COMMUNICATION RESISTS:
TELEGRAPH AS A TOOL OF RESISTANCE
IN THE MODERN WORLD

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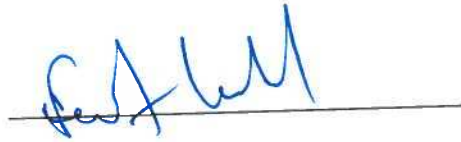CULTURAL STUDIES

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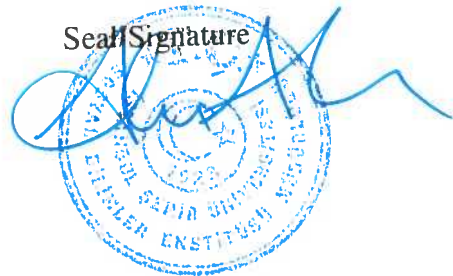Prof. Ferhat Kentel

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ABSTRACT

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The invention of telegraph in 18th Century separating communication from transportation provides a high speed of communication and rapid transmission of information. With the connection of the whole world through wires in 19th Century, it was celebrated as a revolutionary step of humankind, setting the world unrestrained and bringing peace and freedom to humanity. The objective of this study is to analyze the significance of telegraph as a communication mechanism and its impact on sociopolitical environment.

Telegraph with its capacity breaking the spatiotemporal boundaries shapes social structures and changes the practices of governmental power, as it was efficiently used by governments as a control mechanism. This study aims to provide a brief analysis o telegraphic communication as an element of modernization and how it was used for control and domination in modern state formation.

Although clearly being a modernizing technology used for creating a modern system of government and control, it was also used by resistance movements in various historical contexts from the late Ottoman Empire to India. The study also examines how these mechanisms can be turned into elements of resistance against the hegemonic powers. 1857 Indian Rebellion, The General Telegraph Strike at 1908 in India and 1906-1907 Tax Revolts in Ottoman Empire are discussed in detail. While presenting these cases, the active agency of common people in shaping socio-political structures is questioned.

Key Words: Telegraphic Communication, Instant flow of Information, Monopolization of Power, Tax Revolts, Resistance Mechanisms.

ÖZ

DİRENEN İLETİŞİM: MODERN DÜNYADA
BİR DİRENİŞ ARACI OLARAK TELGRAF

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MA, Kültürel Çalışmalar Bölümü

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18. Yüzyılda gerçekleşen telgrafın icadı, iletişimi ulaşımdan ayırarak, yüksek hızda bir iletişim ve hızlı bir bilgi iletimi sağlamıştır. 19. Yüzyılda tüm dünyanın telgraf ağları ile birbirine bağlanması ile birlikte, telgraf dünyayı özgür kılacak, insanoğluna barış ve özgürlük getirecek devrimsel bir adım olarak kutlanmıştı. Bu çalışmanın amacı, telgrafın bir iletişim mekanizması olarak öneminin ve sosyopolitik yapılardaki etkilerinin araştırılmasıdır.

Telgraf, zamansal ve mekansal sınırları ortadan kaldırabilme kapasiteyle, sosyal yapıları ve bireylerin algılarını şekillendirmekle birlikte, bir kontrol mekanizması olarak etkin bir biçimde devletler tarafından kullanılmıştır. Bu çalışma, iletişim araçlarının modernleşme sürecinin bir parçası olarak kısa bir analizini yapmayı hedeflemekte ve Batı'nın "modernizasyon" süreci adı altında bu araçları Batılı olmayan diğer toplumlarda nasıl bir baskı ve sömürgeleştirme mekanizması olarak kullanıldığını tartışmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Modern bir devlet ve kontrol sistemi oluşturmayı amaçlayan açık bir modernleşme teknolojisi olmanın yanı sıra, telgraf tarihsel süreçte son dönem Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan Hindistan'a kadar değişen bir düzlemde direniş hareketlerinde de kullanılmıştır. Bu çalışma, aynı zamanda iletişim mekanizmalarının yöneten güçlere karşı bir direniş mekanizmasına dönüşümünü incelemektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Telgraf iletişimi, Bilginin hızlı akışı, Gücün tekelleşmesi, Vergi İsyanları, Direniş mekanizmaları.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

The Enlightenment, Industrial Revolution, and the Formation of Modern States

1.1 Introduction

The Industrial Revolution that began in Britain in the 18th century, influenced nearly the whole world, changed economic systems, and dramatically transformed political, social, and cultural structures. Especially technological developments, both as a means and as a consequence, while altering the mind-set of individuals, transforming and shaping social structures as well. Crucial changes also happened in the understanding of the notion of power with imperialism, which was the dominant Western ideology during this period. Moreover with this changing notion of power, the increasing importance of science and technological progress affected power and control mechanisms of states.

The modern understanding, which is closely related with modernization and technological developments, also affected and shaped both our perceptions, our daily lives, as well as institutions and structures. As our view of the world changes, new forms of power and control mechanisms emerge as well with the modern notion of power and technological developments. Thus, it can be said that the world underwent significant changes with the rise of capitalism and modernization. Despite it was not a linear change but a complex one as there was a close interaction between all these structures. Transformations in different systems and structures affected and shaped each other as well. Furthermore life-styles, ways of understanding, and even the responses of individuals were shaped in interaction with all these transformations.

Particularly, the developments in transportation and communication systems had special importance in this framework. In this research paper, I will mainly focus on the invention of the telegraph as a communication technology that dramatically influenced the transformation of social structures. The invention of the telegraph and the developments in communication mechanisms play a crucial role after the Industrial Revolution. Moreover, communication mechanisms particularly the

telegraph becomes an important and effective tool in New Imperial world. I will analyze the impact of technology in power and control mechanisms and I will discuss how technology takes place in resistance movements. In this context, I will argue the importance of telegraph in the modern world in terms of domination, political power, and social resistance.

Technology and its impact on social structures is still a question of debate as there is an ongoing rapid development in technology, and it plays a major role in today's world as well. In this sense, modern communication systems become prominent since these technologies do not only function as a tool of communication. They transform social structures, shape our ways of thinking, and more importantly they have a crucial importance in the context of freedom of information with its capacity of transmitting information.

In this context, the invention of telegraph is celebrated as the success of humankind and it plays a major role in the transformation of social structures as being the predecessor of today's modern communication technologies. Telegraph can be defined as the first of modern communication technologies and the invention of telegraph opens up a new era in communication with the separation of communication from transportation, which sets communication free from the boundaries of material world. Telegraph differs from the former communication mechanisms mainly with its use of electricity in the message transmission, which provides a high-speed communication.

From the invention of telegraph to today's Internet, the developments of communication technologies have been glorified as the success of humankind that breaks the boundaries of nature. The innovations in communication technologies were enthusiastically welcomed as the discoveries, which bring peace and freedom to humanity. On the other hand, the close relation between knowledge and communication makes these technologies significant for power mechanisms. As I will discuss in this study, both telegraph and today's modern communication technologies has been commonly used as effective political tools by the dominant power. On the other hand, as it can be seen in the historical period the communication turned into a tool of resistance and played a crucial role in various social movements.

1.1.1 Methods and sources

There are numerous works and studies on the relation between technology and social structures, and the impact of communication technologies on social environments, however the role of telegraph in the transformation of social structures and the use of telegraph as a tool of resistance was rarely investigated. In this study, I will analyze the telegraph as a political tool and its uses in different social movements.

As a starting point, I will define the Industrial Revolution, and present the main changes that happened in the world within this time period. The era in which the Industrial Revolution took place had a complex structure as modernization, the rise of capitalism, and industrialization coexisted together and intertwined with each other. Here, I will emphasize the sociopolitical and economic consequences of this period. The impact of these historical turning points on the transformation of social structures will also be underlined. In this respect, I will mention the interrelation of technology and new imperialism as a political, economic, and social structure.

M. Heidegger and M. Foucault discussed the impact of technology on social transformation from different aspects. Heidegger argued the relation between technology and the perception of the world from a philosophical framework with a critical discussion on the concepts such as Reality and Being, M. Foucault analyzed the change in the understanding of power and techniques of governmentality in its relation with modern understanding (Heidegger, 1977; Foucault, 2007).

Second, I will argue how the scientific understanding beginning from the Enlightenment alters our ways of thinking, and plays a role in the transformation of social structures. Then I will critically discuss the concept of power with a Foucauldian perspective and I will analyze the discipline and control mechanisms of modern states. In this sense, I will examine how domination is imposed and reinforced by different practices of states and governments. I will argue the changing notion of power in modern forms of government and point out the impact of science and technology in the structuration of modern state, I will explain modernizing techniques, modern structures of power, and new forms of controlling and discipline mechanisms emerging with new imperialism and technological developments.

Following from this point, in the third chapter, I will describe the invention of the telegraph as a modern instrument. Then I will discuss the development of the telegraph underlining it as an instrument of imperialism that altered the political structures after industrialism. The developments in the telegraph and its widespread construction gained significance in this period and it can be considered as the starting point of today's modern communication techniques. From this perspective Tom Standage (1998) in his book *The Victorian Internet* briefly explained the history of telegraph and its construction by analyzing the similarities between telegraph and today's Internet technology. The telegraph marked an era setting communication and knowledge free from the restrictions of time and space. In this respect, I will mention the social and cultural impact of the telegraph and the political effects of the telegraph in its close relation with imperial interests. In this context, James Carey (1992) discussed the effects of telegraph in social structures in his pioneering study *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society*. Roland Wenzlhuemer (2013) also critically discussed the invention of telegraph, its development and its social impacts by analyzing the use and importance of telegraph in social movements in his significant work *Connecting the Nineteenth – Century World*.

After briefly discussing the effects of telegraph on social structures, I will define the construction and use of telegraph systems in Europe and briefly in colonized countries, particularly in India. Contextually, I will argue the significance of communication mechanisms in terms of modern techniques of domination and control mechanisms with an analysis of the social and cultural construction of telegraph, I will present how the telegraph can be used in social resistance although it was most often used by dominant power as a control mechanism. In this sense, I will briefly discuss two specific cases from India: I will discuss the role of the telegraph in the Indian Rebellion that took place in 1857 although there are controversial viewpoints and opposite arguments about the role and significance of the telegraph in this case. Second, I will briefly analyze the General Telegraph Strike in India at 1908. This second case is crucial for us to show the significance of communication mechanisms in the organization and continuation of political and commercial operations. Despite numerous works on telegraph and its development, the use of telegraph as a tool of resistance was not discussed in detail. In this context, Deep Kanta Lahiri Choudhury (2010) in his book *Telegraphic Imperialism* critically

examined the importance of telegraph in the Indian Rebellion and the role of telegraph as a resistance mechanism in the 1908 General Telegraph Strike in India.

And, I will then describe the construction of telegraph and post offices in the Ottoman Empire, and their impact on sociopolitical structure of late Ottoman society. In this respect, Yakup Bektaş's (2000) article "The Sultan's Messenger: Cultural Constructions of Ottoman Telegraphy 1847-1880" provides a brief analysis on the social effects of telegraphic construction in Ottoman Empire. Finally, I will analyze 1906-1907 Tax Revolts that took place in the Ottoman Empire. The invasion of telegraph offices and prevention of the communication flow between government and local governors was a practice commonly seen in these tax revolts. Although there were many studies on 1906-1907 Tax Revolts, the revolts were analyzed either politically or economically. However, the occupation of telegraph offices and the use of telegraph were not specifically argued. In this sense, I will especially focus on Aykut Kansu's (2007) book *The Revolution of 1908 in Turkey*, and books of Zafer Kars (1984) *Belgelerle 1908 Devrimi Öncesinde Anadolu* and (1997) *1908 Devriminin Halk Dinamiği*. He explained these revolts from a critical viewpoint with a careful analysis of original documents.

By presenting these cases, I want to underline two main points. An efficient communication mechanism and an effective communication has always been an important task for governments, states, and the dominant power. Especially with the invention of the telegraph and the developments in communication mechanisms alongside and after the telegraph, made these communication tools a significant part of control and power mechanisms. I will critically discuss how communication takes place in the domination and control mechanisms of modern states. Moreover, it is clear that communication mechanisms have significant role in social and cultural transformations of societies. By analyzing how the telegraph takes place in various social movements, I will investigate how these technological developments are understood and perceived by individuals and how these tools can serve as an instrument of resistance against the dominant power.

Conclusively, I will discuss the role of technology, particularly the communication technologies, in shaping both the social structures and the perceptions of individuals. I will also notice how our understanding and our perceptions of the world are shaped under the effect of science and technology and

the modern understanding. I will present how representations of reality in the scientific context manipulate and alter the understanding of reality by discussing how modern state formation techniques make reality as an object of science. In this context, although modern forms of power dominate the individuals not only as the individuals exercise a form of power from outside, but also power through the internalization of these mechanisms. However, as it was argued in the previous sections, although the telegraph is a powerful and effective tool of political power, its perception by the individuals and its impact on social and cultural structures can vary. In this respect, the role of individuals as social agents and the relation they construct with the developments in technology and their ways of understanding the world and the transformation of structures they live in, can lead to unexpected consequences and acts of social resistance can emerge in various forms.

1.2 The Modernizing World: The Enlightenment, Technological Progress, and Modern States

In this section, I will broadly define the changing political, social, and cultural structures stemming from industrialization. Then I will define *new imperialism* focusing on its political and social consequences. I will explain the crucial role of technology in shaping political structures and how technological innovations became new political tools of states in terms of domination and control of its citizens. First, I will briefly explain the changing dynamics of the social structures in the modernization period. As it will be discussed in detail, the period that can be traced back to the Enlightenment becomes prominent with the developments in science and technology. The scientific development and technological progress become determining features of the modern world as modern scientific understanding becomes a dominant factor in the transformation of social structures according to a new order: the scientific understanding. In this sense, I will also analyze how science and technology change and shape the perceptions of the individuals, their understanding and mindsets. Then, I will argue the changing notion of power in the modern world from a Foucauldian perspective. I will examine the transformation in the concept of "power" and "state", I will analyze the main features of modern state

formation and I will also point out the role of scientific development and technology in the formation of modern states.

The Industrial Revolution and modernization indicate a historical breakpoint in which drastic changes happened throughout the world. At this point, although many other factors contributed to this change, the major features of the Enlightenment engendered the main factors on which the Industrial Revolution was based upon. The development of science and technology and the increasing value of scientific knowledge led to social and political transformations in Europe and also created changes in the understanding of the world. In this sense, the rapid development of science, which began with the Enlightenment in Europe, and the technological developments in relation with the scientific progress, changed our living styles as well as shaping our mindsets. Eventually science and technology became an integral part of our daily lives and all these developments took their place in the formation and transformation of sociopolitical and economic structures. Moreover, the main motives behind all these developments and progress are also as important as these innovations in terms of transformation of structures, since they point out changes in how the world is perceived and understood. It is clear that modernity and capitalism belonged to the same historical period as their roots can be recognized through the Enlightenment. In the very beginning of his book *Eurocentrism* Samir Amin (2009) wrote: "The first of these periods involves the birth of modernity. It is the period of the Enlightenment, the European seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which is also, fortuitously, the period of the birth of capitalism" (p. 13). As a consequence of the main themes of capitalism based on things such as production, economic progress, the developments occurred in this period ended up with the invasion and subjugation of non-Western lands and exploitation of non-Europeans and the expansion of European domination. Headrick (2010a) mentioned this as the desire of Western to invade other parts of the world and to exercise imperialism (p. 5). Thus, the economic developments in this period, the imperialist understanding, and eventually the rise of capitalism should be considered in their close relation with science, technology, and other sociopolitical or cultural changes in this historical period. The rapid progress of industrialization and the developments in science and technology after the Industrial Revolution resulted with the rise of imperialism as the dominant political and economical system in

Western world. Moreover, the changing economic structure of Europe and the technological innovations, especially in the areas of communication and transportation advanced foreign trade (Mokyr, 2003, p. 26). Soon after, European domination continued her colonial desires and exercised her power over non-Western countries under the name of imperialism as a continuation of colonialism. In his essay Carey (1992) underlined the transformation of colonialism to imperialism with the impact of technology, particularly with the telegraph as the following:

It is probably no accident that the words "empire" and "imperialism" entered the language in 1870, soon after the laying of the transatlantic cable… It was the cable and telegraph, backed, of course, by sea power, that turned colonialism into imperialism… (p. 212)

Although the rise of imperialism and modernization cannot be solely attributed to the transformations in Europe, it is also implausible to deny the role of Europe on the structural changes of the 19th century that affected most of the world. Underlying its relation with the Enlightenment period, Headrick (2010a) explained the domination of Europe as the following:

The innovativeness of the West came from two sources. One is a culture that encouraged the domination of nature through experimentation, scientific research, and the rewards of capitalism. The other is the competitive nature of the Western world, in which states powerful enough to challenge one another- Spain, France, Britain, Germany, Russia, and the United States - at one time on another vied for dominance over Europe ...Weapons, means of surveillance, and systems of organization can be used to coerce or intimidate. (p. 4)

He continued with the technological innovations and developments in science were in close relation with imperialism and played a crucial role in the expansion of imperialism that he defines as the European expansion all over the world (Headrick, 2010a, p. 2).

As a starting point, it should be mentioned that the factors prepared the ground for the Industrial Revolution did not happen only in the realm of economy. However, the rapid development of science in terms of positive sciences in the Enlightenment period took place in the 17th and 18th centuries of Europe did improve

the intellectual movements, but also became one of the causes of the Industrial Revolution. In his article, Mokyr (2003) said:

> ... namely the causes of the Industrial Revolution include intellectual changes, that is, changes in what people knew and believed to be true. It is not enough to postulate economic change in terms of changes in technology, prices, population, and physical constraints: what people believed about their world and one another was central. (p. 2)

It can be said with the Enlightenment period scientific knowledge became a major determinant in our lives. The success of empirical observation and scientific research attempted to explain nature with mechanical laws also made technological developments a crucial element of the Industrial Revolution. In his same article, Joel Mokyr (2003) argued the application of scientific knowledge and general principles of science to useful arts such as production (which is closely related with the economic intentions of capitalist understanding) was believed as a key element of economical progress in 18th century Europe (p. 3).

Besides, the Industrial Revolution marked a new era where the production process evolved to a machine-based system from handicraft manufacturing. In this sense, mass production gained significance with the establishment of factories. I want to argue the importance of the Industrial Revolution from two aspects. First, as a well-known fact, the transition from handicraft production to machine-based production influenced and altered both the economic systems of Europe and non-Europe. The raw materials needed for production had already been provided from the colonies of Europe. This situation continued with the Industrial Revolution as well. Furthermore, the developments those were succeeded with technology enhanced the domination of Europe over the non-European world and widened the expansion of Europe into other parts of the world. In this sense, the steamboats and then the construction of railroads enabled Europeans to access many parts of the world where they could not go before because of the geographical conditions. With the developments in transportation, European domination and control over the colonies increased in accordance with the rise of their mobility. These developments made Europe a powerful economy and the colonies of Europe became also more dependent on Europe.

Two major points become obvious in this situation, first, the exploitation of raw materials in these countries and the use of colonized people as a cheap labor force are the facts continuing from the colonization period. With the advancements in transportation and communication the expansion of Europe in other parts of the world and their power over these lands became more effective (in this sense the telegraph is one of the control mechanisms that will be analyzed in this paper). Additionally, the colonized people were not dependent on Europe only economically, but the settlements and implementations that were established led to significant social and cultural transformations in these lands:

> Colonized people were not mere objects at the hands of the colonizers. The invasion of their countries by a technologically more advanced culture awakened not only the well known movements for national independence, also a desire to obtain more Western products and share in the benefits of Western technology . . . Railways and telegraphs built by the Europeans for their own benefit were soon flooded with Asian and African customers. (Headrick, 1988, p. 7)

On the other hand, technology served the expansion of Europe and the rise of imperialism from many other aspects. Scott (1998) mentioned the progress of science and technology underlined the high modernist ideology that can be considered as a common European perspective with the Industrial Revolution:

> It is best conceived as a strong, one might even say muscle-bound, version of the self-confidence about scientific and technical progress, the expansion of production, the growing satisfaction of human needs, the mastery of nature (including human nature), and above all, the rational design of social order commensurate with the scientific understanding of natural laws. It originated of course, in the West, as a by-product of unprecedented progress in science and industry. (p. 4)

While the innovations in firearms and weapons increased the military force of the Europeans, the developments in medical sciences and new medicines decreased epidemic diseases in rural parts of the European colonies (Headrick, 1981, p. 129-130; Headrick, 1988, p. 6). All these developments especially strengthened the control of European domination while the capitalist understanding and the mode of production has increased their economic power. "By the end of the decade,

technologies as diverse as steamships, railways, and the electric telegraph combined to mediate the flow of information between colony and imperial metropolis and brought them closer to each other, both administratively and commercially" (Bonea, 2010, p. 171). However, what I mention here is the impact of technology on people's perceptions of the world, which is the most invisible, but one of the most significant changes. The developments in science and technology did not change the political structures immediately and systematically, but as Carey (1992) noted these techniques shaped ideas, the understanding of the world, language, and relations between individuals as well. He said: "In this sense the telegraph was not only a new tool of commerce but also a thing to think with, an agency for the alteration of ideas" (Carey, 1992, p. 204).

