

BRITISH DOCUMENTS ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA (1854)

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This paper edits and briefly analyses 20 diplomatic dispatches sent by Robert Gilmore Colquhoun, the British Consul General at Bucharest, to his superiors in Constantinople and London, during an enquiry mission in the Ottoman province of Bosnia (May–July 1854). The conflicts on the border between Montenegro and Herzegovina, in the spring of 1854, alarmed British diplomatic circles in Constantinople, who feared a general anti-Ottoman insurrection of the Balkan Christian peoples. Colquhoun's mission was to provide information on these developments and prevent any further ethnic and religious conflicts in the area.

Keywords: Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Austria, Foreign Office, Constantinople, 1854.

The outbreak of the Russo–Turkish conflict (October 1853) that eventually grew into the Crimean War led to dangerous developments in the Ottoman territories with a Christian Orthodox population, which Russia wanted to employ against the Porte. Provinces such as Bulgaria, Serbia, Bosnia, Turkish Croatia, Herzegovina or Montenegro received due attention in the military designs of Russian generals, eager to rise up the local people against the Turkish pashas.

Serbia, an autonomous principality with weak direct Ottoman domination, was a hotspot of foreign intrigue, equally divided between Turkey, Russia and Austria. But Prince Alexander of Serbia preserved a balanced attitude that checked any foreign intervention, with his position and privileges fully guaranteed by the Sultan¹. However, things were completely different in Montenegro, whose pro-Russian tendencies were well known. A warlike people with strong religious beliefs, the Montenegrins were under the influence of a Vladika, Daniel, known to have received his education in Russia and being apparently subsidised by the tsarist

¹ A presentation in Barbara Jelavich, *Russia's Balkan Entanglements, 1806–1914*, Cambridge & New York, 1991, pp. 135–137.

government². Taking into account the Montenegrins' complicated relations with the Porte³, conflict smothered in the area.

In early 1854, as Vladika Daniel showed indications of an intention to invade the neighbouring Ottoman provinces, the pashas of Herzegovina and Albania were ordered to keep a watch over the bellicose Montenegrins. Border collisions frequently occurred in February 1854, but these were rather raids or predatory excursions, not regular military hostilities. By late March, when the Greeks on Turkey's southern frontier rose in insurrection, Vladika Daniel "made a bolder move; he issued a proclamation to all the Montenegrins, dated March 16/28, from Cettina or Zettinye, the chief town of the mountain state, calling upon all the mountaineers to declare whether they would join him in a hostile attack upon Turkey"⁴. It was even rumoured that he was fostered by an emissary from St. Petersburg, the rebels planning to enter Herzegovina and Albania. But Austria could not remain indifferent to such struggles close to her Slavonic provinces and, fearing a growth of Russian power within an area falling into her economic and political sphere, the government in Vienna arranged for the conclusion of a convention with Turkey, "to the effect that, if the Vladika's plans were put in practice, an Austrian force should enter Herzegovina, and there check the progress of the mountaineers"⁵.

This was the general context in which the British Ambassador to Constantinople, Viscount Stratford Canning de Redcliffe, became extremely interested to gather reliable information on the state of the quarter. In late March 1854, shortly after England joined France and Turkey in the anti-Russian war, he decided to send an enquiry mission to Bosnia and the adjacent provinces. The person chosen for this task was Robert Gilmore Colquhoun, who was at the moment in the Turkish capital. Consul General for the Danubian Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, residing in Bucharest since 1834, the Scotsman was an experienced diplomat, with proper knowledge of Turkey and its Balkan provinces⁶.

Colquhoun left Constantinople on 31 March 1854, accompanied by an assistant interpreter to the British Embassy, Philip Sarell, assigned as his secretary and interpreter⁷. They remained in the Balkans until late July, when, with Russian

² George Dodd, *Pictorial history of the Russian war, 1854–5–6*, Edinburgh & London, 1856, p. 144. A detailed account of the events in Henry Tyrell, *The History of the War with Russia*, London and New York, 1855, pp. 189–195.

³ Adolphus Slade, *Turkey and the Crimean War. A Narrative of Historical Events*, London, 1867, pp. 63–64.

⁴ G. Dodd, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Information on him in Paul Cernovodeanu, *Relațiile comerciale româno-engleze în contextul politicii orientale a Marii Britanii (1803–1878)*, Cluj Napoca, 1986, pp. 65–66, note 169.

⁷ The National Archives of the United Kingdom (TNA), FO 78/1010 (Foreign Office and predecessor: Political and Other Departments: General Correspondence before 1906, Ottoman Empire, Consulate General in Wallachia, 1854), f. 96 (Constantinople, 30 March 1854, Robert Gilmore Colquhoun to Viscount Stratford Canning de Redcliffe).

forces withdrawn from the Principalities, Colquhoun returned to his office in Bucharest. During these four months, the British diplomat sent his superiors in Constantinople and London several dispatches, which closely account the political and military conditions in the Ottoman provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. As these reports were preserved in the correspondence of the Consulate of Bucharest, they remained outside the historiography circuit⁸. It is the aim of this paper to make them available to researchers who study the history of the Western Balkans area in the complicated period of the Crimean War.

During the first phase of his mission, Colquhoun crossed the Balkan Peninsula, reporting on the military state of Turkish troops or the local conflicts between the Muslim and Christian subjects of the Porte. On 6 April he wrote from Adrianople (Edirne) on the circumstances of the execution of a Muslim official, guilty of repeated blasphemy⁹, and several days later he provided additional details from Philippopolis (Plovdiv) on the attitude of the irregular Turkish troops quartered in the district¹⁰. On 1 May 1854 Colquhoun was in Belgrade, which he left on board of an Austrian steamboat plying on the Sava River to Sissek (Sisak). From Gradiska (Gradiška), the agent crossed on 3 May to Berbir, a small Turkish fort found “in a most disgraceful state of neglect and ruin”. The party continued their journey to Banyaluka, along the banks of the Vrbas River, the boundary separating the Turkish provinces of Croatia and Bosnia. They finally arrived at Sarajevo via Skender Vakuf (Knežev) and Travnik. The British diplomat was well received by the military, civil and religious authorities in Bosnia, and “on entering the Town the military were drawn out and the Band played our national anthem”. Colquhoun was also well received by the Governor General of the province, Khourshid Pasha, and the French Consul, Edouard Joseph Wiet¹¹.

