men and even boys of this country. (Bell, 1840: 57)

Example 30

...they fear much, if I report his [Ali Achmet's] conduct to Daúd Bey, the English may change their opinion of the Circassians generally. They say he was known before to be a man of bad character, and that it was most unlucky that I fell into his hands. I have sent to allay their fears about the English condemning all for the faults of one. (Bell, 1840: 60)

Example 31

It is to be hoped that some experienced English geologist will soon traverse this coast, which I have no doubt will be found highly interesting. (Bell, 1840: 80)

Example 32

“We are too poor,” continued the old chief, “to recompense the English properly for thinking of us in our distress; but God will reward them; and every day in my prayers, I pray God to do so. I am now old and very infirm, and my only wish before I die is, that I may see my country free and at peace.” (Bell, 1840: 82)

Example 33

...an idea seems to exist that this chief is friendly to Russia, of which I see no proofs; and his countrymen, at whom I have inquired about him, all say that he was friendly at the time Russia made the experiment of trade, (he still expresses great esteem for Monsieur de Marigny) but is so no longer, and has taken his share in the war against her on the Kuban. (Bell, 1840: 83)

Example 34

...the Russian garrison at Ghelenjik. But the peace of this valley has lately been a little broken in upon, as the Russian neighbours have, whether forced there to by the neglect of their commissariat, or merely for mischief's sake, attempted by stealth this season, for the first time, four forays among the cattle in this district. The last of these occurred but a fortnight ago, when the Russians were severely repulsed, although four times as numerous as the Circassians, who were only the warriors (that is, every male fit to bear arms) of this and the adjoining hamlets, amounting in all to about fifty persons. Cannon had to be sent from Ghelenjik to enable the soldiers to affect their retreat. The Circassians are not likely to be taken unawares again, as they have now sentinels constantly on the neighbouring hills to watch the motions of the garrison. (Bell, 1840: 89, 90)

Example 35

We next came to a rather difficult pass from which the fort of Nicolaevski on the Abün was said to be at a distance of only about four miles to the right, and that of Doba at a similar distance to the left. On a narrow level I was shown the traces of the cannon of the army Williamineff had passed with from the Kuban to Ghilenjik; and the brow of a woody hill on our left was pointed out to me as

the position the Circassians had chosen and assembled on for the purpose of attacking them, which, I was told, had been done very effectually. (Bell, 1840: 91)

Williamineff and his army, after their attempt last summer to take and hold Sûjûk Kaleh, had made their way from Doba back to the Kuban; and as their artillery (without which they are almost powerless in this country) could here be best brought into play, on this lovely spot they had wrought most ruin... ... The Russians remained here twenty-four days, and during that time the fighting was almost incessant. The Circassians still estimate the number of Williamineff's army at 20,000 men; but a sage old Turk, whose house I here occupy, says there were 10,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry. (Bell, 1840: 91)

Example 36

I had heard before, yet had some difficulty in believing it to the full extent of what was told me, that the Circassians had installed their national flag as a Sanjak-sherif (the sacred standard of the Turks), and have now assurance of the fact past doubt. (Bell, 1840: 99)

Example 37

A letter from Constantinople has just arrived, and the judge having been cited, all my room -full of visitors are gone out upon the green to hear it read. It is from one of their countrymen, who was to have come with me, and who bade them take courage and not yield an inch to the Russians, as assistance from England may soon be expected, and then the affair must end favourably for them. (Bell, 1840: 100)

The devotion of the people I have seen to Mr. Urquhart (Daúd Bey), and the English, exceeds anything I could have imagined. They all wish not merely the friendship and aid of England, but that she should adopt the country as one of her dependencies. (Bell, 1840: 101)