1.3 Modern Times: "The World as a Picture"

Science and technology were prominent features that shaped the mindset of individuals according to a new order in the modern world. The German philosopher Martin Heidegger asserted the understanding of the world, the perception of reality was totally transformed in the modern world as a consequence of this increasing importance of scientific knowledge and technology.

In his article "The Age of the World Picture", the philosopher Martin Heidegger (1977) stated science and technology as "essential phenomenon" of modern times and he cautioned us that technology was not simply the application of science to praxis (p. 116). Throughout the article, although mentioning different aspects of modern age, Heidegger mainly argued how the world was perceived as a picture in modern age. By stating this, he explained how our perception of reality was changed in modern times with the effect of science and technology. For Heidegger, modern age is unique in the context of the modern perception of reality.

Heidegger stated science and technology as major figures of modern age and he questioned the metaphysical ground of modern science as an essential phenomenon of modern age. He continued with modern science was based on research, which meant it was practiced with the collection of data, calculations, measurements, and experimentation, unlike natural science of Ancient Greek, and the scholastic understanding of Medieval Age. More clearly, first of all, Heidegger

argued modern sciences were highly based on research, and even they were transformed into research as he said: "Science becomes research through the projected plan through the securing of that plan in the rigor of procedure" (Heidegger, 1977, p. 120). In this sense, he differentiated research experiments in modern science both from the natural sciences of Ancient Greek, which were mainly based on discussions of ideas, and the scholastic understanding of Medieval Ages, which was based the order of nature on a divine authority. He also differentiated this methodology from scientific research, which was simply based on observation. He explained modern research as:

> The modern research experiment, however, is not only an observation more precise in degree and scope, but is a methodology essentially different in kind, related to the verification of law in the framework, and at the service, of an exact plan of nature. (Heidegger, 1977, p. 122)

One of the significant points in Heidegger's argument is that modern scientific research takes the nature or the past (he particularly mentions natural sciences and history) as the object of knowledge, which is static and fixed in time.

Heidegger underlined the world was perceived, understood, as a picture in Modern Age under the influence of modern sciences and technology. At this point, for Heidegger the perception of the world as a picture is grounded on the change in the understanding of reality that was neither seen in Ancient Greek nor seen in Medieval Ages. In Ancient Greek, the reality presents itself to men, its presence does not based on its observation, the reality "is that which arises and opens itself, which, as what presences, comes upon man as the one who presences" (Heidegger, 1977, p. 131). On the other hand, in the Middle Ages, reality is perceived and understood as the creation of God, which is the highest cause. When we look at the modern age, it can be seen that the perception of reality is based on the objectification of reality by the human, in other words the objectification of reality becomes a priority rather than its presence. Its presence becomes meaningful as soon as the human as the subject conceives the reality as the object of her knowledge. The reality is observed, identified in the specific projected plan or the methodology of science. Gregory Bruce Smith (1991) in his article "Heidegger, Technology and Postmodernity" explained this notion as the following:

The attitude of modern science to Reality is indicative of the modern approach to Reality in general. It is assumed that Reality is not accessible, or not accessible in any coherent way, unless it is set up in advance by a consciously projected plan or methodology. (pp. 373-74)

According to Heidegger the definition of Being as "the objectiveness of representing" and the truth as "the certainty of representing" is grounded on the metaphysics of Descartes. "For Descartes, if things are to become present in a reliable fashion, they must first be consciously set in place by man" (Smith, 1991, p. 373). Thus Heidegger argued the world, as a picture was not the picture of the world but the perception of the world as a picture.

Where the world becomes picture, what is, in its entirety, is juxtaposed as that for which man is prepared and which, correspondingly, he therefore intends to bring before himself and have before himself, and consequently intends in a decisive sense to set in place before himself. (Heidegger, 1977, p. 129)

Although individuals' perceptions vary, and are shaped in relation with different factors and also can be considered from different aspects, the rise of technology more or less alters how the individuals understand the world as much as technology penetrates to their lives in different forms. For Heidegger, technology is another way or relationship that human being establishes with the reality. However, Heidegger also cautions us about the active, dynamic role of technology. Smith (1991) wrote:

For Heidegger, technology is a distinctive way of revealing or relating to Reality. As such it is never simply under conscious human control, for technology's distinctive mode of revealing Reality always stands prior to any conscious act taken on the basis of what is already revealed. (p. 375)

In Heidegger's argumentation, technology does not simply reveal the reality, however, it transforms its meaning and organizes the real according to the needs of modern understanding of economy, in other words the modern industry (Smith, 1991, p. 376).

Furthermore, Hamill (2010) defined the relation between technology and society as a symbiotic one and argued that social conditions affected the

technological developments as well as technological innovations influenced social structures and society (p. 262). In other words, as far as the world outside and our relation with it changes and transforms, our understanding of this world changes since we have a dynamic interrelation with the world as it affects us and vice versa. Moreover, our ways of seeing are altered, shaped, and reshaped as long as this active relation continues.

> Put differently, all social reality has an essential component of consciousness. The consciousness of everyday life is the web of meanings that allow the individual to navigate his way through the ordinary events and encounters of his life with others. The totality of these meanings, which he shares with others, makes up a particular social-life world. (Berger & Brigitte Berger, 1974, p. 12)

As mentioned, it is clear there is a reciprocal relation between technological innovations and social, political, or cultural transformations in the society. The increasing significance of science and technology in modern world, and its impact on social transformations was argued by different scholars in different contexts. As it will be discussed in detail in the following, M. Foucault critically discussed how the concept of power was transformed and the understanding of the state, its organization and even its functioning was reorganized according to this new ideology. In this respect, there is an intimate relation between the changing notion of power in the modern world and the new technological progress. Headrick (1988) in his book *Tentacles of Progress* put stress on technological innovations playing an effective role in the formation of the economic and political system New Imperialism. "Steamships, railways, and telegraphs allowed Europeans to control their newly acquired colonies efficiently. With these tools, Europeans brought about the shift in global relations we call the new imperialism" (Headrick, 1988, p. 6).

This understanding of science and reality corresponds well with the Foucauldian analysis of modern states in which he argues the state or the dominant power controls the population by making it as its object of knowledge. In this sense, the mind-sets of individuals are controlled as soon as the world and the reality are made the object of knowledge. From this point of view, the significance of knowledge and how it becomes the truth, as Foucault asserts, becomes more comprehensible.

1.4 The Power Mechanisms/Modern State Formation

As it was briefly explained above, modernization and the rise of capitalism particularly in Western countries after the 16th century did not only alter the economic policies of these countries but also a significant series of transformations took place in the social structures. Changes and transformations in the structure of governmental power and states are prominent in the context of this study. Not only modernization and capitalism, but also scientific progress and technological innovations affected the notion of power and shifted the governing strategies of states, as there is considerable interplay between them. In this framework, states' use of power mechanisms changed and new forms of power mechanisms emerged in relation with these developments. The structure of modern states, the power concept, and governing strategies are the main changes discussed in this study as well as social relations and structures. In this section, I will focus on the change of power concept and make an analysis of state-making in its close relation with scientific and technological developments in modern world. I will examine the role of technology in modern state formation. I will make an analysis of the Foucauldian notion of power, and then I will present how the capitalist mode of production and technology transforms the governing strategies, which are based on knowledge and the control of populations through this knowledge. Briefly, I will focus on the transformation of power and governing strategies in the modern, capitalist world system, the relation of power and knowledge, and I will examine modern state formation from a Foucauldian perspective of governmentality.

The formation of modern states under the shadow of imperialism and modernization goes as far back as the 16th century. At this point, it is important to remember Foucault's analysis on the transformation of pre-modern societies to modern states. Foucault noticed there was a transformation in the governing mechanisms of states since the middle of 16th century. And this new governing strategy, the art of government or in other words, "governmentality", can be considered as one of the main elements of modern states. In this context, Foucault examined the concept of power and the art of governmentality from many aspects. In the historical process, Foucault argued "the art of government" or what he called "governmentality" was at stake from the 16th century onwards. One of the prominent

changes Foucault addressed in the formation of modern state was the relationship between the state and the territory. Foucault's approach referred to a major structural transformation in the system of political power. Inda (2009) emphasized "this shift is from a sovereign notion of power to an art of government" (p. 3). Foucault made this analysis through Machiavelli's (1997) *The Prince*. According to the sovereign notion of power, the power is exercised on a limited area, the territory of the prince where the subjects live under his hegemony. In this picture, the main thing to be protected and controlled by the dominant power is the sovereignty over the territory and the individuals who occupy it. So law is exercised for the protection of the territory:

> From the Middle Ages to the sixteenth century, sovereignty is not exercised on things, but first of all on a territory, and consequently on the subjects who inhabit it. In this sense we can say that the territory really is the fundamental element both of Machiavelli's principality and of the juridical sovereignty of the sovereign as defined by the philosophers or legal theorists. (Foucault, 2007, p. 96)

On the other hand, after the 16th century, power is no longer exercised for the protection of a territory but it has a more complex structure in the art of government as power becomes important to organize, regulate, and transform the individuals and their relations with each other. Foucault (2007) wrote:

> At the end of the sixteenth century Botero writes: "The state is a firm domination over peoples" — you see that there is no territorial definition of state, it is not a territory, it is not a province or a realm, it is only peoples and a firm domination — "The state is a firm domination over peoples". (pp. 237-38)

According to Foucault in modern societies, state power is exercised through different mechanisms and it is no longer an external force imposed on individuals. It immanently exists in the relationships of individuals. In this respect, power has a more fragmented structure. The governing power permeates into every parts of society from relationship of individuals, to economical relations by various techniques.

Foucault defined governmentality briefly as "the conduct of conduct" (Bevir, 2011, p. 460). "Today the power is exercised as government governs 'things' the

relationship of individuals with things" (Foucault, 2007, p. 96). In this context, he analyzed the concept of power in its relation with individuals/population and he discussed the power as a concept exercised within the society through relationships, social mechanisms, activities and so on. Foucault's concept of governmentality aims to explain the changing nature and modern forms of power, particularly his emphasis on the relationship between power and knowledge can be understood as an analysis of the modern techniques of power exercised by diverse institutions such as schools, hospitals, the army, the factory, or the prisons. In his article Mark Bevir (2011) argued governmentality was an abstract, theoretical concept and "governance" could be considered as "composed of the networks and power relations that connect various parts of civil society to the central state" (p. 460).

Moreover to understand the practices of power in governmentality, Foucault underlined three dimensions of governments. Jonathan Xavier Inda (2009) explained them as the following: These are reasons, techniques, and subjects of government. He defines reasons of government as all types of knowledge, expertise, and calculations concerned with individuals to make them controllable and compatible with political programming (p.2). He continued with techniques as "the domain of practical mechanisms, instruments and programs through which authorities of various types seek to shape and instrumentalize human conduct" (Inda, 2009, p. 2). Finally, he explained subjects as all individuals and the collective identity formed under governmental practice (Inda, 2009, p. 2).

Population, the main object of governmentality, is constituted by individuals, however implying something different from individuals and it is much more than the totality of these individuals. Population is an abstract concept emerging within the system of governmentality as an element of this system. This is also one of the significant features of governmentality, which differentiates it from the previous governing system, in other words "sovereignty of the state" in which the territory was the fundamental element. Foucault (1991) mentioned what differentiated governmentality was what it governed: "... men in their relations, their links, their imbrications with those other things ..." (p. 93). And he continued with:

> In the second place, population comes to appear above all else as the
> ultimate end of government. In contrast to sovereignty, government
> has as its purpose not the act of government itself, but the welfare of

the population, the improvement of its condition, the increase of its wealth, longevity, health etc... (Foucault, 1991, p. 100)

However, to achieve its ultimate end "the welfare of population", the power needs the knowledge of population as Pasquino (1991) wrote: "To be exercised, power needs to know ..." (p. 115). In this way, population becomes the object of new sciences "statistics", "demography", and "political economy".

According to Foucault, knowledge is the main element constituting power and also the truth as well in modern world. In this sense, in modern societies, the dominant power is neither under the authority nor in the monopoly of a person, does the knowledge itself become the power that dominates individuals. Again in this sense, the power is not an external force imposed to individuals anymore, but a complex mechanism that internally regulates and controls the population. What knowledge is in this context should be understood in a wide range. Statistical knowledge about fertility and mortality rates, the statistics about the population in the schools or in the factories, economic statistics of trade world are just a few of the many of the knowledge that is collected and used by the state power. Thus, power is located in a whole series of social relations and structures and it invisibly regulates the population as a practice of "the conduct of conduct" as being immanent in all these relations. As it can be seen, population is the focus of governmentality, and political economy is the main form of knowledge that regulates the system, structures and relations:

> The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security. (Foucault, 1991, p. 102)

Inda (2009) mentioned this system of governmentality, the knowledge of population as the object of political economy aimed the "efficient and productive disposition of things" (p. 4). He defined the crucial point as "The important thing is that men and things be administered in a correct and efficient way" (Inda, 2009, p. 4). This emphasis on efficiency and productivity can be considered as a consequence of the capitalist understanding, which had gradually become the dominant ideology

all over the Europe after the Industrial Revolution. The Industrial Revolution dramatically changed the economic structure and economic relations as a consequence of the shift from handicraft production to machine-based mass production. With this change in the modes of production, the agrarian societies of the Middle Ages were transformed to modern societies. After the Industrial Revolution, with the expansion of capitalist modes of production, terms such as "efficiency", "productivity", "economy" come into our daily lives and economy becomes a major factor shaping our lives and our ways of thinking. The world entered a new era directed by economic relation and the economic changes also led various changes in social structures. Foucault (1991) noticed the art of government applied the economy to political use:

> To govern a state will therefore mean to apply economy, to set up an economy at the level of the entire state, which means exercising towards its inhabitants, and the wealth and the behaviour of each and all, a form of surveillance and control as attentive as that of the head of a family over his household and his goods. (p. 92)

Colin Gordon (1991) in the article "Governmental Rationality: An Introduction" noticed Foucault pointed out a change in the relation between government and knowledge in addition with the transformation of economic understanding (p. 14). The emphasis on knowledge in governmentality can be considered steps toward making a legible society in concordance with the interests of state and its administrators. In this respect, it should be noted the scientific progress and the rapid development of technology had an undeniable role in shaping social structures and the emphasis on knowledge in governmentality as was noted above.

Historically, the rapid development of positive sciences in the Enlightenment period in the 17th and 18th centuries in Europe had a major role in the Industrial Revolution. As it was mentioned before with the Enlightenment period scientific knowledge became a crucial aspect of our lives. The discovery of the laws of nature in physics and chemistry led to the application of the consequences of these in modern technology. Science and technology also played a crucial role in the formation of modern state structures, as well as in the new economic system and imperial world order.

In this period, economical and political structures were reorganized with a scientific understanding, as statistics began to use to conduct economy and trade affairs, and notions such as simplification, standardization, measurability, and calculability became the main features of modern state formation. All of these are practiced for an easy and strong control of populations and societies. Moreover, these features do not only belong to the modern structure of state, but they can be observed in other social structures and in various parts of societies as an outcome of modernist ideology.

To examine these features we have to understand the reasons of why these regulations are needed. As it is stated above, the major purpose of the state is the control of the population and the state power needs a legible society to achieve this purpose. To grasp the need of a legible society the reasons should be analyzed from a historical perspective and in their interaction with other significant developments of that time. Foucault explained that the territories or more clearly geographical boundaries lost its significance in this historical period. Going back a step behind, it can be observed the colonization of non-Western world by European states, and the need of control of these lands can be identified one aspect of this transformation in the understanding of state power. The expansion of Western domination with colonization, and the easy and fast access of other parts of the world with the technological developments such as telegraph deemphasized the territories and geographical boundaries. From this standpoint, the protection of the territorial boundaries was not the first priority for European modernizing states. Instead economic growth and prosperity became the major goal of modern states. To sustain this economic growth, European states needed their colonies and the control of the populations in these colonies. In this sense, governmentality is the best and efficient way of controlling the populations.

Second, the expansion and domination of European states over non-Western world emerged the necessity of a central control since these lands were geographically distant from the mainland of these states. The main idea behind the story of creating a legible society can be summarized as making control and surveillance possible from a central point. As Scott (1998) clearly stated:

> Suddenly, processes as disparate as the creation of permanent last
> names, the standardization of weights and measures, the establishment

of cadastral surveys and population registers, the invention of freehold tenure, the standardization of language and legal discourse, the design of cities, and the organization of transportation seemed comprehensible as attempts at legibility and simplification. In each case, officials took exceptionally complex, illegible, and local social practices, such as land tenure customs or naming customs, and created a standard grid whereby it could be centrally recorded and monitored. (p. 2)

The state power needs uniformity and standardization to control the populations and the colonial power needs a regulation, uniformity, and standardization to direct the colonized lands and people according to their own demands. Unsurprisingly, from this standpoint, it can be easily observed scientific standards are the guidelines of state administrators. The structure of modern states and societies are shaped with a new understanding, which makes the population a governable, controllable entity as the new object of knowledge. Measurability, calculability, standardization, and statistics are the main themes of the art of government that governments use for the efficient disposition of things. The main idea of all these practices can be summarized as taking the society as a scientific object, as the object of knowledge and making it legible in order to govern and control.

In this respect, the invention of telegraph was a very crucial development as an efficient tool of political power. Through the communication network, and with the rapid transmission of information it enables the immediate control of the areas that could not be reached before. Moreover, as it will be analyzed in the following chapter, the social, political and cultural effects of telegraphic construction meets the main purposes of modern state formation well. Although it was a very significant political tool, and telegraph was used as an efficient control mechanism for a long time by many states, it was also used against dominant state power in different ways. Thus, telegraph which was first glorified as a technology of governing, became an effective element of resistance mechanisms in various movements as will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 2

Communication in Modern World: The Invention of the Telegraph

2.1 The Invention and Development of the Telegraph

Before the Industrial Revolution, geography was still a major determinant in context of social relations, domination, and state power. However, the developments in transportation and communication mechanisms achieved a significant breakthrough in spatiotemporal conditions and restrictions. From the aspect of transportation as it is noticed above, steamboats and then the construction of railroads enabled Europeans to easily access the other parts of the world, even the remotest areas. Especially, the invention of the telegraph by resolving the problems that arose from spatiotemporal conditions and making communication easier and faster played a crucial role in the transformation of structures in the modern world. Moreover, particularly by separating the communication from transportation and in general breaking the boundaries of time and space in the transmission of information and message delivery, it can be considered as the first step of both modern communication and today's information technologies.

Although throughout the time, the telegraph changed and the development of the telegraph can be summarized in three main phases. The development in communication began with optical telegraphs continued with the use of electricity in communication thus the electric telegraphs increased fast communication and rapid flow of information between distant areas. Finally the laying of submarine cables provided the unity of many places in the world through telegraph cables and increased communication almost all over the world (Ata, 1997, p. 25).

The main change that the telegraph provided to communication history was the use of electricity in the telegraphic system. There were different kinds of telegraph models, which had been developed and used, but the electric telegraph system was the basic one, which entirely altered the communication mechanisms. "Electric telegraphy was the first fully mature telecommunication technology and as

such made possible the dematerialization of global information flows" (Wenzlhuemer, 2010a, p. 9).

As it is pointed out the operation of the telegraph was closely related to the use of electricity and very roughly it was based on the transmission of the electric current through wires. This electric current was turned to signals and the telegraphic system was improved as a device used for sending messages through signals. With the invention of the telegraph, the transmission of messages over great distances became faster and easier. The major development the telegraph contributes to communication technologies can be defined as the "annihilation of time and space" (Morus, 2000, p. 456). As a matter of fact, the telegraph was not the only invention, which frees human interaction from the boundaries of time and space. Before the invention of the telegraph, the developments in transportation, the invention of steam boat engines, the construction of railways enabled a faster communication, but the communication still depended on the spatio-temporal boundaries to an extent. On the other hand, the telegraph clearly broke the boundaries of time and space in terms of communication.

> At the time, sending a message to someone a hundred miles away took the best part of a day- the time it took a messenger traveling on horseback to cover the distance. This unavoidable delay had remained constant for thousands of years; it was as much a fact of life for George Washington as it was for Henry VIII, Charlemagne, and Julius Caesar.
>
> As a result, the pace of life was slow. Rulers dispatched armies to distant and waited months for news of victory or defeat; ships sailed over the horizon on epic voyages, and those on board were not seen or heard from again for years. News of an event spread outward in a slowly growing circle, like a ripple in a pond, whose edge moved no faster than a galloping horse or a swift-sailing ship. (Standage, 1998, p. 2)

Actually, the experiments and the search for rapid communication between distant places had a significant place in scientific research in the 18th century. The speed of sound, the speed of light, and electricity was significant to find new ways to communicate faster than the communication that was provided with a horse or a ship.

In this sense, various experiments had been done for a long time (Standage, 1998, pp. 1-5).

Furthermore, the telegraph transformed the understanding of time and space and the communication as well, by separating communication from transportation (Carey, 1992, p. 203). Although, it seems that the only change comes with the invention of the telegraph is the easy and fast distribution of information and messages, its consequences that had an immense effect on different aspects such as the alteration of economic relations and even the transformation of the ordinary language and relationships of individuals. After a short time its invention, it became a significant political device in terms of control and surveillance. In his book *A History of Telegraphy*, Beauchamp (2001) also noted the significance and uses of communication technologies for military purposes (Beauchamp, 2001, p. 3).