Everything seemed quiet in Bosnia, but threatening rumours were spread regarding an imminent attack in Herzegovina by the Montenegrins. Robberies were daily reported in the border villages, and in expectation of an attack by Vladika Daniel, “assisted by colonel Kovaleski, who some days previously had returned to Cetinina [Cetinje]”, Turkish pashas were advised to great vigilance¹².

Colquhoun was much concerned about the military condition of Herzegovina, as the province seemed little prepared to resist a serious offensive. “The military

⁸ The two archival envelopes in which these documents are preserved are TNA, FO 78/1010 and FO 195/439 (Foreign Office. Embassy and Consulates, Turkey, formerly Ottoman Empire: General Correspondence Turkey: Consulate General in Wallachia, 1854). The only mention in Angela Jianu, *A circle of friends: Romanian revolutionaries and political exile: 1840–1859*, Leiden, 2011, p. 259.

⁹ TNA, FO 195/439, f. 72–74 (Adrianople, No. 1, 6 April 1854, Colquhoun to Canning).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 76–77 (Philippopoli, No. 2, 11 April 1854, Colquhoun to Canning).

¹¹ Doc. 4 in the documentary appendix of this paper. On Wiet’s activity see Midhat Šamić, *Francuski putnici u Bosni i Hercegovini u XIX stoljeću (1836–1878) i njihovi utisci o njoj*, Sarajevo, 1981, pp. 45–55.

¹² Doc. 1.

Pashas seemed to treat the incursion of the Montenegrins lightly, and declared that they were fully able even with the local militia to repel them and drive them back within their own frontiers, which is all they wish to do at present". An Austrian intervention in Montenegro and Herzegovina was greatly feared, with the Austrian Consul in Sarajevo adding fuel to the fire by announcing that, according to his information, "the Austrian Commander in Chief in Dalmatia had sent to Prince Danielo, requiring him immediately to withdraw his subjects within their own territory under threat, that in case of refusal he should send into Montenegro a couple of Battalions to Cettigne to reduce the country to order. In spite of this apparently satisfactory step, it is evident, any such intervention is much dreaded on the part of the Bosnians, as it is well known that the Christian population of the Herzegovine on the immediate frontier may very easily be induced to join their coreligionists against the Porte"¹³.

The British and French diplomats were naturally concerned with the risk of such complications, and Colquhoun insisted in his dispatches on the lack of proper military measures being taken by the pasha of Mostar. Lacking both troops and supplies, Mustapha Pasha required the backing of Khourshid from Bosnia. Colquhoun and Wiet pressed for immediate and vigorous measures, although Khourshid seemed rather undecided, and the two continuously referred to Austrian assistance in case of the Turks failing to defend their own provinces¹⁴.

A temporary solution was to send Dervish Pasha's troops to Herzegovina and thus secure the province both against the risk of a Montenegrin attack and of an Austrian occupation. As developments seemed dangerous, and insurgents were reported to have occupied strong positions in the mountains, Colquhoun and his French colleague "insisted on no delay, however short, taking place and urged that Dervish Pasha should be sent off on this day for Conitza [Konitsa], with one Battalion and if possible a few light field pieces, each man carrying four days bread with him, to supply him till the provisions of which there is an abundance at Travnik, should come forward". The fears were increased by the apparent indifference of Mustapha Pasha in Herzegovina, who "is totally incompetent to administer it [the province] at any time, much less at the present, when great authority and resolution are requisite. The Porte therefore should not lose an hour in either authorizing Khourshid Pasha to assume the Government or in sending a man of great energy to take charge of it"¹⁵.

An important contribution to preserving tranquillity in Bosnia belonged to the Orthodox archbishop in Sarajevo. The Vladika was a very resolute person and completely faithful to the Porte, qualities that brought him into overt conflict with the Austrian Consul, Atanaskovitz, an Orthodox Slav, "well known to be strongly

¹³ Doc. 2.

¹⁴ Doc. 5 and 6.

¹⁵ Doc. 7.

imbued with Panslavic Doctrines, so that he leaves no effort untried of making the sentiments of his coreligionists subservient to his own views". This dispute made the Austrian representative apply to Constantinople, so as "to obtain the recall of the Vladika, on the ground that his congregation were very dissatisfied with their Pastor on account of his exactions, his mercenary and immoral habits and latterly he has declared that one or the other must leave the province". The enquiry of the Patriarchate in Constantinople exonerated the archbishop, praised by Colquhoun for his balanced and loyal attitude towards the Sultan. Thus, "the present tranquillity among the Greek population is the best proof of the sincerity of his conduct, for he certainly might have acted otherwise, and have provoked certain hostile manifestations or at least have encouraged them against the Porte"¹⁶.

Having only inconsistent information from Herzegovina, province that appeared "to have arrived at a deplorable and disgraceful state of disorganization", Colquhoun decided, together with Wiet and Khourshid, to send his interpreter to Mostar. Accompanied by the French dragoman, Sarell was to leave Sarajevo on 9 June. "Having satisfied yourself as to the state of Mostar and its immediate neighbourhood, you will use your judgement and discretion guided by knowledge there acquired as to whether it would be right for you to go to Nevesigne [Nevesinje], Gasko [Gacko] or any other place said to have been the scene of the incursion of the Montenegrins". In the same time, Sarell was to enquire into "how far the complaints made against the authorities are borne out", to ascertain the feeling of the Muslim and Christian population, "the extent of mischief done by the invaders, whether any sympathy seemed to exist between them and the Rayahs of Herzegovine"¹⁷.