Although, a specific date and name cannot be given for the invention of the telegraph, the first telegraphic instruments were developed roughly in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Several attempts for development of communication techniques were made in different nations of Europe aiming at both military and economic superiority, and different devices were made which can be named as the primary telegraphic instruments (Ata, 1997, p. 24). Before the invention of the electric telegraph, two different systems were used in communication area for long distances:

> The two systems, which were in use, the shutter system, and the
> semaphore system, corresponding in modern technology to digital and
> analogue systems, both established a firm foundation of telegraphic
> and organizational techniques for the more versatile electrical systems
> that were to follow. (Beauchamp, 2001, p. 4)

Although similar systems were developed before, Beauchamp mentions Lord George Murray was an important figure in the development of optical telegraphs. The shutter telegraph and Murray system in this sense was one of the first that was used by British navy for communication with the ships in 1796.

The shutter system can be explained as a building designed specially with large wooden shutters and built on a hill for visual signaling. Ropes inside the building controlled the shutters and the signals can be seen visually from the other

communication location. Every different position of shutters meant a letter in the alphabet that can be defined as the basic principle of telegraph systems.

The positions of the shutters (open or closed) in the Murray system, used to represent the first seven letters of the alphabet, are shown in Figure 1.1. It is likely that the Murray system was chosen by the Admiralty for its number of shutters, which allowed for 63 different combinations; after the letters of the alphabet had been allocated, the remaining combinations could be used to represent the numerals 0 to 9 and various coded words. (Beauchamp, 2001, p. 4)

The other system which was widely built through European cities until the electric telegraph were invented is called semaphores. The system was also named the Chappé's system since it was invented and developed by Claude Chappé. This system functions with a similar logic but it was more practical and functional than the shutter system "in which movable wooden arms conveyed the information through the network" (Beauchamp, 2001, p. 6). Claude Chappé worked on similar experiments for a long time, even he and his brother succeeded to send a message between a ten miles distance in 1791 with a very amateur system constituted by panels, clocks, and telescopes (Standage, 1998, p. 8). The optical telegraph Chappé developed is called semaphores and can be defined very briefly as the following: stations were built on hills between cities and the movable arms were located on top of the stations and the positions of the rotating arms corresponding different letters can be controlled by an operator inside of the station.

Claude Chappé built a series of towers on hills between the two cities. Each tower was equipped with a pair of telescopes, one pointing in either direction and with a two-arm semaphore. Each arm of the semaphore could assume seven clearly visible angular positions, making possible 49 combinations that were assigned to the alphabet and a number of the other symbols. (Ata, 1997, pp. 25-26)

Soon after, the telegraph became one of the popular inventions of its time with its ability to rapidly send messages over long distances. By the 19th century many cities of France connected to each other through telegraphic network and the system was widely built in many parts of Europe as Britain, Sweden, Finland,

Denmark, and Russia and after in Prussia, India, and Egypt (Standage, 1998, pp. 16-17; Ata, 1997, p. 26).

Although these developments were significant in the history of the telegraph enabling communication faster and easier, the remarkable change happened with the use of electricity in telegraphic system: the electric telegraph. The optical telegraph systems made the communication flow easier and faster, however their construction was expensive so they were mostly financed and used by governments and their performance based on the weather since their signals were optical transmitted from station to station. On the other hand, the invention of electric telegraph opened up the way for the commercial use of telegraphy. The commercial use of the telegraph changed the social structures as they changed the contact between companies and even the language was changed as the relation between the signifier and the signified alters. "Through the telegraph and railroad the social relations among large numbers of anonymous buyers and sellers were coordinated" (Carey, 1992, p. 206).

In the 18th century, although optical telegraphs were in use, there were various attempts of different individuals for the transmission of messages by electric current. In that sense, likely as its predecessors there was not a single inventor of the electric telegraph, but it was developed with the contributions of many people. Though there were many names worth mentioning, Samuel F. Morse who was also the designer of the Morse code and Cooke and Wheatstone can be considered as the most famous and well known of these inventors. Cooke and Wheatstone after long discussions persuaded some railway companies to build telegraph lines along railways (Standage, 1998, pp. 43-44). This development also took the initiative of the commercial use of the telegraph. On the other hand, Samuel F. Morse, without knowing Cooke and Wheatstone, tried to develop his own apparatus and again after long discussions he convinced the U.S government committee to let the funding for the construction of an experimental electric telegraph line between Baltimore and Washington (Standage, 1998, pp. 45-48).

Soon after, the technology of the telegraph developed rapidly and reached its highest peak after the 1850s, with the submarine cables that unite the overseas countries and territories (Wenzlhuemer, 2013, p. 74). It makes the dream of uniting the world real for the first time. It was celebrated as a revolution in communication that brings peace and harmony to the humanity.

"The telegraph, in other words, acted as a leveler - a way of uniting humanity across space and time and allowing it to act in unison" (Morus, 2000, p. 458).

On the other hand such an innovation was vital for Europeans for an efficient control of their colonies that will be explained in detail in the following parts. On the economic side, it becomes one of the most important mediums that coordinates and regulates the operations and organizes the commodity markets (Carey, 1992, p. 216). The unity of the world is important as it means that the entire world can interact globally, which also means all the world is a market place. The submarine cables developed international trade relations, and its role in the globalization of the world is an explicit one and with the changing relations through telegraphic communication, and the telegraph speeds up the marketization of the world.

One of the first submarine cables uniting different counties was laid between England and France in 1851 (Wenzlhuemer, 2013, p. 74). Later on Africa linked to Europe with the submarine cables laid under the Mediterranean Sea in 1854, and the first attempt was made for the Atlantic cable in 1858 (Ata, 1997, pp. 31-32). Despite many failures, unsuccessful attempts, and misfortunes, the entrepreneurial individuals kept on trying and in the end the telegraph became one of the most significant communication technologies of its time with its pace and ability to reach far places. Then submarine cables were laid rapidly in deep waters and oceans, world linked together by cables and the communication with every part of the world becomes possible. This was the first time that different continents were linked together via telegraph wires by means of communication.

2.2 The Cultural and Social Transformation Through Telegraphic Communication

The invention and the success of the telegraph in terms of binding the world together was celebrated as it brought peace and harmony to all over the world through communication. But as time goes by it is seen that better communication is not exclusively sufficient for world's peace and harmony. Although peace was expected with the invention of the telegraph, instead of peace many significant changes happened in social, economic, and cultural structures of society. The capability of the telegraph in terms of breaking the boundaries of time and space for

the first time in the history makes it an important invention in human history. It is also important to notice the first uses of the telegraph by military and again the intense governmental use of the telegraph before its commercial use shows a significant feature of the telegraph as a control mechanism. However, before analyzing the telegraph as a political tool, it is worth mentioning how the telegraph transforms the individuals' understanding of the world. Moreover, it should be kept in mind, either economical, political, or even social and cultural, all these transformations are interrelated to each other as they have a reciprocal relation with technology.

First, when high-speed communication was provided between distant areas through electric telegraphs and the unitary of continents via transatlantic cables was managed, these developments were celebrated as the man's power over nature since time and space were no longer insurmountable barriers (Morus, 2000, p. 474). On the other hand, it also proved the importance of scientific progress and its contributions to humanity. Before the telegraph, communication between distant areas had been developed slowly with the developments in transportation such as ships sailing between continents and the construction of railways. With the invention of the telegraph, the transmission of information that was dependent on the limits of spatiotemporal conditions overcame the boundaries of time and space. Thus, communication is separated from transportation with the telegraph and information that was restrained and limited by spatiotemporal boundaries becomes independent and even it becomes the concept that other things were dependent on. Thus, the speed of information dominates the speed of transportation. The telegraph as a product of the Industrial Revolution and its impact on social life reflects the characteristics of industrial Victorian culture, or in other terms we can say the imperialist understanding and its main features can also be realized in the transformation of structures with the construction of the telegraph as a communication system. Choudhury (2010a) explained this feature of the telegraph as the following:

Telegraphy, more than anything else, ensured the symbolic presence of the British imperialism. It was the supreme and tangible celebration of the scientific empire that Britain promised – a physical reminder of the apogee of rationalism, technology and science that Pax Britannica

claimed to represent. Telegraph technology was political in every sense of the term: it was the meaning and content of the British Empire. (p. 137)

Moreover, the changes and developments in communication did not only happen in the material world, more significantly, the telegraph and technology as a whole shaped the perceptions, the ways of seeing the world.

Ultimately, the technological rationale of telegraphy changed the rules of what can be called the global sphere – the unlocalizable *space of flows* that shaped so much of late nineteenth- and twentieth-century globalization – by detaching global communication space from spaces governed by material movement (see the following article in this volume). And, of course, in doing so it fundamentally transformed contemporary perceptions of time and space. (Wenzlhuemer, 2010a, p. 15)

Obviously, the telegraph is one of the first instruments human beings can use and control electricity. The use of electricity for the transmission of information was considered as the man's power over nature since electricity was one of the mysterious powers of nature for that time. "The key to the mystery was, of course, electricity - a force of great potency and yet invisible. It was this invisibility that made electricity and the telegraph powerful impetuses to idealist thought both in religious and philosophical terms" (Carey, 1992, p. 206). Victorians celebrated its use and control for the sake of humankind in a sense as the success of scientific understanding, which brings revolutionary changes and progress for humanity (Morus, 2000, p. 456). Surely, the annihilation of time and space is worth mentioning as one of the greatest revolutions that came about through the telegraph. On the other hand, this change was also associated with a religious understanding "... as divinely inspired for the purposes of spreading Christian message farther and faster, eclipsing time and transcending space, saving the heathen, bringing closer, and making more probable the way of salvation" (Carey, 1992, p. 207). As it was noticed above, the telegraph was perceived as one of the greatest invention bringing peace and harmony to humankind by binding the world together with the network of communication.

Furthermore, the categorization, standardization, and regulation became prominent features in sociocultural structures of European societies, especially in

commercial relations, the economy began to be regulated and standardized with the telegraphic system. As a matter of fact, all these changes were to some extent related with the perception of time and reorganization of time in daily practices in accordance with the priorities of imperialism and industrial world. The telegraph broke the limits of time and space, and this development led to the increasing importance of speed in modern world. In other words, the time economy becomes a necessity in modern times for our modern lives. This new understanding of time affected the modus operandi of journalism, the news style of newspapers, and even the language altered with regard to the changes and developments in this area. In this sense, language style leaned from a localized and regional style to a scientific one. The scientific aspect of the telegraph by transforming the written language had an effect on social relations. In this sense, it can be said since the telegraph is seen as an instrument for transmission of information, a standardized and objective language is required for telegraph messages. Carey (1992) pointed out this as replacement of a more "scientific" language instead of the localized, regional language, which was shaped according to cultural features:

> The wire services demanded a form of language stripped of the local, the regional; and colloquial. They demanded something closer to a "scientific" language, a language of strict denotation in which the connotative features of utterance were under rigid control. (p. 210)

Although this seems a slight change, the standardized, objective form of language gradually shifted cultural forms and relations. Communication is a way of constructing the relation between individuals as the language of communication influences social structures. According to Graham (2002), the main point in new technologies is not the information or the message that shapes the social environment, but "it's the value and priority that people place on the quantity and quality of their relationships" (p. 231). "That is, the telegraph changed the forms of social relations mediated by language" (Carey, 1992, p. 210). Additionally, the personal contact can be established through the medium of the telegraph without the necessity of a face-to-face relation. It should also be analyzed elaborately, that the language used in communication mechanisms could shape the spoken language as well. In today's world, it can be easily recognized the language that is used on the Internet has shifted the colloquial one. Referring to Halliday's work, Graham (2002)

argued language as an intrinsic part of reality and he emphasized the role of language as a mechanism that produced and transformed meanings (Halliday cited in Graham, 2002, p. 234). Before the telegraph, the newspapers mostly published local news and past news from other parts of the world (Standage, 1998, pp. 143-150). Actually this was the only way of communication, since communication with distant places could be only provided by transportation. First, the pace of information transmitted from different parts of the world increased, consequently it developed global communication and international relations. The role of the telegraph as a communication tool especially enhanced global interaction in trade and business world. And it accelerated the speed in business world as well. Before the invention of the telegraph, the construction of railroads constituted an important aspect of economic development as it provided the possibility that Europeans could reach their colonies more easily and the goods and raw materials could be transported easily with railroads (Headrick, 1988, pp. 49-51). However the telegraph went a step further than railroads, and it became to coordinate, regulate, and control railroad transportation. In other words as communication is separated from transportation, the information, which can be transmitted rapidly independent from the goods, gains significance for businessmen as it gives the opportunity to control the movements of the goods.

> The flow of information was separated from the flow of people or goods and now worked along a completely new logic. It is one essential constituent of this logic that wherever the telecommunication network reaches dematerialized information outpaces material transport and can, therefore, be used to efficiently coordinate, control and command such material movement. (Wenzlhuemer, 2010a, p. 10)

With the commercial use of the telegraph, economic relationships also transformed. Actually, faster and direct communication was provided via the telegraph. Since buyers and sellers could quickly contact each other through the telegraph, there was no need for middlemen (Boff, 1984, p. 572). Although this development provided a direct contact and communication, personal contacts decreased as telegraph operation fulfills this need. Or, since information transmits instantly, the buyers and sellers can contact more people around the world and a global trade world developed independent from geographical location. On the other

hand, this interaction was entirely different from face-to-face relations or personal contact. Carey says the relation between buyers and sellers became an anonymous relation. Actually this kind of relationship is a common case for the modern world, with the technology penetrating our lives more and more, the relation and interaction between people is regulated and organized through technologic mediums instead of personal contact. This form of relationship can be seen in today's global business world and it is plausible to say the telegraph did not only provide a rapid communication but it also played a significant role in shaping modern capitalist culture.

Furthermore, instant communication between different parts of the world engendered a necessity for standardization and regulation for various categories. Before the telegraph, more precisely before the mid 19th century, operations were usually local even in many places in Britain. In order to prevent confusion and possible accidents on railways, the local time of London was used for railroad operations. At the end of 1840s, George Biddell Airy who was known for his disciplinary style in Greenwich proposed to coordinate time according to Greenwich first in Britain, then throughout the world. For the calculation of the time according to Greenwich, the construction of a telegraphic network was necessary (Morus, 2000, pp. 464-470). And it also provided accurate and precise determinations for time operations. This development also meant the universalization of time concept as it is organized and controlled from a central point: "Greenwich would become the centre of a network of clocks, all working together through the electric telegraph system to sustain a standardized, centralized reckoning of time. Greenwich time would be placed at the service of commercial and imperial expansion" (Morus, 2000, p. 466).

The standardization and regulation with the telegraph did not happen only in the concepts such as time or language, but as the market emanated from the boundaries of geography, the prices and the markets became standardized. It is also significant and interesting Carey (1992) argued, as markets became independent from geography, the economy gained an abstract notion. In other words, markets became independent from the physical conditions and the invisible hand of the market began to control the physical movements in the market: "... they became everywhere markets and every time markets and thus less apprehensible at the very moment they became more powerful" (Carey, 1992, p. 220). Carey (1992) briefly

summarized how the telegraph and the transformation of economy through the telegraph in this period prepared the ground for future economy as the following:

> The development of the futures markets, in summary, depended on a number of specific changes in markets and the commodity system. It required that information move independently of and faster than products. It required that prices be made uniform in space and that markets be decontextualized. It required, as well, that commodities be separated from the receipts that represent them and that commodities be reduced to uniform grades. (p. 221)

In addition to all these transformations, the telegraph became a significant tool of the control mechanism not only in trade world but also in politics as it changed the concept of power and the methods of domination. The use of the telegraph as a control mechanism can be more or less recognized in the use of its initial forms for military and governmental operations in order to provide the communication between distant areas. The developments in the telegraph reached their highest peak, especially after the invention of the electric telegraph, and the laying of submarine cables uniting the overseas countries, and consequently nearly all parts of the world were connected to each other with a network of wires and made sending information possible. As a mechanism binding areas altogether, the telegraph became a significant controlling agent of colonizer countries for powerful surveillance and discipline mechanism through which they could control the events and relations in colonized countries. Boyce (2000) mentioned: "Better communications would annihilate distances between the far-flung components of the Empire and strengthen their military, political, social and cultural ties" (p. 41). The telegraph enhanced the centralized power by enabling it to reach distant areas. A direct communication could be provided and the decisions or other information could be transmitted easily to the areas and the events or other significant messages could be delivered to the relevant authorities instantaneously. The accessibility of the telegraph in distant areas made it also significant for governmental power to control information. Obviously, this was crucial for dominant powers as the control of information means the control of mind-sets as well. As it is discussed before, the Industrial Revolution and new technologies served well for the imperialist understanding of the European world and their desire of expansion.

Cables were an essential part of the new imperialism. At the rudest level, they gave value to a handful of mostly deserted islands in the most isolated parts of the world: ... In a few instances, cables helped the empire to expand: South Africa in 1879 and 1901, Egypt in 1882, and West Africa in 1885 all came under Britain's wing. But more important, cables served to tie the European empires together. (Headrick, 1981, p. 163)

Moreover, the network of the telegraph in a sense represented the political authority. On the one hand, it centralized the power as the authority could reach to all the areas under its governance from a central point, on the other hand with the telegraph it reminded its subjects that they were under the control and surveillance of the dominant power. In other words, the power mechanisms that Foucault analyzes with Bentham's model of panopticon have been engendered with the invention of the telegraph.

Panopticon is an architectural drawing by J. Bentham (Foucault, 1995, p. 4). Foucault used Panopticon as a metaphor to explain the exercise of power in its modern understanding. The principle of this schema can be drawn simply in this way: An annular building, where at the center the seeing subject is located on a tower, there is a peripheral building around it, divided into cells. The individual in each cell can be seen by the seeing subject, but the individuals can neither see who sees them nor each other whereas they are always aware of that they are visible. In *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison* Foucault (1995) mentioned: "He is seen, but he does not see; he is the object of information, never a subject of communication" (p. 4). What this schema shows that the reorganization of power mechanisms in modern understanding as an invisible object but which makes individuals visible.

In this sense, the construction and the use of the telegraph by state power shows how it functions as a discipline and control mechanism as Foucault mentioned. Although, the telegraph is not the only one, it is one of the efficient control mechanisms of the state with its capacity to transmit knowledge to distant areas and as a symbol and instrument of central power, it functions as a panopticon model as well.

CHAPTER 3

Telegraphic Construction in India & in the Ottoman Empire and the Role of the Telegraph in Social Movements

3.1 The Construction of Telegraph in India and Its Role in Social Movements

Nineteenth century India was one of the most significant colonies of Great Britain "... arguably more important than all the other colonies of all the European powers put together" (Headrick, 2010b, p. 52). The attempts to construct telegraphs in India began in the first half of the nineteenth century as part of the imperialist understanding of Britain and a link that united the country with its colonies. Through a telegraphic system it was possible for England to communicate both with governors in the colonies and to follow and control the activities of trade in these colonies as well. The construction began in 1853 and it gained a central importance after the famous uprising that took place in 1857.[1] Before 1858 Britain left the control of India to the East India Company who was conducting most of the colonized territory through taxation (Headrick, 2010b, p. 52). But most probably because of the Rebellion, which caused many losses on both sides, the British Government took the control of the government of India and posed a more strict and severe control in India (Hamill, 2010, pp. 267-268).

The main interests of the British Government to construct telegraph lines in India could be summarized as political, military, and economical. These were the major aspects of British Imperialism to ensure and strengthen her power over her colonies. It is obvious the underlying motivations behind the railways constructed in India were also the economical and political interests of the British Government (Satya, 2009, p. 80). Thus, it can be said the technological innovations that were glorified as the values of modernization did not serve humanity or world peace as it was celebrated, but they were implemented all over the world to reinforce the

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[1] Headrick noticed that this rebellion was called Sepoy Mutiny by British and Indian Rebellion by Indians. In this study, I call it as The Rebellion.

dominant power of imperial states and their economy. In the case of India, all these industrialization efforts were considered as the success of the British administration:

> Most of the basic structure was built with remarkable rapidity after 1852, and by 1856 the first telegraph network of over 4,000 miles was in place. The telegraph, railways, steamboats and the centralised postal system were the pride of the administration under the Governor General, Lord Dalhousie, when he left India in 1856. (Choudhury, 2000, p. 332)

In this sense, the suppression of the Rebellion was accredited with the success of the telegraph, and soon after the Rebellion the British government prioritized the construction of telegraph lines in India. Consequently the large-scale constructions of telegraph lines all over India were put into practice after the suppression of the Rebellion as a precaution to prevent possible uprisings:

> As soon as it had crushed the uprising, the government rushed to put up more telegraph lines. By 1865, the network was 28,000 kilometers long. In 1900 the telegraph service had over 84,000 kilometers of land lines connecting 4,949 telegraph offices in towns and cities, and carried several million telegrams a year, with runners to carry telegrams to and from small villages. (Headrick, 2010b, p. 53)

The telegraphic history of India is long and complex and can be discussed from many aspects. In the context of this research, I will just mention the impact of the telegraph on Indian society and its role in Rebellion, and then I will briefly discuss the General Telegraph Strike in 1908.