Although a state of apparent tranquillity reigned in Bosnia, the British Consul informed about serious ethnic and confessional incidents. On 19 June 1854 he mentioned the circumstances of a Muslim attacking the dragoman of the French Consulate in Sarajevo. The conflict was of a personal nature, but it occurred in public, in the presence of several merchants who remained indifferent. The Governor arrested about 20 individuals who witnessed the outrage, but the pasha was caught between his legal obligations and the advances of his own coreligionists. "The last few days have been prolific in cases of violence committed against persons of the Christian persuasion", and Sarajevo seemed in a state of fermentation, with "the Christians and Jewish populations declaring they had no security and appealing to us [the Consuls] for protection"¹⁸.

In these circumstances, the foreign diplomats requested Khourshid Pasha to make a public example and punish the perpetrators. This was even more important "as the fanaticism of the Bosniacs, their hostility to the Christians, appears to have received an increase of intensity from a misunderstanding of the mild conciliating

¹⁶ Doc. 9.

¹⁷ Doc. 13.

¹⁸ Doc. 14.

policy which it was the pride of the Governor General to follow”¹⁹. When the aggressor and the instigator against the dragoman were arrested, Wiet required that “the punishment should be as public as the crime, and as prompt and as severe as possible”. Khourshid seemed to agree to such demand, but referred the case to Constantinople in order to justify himself in the eyes of the local population. At the intervention of several local notables, it was also proposed to have the punishment administered in the Pasha’s court, in presence of the notables, not in public street²⁰.

By late June 1854²¹ Dervish Pasha returned from Herzegovina, where tranquillity seemed to be restored, also in view of Austria’s decided attitude regarding Montenegro. The two battalions of infantry stationed at Mostar and the troops at Fochscha [Foča] “will be amply sufficient to support the local authority in a special case. And the irregulars organized in detachments at fixed garrisons, will be placed not only along the line of the frontiers of Montenegro, but also in the mountain passes known as being most liable to be haunted by the brigands, and also along the road between this and Mostar”. But Sarell reported that matters appeared greatly exaggerated. The incursions of the Montenegrins were in fact merely bands of organized brigands, equally composed of Muslim, Orthodox and Catholic Christians, whose numbers, acts and designs were amplified by the local authorities, as they were only “what might at any other moment have been considered simple brigandage”²².

The reports to Constantinople against Mustapha Pasha were successful, and he was removed from his position in late June. The new Commander, Eddem Pasha, was placed under the direction of Khourshid Pasha. In the same time, information reached Sarajevo about the convention concluded between Austria and the Porte at Boyadji Keuy²³, “in virtue of which Austria is to occupy certain provinces of the Turkish empire”. But as the province of Herzegovina seemed in a satisfactory state, Khourshid still considered that the presence of any foreign troops was quite unnecessary at the moment.

By mid-July, with the Russian troops withdrawing from the Danubian Principalities, Colquhoun prepared his return to Wallachia²⁴. He quitted Sarajevo via Brod, Semlin, Orşova and Ruse and got to Bucharest in early August. A detailed report was sent in his last days in the Bosnian capital, based on the elaborate memorandum of Sarell. Interesting references were made to the administration of Herzegovina, difficult to be governed by anyone, especially by someone like Mustapha Pasha, who “had certainly and undeniably shown symptoms of negligence in preparing for emergencies which any ordinary foresight might have taught him

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Doc. 16.

²¹ Doc. 18.

²² Doc. 15.

²³ Text in Alexander William Kinglake, *The invasion of the Crimea: its origin and an account of its progress down to the death of Lord Raglan*, vol. 1, Edinburgh and London, 1863, pp. 515–517.

²⁴ Doc. 20.

would present themselves". Reforms were also advised, in order "to ameliorate the condition of all classes of His Majesty's subjects, and render contented a class at present much oppressed and consequently very ill disposed to the Ottoman rule"²⁵.

These documents, poor in social or economic details, are valuable for presenting the political and military conditions in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the spring and summer of 1854. They clearly depict the balance of political forces acting in these marginal Turkish provinces. There were in the first place the Turkish authorities, with the civil governor and the military pashas not always in complete agreement. Then we see the diplomats of the allied powers, Wiet and Colquhoun, serving as advisers in all major political and military problems, but also trying to frustrate any religious conflicts between the Muslim and Christian subjects of the Porte. A powerful character was the Austrian Consul, who did not save any efforts to increase the authority of his country, a major political player in the area. No less important was the Orthodox archbishop, whose attitude proved decisive in preserving tranquillity among his flock. Rivalries and conflicts between these parties were common, everything being doubled by the open ethnic and religious incidents between the different peoples and confessions residing in the area. Colquhoun's reports represent a useful radiography of a Turkish province during a time of crisis, preserving, just like an atom of matter, all the features of the larger unit. It was the miniature of a greater picture made up of Turkish indecision, Pan-Slavic sentiments, Austrian ambitions and Western balance.

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1. Robert Gilmore Colquhoun to the Earl of Clarendon, No. 8, Sarajevo, 11 May 1854²⁶

My Lord,

I have only time before the departure of the weekly post, to transmit to Your Lordship the following intelligence just received by the French Consul & communicated to me.

Under date of Scutari, 3rd May, all was quiet, though an attack from the Montenegrins was looked on as nearly certain.

Four Montenegrins concealed in the Island opposite Sestané, whose evident object was pillage, were surprised by the Turkish Guard, and after some resistance, were killed, their heads cut off & stuck on poles.

A Band of Montenegrins subsequently attacked the same village of Sestané, killed one man & carried off some cattle, but the inhabitants pursued the Marauders, recovered their Cattle & killed two of the robbers.