To begin, it can be said a telegraphic communication link between India and Britain had several advantages for the latter. The military advantages that the British government could gain with a link between Great Britain and India are obvious. The electric telegraph provided the immediate flow of information and it enabled reporting the news even from the frontiers of the war. Moreover, the rapid transmission of information could change the course of events. So, the pace of the information gains more importance in situations like war or crisis as Bonea (2010) noted the transmission of the necessary information could influence the consequences of these situations (p. 170).

On the political aspect, the most significant reason of linking Britain to India via a telegraphic line was the centralization of Britain's control over India (Hamill, 2010, p. 276). In this context, I suggest both the construction of the telegraph, the construction of the railways and other technological implementations have two crucial outcomes in terms of the exercise of state power. It is clear that a line providing immediate flow of communication (the telegraph was the fastest way of communication at that time) between the state (in this case the Great Britain) and its periphery (India) was important to regulate and control administrative and political practices. The telegraphic network enabled the control and regulation of administrative staff from the center. Besides this, cables both metaphorically and materially represented the power of the state in the territory. This means the dominant/sovereign power reached all lands under its sovereignty. Thus, the telegraph in a sense was an apparatus that made the power and the authority of the state apparent in the eyes of its subjects. The other aspect is that all these implementations were parts of a process of state making, more precisely practices of making modern states. All these applications based on division, calculation, and classification of the geographical space. In other words with these procedures the territory is identified and recorded and then the land is shaped according to the policies of the state power, in addition to the transformation and understanding of the uses of land, the social network, relations and also the individuals are shaped with a new understanding. What is at stake here is that implemented technologies are not the sole factor or a force exposing from top to bottom, but in an active, dynamic process, all these factors intertwined and technology becomes a significant factor in shaping society and social networks. In this sense, telegraphic network was very efficient for the political interests of Great Britain and strengthens her power both in England and in her colonies as this political use of the telegraph became more apparent in the Rebellion.

3.1.1 The 1857 Indian Rebellion

The 1857 Rebellion was a milestone for Indian history and one of the notable uprisings in the history of colonization. The uprising lasted more than a year, in the end the British armies defeated the Indians and suppressed the uprising with bloody

fighting. The main reasons for the Rebellion can be defined as the cultural and religious oppression of British colonizers. As a matter of fact, the Rebellion began as a reaction of Indian soldiers to their British officers, and then it took a national meaning against the colonization and conquest of India. "Col. G.B. Malleson argues that forcing Western ideas on an Eastern people fundamentally backfired and the "divide and conquer" tactics employed by the British in India ultimately sowed the seeds of the rebellion" (Patel, 1998). Although the Rebellion began in the military, afterwards with the participation of local people, it turned into a peasant uprising.

> The "unorganized peasants" of India fought one of the most powerful empires in the world to near defeat with limited resources and even more limited training. Nevertheless, the lesson of the Sepoy War is not one of victory or justice, but failure. Though the exact cause of the Sepoy War has yet to be agreed upon, and it is likely that there were many complex causes rather than one, it is clear that British interference governments and the oppression of the Indian people, religious and economic, created a bloody revolution. (Patel, 1998)

The Indian Rebellion was a total surprise and shock for the British government. The role of the telegraph in this movement should not be underestimated however this role neither was the reason of the success of British soldiers in suppressing the Rebellion, nor was the cause of the defeat of the Indians as Robert Montgomery who was a British Administrator mentioned after the 1857 Indian Rebellion, "The electric telegraph has saved India" (Montgomery cited in Pagnamenta, 2013).

Although the telegraph was a crucial factor in the Rebellion, rather than saving India as depicted above, actually the Rebellion shows the importance of the telegraph through the deficiencies of communication. The Rebellion was crucial to figure out the importance of communication once more and also to show the complex and intertwined relation with all these developments and social structures. Before and during the Rebellion the telegraph system in India did not work regularly, there were many technical problems and the routes of telegraph lines were not well planned. The telegraph lines in India before the Rebellion were constructed in a main route and this was organized according to the state making policies of Britain irrespective of the local features and necessities of India:

By 1856, a line was built from Calcutta to Peshawar; Agra, Head Quarters of North West Province, was joined to Bombay; and, Bombay linked to Madras. There were no alternative routes and in their haste the government ignored local conditions to geometrically construct the lines. (Choudhury, 2010b, p. 34)

The telegraph lines and offices became one of the main targets of Sepoys in the Rebellion being as a symbol of British colonization as well as being the main communication mechanism of British forces. The Indians who were fighting in this rebellion against British, despite not knowing how to use telegraphic system, were keenly aware of the importance of rapid communication. That is what made telegraph routes one of the main targets of Sepoys. "To the villagers and the Sepoys they were another sign of the Company's intrusion into rural life, and a dangerous one too. As if by magic, the British could now talk to each other over vast areas of land" (Jones, 2007, p. 52).

Destroying or disrupting telegraph offices and officers blocked the communication between many parts of India. The unexpected destruction of the communication lines was a serious crisis for British, since the lack of information made the access inevitable and the control over these areas became more difficult and they could not know or decide how to cope with the situation in the heart of the crisis.

Captain J. G. Medley, writing from the Punjab, noted in July 1857, "Beyond Delhi our knowledge was a blank. The whole country was in the enemy's hands and our only means of communication was round by Bombay and Calcutta, where the ignorance of what was passing between Allahabad and Delhi was as great as our own". (Choudhury, 2010b, p. 41)

The interruption in the communication system caused a great fear for the British Government as they could lose their control where they could not access. Moreover, not only the blockage of communication, but also the containment of information, the secrecy of messages was another problem for the British government during the Rebellion. As Choudhury (2010b) underlined in *Telegraphic Imperialism*, communication systems were one of the central battlefields of the 1857 Rebellion. It is important to remember that both the British and Sepoys used ciphers

and codes in their messages and in this case the variety of local languages can also be considered as an advantage for Sepoys.

> It was a battle over communications and the telegraph situation was like a tidal pattern with new offices continuously being opened, destroyed and reopened in different centres ... It was a battle between alternate routes and networks with merchants supporting both sides as they allowed their networks of hundi and special couriers to be used. (Choudhury, 2010b, pp. 41-42)

In order to maintain secrecy of the information, the ciphers and codes that British government used were shared with a few people and even after the uprising not only in the telegraph but in press as well there was a strict censorship.

The telegraph was its infancy when the 1857 Rebellion erupted. It did not serve the suppression of the Rebellion as it was celebrated in British press of that time. However, it had a central role of showing the significance of communication and the telegraph as the latest communication technology of that time. Therefore, a priority was given to the construction of the telegraph after the Rebellion was repressed.

> Accordingly, when the rebellion was eventually put down, the British had learned a double lesson as regards telegraphy in India. First, of course, the technology had proved its potential and it could, indeed, be very useful in times of crisis. Second, however, in order to guarantee such usefulness throughout a crisis, the network had to be improved, extended and cross-linked. (Wenzlhuemer, 2013, p. 214)

3.1.2 The 1908 General Telegraph Strike

The Telegraph Strike occurred in 1908 can be considered as the other most significant communication crisis in India. Although scholars have not elaborately analyzed this strike, in a few sources it is indicated the issue was discussed just as a case of labor movement. Accepting the significance of the case as a workers' protest, the other aspects of the strike should be discussed as well. At that time, communications were significant as much as it is today both in business world and

politics and in other social relations. In this sense, the focus of D. K. L. Choudhury is significant in the context of this paper since he mainly based his work on the relation of the telegraph and its social impact. The 1908 General Telegraph Strike was the emergence of a simultaneous strike of workers in different cities all over the India, the organization and cooperation of Indian, European, and Eurasian workers from different positions, different tactics that were used in this strike can be counted as just a few of its crucial characteristics:

> The strike occurred simultaneously among different sections of workers in Rangoon, Moulmein, Calcutta, Allahabad, Agra, Bombay, Madras, Lahore, and Karachi, to name just a few of the places involved. Both telegraph signallers as well as the subordinate staff went on strike. (Choudhury, 2003, p. 45)

The main significance of this strike particularly in the context of this research comes from the uses of technology itself against "technological rationalization" (Choudhury, 2003, p. 45). At that time, some reforms and implementations had been done in the system of telegraphs for several reasons such as to increase the financial benefits of the telegraph. However, there was an ongoing discontent about the reforms that were taken by the Government to control the flow of information through telegraphic system. The underlying reason of the strike was the policies and reorganization in the work schedules for the standardization of time, which led to an increase in the working hours with no improvements either in working conditions or wages. This was a necessary reorganization as "business transacted over vast distances through the telegraph needed centralized and standardized time instead of the prevailing freedom of local times" (Choudhury, 2003, p. 51). Before the General Strike in 1908, with the reforms that wanted to be implemented several protests had been started against this policy and the telegraph workers mainly complained of the long delivery schedules and wanted to improve their medical facilities and an increase in their wages which indicated the main causes of both the long-lasting protests of telegraph workers and General Strike. The reasons were stated in a newspaper dated 15 April 1908 as the following:

> The telegraph operators of India, who are now out on strike have made their principal grievance the new regulation as to night duty. Under the previous regulations they were granted a three hours'

interval for sleep when on the night shift, but Mr. Newlands, the expert from England, abolished this interval, and substituted a system of eight hours' continuous duty both by day and night.

The operators object to being deprived of the sleep interval when on night duty, and have also asked for an increase of 25 percent in pay ... [The telegraph signal-office peons in Calcutta struck early this month on the question of wages, but their places were taken by native troops, so that the work of the department was not interrupted. (The Argus, April 15, 1908, p. 7)

In the early days of protests, all demands of the workers were refused by the Government and rather than a reformation in the status and conditions of workers, the Government decided to replace the workers via recruitment. "The Telegraph Committee proposed to freeze recruitment and induct women, military signallers, and Eurasian and European youths from the orphanages and mission schools in India" (Choudhury, 2003, p. 56).

Telegraph workers through telegraphic communication organized the strike. The telegraph workers now used the network for their own coordination and communication. And they also used the same network as a way of protest. In February, telegraph workers requested from the Telegraph Association the submission of the Committee Report of December 1907, which was reported as unfavorable in press. In this respect, the staff continued to send telegrams, and in January and February, identical memorials and petitions were sent from different parts of the region (Choudhury, 2010b, pp. 162-165).

The growing increase of petitions and memorials was just the first steps of a general and long-lasting strike. At the end of the February and the early days of March, this time the peons went on strike, in many cities of India. Large numbers of peons struck with the same demands:

They demanded the same wages as the Bombay staff, better hours and conditions of work, winter clothing, batta [cost of living allowance], and promotion according to seniority regardless of temporary or permanent positions, and, most provocatively, the reinstatement of the two peons dismissed from service as the ringleaders of the 1907 strike in Bombay. (Choudhury, 2003, p. 60)

These strikes did not last too long and most of the peons involved in strikes were dismissed. Due to this dismissal the workers organized again, held meetings and sent petitions as other workers in other parts of the region also combined as many strikes happened to break out overall India again (Choudhury, 2003, pp. 59-61).

After these developments, the discontent of telegraph workers continued and many dismissals happened as a result of the strikes. Although the Government refused all demands and were not open to any reconciliation, the strikes of the workers did not end. In April 1908 the telegraph signalers showed their discontent and protested new reforms, however they took different action, and they intentionally slowed down the work process using several tactics. Very briefly, the main telegraph lines were intentionally inactivated by engineering faults, the slowdown led to delays and an accumulation of messages and as part of the tactic every station blamed one another for responsibility for the delays and finally the workers used their legal rights of leave at the same time (Choudhury, 2003, pp. 62-64).

The signalers' strike was different from other protests as the workers did not do anything illegal and the Government realized very late this was a kind of resistance. Unsurprisingly, the interruption of workflow actually concerned the Government much more than the other strikes although some meetings were held between Government and the representatives, no solution was found and ultimately the General Strike of Telegraph Workers commenced. Through the General Strike not all but most of the workers stuck, the flow of communication almost stopped, and this became threatening not only for the Government but also for the trade as well:

> The Rangoon Trades Association sent the following telegraphic message the same ay to the Private Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor: - A general strike to-day of telegraph signallers is reported. This must have a very injurious effect on the trade of the province, and the Rangoon Trades Association begs the Lieutenant-Governor's good offices to bring about the early settlement of the dispute and restoration of telegraphic communication. (The Straits Times, April 20, 1908, p. 3)

Consequently, the General Telegraph Strike, which lasted for twelve days, made the Government and Indian Telegraph Association to sit down at the table and

the government officially wanted to hold a meeting. And the solution that ended the strike was the announcement of the Indian Government of an "approximately 20 per cent rise in pay for the subordinate grade staff" (Choudhury, 2003, p. 67).

3.2 The Ottoman Empire and the Construction of the Telegraph

3.2.1 Telegraphic construction in Ottoman Empire

In this section, my main focus will be on the construction of the communication infrastructure in the Ottoman Empire and to focus on cultural, political, and social impact of the telegraph system in Ottoman society. In the first part of this section, I will define the construction of the telegraph in the Ottoman Empire and I will argue its relation with modernization efforts that took place in the administrative system, social and cultural policies of the Empire, especially after the imperial decree at 1839 *Tanzimat Fermanı*. After presenting the social and cultural aspects of the construction of the telegraph in the Ottoman Empire, I will discuss the 1906-1907 Tax Revolts that happened in many parts of Anatolia. To identify the roots of these tax revolts, I will give a brief description of the economic structure. Then, in the context of this paper, I will narrate the uprisings in Kastamonu, Sinop, and Erzurum as telegraph offices were captured and the telegraph was used effectively in these uprisings.

Although there were early attempts to present the telegraph to Ottomans, the first telegraph line in Ottoman Empire was built during the Crimean War on the initiation of British Government (1853-56). In this context, the military reasons of British government led to the first construction of telegraph lines on Ottoman lands. The first submarine cables were laid by Britain in order to have a direct link from London to the Crimean peninsula (Ata, 1997, pp. 34-38). Moreover, a telegraph route passing from the lands of the Ottoman Empire also served the imperialist desires of the British government with a direct link from London to India, which became a more serious concern for British government especially after the 1857 Rebellion. Thus, there was clear support of British Government for the construction of the telegraph in the Ottoman Empire.

Britain wanted to maintain the connection with its colonies and to empower their control and management with the construction of the telegraph on the Ottoman lands. Considering these purposes it can be easily said that the geographical location of the Empire was very significant for the connection of the European countries with their colonies, and the construction of telegraph lines in the Ottoman Empire was strongly supported particularly by Britain and France. "All this was making the role of the Ottoman Empire as Europe's land link to Asia very clear. And the Crimean War, just across the Black Sea, was exposing the need for telegraphic communication" (Lienhard, n.d.).

The first telegraph line built in 1855 was between Varna and Istanbul. The second important line was constructed between Istanbul-Baghdad and this line although significant for the Ottoman Empire, it also indicated the British desire to reach her colonies and particularly for the control of Indian route after the Indian Rebellion in 1857 (Okan, 2003, p. 95).

On the other hand, the main intention of the Sultan in the construction of the telegraph lines and the political and economic interests of the Ottoman Empire were quite different from the desires of its European allies. For the Ottoman Empire, telegraph lines reflected the authority of the Sultan and the reach of this authority to all lands of the Empire. The presentation of the telegraph to the Ottoman Government by the British promoters also emphasized its political significance in its relation with the authority of the Sultan.

Although it was first constructed for military purposes and in accordance with the plans of Britain and France in alliance with the Ottoman Empire against the Russian military powers to reach the Mediterranean, the Ottoman Empire very soon discovered the sociopolitical and economical advantages of telegraphic communication. In this sense, it should also be mentioned the period of the presentation and the construction of the telegraph coincided with the era of Tanzimat reforms, which can be defined as the modernization efforts of the Ottoman Government in different areas as in economic, social, and political context. It was in this period the Ottoman Government made radical changes in economic and political fields, which indicated the influence of Western imperialism. In this context, a telegraph network in the Ottoman Empire had several advantages both for the Ottoman Government and the European powers.

Although the political impact of the telegraph was the consolidation of the Sultan's authority even in the most distant areas of the Empire, to understand the telegraph just as a tool of political power is very problematic. First, after the presentation of the telegraph to the Sultan, the Ottoman Government very soon recognized its economic importance as well as its political efficiency.

In addition to being a political tool of the government, mentioned above, there are other facilities that can be managed through telegraphic network and all these aspects symbolized the importance of telegraphic construction in those days for the Ottoman Empire.

> While the British proposal about the line between London and Bombay was being discussed in the Meclis-i Mahsusa (the cabinet meeting), three interests were pointed out. First, all expenditures of constructing the line would belong to the British company, second, the Ottoman Empire would get the right to comment on world communication, third the central authority would solidify its power in the country. (Kaçar cited in Okan, 2003, p. 27)

The telegraph was a part of modernization process of the Ottoman Empire and the administrative and political use of this device was perceived well by the Ottoman Government. Additionally, its presentation to public was as the following:

> According to the Takvim-i Vekayi, the official newspaper of the Ottoman government, dated 14 May 1855 (H. 26 Sa 1271), there were two reasons for the establishment of the electric telegraph in the Ottoman dominions. The first was to facilitate and to accelerate the communication with European countries. The second was that it would be useful for the commercial affairs. (Ata, 1997, p. 62)

Therefore, in the construction of telegraph lines from Britain to India, Ottoman officials insisted on the control of the telegraph lines by themselves for the part of telegraph lines that would come across in the territorial lands of the Empire. Y. Bektaş (2000) in his article "The Sultan's Messenger: Cultural Constructions of Ottoman Telegraphy, 1847-1880" mentioned with the control of the project the Ottoman Government offered the construction of two lines that one was used for the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire. As Bektaş (2000) stated:

The Ottoman government required that it have overall control of the project, but it did agree to employ British engineers and the workmen the European and Indian Junction of Telegraph Company had engaged, and to use the company's stock of supplies. It also offered to build the line with two wires, one to be retained by the Ottoman government for its own service, the other to be dedicated to Anglo-Indian traffic. (p. 680)

The social and cultural impact of the telegraph and its reception by the society should also be examined carefully to understand how it played a crucial role in the transformation of social structures especially as a tool of resistance. As it was mentioned above, Ottoman officials placed a premium on the telegraph, however in its early days there were several criticisms about this invention. Though, telegraphic communication fascinated the Sultan as a controlling mechanism it was also described as a satanic invention as it was opposed to the traditional understanding of time and space. Moreover, the presentation of the telegraph especially annoyed pashas, governors, and local notables who used their power unduly in the distant provinces of the Ottoman Empire. With this mechanism, the Sultan would quickly deliver his orders and messages to the governors, while the petitions and complaints of the public about the rulers would be easily and directly conveyed to the Sultan by telegraph:

In remote towns and villages the telegraph official became the representative of the government, and thus also collected government revenues, taxes, and recruited the militia. This diminished the privileges and independence of the ağalar, who came under state control. In some such localities, the ağalar prevented or at least delayed the coming of the telegraph. (Bektaş, 2000, p. 694)

On the one hand, the local administrators and pashas did not want such an invention since it made them to report all their actions to the Sultan and the Sultan could enhance his control over distant areas through a direct and instant communication line. On the other hand, being as a Western invention and providing a mysterious success of distant communication through wires, it was criticized from a religious viewpoint. "Local pashas resisted the telegraph, religious fundamentalists

objected that corrupt ideas could travel those wires, and citizens raided the lines for wood and copper" (Lienhard, n.d.).

Above all these different expectations and complaints about this new, modern invention, the construction of the telegraph and the communication system as well, improved rapidly in the Ottoman Empire in those days.

Additionally, the Ottoman Government did not only pay attention to the implementation of the telegraphic system but they also wanted to develop their own telegraphic system with all stages of operation. In this respect, the Ottoman Government attributed significance for the production process of equipment, and technicians were educated with specialization both in the construction of the telegraph and its operational stages. Being as a technological innovation adapted from Western, in the first years of the Ottoman telegraph, the equipment and expertise were provided from Europeans, especially from Britain and France.

The construction of new telegraph lines made the necessity for staff to work in these new telegraph offices. In order to provide local staff working in telegraph offices, new schools and in some schools courses both on technical and operational process of the telegraph were opened.

Initially, the need for staff working in offices were maintained by the personnel/disciple (*şakirt*) who were trained in the telegraph offices and also in 1861 *Fünun-ı Telgrafiye Mektebi* was opened aiming to raise new personnel to recruit in telegraph administration (Ata, 2010, pp. 286-87). Moreover, to meet with the need of equipment and technicians as well as operators, the Ottoman Government took several steps. After 1871, the postal and telegraph services were united under a single administration (Okan, 2003, p. 48). Ata (2010) mentioned that in 1872, a new school was established whose name was *Posta ve Telgraf Mektebi* and the name of *Fünun-ı Telgrafiye Mektebi* was changed into *Posta ve Telgraf Mektebi*. In this school, both technical and administrative courses were taught (p. 288). In addition to these schools, courses on telegraph techniques and operations began to given in several schools such as Imperial Lycée in 1875, then in Galatasaray Lycée, and Darüşşafaka in 1880 (Okan, 2003, p. 105).

The increase in the education of foreign languages and education in general can be considered another significant social impact of the telegraph in Ottoman society. Since French was the official language in political and scientific

interrelationships, it also dominated the telegraph service. In the Ottoman telegraph services, French was the required language for the staff (Bektaş, 2000, p. 688). From this perspective, it can be seen the need of staff with a proficiency in French might be a reason for the decision of the new telegraph courses to be given in schools such as the Galatasaray Lycée. Besides these, students were also sent abroad to get education in this field (Okan, 2003, pp.105-106; Bektaş, 2000, p. 690).

The cultural impact of the Ottoman telegraph influenced the reception of this system by the society and promoted its use effectively as a communication mechanism by the citizens. In this context, the telegraph was understood by the society as a tool that conveyed the messages of the Sultan to the society and vice versa. Thus, from this point of view it can be said that the unitary and communicative mechanism of the telegraph performed in bidirectional way. However, this understanding and the potential of the telegraph in this sense did not occur immediately.

As a political tool, the importance of telegraphic communication was grasped very quickly. And especially in the reign of Abdulhamid II, he used the telegraph effectively to consolidate his political authority, additionally public petitions and complaints were taken into consideration in the context of social organization.

As a controlling mechanism, the telegraph contributed the consolidation and centralization of power. Moreover, the telegraph network was also one of the reasons for the long-lasting reign of Abdulhamid II as he used it very effectively. First, it enabled the Sultan to control vast lands of the Empire. Thorough telegraphic communication, the orders and instructions could be transmitted to the distant areas as well as controlling the local administrators in these regions. On the side of the public, the telegraph was not immediately welcomed. It was mainly opposed and criticized in some parts of the public in its early days for two reasons. Unlike in Europe where the telegraph was celebrated as a success of mankind, in Asia, it was considered to be a mean and a symbol of Western domination. "Its introduction coincided with a period of growing Western political and military influence in these regions, which was blamed for the collapse of local power structures" (Bektaş, 2000, p. 691). On the other hand, it was also criticized as a satanic device by religious fundamentalists, however no significant opposition movements occurred from this

reason as it also symbolized the Sultan's authority and was introduced as part of an official and military plan (Bektaş, 2000, p. 693).

Merchants and traders because of its economic benefits warmly took to the construction of the telegraph. And, in far-flung provinces, citizens perceived the telegraph as a way of uniting the Empire and as a device by which they could convey their petitions and complaints to the Sultan directly. Nevertheless, disruptions were also seen as the wires and poles were stolen as the materials used for other reasons such as fuel in winter (Lienhard; Okan, 2003, p.102).

As a new technology, although some problems occurred in the construction of the telegraph and the adoption of the Empire to this system, it is obvious this innovation led to crucial transformations both in the administrative structures and social structures. Its effect can be seen in the political system, in the economic policies and even in social relations. Despite all these transformations were crucial separately, the telegraph as an effective political tool in terms of a controlling mechanism was underlined not only in this study but mentioned in many other works. However, as it will be explained in detail in the next section, the telegraph was also used in resistance movements. The use of the telegraph by Committee of Union and Progress is an example. The perception and understanding of the telegraph by ordinary citizens and its use in the tax revolts which is the following topic also shows the significance of communication mechanisms and how these governing and controlling mechanisms can be used in a reverse way as tools of resistance in social movements.

3.2.2 Before the 1906 -1907 Tax Revolts

From 1906 to 1908 the imposition of two new taxes, *Hayvanat-ı Ehliye Rüsumu* (animal tax) and *Şahsi Vergi* (personal tax) led to numerous mass movements in the Ottoman Empire. In this period, strong mass movements happened in many parts of the country. The public mainly reacted against the new taxes and the malpractice of the administration. While the imposition of these new taxes can be considered as a trigger for most of the uprisings from 1906 to 1908, the economic developments of this period, and the interplay between economic orders, sociopolitical structures, and the external effects should be taken into consideration

as the factors that prepared the ground for the events known as "Tax Revolts". As a consequence of these mass movements, the new taxes were abolished and the Government had to make new regulations in the administrative affairs in accordance with the demands of the public. In 1906 and 1907 the public reacted against in Erzurum, Kastamonu, and Sinop. The public captured the telegraph and post offices and sent several telegrams to the Government. In this section, I will mainly focus on the significance of technology in the transformation of sociopolitical structures. Particularly, I will examine the role of communication mechanisms in these tax revolts. I will briefly define the economic structure of the Ottoman Empire in this time period and the role of taxation in this system. Then I will explain the tax revolts between 1906 and 1908. Conclusively, I will make an analysis of these mass movements in its relation with the communication mechanisms.

In addition to the radical changes that transformed the social structures in Europe with the Industrial Revolution, the 19th century was a very crucial period where the Ottoman Empire underwent radical changes with the influence of several factors. Especially the reforms of the *Tanzimat* period, and the influence of developments in the world (the rise of capitalism in Europe, modernization process, etc.) led to transformations in sociopolitical, cultural, and economic structures of the Ottoman Empire. In this sense, the *Tanzimat* reforms and the modernization process of the Ottoman Empire were closely related to each other. "1839 marked one of the most crucial peaks of the 1800s, generally accepted as the starting point of the modernization efforts. In November 1839, an imperial decree was proclaimed in Gülhane Park, ushering a new reform era called the *Tanzimat*" (Okan, 2003, p. 1).

In the previous section, the construction of the postal and telegraph system as a part of this process was argued, in this section I will discuss social and cultural construction of the telegraph and post offices in the Ottoman Empire as a vital part of the 1906-1907 Tax Revolts.

To begin, in order to understand the modernization process of the Ottoman Empire and the socio-economical transformations in this process, it is also significant to briefly define the economic structure and the social organization of the Empire. The social structure of the Ottoman Empire in general can be categorized in two main social classes. The former class the *reaya* (subjects) was the class who were engaged in the production and trading process. In this sense, the *reaya* involved

peasants, craftsmen, tradesmen, and nomads, as the subjects of the Sultan, the *reaya* were significant in terms of their roles in production. They were responsible for and were subjected to the Sultan through the taxes they paid since in the Ottoman economic system, all lands were considered as the Sultan's property. Ottoman society was mainly an agrarian society and the surplus value and taxes collected from the *reaya* was the main income of government as the expenditures of the military organization and the revenues of the administrative class were met through the taxation system. The other class was the administrative class that was responsible for collecting the taxes and as delegated functionaries of the Sultan and they had crucial roles in the organization of state and provided the continuity of the military organization (Pala, 1996, p. 40). The close and reciprocal relation between the administrative class and the *reaya* provided the successful perpetuation of economic system for a long time. The economic and social structures were organized and regulated properly on the basis of these relations. "A strongly centralized bureaucratic structure was supposed to establish and secure the condition for the healthy reproduction of a peasant society, whose surpluses would be extracted in the form of taxes" (Keyder, 1987, p. 10).

Moreover, the possession of lands as the property of the Sultan, did not allow the development of a totally independent peasantry, with the regulation of the cultivation process, and the periodical appointment of lands' status by the authority provided the continuity of the control of the lands on a regular basis. Consequently, both the political structure of the Ottoman Empire as a class-based system, and the relationship of social organization with economical process were under the control of the absolute power, which was the authority of the Sultan. Especially in the 17th and 18th centuries, several revolts can be found in Ottoman history, which are closely related to the economic decline of this period and the economic pressure that made the life standards difficult for the society. From a general point it can be said the *miri* system in which the *reaya* were subjected to the Sultan through taxes, and delegated functionaries as tax collectors and part of the state and military organization, continued successfully until the mid 16th century (the *miri* system can be considered as the centralized version of the feudal land system in the Ottoman Empire). Under the impact of different factors the *miri* system and the economic structures of the Empire began to weaken before the end of the 16th century (Topuz, 2007, p. 378). In

order to ameliorate and compensate the economic decline, various amendments were performed. The changes and the developments in the world, the undeniable influence of capitalism in Europe negatively effected the economic structure of the Ottoman Empire. Here, I will briefly mention these factors considering their relation with tax revolts.

First, one of the crucial changes in the land system was the shift in tax-collection system. It should be mentioned the *miri* system in the Ottoman Empire was efficient in the context of control and regulation of farmlands and the *reaya*. The possession of lands and the relation of peasants with state through tax payment maintained the success of this control mechanism. "Since all land was juridically under state proprietorship, the central authority could, in principle, ensure the perpetuation of land regime based precisely on such holdings possessed by independent peasant families" (Keyder, 1987, pp. 11-12).

After the mid 16th century, the Ottoman economy had to face several difficulties under the impact of both internal and external factors that eventually led to transformation of social structures. The developments in the European world such as the Industrial Revolution, capitalist mode of production, modernization influenced economic, and social structures of the Ottoman Empire. Besides this, in this period as a consequence of the disintegrations in the *miri* system, the power and control of local functionaries over the peasants became more notable by threatening the economy and weakened the central authority as well.

On the other hand, the rapid increase of population also influenced the fiscal crisis with the consequence of the reduction of fixed-money taxes. To overcome the fiscal crisis, under the pressure of both external and internal factors, the Ottoman State made significant changes in the collection of taxes to provide the money flow and in this sense the responsibility of tax collection was transferred to the tax farmers.

> However, the new tax collection scheme, designed to increase revenue, militated against this attempt: after the demise of the classical system of military service in lieu of taxes, revenue was increasingly collected through tax-farming. Tax-farmers functioned in the same manner as their French counterparts: the right to collect taxes would go to the highest bidder, who would pay the sum to the state in

advance. Tax-farmers, through their right to collect taxes, established semi-official standing, the exercise of which was itself a source of increased status … In the eighteenth century, in fact, Ottoman lands did come under the increasing domination of local notables who controlled the tax-farming hierarchy. (Keyder, 1987, pp. 14-15)

The tax-farming system was one of the basic factors of the distortion and decline of the Ottoman economy. The effects of tax-farming system can be summarized having two main consequences. On the one hand, the local landlords and tax-farmers could not be strictly controlled by the state, thus the central authority of the Empire began to weaken. On the other hand the economic problems had strong pressure on peasants from two sides: one was the new taxes and economic procedures that were declared by the state, and the second was the unduly and unfair practices in the process of tax collection that were performed by tax-farmers. Although being not the one, these hard conditions that peasants had to deal with should be considered as a significant factor of the tax revolts.

Peasants could no longer till the land themselves and instead had to work under the exploitation of land holders (mültezim) who tried to maximize their profits in the shortest possible time. As peasants were pressured to leave their lands and mounted cavalries abandoned, some of the now landless peasants joined the now dismissed cavalries to engage in local brigandage such as the Celali revolts. The rest migrated to urban centers like their European counterparts had done earlier. Yet unlike the latter, however, they could not find employment and therefore enrolled in religious schools (medrese), thereby increasing the restless, dissatisfied urban masses. (Göçek & Özyüksel, n.d., p. 13)

When we look at the economic changes of this period, it can be seen that industrialism and capitalism changed the European world in many aspects. With the technological developments, previous trade routes that passed from Ottoman lands eventually lost its importance. "As trade routes began to shift, however, and territorial expansion came to a halt, so did the contributions of these two factors to the fisc" (Keyder, 1987, p. 14).

While the trade routes under Ottoman control decreased in significance, the European price inflation led Ottoman staples and raw materials to be attracted to Europe. Even though the Ottoman state domestically dictated the prices, the European merchants could now offer prices for the same goods that were dramatically higher. As a consequence, the Ottoman state failed to successfully monitor the economy and prevent the smuggling of goods out the empire. (Göçek & Özyüksel, n.d., pp. 11-12)

Besides this, the economic developments in Europe and the contact of the Ottoman State with external markets, especially the capitalist economic system of Europe in the 19th century, obliged the Empire to make transformations in the agrarian system. However, because of the absence of large farmlands and dispossession of land, large-scale production could not succeed in terms of engagement with capitalist system. The gradual decline in the economy of the Ottoman Empire brought pressure on the society and in this sense these problems severely threatened the governmental power and political authority.

In the view of such information, it can be said the political and economic organization of the Empire was under the threat of disintegration when we reached the *Tanzimat* period in which a series of administrative reforms were implemented in order to ameliorate the system.

3.3 The Tax Revolts 1906-1907

The new taxes *Hayvanat-ı Ehliye Resumu* and *Şahsi Vergi* as the starting point of 1906-1908 tax revolts were proclaimed in order to improve the economy due to the economic woes of the Empire. However, as it is stated above, these new taxes placed new burdens to peasants who could not yield enough profit even for their basic needs.

Şahsi Vergi is a tax taken for individuals and *Hayvanat-ı Ehliye Resumu* is a poll tax for domestic animals. The imposition of these taxes can be considered as the final straw as the economic pressure on public became unbearable. The declaration of these taxes, and the Government's attempts to collect these taxes led to a serious public reaction and civil disobedience movements arose rapidly in various parts of

the country. There were many reactions all around the lands of the Empire from Prizren to Syria (Özbek, 2010, p. 68). In the context of this study, particularly three movements and the ones in which telegraph offices were captured will be mentioned. Although there were many different views about the reasons for these tax revolts, and there were indeed many different reasons, it is commonly accepted that the Young Turks Movement at that time was one of the main reasons. However, the rebellions and the complaints of the public especially underline the unfair practices of local governors and the imposition of the new taxes.

3.3.1 The tax revolt in Kastamonu - 1906

The first movement against the Government and unjust practices of governors was organized in Kastamonu. The public was seriously disturbed by the policies and the forthcoming elections became a chance for them to express their distress. The inhabitants of the city protested the elections and refused to take part in it.

> The Government put up the customary notices in public places for the
> elections of city councilors. Nobody in the city, however, paid any
> attention to these notices and boycotted the elections on the grounds
> that they had no control over taxation and expenditure, be it provincial
> or municipal. (Kansu, 1997, p. 32)

Their representatives explained the reasons of their protests of the elections and they complained about the unfair practices of administrators, as their demands were the control of the expenses of the governmental practices. Serhat Yılmaz (2011) wrote according to Ziyaeddin Demircioğlu who lived in this period, there were two main reasons for the rebellion in Kastamonu. The first one was the successive taxes that were imposed by Abdulhamid Government, which made the public poorer day by day, and the second was the unfair practices of Enis Pasha who was the governor of Kastamonu at that time. And the irregular wage payments of officials were considered as another factor. Thus, the rebellion was basically caused by economic and administrative policies (p. 127). Moreover, the main complaint was about the imposition of the new tax *Şahsi Vergi*. The problem about the tax issues was the unequal rates in the payment of the taxes, as the wealth of the person was not taken into consideration. In a Turkish newspaper published in Cairo in that period, the

public explained their discontentment about the Government and the new taxes as the following:

> We can not vote since we do not know the income and expenditure account of the province. The persons that were elected by us have to answer us and do their jobs honestly. Regarding the personal tax, you have been collecting this for a long time, but it is not legal. Because no differentiation is made between the rich and the poor. For instance a student pays tax as much as a householder. In addition, all well-known people were held exempted from this tax. The most significant merchants and our governor do not pay the tax. So that, neither do we give a coin. (Aktan, Dileyici, & Saraç, 2002, p. 230)

Thus it can be said that, unjust practices in tax-farming system and the economic pressure on the public had already been a major problem in Ottoman Society in the 1900s and the imposition of the new taxes can be seen as the climax for the civil disobedience movements against the unjust practices of the governors. Regarding this, a petition mentioning the demands of the community had already been sent to the Central Government. Telegrams were sent from Kastamonu to *Bâb-ı Alî* for the abolition of the taxes (Demirel, 1990, p. 11).

Particularly after this point, as the petition was not answered by the Government, the events took a drastic turn. A huge crowd organized under the leadership of Judge Esat Efendi and the crowd occupied the telegraph office. "When their demands remained unanswered, they organized a demonstration, on January 21, of about five hundred people in front of the Government offices, after which, they proceeded to the Telegraph Office, and occupied the building" (Kansu, 1997, p. 33). After the occupation of the telegraph office, the public got the telegraph officers out of the building and eight telegrams were sent to the place, which repeated the demands of the public (Yılmaz, 2011, p. 129). In this uprising in Kastamonu, the crowd of Muslims and Armenians acted together, more than four thousand of people gathered and the telegraph office was occupied for ten days with the support of the majority of town notables and citizens. On January 31, a huge population of Muslims, Armenians, and Greeks gathered in front of the telegraph office and in accordance with this action, all shops and business places were closed during the day (Demircioğlu cited in Yılmaz, 2011, p. 131). As soon as the Governor Enis Pasha

learned of the revolt, he evoked both the military and police commander to pacify the situation, however they all objected use of force arguing the weakness of their force and they rejected the responsibility of the consequences of a military action. From this point, it can be derived that there was a strong public solidarity in the revolt and civil disobedience was also supported by some parts of the Government, i.e. the military. The Government sent local notables for negotiation with insurgents, however they took these negotiators hostage until the Government accepted their demands. It is also interesting that in these negotiations the representatives mentioned that they were against the unfair practices of the Governor Enis Pasha and the reason of the revolt was the dismissal of the Governor Enis Pasha and other bureaucrats rather than the repeal of the new taxes. On February 1, after negotiations the Government appointed another governor Ali Rıza Pasha, and Enis Pasha was dismissed upon the request of the people and the decision of the Government (Kansu, 1997, p. 35).

3.3.2 The uprising in Sinop - 1906

In this period, similar uprisings took place in different parts of the country. A similar revolt happened in Mosul province in late January and in Sinop, thousands of people occupied the telegraph office and forcefully dispatched the sub-governor of Sinop on a ship to Istanbul.

As a matter of fact, the revolt in Sinop broke out for similar reasons. The following can be considered as the main initiating factor. The governor of Sinop freed the mugger Çerkes Gül Hasan from the prison before the end of his penalty. After his release, this mugger continued his crime and robbery. As the peasants became aware that the governor was the responsible person, they rose up and captured the telegraph office and sent several telegrams to Istanbul that defined their complaints about maladministration. Until their demands were answered by the palace, the uprising continued, even the governor was so afraid he could not go out from his place. In Sinop, the insurgents hourly shouted "Long Live the Sultan", and there was a strong objection against the declaration of new taxes as well as the unfair and unduly practices of provincial bureaucrats. The revolt ended when the telegraph

came from Istanbul that announced the dismissal of the governor (Aktan, Dileyici, & Saraç, 2002, pp. 31-33).

3.3.3 The tax revolts in Erzurum

Although numerous revolts and civil disobedience movements broke out with the impact of the new taxes between 1906-1908, especially the uprising in Erzurum can be considered as one of the most significant and notable revolt, since it lasted for a long time, approximately more than a year, furthermore it was more organized and it became a powerful disobedience movement rather than being just a protest against new taxes. Similar to the unfair practices in other towns, in Erzurum the public, especially the peasants, were suffering under severe economic problems. The heavy burden of new taxes became unbearable after 1904. Many peasants left their farms since they could not cope with the heavy taxes and the unjust practices of landlords in tax farming system.

The new taxes *Hayvanat-ı Ehliye Resumu* and *Şahsi Vergi* were argued as the main reasons of the revolts in Erzurum by many scholars, Nadir Özbek (2010) stated obviously there were many tax revolts in the Ottoman Empire before 1908, however in the uprising in Erzurum the issue was not the taxes (pp.75-76). He continued that in the analysis of these uprisings, the complexity of the social and political conditions of that time should be taken into consideration. The tax protests were just a part of these peasant movements (Özbek, 2010, pp. 75-76).

These taxes were the last straw for the peasants who had already been under great economic pressure. On the other hand, the Governor Nazım Pasha who administered Erzurum since 1902 used his administrative power for his personal interests and tortured the citizens and did not care the needs of the province (Aktan, Dileyici, & Saraç, 2002, p. 224).

> The population had already been financially suffering under the rapacious administration of Nazım Pasha, the Governor, since 1902. Instead of using money for the needs of province, he had been sending about twenty-five percent of the collected amount to the capital in return for personal favours from the absolutist regime. (Kansu, 1997, p. 36)

Moreover, both tax-farmers and the officers in governmental affairs acted illegally and unjustly, as the money they collected from the public was more than the amount that is specified in laws. Although it was the whole public suffered from hard economic problems, when the new taxes were declared, first the local merchants, the wealthier persons in the town showed reaction against these new taxes. On the other hand, the salaries of the soldiers had not been paid for a long time and this fact increased the turmoil and the enthusiasm of the public. After the imposition of taxes, the public organized and a petition was signed and presented to the Governor by thirteen notable merchants of the town (Kars H. Z., 1984, pp. 24-25). In the petition the demand was the repeal of new taxes and these two points were mentioned in this petition named "*Mazhar-ı Umumi*":

> 1. From now on, under no circumstances no money will be sent to Istanbul from Erzurum, the whole amount will be spent for the expenditures of province and military.
>
> 2. The region will be exempted from the laws of taxes for domestic animals "Hayvanat-ı Ehliye" and personal tax "Şahsi Vergi". (Aktan, Dileyici, & Saraç, 2002, p. 225)

The Governor Nazım Pasha although promising the public to inform the Government about the complaints and demands of them, he differently informed the Sultan with the telegram he sent on March 2nd. In this telegram he mentioned the uprising as a provocation of the public against new taxes by some provocateurs and additionally he noticed that necessary caution was taken for the suppression of the revolt. The Government mentioned they supported all the precautions against revolts and in the telegram they sent on March 12, 1906 and the Government ordered again for the collection of taxes (Demirel, 1990, pp. 21-22). Since no reply was received by the public, the leading livestock merchants of the town decided to send another telegram demanding the repeal of taxes. Although this telegraph alarmed Istanbul, Nazım Pasha told the Palace that there was not a critical situation and the events would be pacified in a week (Kars H. Z., 1984, p. 26). After this point, an organized revolt began in Erzurum in the leadership of *'Can Veren'* group which was organized by the local members of the Committee of Union and Progress: "When they again received no reply, the local members of the Committee of Union and Progress,

organised under the name of *"Can Veren"*, decided to take radical action against the local representatives of the Central Government" (Kansu, 1997, p. 37).