²⁵ TNA, FO 78/1010, f. 175–179 (Sarajevo, No. 16, 19 July 1854, Colquhoun to Canning). Sarell's account, dated 17 July 1854, *ibid.*, f. 181–213.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 111–112.

It was currently reported at Scutari, that the Montenegrins had received two cargoes of Biscuit from the Seaboard, & that they were preparing to make a Descent upon Bielopavlovics under Prince Danielo in person, assisted by colonel Kovaleski, who some days previously had returned to Cettignié. Every precaution had been taken by the Pasha who had himself gone to Antivari to see the fortress put into a complete state of repair, giving orders to the inhabitants to be prepared for any emergency.

**2. Colquhoun to Viscount Stratford Canning de Redcliffe, No. 3,
Sarajevo, 14 May 1854²⁷**

My Lord,

The Governor General Khourshid Pasha received last evening through Avny Pasha the letter from the Mushir of Herzegovine of which I annex a copy in translation. His Excellency in communicating the above to me this morning requested I would with the French Consul be present at a meeting which was to take place at the residence of the Pasha at 12 o'clock, to which were also invited the General of Division Avny Pasha, the General of Brigade Dervish Pasha and the Defterdar.

The precise point Valemnia, named as being invested by the Montenegrins does not appear in any of my maps. I understand it is a small fort lately constructed between Trebigne and Nikshik. In accordance with the demand of the Mushir Troops to the amount of 2000 will be immediately sent on to Fotcha from this place together with the required quantity of provisions, and if the invasion should assume a graver aspect more will be sent both from here and from Travnik. On the subject of provisions, the Pasha complained of the neglect shown by his colleague of Mostar, who in spite of the repeated warnings from this, has been permitting the exportation of Grain into both the Montenegro & Dalmatia, so that now at a moment of need the Herzegovine requires to be supplied from this Province. The military Pashas seemed to treat the incursion of the Montenegrins lightly, and declared that they were fully able even with the local militia to repel them and drive them back within their own frontiers, which is all they wish to do at present. But they seemed very uneasy lest Austria might seize this as a pretext for throwing a Body of Troops into the mountain, from whence they might, if so disposed, find easily excuses for entering Herzegovine also, an event they naturally dread. On the positive assurance therefore that they had at their disposal ample means to repel the Invaders, we advised them to communicate without loss of time both to Vienna and Constantinople the state of matters, requesting their Ambassador at the former place to take the requisite steps for preventing any occupation of the Turkish territory by a body of Austrian Troops. And the Pasha of Mostar is also to be instructed to communicate in the same tenor to the General commanding the

²⁷ *Ibid.*, FO 195/439 f. 78–80. Also in FO 78/1010, f. 115–118 (annexed to No. 9 to Clarendon, dated 7 May 1854).

Austrian troops in Dalmatia, General Mamula. The Austrian Consul General has increased the fears of the authorities by the announcement that he had this day received a letter from the Vice Consul of Mostar who informed him, that the Austrian Commander in Chief in Dalmatia had sent to Prince Danielo, requiring him immediately to withdraw his subjects within their own territory under threat, that in case of refusal he should send into Montenegro a couple of Battalions to Cettigne to reduce the country to order. In spite of this apparently satisfactory step, it is evident, any such intervention is much dreaded on the part of the Bosnians, as it is well known that the Christian population of the Herzegovine on the immediate frontier may very easily be induced to join their coreligionists against the Porte.

3. The Governor of Herzegovina, Mustapha, to Avni Pasha, Lieutenant General of the Staff of Rumelia (translation)²⁸

I have already had the honor of informing Your Excellency by my dispatch dated the 13th instant of the incursions of some Montenegrin brigands in the direction of Knasdol, Vlemia and Christadj, and of the measures which, not allowing myself to be ensnared by their artifices, I had adopted in order to repulse and annihilate them, having sent Ibrahim Aga, the chief of the zabtiés, of Mostar towards Gatchka.

I am today apprized by the Mudir of Trebigne that the aforementioned brigands amount to two thousand, and that they are at this moment besieging the fort of Vlemia. The volunteer force of Stultcha (Stolatz) and Poutchetil, and such of the inhabitants (Mussulman) of the district of Lubigne as are capable of bearing arms have received orders to be ready to march under the command of Hamzé bey of Stolatz. The Mudir of Konitza has also received orders to send on his volunteers with all expedition.

Although when we take into consideration that it is highly probable that these persons following out their evil intentions will not remain with their present numbers, but will go on increasing, and committing acts of depredation, and every sort of crime on the inhabitants and wayfarers; that it would therefore be advisable in order to ensure the perfect security of the province of Herzegovina and its inhabitants, as well as to complete the series of measures called forth by the occasion, to send on the volunteer troops to the places abovementioned, yet the stores we are expecting from Scopia not having reached Tashlidja, it is but too clear that were they to start without them they would find themselves in great distress. Moreover the haunts of these lawless persons being in the environs of Nikshik, Fotcha, Gatchka and Trebigne, the inhabitants of those places are alarmed for their lives, families and properties.

Considering therefore that the only means of warding off these evils would be the presence of some regular troops of the Sultan, Your Excellency is requested

²⁸ *Ibid.*, FO 195/439, f. 82–84 and FO 78/1010, f. 119–121 (annexed to No. 9 to Clarendon, dated 7 May 1854).

to detach a sufficient number of the same from Bosnia under the command of a superior officer who is to have his headquarters at Fotcha; and until the arrival of the expected stores at Tashlidja to furnish them with a quantity sufficient for the time being from Bosnia.