The leaders of *Can Veren* captured the post office with a crowd of local people. The Governor Nazım Pasha wanted to disperse the crowd in front of the post–office, and on March 13, 1906, the first rebellious movements broke out that was organized and guided by *Can Veren* (Aktan, Dileyici, & Saraç, 2002, p. 226). The revolt rose rapidly and the individuals began to gather around the telegraph office in crowds. "The population demanded the Governor's recall, and merchants closed their shops in solidarity, as citizens took possession, on March 13, of the Telegraph Office in order to directly communicate with the Palace" (Kansu, 1997, p. 37).

Furthermore, Nazım Pasha wanted the mufti to calm the public, however, Hacı Lütfullah Efendi declared the new taxes were against the principles of Islam, and he joined the insurgents justifying the protest. Additionally, when the anxiety and turmoil were rising in the town, the governor summoned the military troops to disperse the crowd and arrest the provocateurs, however, the military also supported the protest and they did not use force against the protestors. Since the governor could not find any support, he could not get out of his residence for fear of the protestors (Kars H. Z., 1984, pp. 26-27).

During this period, the public sent telegraphs to Istanbul demanding the dismissal of Nazım Pasha and the repeal of the taxes. Quoting from Mehmet Nusret, Zafer Kars (1984) wrote: "The public spent the night in the post office awaiting the forthcoming reply from Istanbul... That night more than six thousand people spent time standing (awake) until morning" (Nusret cited in Kars, p. 27).

In Erzurum, similar to Kastamonu the public both Muslims and Christians, local merchants and even some local officers such as mufti and military acted in solidarity against the unjust administration and imposition of new taxes. The turmoil in the town did not pacify until the expected answer came from Istanbul. A huge crowd both Muslim and Christian population acted together and a mass protest was performed in front of the government buildings. The crowd continued their protests in front of the Governor's residence and the notices informing the new taxes on the road were removed. The public continued their protests in solidarity as the shops remained closed and the public took almost the whole control of town:

The demand for the Governor's recall was renewed and shops were closed again on March 28. During these protests, the city was for nearly ten days in the hands of the population, the usual representatives of the civil authority having practically abdicated their functions. (Kansu, 1997, pp. 38-39)

The communication between the protestors and Istanbul through the telegraph continued ten days. In this period, many telegraphs (approximately thirty) were sent mentioning the demands of the public. Despite the protests and the telegraphs, no reply came from the Palace (Kars H. Z., 1984, p. 27). Then, it was found the reason for this was the telegraphs of Governor Nazım Pasha were sent to the Palace via a machine in his residence. Thereupon, the insurgents cut off the private telegraph line of Nazım Pasha in order to prevent his communication with Istanbul and the protestors followed him closely and did not allow him to leave his residence (Demirel, 1990, pp. 24-25).

The rapid rise of protests, the resistance of the public against the payment of taxes, and the disobedience against government also alarmed the Government as they became aware of the seriousness of the events. The council of Ministers arranged a meeting and decided to send a military force and evoked Zeki Pasha, the Commander of the Fourth Army Corps, to suppress the revolt with his troops. However, the soldiers in the military were also uncomfortable with the regime and the Government's procedures. And Zeki Pasha refused to carry out a military intervention against the protestors (Aktan, Dileyici, & Saraç, 2002, p. 227). So the Government had to dismiss Nazım Pasha from his position in Erzurum, the Government recalled Nazım Pasha, appointed him as the governor of Diyarbakır and the governor of Diyarbakır, Mehmet Ata Bey was appointed as the new governor of Erzurum. And the collection of new taxes was postponed (Demirel, 1990, pp. 26-27). Kars (1997) in his book *1908 Devrimi'nin Halk Dinamiği* stated:

March 13, 1906 rebellion was the first success of public gained against the Ottoman Government. The government had to dismiss the governor in accordance with the main demand of the public. During the time from the beginning of the rebellion till the demands of the public were accepted, the authorities in the city lost their control totally. (p. 30)

Mehmet Ata Bey as the new governor of Erzurum began his work by paying the salaries of administrative officers and the soldiers who did not get their stipends for a long time. He concerned himself with the officers who did not perform their duties duly and honestly and dismissed these officers. Although his performance satisfied the public outrage to some extent, he performed the rules for the collection of taxes and he also investigated the organizers of the revolt (Aktan, Dileyici, & Saraç, 2002, p. 227).

3.3.4 Other tax rebellions in Anatolia, the uprising in Bitlis

Meanwhile the declaration of new taxes caused uprisings in numerous parts of the country as well:

> By the beginning of April, agitation had also spread to Bayburt, Narman, and Hasankale - closeby towns - though Erzurum's example of closing shops seemed to have been followed only at Hasankale. Tax revolts had also spread to other commercial centres in Anatolia such as Trabzon, Giresun, Sivas, Kayseri, and other places. (Kansu, 1997, p. 41)

Some of these protests were suppressed by military force, however in many towns the Government was obliged to dismiss the local governors who did not fairly perform their duties. In some of these revolts, serious, violent events happened. In the uprising in Bitlis, the public killed a police commissioner, wounded the governor, and they sent telegrams to the palace demanding the dismissal of the governor. Though the Government first said that they would send military force, after the insurgents responded, as they would fight, then the Government accepted their demands (Kars H. , 1997, pp. 23-24).

> When Bitlis, another region of the heartland (kalb-i vatan), followed suit, it solidified the Young Turks' conclusion that Anatolia had awakened at last. On 26 June 1907 five thousand Muslim Turks, the report claimed, surrounded the governor's mansion and after accusing him of stealing public funds over the previous three years demanded his resignation. The governor managed to escape the agitated crowds, but only after killing a protest leader and suffering injuries himself.

The crowds retaliated by publicly executing the chief of police, punishing the governor's more notorious appointees, and occupying the telegraph office for the next twenty-four hours. In reaction, the government placed the military in full command of the region. (Sohrabi, 2002, p. 64)

In mid July serious events happened in Samsun, many citizens died in the tax revolts, and the entrance to the Telegraph Office was banned by the officers: "In order to keep the disturbances secret, the authorities did not allow anyone, especially the Armenians, into the Telegraph Office" (Kansu, 1997, p. 42). Similarly, an uprising also took place in Ankara caused by the imposition of taxes. The local post office was captured and the citizens sent telegrams to the Palace presenting their demands: the dismissal of the governor and the repeal of the new taxes. The imposition of new taxes caused many revolts and civil disobedience movements in almost in every part of the country. In order to pacify the turmoil, the Government needed to take some steps as these civil disobedience movements could become a serious threat for the absolutist regime. However the uprisings against new taxes did continue as well. In early October another revolt arose in Trabzon that could be suppressed only by military intervention. The incidents in different parts of the country against the imposition of new taxes became more serious day by day, so the Government decided to postpone the collection of these taxes (Kansu, 1997, pp. 42-44).

3.3.5 The second uprising in Erzurum

In the Fall of 1906, the second mass protest in Erzurum stroke out. The events in Erzurum calmed down and the public's outrage was pacified for a time because the governor of Erzurum performed his duty fairly and satisfied many needs of the province as mentioned above (Demirel, 1990, pp. 29-30). The only thing the public did in this time period was giving a petition to the investigators that came from Istanbul. In this petition, that was signed the notable local people, the reasons why the domestic poll tax could not be collected from Erzurum were explained in detail. The investigation commission left the town a week later and the petition remained unanswered and it was forgotten (Kars H. Z., 1984, p. 29).

On the other hand, the governor Mehmet Ata Bey continued his investigation into the organizers of the revolt. He established a commission for this purpose. The commission that Mehmet Ata Bey established in order to investigate the revolt presented a report and the Governor sent the report that was presented to himself to Istanbul (Aktan, Dileyici, & Saraç, 2002, pp. 226-28). Kansu (1997) in his book *The Revolution of 1908 in Turkey*:

> There were twenty-two people who had been found to be leaders of the movement. Among them were Hacı Lütfullah Efendi, the mufti of Erzurum, prominent merchants and lawyers, and Durak Bey, one of the local leaders of the underground revolutionary organization which had ties with the Committee of Union and Progress. (pp. 44-45)

The answer that came from Istanbul ordered the arrest and relegation of the Mufti and the other leaders and organizers of the revolt. On October 23, 1906 Mehmet Ata Bey deployed the gendarme to significant places of the town, moreover, he also ordered the high-ranking military officers to get ready in case of a reactionary movement and he ordered the use of force against the protestors (Demirel, 1990, p. 33). However, the military commander stated they were against the arrests and he rejected the use of force and said he would not give orders in the case of a possible event. Mehmet Ata Bey insisted to perform the decision of the Government. During the night, the arrests began secretly so as not to provoke the public (Kars H. Z., 1984, p. 30). Kansu (1997) mentioned that on that night the number of arrests reached into the sixties (p. 45). Although the arrestments were performed secretly, Hacı Akif Ağa strongly resisted the police who came to arrest him and through this event the public learned and became aware of the arrests. With this event, the second revolt which can be considered as the biggest revolt in all these tax revolts began (Demirel, 1990, pp. 33-34).

> The local people around immediately went out and got him out of the officials (Haci Akif Ağa), and he explained the form and the character of the event. The people who heard the noise went through the center of the town. Officers and police, understanding the cost of the event, got into the Gürcü Kapısı police station. The public, searching the officers who got into the police station, gathered in front of the station and asked the Commander Hacı Muharrem Ağa to the hidden ones.

Commander appropriately explained them that the consequence of attacking such an official place was not good. (But) this time the public who roared did not listen (this) advice anymore. Approximately twenty of them going to the station shot the chief inspector and his son with revolver. Meanwhile, they caught the police Abdülgani Efendi who responded with his revolver and killed him in the crowd. And other gendarmes and policemen escaped wearing military costumes. (Mehmet Nusret cited in, Kars H.Z., 1997, p. 33)

The protestors also captured the Governor and he was imprisoned in the İbrahim Paşa Mosque. In all events, the gendarmerie did not intervene on the public and protestors. Then, a group about fifty people left Erzurum to find the exiled people. That day, the Governor had to forcibly give the order to bring the exiles back to Erzurum (Demirel, 1990, pp. 34-35).

During the events, the protestors did not hurt any civilian or did not harm any property of civil public. That night the mufti and other arrested people were welcomed with ceremonies by the public. The following day, the shops were opened, and the public let the Governor to go back his residence with the command of the mufti (Kansu, 1997, pp. 45-46).

This revolt was one of the biggest revolts and the civil disobedience movements against the Government and regime became prominent while the reason, taxes, was soon forgotten. In the uprising, the Government could not do anything to the protestors since the military also supported the protest. Moreover, the administration of the province was also controlled by the public as well (Demirel, 1990, p. 36; Kars, 1984, p. 33).

The Governor Mehmet Ata Bey was withdrawn from his job and Mustafa Nuri Bey, the governor of Harput was appointed as the new governor through the end of 1906. He did not intervene in the public service so much in order to avoid the civil disobedience movements. However, demonstrations and public movements continued in this period as well (Aktan, Dileyici, & Saraç, 2002, p. 228).

The activities of the Committee of Union and Progress gained speed in this period. And the public was still uncomfortable and in the January of 1907, new telegrams were sent to Palace from Erzurum for the dismissal of the governor. In March 1907, from March 5th to the 22nd, new demonstrations took place in Erzurum.

On February 27, the arrest of a merchant due to his organizational relations and activities with the Committee of Union and Progress led a group of people in Erzurum to strike against the detention. "A group of people, acting evidently under the orders of the revolutionary organization, proceeded to the Government buildings and boldly demanded of the Governor why Serdarzade Sıtkı Bey had been arrested" (Kansu, 1997, p. 53).

Upon this, the Governor talking with the mufti and other notable people explained the reasons of this arrest and warned the public about the possible dangerous consequences of their protest. However, the public's outrage was not pacified.

The group *Can Veren* sent two telegraphs to Istanbul again demanding the repeal of taxes first on the 8th of March, latter on the 11th of March. As their demands were not accepted, on March 15, twenty thousand of people from the public occupying the post office, demanded communication directly with Sultan himself. That day, Abdulhamit had to make some concessions (Kars H. Z., 1984, pp. 34-35). Kars (1984) mentioned the offers of the Palace as the following:

1. The protestors joined in the demonstration of March 1906 would be forgiven.

2. The ones who killed two police commissioners and a policeman and also who injured the Governor Ata Bey would be forgiven.

3. The proportion of two new taxes for the years 1321-1322 (1903-1904) would not be taken from the public. (p. 35)

However, these offers were refused by the public, the Government tried to negotiate new offers such as reducing the proportion of taxes, and declared that the personal tax would not be collected from the peasants and those who were in military. And the domestic poll tax was not collected from Erzurum for a while. These offers were still rejected as the protestors and the public insisted on the abolition of the taxes. Finally, on 25 March, the repeal of taxes was officially conveyed to administrative offices and declared in the newspapers (Kansu, 1997, p. 54).

The unfair practices in the administration during the 1900s, the economic decline and the other social changes that the Ottoman Empire had to deal with shows the Empire had rough times in many aspects. Moreover, these problems negatively

effected the public, and this made a real heavy burden on the public, thus the voices against Government began to rise as well. As it was briefly explained above, the imposition of new taxes in addition to other taxes became the last straw for the public. And with the imposition of them, the public strongly objected to both taxes and other unfair practices in almost in every part of the country.

The tax revolts took place in this period are noteworthy in many aspects. First, the extent of the revolts and the huge public participation in these protests manifested that the trustworthiness of the Government and its practices were weakened in the eye of the public. Moreover, although it was not the only factor, the social movements around the world influenced the Ottoman Empire and the citizens became more active in claiming their rights. Obviously there was a close relation between the activities of the Committee of Union and Progress, and as Kansu and Kars clearly states the public's outrage and the tax revolts that rose in this period in the whole Empire can be considered as the public dynamics which prepared the ground for the 1908 Revolution. More importantly, the use of telegraphic communication and the occupation of the telegraph and post offices in most of these revolts indicate the importance of communication mechanisms in the transformation of social structures.

3.4 The Conclusion

As it was explained in detail in the previous chapter, the communication mechanisms became an important tool for the Government as they endeavored to control their citizens by overcoming the spatiotemporal boundaries according to the previous existing control mechanisms. With the invention of the telegraphic system the political domination and governance was also transformed and was shaped in accordance with these systems. The telegraph system and postal services were implemented in the Ottoman Empire with the reform practices in *Tanzimat* Period and the European system was taken as a model and it was adapted to the Ottoman Empire with some slight changes. However, it is striking that the telegraph system, despite being a control mechanism of the Government, was used against the system during the tax revolts. This situation can be described as a significant break in the imperial system of control. A fissure was opened in the system during these revolts.

In these cases, the public used the telegraph and post offices as the system in which they could directly communicate with the Government. Through telegraphic communication they found a way to get into direct relation with the Sultan by bypassing the intermediaries between them. On the other hand, with the control of telegraphic system they found a chance to create pressure and influence on the administrative affairs. Thus, they could also convey their demands, their complaints, and the unfair practices that were performed by the local officers.

However, these revolts were civil disobedience movements rather than movements demanding regime change. During the revolts, no demands of regime change were announced, as Kars and Kansu notes the role of these revolts in the 1908 Revolution cannot be ignored, furthermore these revolts can be understood as an important step for the citizens to claim their rights, and they became aware of their power against the unfair practices of the system. In this period, the improvement of postal services and the implementation of the telegraph system to the Ottoman Empire were performed as a part of modernization process. The modernizing practices that were performed were perceived as a way of amelioration both for the economic and the political system of the Ottoman Empire. In this process, the telegraph system became prominent as an amazing invention to maintain and enhance the central authority enabling the control of both public and administrative affairs.

In the early days the telegraphic system fascinated Ottoman society. Although the telegraphic system was blamed by some parts of the public, the public opened up a new way to communicate with the central authority and welcomed it. Besides this, the telegraphic communication played a crucial role in the 1908 Revolution since the documents of the Committee of Union and Progress were conveyed to the regional parts of Anatolia through postal services despite the strict control of Hamidian regime (Okan, 2003, pp. 108-109). Even after the 1908 Revolution the public effectively used the telegraphic communication to express their complaints and demands about the governmental system. After the 1908 Revolution the public began to claim their rights louder as the ideals of new constitutional regimes were introduced as the liberty, equality, and fraternity (Gündoğan, 2012, p. 180). As the written petitions were conveyed to the central government through the telegraph and

postal service, it can also be said the communication system became a significant tool for the public in terms of their participation in governmental affairs.

CHAPTER 4

Power, Technology and the Modern World

4.1 An Analysis of Modern State and the Use of Telegraph as a Governing Technology in Modern World

Modernization, the formation of modern states, the economic and sociopolitical changes taking place after the Industrial Revolution did not only take place in Europe. We know during and after the colonization period, all these governing techniques and technological innovations were used in colonized countries especially to increase the wealth of Europeans and to maintain the control of the local populations in those areas by Western colonies. "Western industrialization had two kinds of impacts on the rest of the world: the demand for its products and the means of conquest and colonization" (Headrick, 2010a, p. 8).

In this respect, the scientific progress that took place from the Enlightenment and technological developments deeply influenced the world from many aspects. The transformation of sociopolitical structures and the change in the economic balances with the effect of the scientific developments and technological progress was a widely known fact. Although this fact was an important one, as Heidegger stated and mentioned above, science and technology have changed our perception of the nature, the reality and the world, and as Foucault argued, it shapes our understanding of knowledge, changes the concept and the exercise of the power. The strategies of governmentality have an essential role in these transformations. In this complex strategy of governmentality, science plays an instrumental role in the formation of modern states. The crucial role of knowledge in governmentality, which was used for the control of populations, was already mentioned. Moreover, knowledge partially scientific knowledge has also changed the reality in modern times. More clearly, if we think in relation with Heidegger's notion of "world as a picture", we can say, the representation of world and nature as the object of modern scientific knowledge becomes what we understood as reality. Furthermore, scientific knowledge and

representations shape the reality as well in modern world. In this framework, the real world turns into a projected plan. The representation becomes the reality. In this respect, the representation's becoming of reality means that the dominant hegemonic power shapes individuals, alters their understanding, transforms social structures and relations through the scientific knowledge, which is accepted as universal. Thus, the tools of modern sciences, the scientific knowledge and technological inventions, in a sense become the ideological state apparatus.[2]

Becoming to the world as the object of science is one of the most essential points I want to underline to understand how representation becomes reality in the modern ages. In this chapter, I will discuss this point with three main examples: first I will discuss maps or cartography to mention the organization of space, then I will examine regulation of time and finally I will suggest telegraphic communication to argue how representation manipulates reality and even representation turns out to be reality.

4.1.1 Mapping, the reorganization of space

The history of cartography is much older than the history of modern sciences, however the Eurocentric production and interpretation of maps in the colonial period gives us an important clue to understand how knowledge can manipulate the reality. Maps are defined and produced as the mimetic representations of the world. Although these mimetic representations are evaluated on the basis of their accuracy with the "reality", the objectivity of maps can be argued and have been argued for a long time in the context of the relation between cartography and colonial discourse. It is critically argued by scholars such as Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, and Timothy Mitchell the cartographic practices as being mimetic representations actually reflect a Eurocentric point of view, the Western gaze, which is a "falsely essentialist view of the world which negates or suppresses alternative views which might endanger the privileged position of its Western perceiver" (Huggan, 1990, p. 126). Moreover, Simon Ryan (1994) in his article "Inscribing the Emptiness" cautioned us: "Constructing maps as innocently mimetic ignores the fact that maps are productions

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[2] Referring to Louis Althusser's famous term ideological state apparatus.

of complex social forces; they create and manipulate the reality as much as they record it" (p. 116).

At this point, the pioneering work of Edward Said, *Orientalism* (1979), and Timothy Mitchell's numerous works on colonial Egypt say so much about how a certain viewpoint, in this case Eurocentricism constructs the knowledge and then reality through this knowledge.

The political ideological aspects of map-making and its claim of universality, scientificity, and objectivity was also criticized by Graham Huggan (1990) in his article (pp. 125-30). In addition to this, as Huggan referred to Bhabha and Said, this representation cannot be seen as the representation of the other but also the representation of the self by positioning something as the other (Huggan, 1990, p. 128). To make a uniform understanding of self, the supposition of the existence of other is inevitable. However, as Bhabha argued this representation of difference produces a double articulation. The European cartography puts Europe to the center and constructs the structure around itself by representing and imitating non-Europe as the simulacrum whose representation does not reflect the real but its copy as a misconception briefly.