4. Colquhoun to Canning, No. 4, Sarajevo, 16 May 1854²⁹

As I had the honor of announcing to Your Excellency in a note from Belgrade, I left that place for Semlin, where on the 1st instant I embarked on board the Austrian Steamer which plies on the Saave between Sissek and Semlin. My intention was to go to Brod, thence to cross over into Bosnia. But learning that the distance to be gone over on horseback was greater by that route than if I continued up to Gradiska and being still suffering from the effects of my late illness, I determined on taking the latter route. During my stay at Semlin I saw the Austrian Commander in Chief Count Coronini twice, and in the latter interview which was tête à tête I was led to suppose, what subsequent reports have almost confirmed, that in spite of all the vast preparations made, it was not improbable that there would be no occupation by Austrian Troops of Servia and Bosnia. That in fact many of the Regiments which had been echeloned along the banks of the Saave, had been removed further into the Interior. This was subsequently proved to me both at Brod and Gradiska by the Commanders of those fortresses.

From Gradisca we crossed over on the 3rd to Berbir, the Turkish small fort. Some difficulty was made by the Mudir in command there, in letting us visit their fort. But the reason of this was too evident to us when we did effect our visit. The place Berbir is in a most disgraceful state of neglect and ruin. The Garrison consisted of one old engineer, who with labourers from the village, was constructing 4 small waled redoubts to mount from 4 to 6 pieces of very old artillery though, in case of need, how these were to be manned seemed a mystery. It is no wonder the strictest rule is maintained forbidding the Austrians, who daily cross over, from entering the so called fortress. A strange contrast to the well kept models of small forts Brod and Gradisca. From Berbir we went that evening to Banialuka, distant eight hours. Our road lay along the banks of the Verbas, which forms the boundary of Turkish Croatia and Bosnia. We remained the 4th at Banyaluka, during which time we visited the fortress now undergoing repair, but only in a very superficial manner. This is a pity, for Banyaluka is a strong position, and with its walls in good order, might do good service in case of invasion. Leaving this place in the morning of the 5th we passed the old Baths formerly of great celebrity, now merely existing in consequence of Omer Pasha having caused one to be repaired for his soldiery. Our route lay over a long range of mountains over which had been traced a road by which with great difficulty, artillery might be conveyed, another evidence of Omer

²⁹ *Ibid.*, FO 195/439, f. 86–91 and FO 78/1010, f. 125–128 (annexed to No. 10 to Clarendon).

Pasha's presence there. And next day the 6th having from Skender Vakouf crossed the Oogar range, we reached Travnik from whence in a couple of easy days journey, we arrived at this place. At a distance of about 3 miles from town, I found the Kehaya of the Governor General, the aide-de-camp of the General of Division Avni Pasha, the Vladika or archbishop and a large deputation of the notables of the place, as also Mons Wiet the French Consul, to whom I had written from Belgrade to provide a quarter for me. Mr Wiet has for the present insisted on my taking up my residence with him, and Mr Sarell is occupying the house provided by the Pasha. On entering the Town the military were drawn out and the Band played our national anthem.

On the following day I paid my visit to His Excellency Khourshid Pasha who expressed his extreme delight at seeing in the Province, though only temporarily, an agent of our Government, and hoped that I should be the precursor of a fixed resident Consul. Our conversation was of the most friendly nature, and I venture to augur well of the relations which I shall have with this apparently distinguished Pasha. I subsequently paid visits to the other Turkish authorities and to Mr Attanaskovich, the Austrian Consul General. My visits were returned the following day. As far as I can judge on so short an acquaintance with the authorities here, I should say there exists a great dread of Austria, and the greatest desire to counteract the plans and designs of her able, perhaps not over scrupulous agent here. To this I must attribute the extreme attention shown last year to the French Consul on his arrival, and the more than usual civilities shown to myself. From the observations I have been able to make hitherto I should say that the most perfect quiet reigns throughout this part of the province; the Vladika makes most favourable reports of the state of the Rayah population and of the readiness with which the Governor General opens his ears to, and remedies, all sources of complaint. There are many other subjects which it would be presumption in me, on so short an acquaintance, to write upon. My strictest attention shall be given to all such points as may interest Her Majesty's Embassy and on these points I will write as soon as I shall have arrived at a correct knowledge of them.

5. Colquhoun to Clarendon, No. 10, Sarajevo, 18 May 1854³⁰

My Lord,

I have the honour to enclose for Your Lordship's information copy of Dispatch No. 4, to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople. Since this date, we are without any official news from the Mountain, further than that in one of the inroads made by the Montenegrins, several lives were lost, it is said, sixty, both Turks and Christians, and that about a thousand head of cattle were carried off.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, FO 78/1010, f. 123.

This morning two Battalions of Infantry left this town for Fotcha on the road to Mostar. More will follow if required. The utmost tranquillity prevails here.

6. Colquhoun to Canning, No. 5, Sarajevo, 20 May 1854³¹

My Lord,

Intelligence reached this place yesterday morning, of the advance of the Montenegrins into Herzegovina and of their having even captured at 5 hours distance from Mostar near Nevesigne, some horses laden with ammunition, which had been sent from Mostar to Gasko, with merely four zabtiés as escort. The Mushir of Mostar appears to have been extremely remiss in neglecting to take the proper measures for checking the inroad into his District though repeatedly warned by the Governor General Khourshid Pasha. Of the probability of some invasion, he has done nothing; and now, when he finds himself pressed, he has sent his mal mudiri with entreaties to Khourshid Pasha to send him supplies both of men and provisions. I saw the Mushir yesterday, and urged on him the necessity for his taking immediate and vigorous measures. He seems not quite sure of his relative position with respect to his colleague of Mostar. While decidedly his superior in rank, and with orders to advise in case of need, he hardly considers himself authorized to supersede him by sending an armed force across his frontier under command of a military Pasha, and he has asked for instructions from Constantinople. I told him I considered his high position, at this distance from the capital, authorized him to use his discretion in employing such measures as were for the good of his Sovereign and of the Empire. That as I had been able to assure him positively, that Austria had no intention of occupying Bosnia and Servia, except in case of hostile aggression against the authority of the Sultan, whether by a Foreign army or by internal revolt, and all chance of either of these events taking place being now removed. That consequently he was at liberty to employ the whole or at least part of the forces at his disposal in Bosnia, for any other purpose. It was therefore my opinion, as well as that of the French Consul, that he should direct all such forces towards Montenegro. I frankly said that Austrian troops having been at the request of our Government and of the French, ordered to enter the Turkish territory in case it should be menaced. That if the Turkish authorities did not now vigorously use the means they had declared themselves to me to possess, it would be our Duty however unwillingly to require assistance from General Mamula. That all our energies being called for to support the Turkish empire in Bulgaria, it was vexatious to have our attention distracted by such incidental events at that of Montenegro. A Council is to be held this evening and I believe the General of Brigade Dervish Pasha will be sent off with one or two more Battalions of regulars.

³¹ *Ibid.*, FO 195/439, f. 92–94 and FO 78/1010, f. 131–133 (annexed to No. 11 to Clarendon).

7. Colquhoun to Canning, No. 6, Sarajevo, 22 May 1854³²

My Lord,

Khourshid Pasha called on me yesterday and told me that at the Council held the preceding evening, the Treasurer of the Mushir of Mostar laid before it the state of the Province of Herzegovine, the total inaction in which his chief had remained, till his authority has become perfectly null, and that it therefore became necessary for this Province to come to the assistance of its neighbour, with a view of not only reestablishing the authority of the Sultan, but of supplying the most pressing wants and protecting it from imminent impending danger. The Council determined on sending the Pasha's Kehaya from hence immediately to Travnik to collect provisions, and convey them to the frontier at Konitza; that in a few days Dervish Pasha should start for that point also. A messenger who arrived here yesterday had brought intelligence of the Montenegrins having advanced to near Gasko, a small place, but in a position of great natural strength. The few irregulars (six hundred) who were in Gasko had fled on the approach of the insurgents, so that there is every possibility that by this time they occupy Gasko. On careful reference to the map of the country, and on consulting with two Poles here, both of whom are intimately acquainted with both these Provinces, I had learnt that this place was in truth a strong centre from which if the rebels could at all strengthen themselves, they might direct parties of marauders on all points of even the Bosnian frontier, as also on Tashlidja, Fotcha, Nevesign and Mostar. I therefore in concert with Monsieur Wiet insisted on no delay, however short, taking place and urged that Dervish Pasha should be sent off on this day for Conitza, with one Battalion and if possible a few light field pieces, each man carrying four days bread with him, to supply him till the provisions of which there is an abundance at Travnik, should come forward. Mr Wiet and myself having yesterday dined with the Ferik Avni Pasha, where were present the Governor General and Dervish Pasha, we before separating in the evening, requested to know what was decided on. This question put in a straightforward manner, rather confused the Pashas, and a scene of some recrimination ensued between the three, on subjects independent of the main question: the military Pasha subsequently saying he was ready to start on this day, but without ample provision for his men he would not consent to do so. He hinted that the Governor General should before this have taken necessary measures both for securing the provisions, and what is of still greater difficulty, the means of transport. Finding this discussion likely to last, with no satisfactory result, I told the Pashas, that the troops must be sent forward and with proper provisions, that each of them in his position would be held responsible for any further delay; that the loss of a single day was the loss of a certain number of lives and that of the Mussulman population too, while success being allowed to the insurgents, the Christian population of Herzegovine also would be tempted to join cause with their coreligionists. And thus matters which perhaps now only were a trifling aspect,

³² *Ibid.*, FO 195/439, f. 95–98 and FO 78/1010, f. 133–136 (annexed to No. 11 to Clarendon).

might become of very grave importance. Today therefore Dervish Pasha is to leave with one Battalion, and a detachment of irregulars from Travnik is to join him at Konitza to occupy the town which is of great importance, and also a very strong position four hours further inland, Lipota. Such, my Lord, is the state of matters here. Khourshid Pasha, whose character is too well known for me to enlarge on the subject, says he will if necessary himself go to the frontier. But this will hardly be necessary. But I venture humbly to suggest that immediate measure be taken for regulating the Government of Herzegovine. It is quite clear that the present Mushir Mustafa Pasha is totally incompetent to administer it at any time, much less at the present, when great authority and resolution are requisite. The Porte therefore should not lose an hour in either authorizing Khourshid Pasha to assume the Government or in sending a man of great energy to take charge of it. The more natural course would be the former, but honest and well intentioned as Khourshid is I doubt if he possesses the vigor requisite.

8. Colquhoun to Clarendon, No. 11, Sarajevo, 25 May 1854³³

My Lord,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Lordship's dispatch of the 20th April No. 1 wherein Your Lordship is pleased to approve of my having come to these provinces on Her Majesty's service.

I herewith enclose for the information of Your Lordship, copies of my two last dispatches to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople. Since the last date, nothing of any importance has transpired here. The public mind is perfectly at ease; the state of the Province, according to the assurances given me by both Khourshid Pasha and the two military Pashas, most satisfactory. There is however perhaps in the breast of the Governor General, a slight degree of uneasiness, created by the Language of the German Papers, lest after all and in spite of the assurance given, an Austrian force should be imposed on the Provinces, on Servia and on the Herzegovine.

9. Colquhoun to Canning, No. 7, Sarajevo, 6 June 1854³⁴

My Lord,

The religious question is so closely connected with events at present passing in this neighbourhood that I think it my duty to bring before Your Excellency some facts relating to the Greek Orthodox community at Bosna Serai.

Since the arrival here of the present archbishop, he appears to have been the object of strong persecution on the part of the Austrian Consul General.

³³ *Ibid.*, FO 78/1010, f. 129–130.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, FO 195/439, f. 99–104.

It is unnecessary for me to enter at present, on the feeling of the members of the Greek faith with respect to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, their longing to be assimilated in all their religious affairs with their brethren in Servia etc. I will merely proceed at once to the complaint made to me by the archbishop into which I have been at some pains to examine, in the hope of performing a mere act of justice to His Eminence should his tale be borne out.