To understand the modern understanding of the world, it is useful to look how non-Western is understood and represented in Western world, since non-Western does not simply fit the modern understanding shaped by scientific knowledge. Moreover, as it will be discussed further, the analysis of the transformation of non-Western societies under the colonization of Western as Mitchell discusses gives us important clues to understand how scientific knowledge and technological tools reorganize societies in accordance with governmentality and create a new order and a new world view as well.

First, Edward Said's (1979) book *Orientalism* and its contribution is very significant to understand how West deals with East both as a concept and as an object of knowledge. In his book Said mainly focused on the idea of the concept of Orientalism, and the Orient as an object of knowledge was not a natural but a constructed concept in which power relations, positions, ideas, and beliefs were embedded. From this perspective, Said dealt with the distinction between East and West as a binary opposition made and maintained by West. He argued this opposition could be found in literature, academic or theoretical works as it was

performed in practice as well. In this context, Said stated the representations of Orient in theoretical works did not correspond with real and even in these representations there was no aim to represent the real Orient. Following from this point, Said claimed the fictional reality of Orient was closely related with the geographical boundaries. This point is especially significant to understand how our perceptions of spatiotemporal world shape concepts, beliefs, and even mind-sets. Furthermore, if we remind ourselves of Said's argument, which defines Orient as a cumulative set of both theory and practice involving political and cultural forces, it can be inferred our perceptions of material world and the concepts that are dealt in scientific and theoretical works are not purely objective but closely related with sociopolitical forces and cultural structures (Said, 1979, pp. 1-73). The non-European world became more visible to European world with colonization and with the developments of science and technology. However, if we remember Heidegger, the Western grasps the world as a picture, the representation of the non-West was also a picture in which the Europe was in the center. In this sense, Said defines Orientalism as a political project and in this project Orient is always argued as inferior whereas West/Europe is in superior position.

Following from this perspective, we can argue maps actually tell us how we should understand and see reality from a specific point of view justifying its accuracy as a representation of reality in a mimetic form. However, this understanding erases all relations and the dynamic, complex structural form in this real geographical place. Representing reality in a miniature form on the one hand means reformatting it into a legible form by claiming its accuracy with real world. However, as it is mentioned above, this reformatting actually leaves the social structures, "complex social forces" out. This point is significant for us from two aspects. First, ignoring all these complex relations makes the space a static, fixed object of scientific knowledge, an object that can be measured, calculated and even organized. This leads to a new understanding reshaping our minds, our understanding according to a new order, organizing itself through measurement, calculability, standardization, and the themes of new modern states. In this framework, the first mission of the state can be considered as the legibility of the space. After this has been achieved, the empty blanks can be filled according to the needs of the modern state, the reorganization of the "real" space with a new order, according to a projected plan, organized streets,

roads, railways, and so on. Meanwhile, our understanding was also reorganized by this new order, governmentality.

Second, the other important aspect is actually a natural consequence of this false construction, misinterpretation. Although, it will be argued later, it can be briefly said ignoring all these social forces, complex relations in a space does not mean they do not exist anymore, moreover since these concepts are not visible but as being lively, dynamic concepts, they can adapt themselves, transform themselves throughout the time and can create leakages in the new order, can create unexpected results which goes beyond the boundaries of the system.

In addition with the political aim of mapping which tries to control the populations, drawing the boundaries precisely has also an economical aspect closely related with the political purpose of governing. In this respect, the concept that J. Scott uses "nonstate peoples" is significant for the analysis of the economical aspect of mapping. Scott uses the term "nonstate peoples" for the subjects who consciously choose to live at the margins in order to escape from being recorded by the state. Scott (2009) gave his examples from Southeast Asia and mentioned that the first states in this region (he called "padi states") had no center and all spaces could be defined as peripheries (pp. 3-6). However, having a center is one of the remarkable features of modern state and the state attempts to control and govern the populations from this central position. Furthermore, from state's perspective governing also means making the economic activity of the subjects "legible, taxable, assessable, and confiscatable or, failing that, to replace it with forms of production that were" (Scott, 2009, p. 5). Thus, for the state, controlling and recording more individuals within the state boundaries means the increase of its economic power. On the other hand, from the individual's point of view again Scott (2009) noticed, "Living within the state meant, virtually by definition, taxes, conscription, corvée labor, and, for most, a condition of servitude; these conditions were at the core of the state's strategic and military advantages" (p. 7). From this perspective, mapping enables drawing clear, precise boundaries and at least attempts to control the peoples who live geographically far away from the center by claiming they are the subjects of that state.

Another point which is much more important is the one which Timothy Mitchell (1988) argued in his book *Colonising Egypt*, he critically discussed how this

understanding transformed the reality according to a new framework, the order of modern scientific discourse. In this respect, it should be mentioned the transformation of representation into reality is not simply a consequence of the Eurocentric perspective which became a dominant view with the expansion of colonialism, but it was also closely related with the imperial order and capitalist world view and governmentality, which went hand in hand with these changes.

Mitchell in *Colonising Egypt* defined how real world turned into an exhibition in order to figure out how representation replaced with reality. Reminding us Heidegger's notion of "world as a picture" he stated in the capitalist order, which can also be conceived as the modern structure of the world, the world was understood, perceived as an exhibition as soon as it was taken as the object or the signified, and the individual as the subject that was the signifier. In this respect, he analyzes the construction of exhibitions which were very popular in the 19th century of Europe and he compares the modern structures of the European city with Egypt, which had not been wholly colonized and not transformed into a modern city yet. In the beginning of his book, Mitchell presented the viewpoints of Egyptians who visited the exhibitions that were organized in Europe. He began with exhibitions presenting the reality as a miniature form of "external world" with a great certainty and accuracy as Mitchell (1988) referred to the notes of an Egyptian who mentioned the old aspect of Cairo was intended to resemble in the exhibition (p. 1). Although Mitchell underlined the display of the world as an object for the visitors, what is more significant for us is these representations indicate the existence of an external reality beyond these spectacles. However, this external reality looks like a continuity of these representations, as Mitchell (1988) continued:

> It was as though, as we will see, despite the determined efforts within
> the exhibition to construct perfect representations of the real world
> outside, the real world beyond the gates turned out to be rather like an
> extension of the exhibition. This extended exhibition would continue
> to present itself as a series of mere representations, representing a
> reality outside. (pp. 9-10)

What is mentioned here as that the organization of the European world, more clearly the organization, the order of the city made the boundaries between the real and the model more invisible. What is more, as Mitchell explained in the following

chapters of his book, the organization mentioned above was the reorganization, the design of the city according to the main themes of the "modern sciences" in terms of Heidegger. These are what makes the modern city as the object of new sciences, what makes it a calculable, measurable, and most significantly a legible object. In this way, representation what becomes reality also what makes the real a controllable, governable entity. And, this transformation of reality goes hand in hand with the transformation of our understanding. In this respect, there is a complex relationship between knowledge, reality and our relation with them. As we have briefly discussed above Foucault notices this complex relation as a part of governmentality. He mentions knowledge is a significant element of reality, and in modern world knowledge has the power both to manipulate reality and to control populations.

4.1.2 The reorganization of time as a representation of reality

Time is the other significant concept of modernization and the regulation and standardization of time is another point through which we can analyze the representation of reality. As we have seen in the context of space, modern scientific understanding regulates the time through standardization. And this attempt also organizes how we organize our daily lives, our work schedules, and anything that can be perceived in relation with the organization of time. The regulation and standardization of time coincided with the Industrial Revolution and actually these transformations were necessary changes to maintain the continuity of production.

Before the Industrial Revolution, handicraft production and the agrarian structure of societies enabled individuals to set their time according to their own needs and personal schedules. As an example, farmers decided when they plant the seed, or predicts the time of harvest according to the seasonal changes. And handicraft production allowed people to be freer than industrial mass production, at least people were freer to choose their work schedules. On the other hand, with transition to mass-based production, an industrial work style became more and more common. The work places became factories and industrial zones. In this kind of production type and work style, the work schedules of workers, and their leisure

time[3] were scheduled and standardized by the owner of the factories. Since a systematic, organized work type is necessary for the operation of factory, the worker was much less free to set his schedule. And as it can be easily understood, this working style needs a uniformity and standardization and this standardization and uniformity turns out to concepts what discipline individuals through working, and Foucault asserts it becomes an internal mechanism making people convenient within the system.

Although the changes in economy and its impact on the understanding of time and its regulation according to capitalist modes of production is significant in the context of how representation changes reality in modern world, a more profound change in time is the standardization of time in a global context. Similar to the previous example, the standardization of time also became a necessity according to the changing structures of economy, transportation, and communication. Roland Wenzlhuemer (2010b) wrote this necessity arose with "the intensification of long-distance transport and communications" and he continued: "Only with the spread of new transport and communications technologies (such as the railway or the telegraph) did time synchronisation become necessary" (Wenzlhuemer, 2010b, parag. 18).

Before the standardization of time according to Greenwich, the time was measured locally according to the position of sun. And according to local time measurement different places had different times since they are located in different meridians and time zones. However, these different local times created significant problems especially for transportation and trade world since with the new technologies both transportation and economy could be performed between far lands through long distances. "The adoption of standardised time was necessary if trains were to be able to run according to schedules and timetables over great distances" (Wenzlhuemer, 2010b, parag. 20). Although companies were more willing to standardize their timetables, the standardization of time nationally occurred in different times in different countries.

The successful laying of the transatlantic telegraph cable in 1866 brought the United States of America and Europe into almost

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[3] The understanding of leisure time has in close relation with the sociopolitical changes in modernization. For a detailed analysis: Russell, Ruth V. (2009). *Pastimes: The Context of Contemporary Leisure.* Sagamore Publishing LLC. 4th Revised edition (July 22, 2009).

immediate contact (and, for instance, intimately linked the stock exchanges in New York and London), thus necessitating the synchronisation of time at both ends of the wire. Expanding global communications and transport also made the fixation of global time zones and an international date line necessary. (Wenzlhuemer, 2010b, parag. 21)

Consequently, despite France's objection, the Greenwich meridian was accepted as the prime meridian and time according to the Greenwich Mean Time (GMT) was accepted as the standard time at the 1884 International Meridian Conference held in Washington.

This scheduling and standardization of time also exemplifies how representation becomes reality. Time was a concept organized according to natural events first, then as the world changed, with new technologies and other transformations as well, the need for the control and regulation of time emerged. It was represented as the object of science or even we can say it was a projected plan as the scientific object, then it was measured, coordinated and the representation gains a universal standard. Thus, finally it becomes the reality of how we regulate our lives.

4.1.3 The telegraph as a representation of reality

The telegraph is one of the significant inventions of modernization. In many aspects it leads to crucial changes in social structures and relations. The capacity of the telegraph in breaking the boundaries of nature makes this invention a significant tool both socio-politically and economically. As a matter of fact, the telegraph provides a fast transmission of messages rather than breaking the boundaries of nature. However, the fast pace of the telegraph and the use of electricity in message delivery are two main points making this invention a success of science and humankind breaking the boundaries of nature. Although, there were many difficulties and many failures in the historical development of the telegraph, it was undeniably one of the most important developments in communication technologies and it had a significant effect on social structures.

The transformation of social structures with the telegraph, its impact on sociopolitical, cultural, and economic relations had been already discussed in the

previous chapters. In this section, I will briefly discuss these points in order to analyze how telegraph can change our perceptions of reality and how representation become reality through telegraphic communication.

4.1.3.1 Dematerialization of the message/information

The dematerialization of the message, the separation of communication from transportation as Carey (1992) noticed, can be defined as one of the essential characteristics of the telegraph (p. 203). Even though this does not mean the telegraph is totally free from the spatiotemporal relations, it does not literally eliminates the space and time in the transmission process of messages, on the other hand the transmission of messages through electrical impulses considerably increases the pace of transmission and communication with distant areas in comparison with the previous forms of message delivery and communication. In this respect, the telegraph notably differs from its predecessors. Additional with the high-speed of communication, the other important point here is the dematerialization of the message. The separation of communication from transportation deeply affects the perception of communication and information. Here, it should be noted all these changes in this historical period, such as the Industrial Revolution, other technological developments such as railways, steamships, and scientific progress had an intertwined connection as all affects of each other. In this context, the separation of communication from transportation makes communication itself a controlling mechanism. In other words, since the telegraph provides a rapid flow of information, this information is transmitted through telegraphs can regulate, control, organize the trade affairs, it enables the track of railways, the communication with steamships, which go far lands, can be provided by the telegraph. Furthermore, the communication provided by the telegraph was not only used by business but it also becomes a way of communication in daily lives of individuals. From this point of view, it can be said as a new invention, the telegraph does not only regulate communication, but with the information it carries, it controls, regulates many other mechanisms as well.

4.1.3.2 Telegraph as a "Governing Technology"

We can see another effective and significant use of the telegraph in the political framework. For power mechanisms telegraph is significant for its capacity of enabling the communication between colonial lands as well as for an efficient control of these lands. In this respect, we can observe to establish connection with her colonies, the British Empire took initiative for the construction of the telegraph in other parts of the world outside of Britain. Obviously, the telegraph maintains an easy and fast control of administrative regulations, as well as it provides monitoring the economic changes and helps to immediately organize these affairs. Furthermore, the communication link with the colonies makes the transmission of news in two fold; it does not only inform the administrators, but also makes the society informed about what is going on in other parts of the world. Headrick (1981) defined this as a consequence of the new imperial understanding:

> Even more than goods, information was the lifeblood of European imperialism; business deals, administrative reports, news dispatches, and personal messages sustained the colonizers and assured them the support of their own people ... For the first time in history, colonial metropoles acquired the means to communicate almost instantly with their remotest colonies and to engage in an extensive trade in bulky goods that could never have borne the freight costs in any previous empire. The world was deeply that arose to link Europe with the rest of the world. (pp. 129-30)

Additionally, not only for the British Empire but also for the Ottoman Empire, the telegraph symbolizes the authority and the power of the state in the remotest areas where state could not easily reach and it makes the presence of authority more visible. Although it can be understood as a tool providing the connection and communication link of society with the state, on the other hand it also provides the easy and rapid access of state with these lands, with local administrators and other state officials, etc.. In a sense, it is the tangible object of the abstract notion of the sovereign of the state. It makes visible the authority of the state wherever it reaches. On the other hand, it also makes the citizens aware that they are visible, and

they can be monitored, and inspected by the authority with the telegraph - the panopticon of the modern world. For Panopticon, Foucault (1995) wrote:

> It is an important mechanism, for it automatizes and disindiviualizes power. Power has its principle not so much in a person as in a certain concerted distribution of bodies, surfaces, lights, gazes, in an arrangement whose internal mechanisms produce the relation in which individuals are caught up. … The Panopticon is a marvelous machine which, whatever use one may wish to put it to, produces homogeneous effects of power. (p. 199)

Thus, in its invisibility, the power can be experienced only through its effects. The invisibility of the power with the panopticon also avoids resistance to power to some extent. Despite the power is structured invisibly, the individuals are always and continually being observed and with the knowledge of they are observed, but without knowing precisely by whom they are being observed. This observation is hierarchical and continues with a categorization process, which differentiates and analyzes individuals (Foucault, 1995, p. 16). The observational and categorizing techniques of power reveal another crucial characteristic, which can be defined as the relation of power with knowledge. The importance of knowledge in its relation with power can be thought as knowing every act or change makes it possible to avoid the continuity of that change and any resistive activity. On the other hand since it is invisible but observes everything, the individuals are intrinsically obliged to conform to the rules of the power and controlling mechanism (Foucault, 1995, p. 18). Besides all, the categorization of the individuals shows up another specific part in the exercise of the power. The categorization divides, classifies and identifies the individuals as single units of a specific understanding, which is ruled by power mechanism. On the other side, the exercise of power develops in a way keeping individuals as a unified and standardized whole by means of its disciplinary functioning.

Foucault's analysis is crucial in this context since it explains how power exercises and maintains itself in its modern way. All social, cultural, educational relations are surrounded and guided with an intricate and substantial, inner mechanism of power which makes us both as an object and the subject of power. Thus, experiencing the exercise of power in various relations makes it also the way in which we perceive the world and our lives. But this should not be understood as

resistive activities and perspectives are abolishing. Although we think and act in power relations, we can also perceive it and understand how it functions. Resistance also inevitably exists as soon as the power relations involve inequality in itself.

4.2 The telegraph as a Resistance Tool

The telegraph in its early days was a military tool as its early forms was designed for the communication needs of the military service. However, very soon, the telegraph began to be used by railway companies, by states for governmental issues and commercial affairs, and even for the daily purposes of society. Although, it was efficiently used by authorities and it was a very significant control mechanism, it did not mean the telegraph created a world picture, which was definitely controlled and inspected by authorities. In this part, referring to the rebellions discussed in previous chapters, I will point out the crucial role of the telegraph and how it was used by individuals against the authorities as a resistance mechanism. In previous chapters, I argued about the use of the telegraph in the Indian Rebellion at 1857, the 1908 General Telegraph Strike in India, and the 1907- 1908 Tax Revolts in late years of the Ottoman Empire.

4.2.1 The use of the telegraph as a tool of resistance in the 1857 Indian Rebellion

Unlike the other uprisings that will be analyzed below, the role of the telegraph in the Indian Rebellion at 1857 was a controversial one. Although the telegraph was mentioned as one of the important tools leading to the success of British troops in the suppression of the uprising by British officials and quarters, it is much more open to discussion by indicating the importance of communication and the deficiencies of telegraphic communication in India at that time. Wenzlhuemer (2013) quoted in an article from the Daily News dated September 29, 1897; the article "How the Electric Telegraph Saved India" stated how British Empire glorified the telegraph and its role in the 1857 Rebellion:

> ... The electric telegraph, said Montgomery – one of that great school
> – has saved India. Said Sir Herbert Edwardes, "that message," sent by
> "that little boy," was, "I do not hesitate to say, the means of the

salvation of the Punjab." It enabled Montgomery, and the commanding officer at Lahore to disarm the native troops before the news of the revolt reached the barracks; and to flash their warning over the lines to Peshawar. (p. 211)

Whereas from another point of view the attacks on the telegraph offices and telegraph officers by Indians can be seen as one of the significant factors that made the uprising to continue for a long time, since it lasts more than a year and it could just be suppressed with violence. From this perspective, the importance of the telegraph was very well known by the Indian rebels, however their inability in the operation of the telegraph served the British troops. In order to avoid the communication between British armies, officials, etc. the Sepoys attacked the telegraph and post offices and even killed many of the staff working there. This was crucial since the communication with many parts of India could not be maintained during the Rebellion.

As a matter of fact, in the Indian Rebellion, the telegraph expressly showed the essential role of communication and also the fragile character of technology. Before and during the uprising, the telegraphic communication in India was immature and the routes were not carefully planned. The lines followed a main route and the destruction of telegraph lines and offices by rebels caused the interruption of communication with many parts and made the control of these lands difficult for British forces.

The main point that should be mentioned here is the ignorance of local features during the plan and construction of telegraphic lines. In his book *Telegraphic Imperialism* Choudhury (2010b) stated:

By 1856, a line was built from Calcutta to Peshawar; Agra, Head Quarters of North West Province, was joined to Bombay; and, Bombay linked to Madras. There were no alternative routes and in their haste the government ignored local conditions to geometrically construct lines. (p. 34)

Although the Europeans dealt with this situation after the suppression of the Indian Rebellion, it is a prominent point of Western strategy in the context of state making policies based on scientific understanding. Quoting from Edney, he continued: "... the rational, uniform space of British maps of India was not a neutral,

value-free space. Rather, it was a space imbued with power relations ... the British suborned the geographical character of those territories to a mathematical space ..." (Edney cited in Choudhury, 2010b, p. 36).

This is a specific feature of scientific understanding in the modernization process. Science, as previously discussed, takes the world as a picture or as a representation. This means the world is understood as a fixed, static entity as the object of science. However, when we look the world not as an object but from in itself, we can see local features, the behaviors of individuals, and all social relations, and social structures have the power to shape and alter the world either locally or globally. In this respect, the world should be understood dynamic within the complex relations in itself. And, the world is not a homogeneous "object of science" indeed, it is implausible to think the world out of the social relations and the complex relations as these relationships should be considered intrinsically to the "space" they belong.

4.2.2 The use of the telegraph as a tool of resistance in the 1908 General Telegraph Strike

The second case, the 1908 General Telegraph Strike in India, was one of the situations that perfectly figures out how the telegraph can be conversely used against the dominant power. Although there were many reasons behind the Strike, as it was mentioned the main reason for the Strike was the new reforms of Government implemented in the regulation of the working schedule of telegraph workers. In this respect, before the General Strike, several strikes broke out in many parts of India. These strikes included both the meetings and other strike actions as they were presented in the previous chapter. Here, I will briefly summarize how telegraph was used both in the strikes that broke out just before the General Strike and in the 1908 General Strike as well.