Mr Atanaskovitz is by birth a Slave, and of the Orthodox faith, facts which are generally supposed to have had much influence in his nomination to this Post, where it may be presumed, Austria was desirous of working on that part of the Population; and he is moreover well known to be strongly imbued with Panslavic Doctrines, so that he leaves no effort untried of making the sentiments of his coreligionists subservient to his own views, or those of his government which, since the mission of Count Leiningen, arrogates to itself the right of extending its Protection over the whole of the Christian Population of the Frontier Provinces.

Shortly after the Vladika's arrival, overtures were made to him by the Austrian Consul, which he found himself compelled to reject. Mr Atanaskovich requested him to keep him most accurately informed of anything of Interest which may come to his knowledge, and notably of any case of alleged ill treatment or oppression of his flock on the part of the Mussulman authorities, so as to enable Mr Atanaskowitz to apply a remedy, and thus exercise the right of Interference claimed by his Government. The Vladika firmly declined acceding to this request, remarking that if his Predecessor had ignored his Duties to his legitimate Sovereign, it was not the intention of the present one to follow so bad an Example; that whenever he had any matter to report, or any representation to make, he must address himself to the Delegate of his own Sovereign, the Governor General, and not to that of any Foreign Power, to whom he was only bound by the Laws of common courtesy.

Fully comprehending the dangerous nature of this Propaganda and with the view of counteracting its Effects, His Eminence lost no opportunity of exhorting his Flock not to lend too ready an ear to the Insinuations of Foreigners, but to turn their eyes to their sole Protector and Benefactor the Sultan, who had recently given such proofs of sincere interest in the wellbeing of the Christians population of this Province, by granting firmans free of any charge authorizing the construction of twenty churches. These exhortations he repeated from the pulpit.

Again, Mr Atanaskowitz's anger was further elicited by the steady refusal of the archbishop to solemnize publicly marriages between Ottoman subjects and those of Austria, which it is well known are disallowed by the Porte: although the Vladika following the example of the Patriarch permitted such marriages to be solemnized privately.

Mr Atanaskowitz appears to have made very frequent and pressing applications to the Internuncio at Constantinople, to obtain the recall of the Vladika, on the ground that his congregation were very dissatisfied with their Pastor on account of his exactions, his mercenary and immoral habits and latterly he has declared that one or the other must leave the Province.

The first effect of these representations, or rather misrepresentations, to the Austrian Embassy has been the arrival here some days ago, of a Commissioner or Exarch sent by the Patriarch to inquire into the truth of these complaints. The result of the enquiry has been most satisfactory to the Vladika and the Exarch himself declared to me, that altho he had summoned before him the several corporations of the town, and examined them collectively and individually, he had not elicited from them any sort of complaint against the archbishop: all declared they were perfectly satisfied with their chief. The Exarch then requested them to make this declaration in writing, and furnish him with a document he could transmit to the Patriarch. The congregation declined doing so, saying they were afraid of offending an "influential person here". That as merchants their sole trade was with Austria and that they were all more or less therefore at the mercy of the Consul General. The Exarch has made his report to the Patriarch to that effect, and there the matter rests.

I have had much conversation with Khourshid Pasha on the subject, before I could bring myself to take it up from all I have been able to learn, this ecclesiastic has since his arrival here, shown the greatest devotion to the Porte and has sincerely labored to attach the population of his creed to the Government. Since the serious turn late events have taken, his conduct has particularly been marked by great activity in his attempt to keep the Christians quiet, and in the fulfilment of their real duties. Though an old man he during the month of February undertook a journey thro his district at the request of the Governor General preaching everywhere respect to the authorities and obedience to the Porte. Khourshid Pasha speaks of him in the highest terms, and has been charged to transmit to him the expression of the approval of the Grand Vizier. The present tranquillity among the Greek population is the best proof of the sincerity of his conduct, for he certainly might have acted otherwise, and have provoked certain hostile manifestations or at least have encouraged them against the Porte. In my humble opinion therefore the Porte will do well to pause before giving any weight to representations made against a devoted servant, and I venture to recommend the case of the Vladika for Your Excellency's consideration and his position to your powerful protection.

10. Colquhoun to Canning, No. 8, Sarajevo, 6 June 1854³⁵

We are still without any details of the state of affairs on the frontier of Montenegro and Herzegovine.

Dervish Pasha who only left Sarajevo on the 29th ultimo has not yet announced his arrival at Mostar, but I learnt from some peasants who arrived from that place with goods, that they met him at four hours march from it. From the same source I heard that a considerable Band of the Mountaineers have established themselves

³⁵ *Ibid.*, FO 195/439, f. 105–106 and FO 78/1010, f. 139–140 (annexed to No. 12 to Clarendon).

about twenty miles to the South East of Mostar from whence they direct their pillaging excursions spreading alarm among the neighbourhood. These Marauders seem hitherto to have been allowed to carry on their depredations perfectly unmolested. Mustapha Pasha having however announced that after the Ramazan he should take active measures to dislodge them, and drive them back over their own frontiers.

Hearing from various quarters numerous complaints against the administration of the Province which appears to have arrived at a deplorable and disgraceful state of disorganization, dilapidation of the public funds, discontent on the part of every class of the population, neglect of every means for supplying the wants not only of soldierly, if such should be required, but of those of the existing population; while from the military Pashas I hear that the marauders in the neighbourhood of Mostar and Nevesign are not Montenegrins, by Rayahs of the province of Herzegovine. I have determined, after consulting with the French Consul and Khourshid Pasha, on sending Mr Sarell to Mostar; he will be accompanied by the French Dragoman and will be furnished with letters to the local authorities from the Governor General. He will leave this on the 9th.