It can be said as the fastest communication mechanism of its time, the telegraph workers used the telegraph to show their discontent with the new reforms and they conveyed their demands to government by sending telegrams. The staff sent same petitions and memorials from different parts of the region implying there is an internal organization and co-operation between the telegraph workers. These petitions were important since the number of petitions increased day by day to show

the level of discontent about the new reforms and the complaints of the staff about their work conditions. During this period there were other strikes and dismissals from various parts of India and thereupon telegraph workers went on strike in various regions and many other dismissals ensued. No reconciliation could be reached in the meetings with Government and against the refusal of their demands, the workers changed their tactics and decided to use the telegraphic communication as their tool of resistance. In this respect, they slowed down the communication, and through technical problems that were made intentionally, they inactivated the main lines, and by blaming the other staff, none of them took the responsibility for these delays and disorders of work, and finally most of the workers took off their work leave at the same time by using their legal rights. All these actions caused a serious interruption in the regular continuation of workflow, in other words in communication. In this kind of resistance tactic, two points become prominent.

First, we can see the workers did not go out of the legal boundaries, they were acting legally and even they did not use their legal rights of strike. On the other hand, their careful cooperation and organization in the framework of this resistance caused serious delays and interruptions in the regular workflow of Government, trade business and in many other structures in which telegraphic communication was efficiently and effectively used. Additionally to these tactics, in the General Strike, it can also be observed, the telegraph workers organized and cooperated with each other through telegraphic communication.

The techniques that the telegraph staff used in this strike are unique examples of *tactics* in M. De Certeau's words. One of the most significant features of tactics for De Certeau is that tactics have no proper space differing from strategies. M. De Certeau explained strategy as a place where the limits and boundaries of power relations were strictly drawn and so what made its inside determinable and what enabled classification, categorization and so on what everything fell inside were organized and planned according to the rules and restrictions. He wrote:

> I call a strategy the calculation (or manipulation) of power
> relationships that becomes possible as soon as a subject with will and
> power (a business, an army, a city, a scientific institution) can be
> isolated. It postulates a place that can be delimited as its own and
> serve as the base from which relations with an exteriority composed of

targets or threats (customers or competitors, enemies, the country surrounding the city, objectives and objects of research, etc.). (De Certeau, 1984, pp. 35-36)

On the other hand, a tactic gains its power with the absence of a proper space, it plays its own game in the space of strategy (De Certeau, 1984, p. xix). As it is independent from space, it is also independent from a formal structure or planned organization. According to De Certeau, tactic unlike strategy finds out the advantages and uses them in an unintended way, which falls out of the categorization. A tactic is a creative way of doing, which cannot be captured and defined by the strategy before. Tactics erode the structure by making small blowups in the organizations or structures rather than being long running. M. De Certeau (1984) explained this feature of tactics as the following:

It operates in isolated actions, blow by blow. It takes advantage of "opportunities" and depends on them, being without any base where it could stockpile its winnings, build up its own position, and plan raids. What it wins it cannot keep. … It must vigilantly make use of the cracks that particular conjunctions open in the surveillance of the proprietary powers. It poaches in them … It can be where it is least expected. (p. 37)

As a matter of fact, the use of the telegraph as a resistance mechanism in the General Telegraph Strike can be easily defined as a tactic. Although the staff acted in the boundaries of their legal rights, they brilliantly eroded the strategy. They forced the Government to compromise with an original, creative way. They played their own game in the space of their opponents.

Consequently, a simultaneous strike was made in many parts of India. It was an important labor strike, since from different nationalities and different positions a significant number of workers joined the Strike. During the General Strike, which continued for twelve days, since most of the staff joined the strike, the communication nearly stopped and the Government had to sit down at the table with the workers on strike and at the end of the meetings the staff took a 20% rise in their salary.

This strike shows us how communication mechanisms became an indispensable part of modern world as most of the business branches came to a

standstill during the strike in India as the flow of information provided by telegraphic communication was a vital source of business world in the 20th century. On the other hand, although the telegraph was the main communication channel at that time providing the regular workflow, the labor, the workforce behind these mechanisms was the main thing that made these mechanisms work and provided the continuity of workflow.

Furthermore, the strategy of the workers is the most prominent part of this strike, as they forced the government to reconciliation by using their communication mechanisms against them. They seriously crippled one of the significant tools of Government. Moreover, they used this tool for their own communication, organization and cooperation with each other.

4.2.3 The use of the telegraph in the 1906-1907 Tax Revolts

The 1906-1907 Tax Revolts were significant social movements happening in many parts of Anatolia in the late Ottoman Empire. Although the reason that gave rise to these various revolts can be seen as the two new taxes (*Şahsi Vergi* - personal Tax, and *Hayvanat-ı Ehliye Rüsumu*- animal tax), the main reason behind these uprisings was the heavy economic burden on the public and the unfair and unjust practices of local administrators and officials.

In this respect, as it was previously argued in detail, during 1906 and 1907 many uprisings happened in many parts of Anatolia such as Sinop, Erzurum, Kastamonu, Bitlis, Ankara, and so on. Despite there were many other uprisings in the context of the 1906-1907 Tax Revolts, those I have mentioned were the ones in which the telegraph could be seen as a main element of resistance.

In these uprisings, one of the major reason for the use of the telegraph as a part of resistance is the perception of the telegraph as the main and direct communication mechanisms linking the subjects with the Sultan. In this sense, though all these uprisings should be thought and discussed in the context of social movements, it should also be remembered they were movements against the unjust practices of local administrations rather than being against the system as a whole or the main ideology. Since a significant number of people were suffering from the unduly practices and heavy economic demands in the provinces where uprisings

broke out most of the public joined or at least supported the revolts, also another point indicating the social movement context of these revolts. As a result of these uprisings, the public directly delivered their demands to the Sultan and finally many local administrators were dismissed in many provinces and the taxes were repealed, which can be considered as the success of these uprisings.

As a common point of these uprisings, after the declaration of the new taxes, to show their discontent of both the unjust governmental practices and the new taxes, the public met in front of the post offices or telegraph offices and also afterwards they captured the telegraph offices as well. During this period, we can see that the public sent several telegrams to the Sultan's office, noticing their demands, and they used the telegraph as a direct link of communication with the Sultan, the head of the Empire. As in the case of Erzurum, the public also interrupted the communication of officials with the Central Government and they forced the telegraph officers to send telegrams mentioning their demands. In this sense, in most of the cities daily life came to a standstill, shops were closed and the public waited until an answer came from the Central State, in other words, from the Sultan. The most significant point of these uprisings particularly the use of the telegraph as the telegraph was a sign indicating the representation of reality. The telegraph was the main communication mechanism between state and the society, it represented the authority of the state, and it was a tool providing the state control over local affairs. At that time, the declarations of the Sultan were of interest to the public, the announcements were mainly transmitted via telegraph. Therefore, the public saw the telegraph as the link, the communication method with the state mechanisms and with the Sultan as the head of the state. Although the public does not directly have contact with the Sultan, the telegraph symbolized the power of the Sultan, the messages were sent through the telegraph and therefore the public perceived the telegraph as a direct link with the Sultan, as a part of his authority, which was also true to some extent. Moreover, it was indeed one of the main mechanisms providing access of state to the lands far from the center. And, the Sultan could communicate with the local administrators through telegraphy. In this respect, the real communication between the state and its "peripheries" was through the telegraph and local administration, which also controlled this mechanism. So, the capture of the telegraph offices by the public also broke a main link between state mechanisms. On the other hand, the occupation of

the telegraph offices was not surprising since it maintained a link with the state as well as symbolizing the authority, the power of the Sultan.

Another significant point in the sense of the use of the telegraph in resistance can be summarized as the internalization of a specific technology even though it was a major element of state's control. In this respect, it is noteworthy to remind ourselves of the concept of *habitus*, one of the main notions of Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu uses this notion to explain the emphasis of class positions and effects of the environment and past experiences in shaping our cultural taste and our individual way of life rather than to define the resistance strategies of people. In that sense, habitus should be considered as a notion of how the practices of an individual are determined by the past experiences as a set of learned dispositions, however this determination occurs unconsciously. It is a generative concept, since habitus develops and transforms with the different structures and experiences of the individual enters through his/their life and in a sense it is the subjectivization, interpretation, and the response of the individual, which determines the practices unconsciously based on actual, past life experiences (Wacquant, 2007, pp. 267-270). However, this notion gives a valuable insight about the different resistance strategies discussed above.

First, in the 1857 Indian Rebellion, the telegraph mechanisms were destroyed by the Indian rebels not just with the intention of cutting the communication, but it was also seen as the sign of British Empire. It was the invention of the British people, and the telegraph was not a mechanism the rebels were closely engaged with. Although the telegraphic construction developed to an extent in India, it was the tool of governors rather than a device for the sake of public or in other words for the sake of India.

Second, in the General Telegraph Strike at 1908, the telegraph was already a tool the telegraph officers knew about and effectively used. And, they turned the telegraph what they knew well, into a resistance mechanism. They used this communication tool for a new purpose, however their past experiences with this technology can be considered as a part of their way of resistance.

When we think of tax revolts in the late Ottoman Empire, although a bit different from the previous examples, the relation of *habitus* with the tax revolts can also be understood with a similar point of view. First, both in the 1908 General

Telegraph Strike and the 1906-1907 Tax Revolts happened almost half a decade after the Indian Rebellion. During this period, it is obvious both in India and in the Ottoman Empire, telegraphic construction reached a significant level. And despite being an external and even a strange, mysterious device for the public at the beginning, after a while, it was positioned in the daily lives of individuals and it was internalized as much as it was used similar to our relations with other technological applications as well. Moreover, as it was discussed above, indeed it had a transformative effect on our social relations and even our mind-sets. In the tax revolts in the Ottoman Empire, the telegraph was the main communication mechanism with the state, it was already located in social structures and became a part of social relations. In this sense, particularly for this case, the occupation of telegraph offices and its use in tax revolts was not totally conscious act that was organized and planned before. Rather, it was a collective reaction of the public developed spontaneously. As Wacquant (2007) stated:

> Habitus designates the system of durable and transposable *dispositions* through which we perceive, judge, and act in the world. These unconscious schemata are acquired through lasting exposure to particular social conditions and conditionings, via the internalization of external constraints and possibilities. (p. 267)

4.3 The Conclusion

The modernization of Europe lasted for a long period that began with the Enlightenment and reached a higher level with the Industrial Revolution. In this period, the developments in science and technology deeply influenced and shaped social structures with a new understanding. From this perspective, the invention of the telegraph was a significant historical development as much as indicating a revolutionary step in the development of communication.

The main characteristic of the telegraph that differentiates it from previous forms of communication is its high speed of communication by setting the flow of information free from spatiotemporal boundaries. Carey (1992) stated: "It permits for the first time the effective separation of communication from transportation" (p. 203). During the modernization, the separation of communication from

transportation becomes directly and indirectly effective in the transformation of social structures. First, the separation of communication from transportation and for the information means getting rid of the material boundaries. In other words, the main revolutionary moment of the telegraph was a consequence of the transmission of messages through wires particularly after the invention of electric telegraphs. Thus, the message is converted to a special code language and sent in the form of electrical impulses. The important point here is that the message was no longer a part of the material process although the telegraph as the medium is tangible, however the message became dematerialized as the message is the information. The separation of communication from transportation in two ways alters the perceptions of individuals. On the one hand, it changes our understanding of the message as it is dematerialized, on the other hand, it shapes our perception of time and space as the telegraph in a sense breaks the tangible boundaries of material world in the context of communication.

Additionally, with the development of telegraphic communication, the other prominent change happens in the economic structures. The fast transmission of information and messages leads to the globalization of the trade world as they become in contact through telegraphic communication. Since a fast information exchange can be provided via the telegraph, the economy between different areas is reorganized and standardized. Furthermore, as the telegraph is the main mechanism that carries information, all trade affairs and commercial relations begin to be regulated and organized dependent on telegraphic communication. The stock exchanges, the transportation of the goods are also organized according to the information that is sent via the telegraph. The newspapers begin to publish news from distant lands and so on. Thus, the communication before the telegraph whereas depending on other structures such as transportation, with the telegraph the other structures become dependent on communication. In other words, telegraphic communication becomes a significant mechanism that organizes, reshapes the practical life as well as the people's perceptions and understandings.

As it was explained before, the use of the telegraph as a control mechanism of states can be considered as one of the most significant aspect of telegraphic communication. At this point, it should also be indicated the transformation of

political structures was a continuing phenomena that had already begun, and the telegraph reinforced this process and served the new governmental power.

The shift in the notion of power is one of the most remarkable features of modern states. The understanding of modern state formation tries to shape the state and control the populations through making them legible entities. Gathering data, calculations, measurements, statistics, and recordings about the world and the populations enable the hegemonic power to control the populations as making them knowable in accordance with the modern scientific understanding. This understanding can be clearly seen in every aspect of modern state formation as the reality was reshaped according to this understanding, which is named by M. Heidegger as "the world as a picture" and "the world as a representation" by Timothy Mitchell. In this respect, as noticed by Heidegger, science and technology are prominent features of modern societies.

The invention of the telegraph provides a perfect tool for controlling the knowledge and the populations. The significance of the telegraph for states is mainly based on its access of distant lands through communication. The capacity of the telegraph in reaching distant areas becomes especially prominent in the use of the telegraph by the British Empire. The telegraph connecting vast lands strengthens the political power of colonizers over their colonies. The rapid communication and the fast delivery of the information from colonies to the European colonizers enable them to control these lands straightaway. This instant communication and connection reinforces the domination of these countries and strengthens the centralization and monopolization of the power. With the telegraphic communication every piece of information can be transmitted to the center. This provides gathering and keeping the information of these lands and the populations and makes recording and controlling these lands easier.

As a tangible object, the telegraph represents the connection of the far-flung lands with the central power as well as symbolizing the authority of the dominant power. Moreover, the telegraph also maintains an internal control of individuals as it always reminds the individuals that their every action can be seen and inspected by the central power. Although the central power is invisible for the individuals they consciously know that they are under the control of modern power mechanisms as Foucault explains with the Bentham's Panopticon.

Since the efficiency of the telegraph as a control mechanism was immediately recognized by the British Empire, the construction of the telegraph in India began and developed quickly, as India was one of the most important colonies of the British Empire. Moreover, telegraphic construction in the Ottoman Empire was significant both for the British Empire and other European countries to reach their colonies in Asia as the first telegraph lines were laid in the Ottoman Empire between 1853-56, during the Crimean war. Despite the interests of the Sultan being clearly different from its European counterparts, telegraphic communication was also an important mechanism for the Ottoman Sultan, to control the vast lands under his authority and also control the flow of information between Europe and Asia through telegraphic lines pass over his territory. The Ottomans also very soon recognized the economic importance of the telegraph, which was also as crucial as its political use.

4.3.1 The use of the telegraph as a resistance mechanism

The telegraph became one of the important communication tools of new imperialism in the 18th and 19th centuries with its capacity of fast flow of information. Moreover, as it was previously explained in this study, it is also an effective modernizing technology as it has a deep impact in the transformation of social structures. Although it is a crucial political tool as a control mechanism, we can also see the use of the telegraph as a part of resistance in several uprisings. In this context, the use of the telegraph as a resistance mechanism was discussed in three different social movements which are 1857 Indian Rebellion, 1908 General Telegraph Strike in India, and 1906-1907 Tax Revolts in the Ottoman Empire.

In this context, the significance of telegraphic communication was the most important feature of the first uprising 1857 Indian Rebellion rather than its use as a resistive tool. However, the role of the telegraph in this uprising is also a controversial one since suppression of the Rebellion was linked with the advantages of telegraphic communication by the British side. On the other hand, it is also argued that the deficiencies and failures in the strategy and construction of the telegraph in India was one of the main reasons for the continuation of the Rebellion for a long time and the difficulty of the suppression of this uprising. Moreover, after the Rebellion, the construction of telegraphic communication was rapidly improved and

enhanced all over the India. However, it is still remarkable that the telegraph and post offices were immensely destroyed by the rebels for two main reasons. In this respect, although one of the main reasons is that the telegraph was perceived as the device of the enemy and the symbolization of the British Empire, the other and much more important reason is the rebels were fully aware of the significance of the fast communication that can be provided via the telegraph for the British side. Since they did not know the use of the telegraph, they interrupted the information flow by destroying telegraph mechanisms.

Furthermore, both in the General Telegraph Strike in 1908 and the 1906-1907 Tax Revolts, the telegraph was clearly used as a tool of resistance. Since the discussion of these uprisings has been done in the previous chapters, a few points will be mentioned. Although these two uprisings were obviously different from each other in many aspects, their way of using the telegraph can be considered as their common point. However, there were also differences both in their actions and their intentions as well.

Here, I want to mention a few critical points about the significance of these uprisings. In this respect, what will be pointed out is the significance of technology in breaking the authority of the governmental power and its capacity to corrode the systems, which is closely linked with the modern scientific understanding, the significance of science and technology and their relation with modern state formation.

First, in both uprisings, the authorities' dependency on communication technologies, particularly the telegraph was revealed. On the other hand, the interruption of communication and the problems that it causes also shows out the complex relation between different structures and their fragile characters. In this respect, the communication becomes much more prominent with its effective role that organizes the operational processes of other systems. Moreover, in the modern world, the information becomes the determinant factor and also the main element that has the power to control. So that, losing the control of the communication systems also means losing the control of all the systems.

It is also valuable to repeat one point. The telegraph was previously argued both as one of the main elements that organizes, regulates, and schedules many other

systems such as economy, transportation, political affairs, and so on, and it was also argued as one of the representations of reality in modern world.

Repeating Mitchell's argument of world as an exhibition and his explanation on the order of the things in the modern world, the intervention of telegraphic communication is seen in these uprisings actually indicates an intervention to the modern order of the things, in other words, modern organization of reality and life as well. Thus, communication technologies become a life-critical factor in the modern life.

Another important fact is also the interactivity between technology and the human agency. It is clear the developments of science and technology were not solely used for the progress of humankind, but many practices of science and technology simply serves the dominant power and especially in the modern world, these developments are attempted to be monopolized by governmental powers to control their populations more and more. However, what is at stake here is the active agency of individuals rather than being passive creatures. In this sense, the modern state can function as a very strict control mechanism, and it tries to control and conduct the individuals, by educating, by disciplining, by inspecting, and recording and so on. However, the individuals actively involve themselves in all these practices. The occupation of telegraph offices and sending their demands directly to the Sultan as in the case of 1906-1907 Tax Revolts, or intentionally slowing down the flow of information or delaying messages or causing intentional breakdowns in the workflow as in the General Telegraph Strike are different examples of this active involvement.

Conclusively, it can be said with the modern understanding, information gains importance for the dominant power. Accordingly, communication technologies become much more crucial for power mechanisms. However, it should also be indicated freedom of information and freedom of speech are essentials of a democratic and free society. Furthermore, the attempts of dominant power mechanisms to monopolize information and communication mechanisms and their effort to control the populations continued almost from the invention of telegraph. On the other hand, as soon as there is an attempt to capture the freedom, it is also reacted by resistance power mechanisms, simply by individuals, and by the public.

In today's world, the value of information and the battle for the control of communication technologies is still a hot debate. Although, the technology has been incredibly developed since the invention of the telegraph, the recent changes in communication technologies have been still mostly celebrated as revolutionary steps of humankind, setting the world unrestrained and bringing peace and freedom to humanity. Today communication technologies provide a new space for relations, much more than an instant flow of communication. Besides being a platform where content can be easily accessed, monitored, stored, transmitted, and shared, new platforms offer individuals a new world experience. Moreover, in our contemporary world, digital communication technologies become an indispensable part of our lives. From our daily routines (i.e. reading, news, or shopping) to entertainment, from education to bureaucratic, governmental affairs, or official operations, we use digital technologies in numerous fields for different purposes.

In this context, today's communication technologies can also be considered in two ways: first, it is the success of humankind breaking the boundaries of nature and a liberating experience, so much as it is blamed as the monopolization of power and control of humans by machines. And the use of communication technologies is a current issue as well. Very briefly, the Wikileaks[4], the hacktivist movements of Anonymous and their arrestments by FBI[5], and the blockage of Twitter or YouTube in Turkey[6] are just a few, simple examples to show the significance of communication mechanisms for governmental powers. Moreover, as we have seen in the Arab Spring[7], the use of communication mechanisms still contributes mightily

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[4] Further information about Wikileaks can be found at: Sifry, Micah L. (2011). *WikiLeaks and the Age of Transparency*. OR books.

[5] Details can be found at: Whiteman, Hilary. (February, 29, 2012). *Interpol arrests suspected 'Anonymous' hackers*. Retrieved September, 05, 2013. from http://edition.cnn.com/2012/02/29/world/europe/anonymous-arrests-hacking.

[6] About details please look at: Sezer, Seda. (April, 20, 2014). *Turkey Twitter accounts appear blocked after Erdogan court action*. Retrieved July, 22, 2014 from: http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/04/20/us-turkey-twitter-idUSBREA3J0ET20140420.

[7] For further information: Aouragh, Miriyam; Alexander, Anne. The Arab Spring| The Egyptian Experience: Sense and Nonsense of the Internet Revolution. *International Journal of Communication*, [S.l.], v. 5, p. 15, sep. 2011. ISSN 1932-8036. Available at: <http://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/1191>. Date accessed: 22 Jul. 2014.

and plays a crucial role in resistance mechanisms. Thus, the value of information and the significance of communication persist for a long time. And the ongoing struggle between power mechanisms and communication mechanisms will continue in the future as well.

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