**11. Colquhoun to Clarendon, No. 12,
Sarajevo, 7 June 1854³⁶**

I have the honor to enclose copy of my letter No. 8 to Her Majesty's Ambassador.

This morning intelligence was received of the arrival of Dervish Pasha at Mostar. The only detail I have as yet been able to ascertain is that in spite of the repeated and pressing demand made by the Pasha of Herzegovine to the Governor General here for provisions, Dervish Pasha writes he found at Mostar two hundred thousand okes of stores flour biscuits &.

**12. Colquhoun to Clarendon, No. 13,
Sarajevo, 8 June 1854³⁷**

My Lord,

In my letter No. 8 of 6th instant to His Excellency Viscount Redcliffe I mentioned my intention of sending Mr Sarell, who His Excellency placed at my disposal, into Herzegovine.

I have now the honor to enclose copy of the instructions I have furnished to Mr Sarell, which will I hope meet Your Lordship's approval.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, FO 78/1010, f. 137.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, FO 78/1010, f. 141.

13. Colquhoun to Sarell, Sarajevo, 8 June 1854³⁸

Sir,

You are aware of the difficulty we have experienced here in acquiring correct information as to what is passing on the frontiers of Herzegovine and Montenegro.

You are also aware of the dilatoriness shown by certain of the authorities here to proceed to the neighbouring Province with a view of pressing at the outset the disposition shown by the Montenegrins to invade Herzegovine. The reports made to me by the Military Pashas that the insurgents were Rayahs of the Herzegovine and not inhabitants of Montenegro naturally gave me some uneasiness as indicative of a spirit among the Rayah population which I was unwilling to believe to exist. All the enquiries I have made have tended to lead me to suppose the accusations against the Rayahs of Herzegovine to be perfectly unfounded.

The representations made to us by the Bishop of the Zwornik who lately passed through this on his way from Mostar of the state of disorder and neglect in which the administration of the province at present is – confirmed by the evidence of the Malmudiri of Mustapha Pasha – and the recent fact of a large quantity of Provisions found when it was officially reported that there was not even a sufficiency for the population, all these render it desirable that before quitting Bosnia I should be able to convey to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, and to the Government at home the real state of affairs in Herzegovine. I have therefore determined to send you to Mostar to examine very carefully how matters stand. You will therefore proceed to that town by the route through Cognitza. Having satisfied yourself as to the state of Mostar and its immediate neighbourhood, you will use your judgement and discretion guided by knowledge there acquired as to whether it would be right for you to go to Nevesigne, Gasko or any other place said to have been the scene of the incursion of the Montenegrins.

You will receive herewith a letter of introduction to the Pasha of Herzegovine from Khourshid Pasha (who takes the greatest interest in your present journey) requiring him to assist you in every way you may need. You will of course see Dervish Pasha and obtain from him all the information in your power.

Mons Wiet the French Consul is equally desirous with myself to arrive at a knowledge of the state of matters in the neighbourhood province and he has determined on sending with you his Dragoman whose knowledge of the Bosniac language and of the country may be of much use to you. I place at your disposal the Cavass Tahir aga furnished me by the Porte.

On arrival at Mostar you will carefully, but most quietly, inquire how far the complaints made against the authorities are borne out. You will endeavour to ascertain the feeling of the population both Mussulman and Rayah, the extent of mischief done by the invaders, whether any sympathy seemed to exist between them and the Rayahs of Herzegovine. Also you will procure any information you can get as to the condition of the Montenegrins, their forces, arms etc. All these

³⁸ *Ibid.*, FO 78/1010, f. 143–146 (annexed to No. 13 to Clarendon).

details you will regularly transmit to me here, and as soon as you have done so you will with all speed return to Bosna Serai.

**14. Colquhoun to Canning, No. 9,
Sarajevo, 19 June 1854³⁹**

My Lord,

A disagreeable incident has occurred here.

On the evening of Friday the 16th instant Mr Emérat the Dragoman Cancellier attached to the French Consulate in Bosnia was returning to his Residence about 11 o'clock accompanied by a servant of the Consulate. In passing through the Bazaar which, owing to the Ramazan was open, and the Merchants in their Stalls, he heard a quick step behind him and received a severe blow on the back of the neck from a heavy bludgeon, which felled him senseless to the ground. His servant who carried a Lantern before him, hearing his cry, came to his assistance, and was just able to see an Individual armed with a heavy Stick running away. Not a hand was raised to stop the assassin, nor did one of the numerous shopkeepers come to the assistance of the wounded man, who was supported by the servant in a fainting state and bleeding from a severe cut over the eye, received in his fall against a stone. Mr Emérat was brought to the Consulate and the Consul having heard the details, immediately went to the Governor Khourshid Pasha who expressed his deep regret at what had happened; he sent out to the Bazaar and arrested about twenty Individuals who were on the spot, and must have witnessed the outrage, and might have seized the Culprit. The Pasha examined carefully the persons arrested, and declared they should be detained till the Criminal was found, and that if he were not forthcoming the following day, they should be severely punished, one of the party being set at liberty to make the necessary researches.

Mr Emérat, after the proper medical means had been employed, was closely questioned by me, as to whether he had any suspicions of any one person: he declared he had never given the slightest offence to any one in Sarajevo; but that his suspicion fell on the proprietor of his House, a Mussulman, with whom he had a few days previously had some difference respecting his rent and who had left him with menacing gestures. He further said, that the attack on him was made about fifty paces after passing the said man's shop in the Bazaar.

The last few days have been prolific in cases of violence committed against persons of the Christian persuasion.

Near Fochtsa, two Christians were set upon by five Bashi Bojouks and murdered. The murderers fled into the interior of Herzegovine, information of the

³⁹ *Ibid.*, FO 195/439, f. 107–110 and FO 78/1010, f. 149–152 (annexed to No. 14 to Clarendon, 21 June 1854).

crime being sent to Dervish Pasha. Four of them were arrested and arrived here some days ago. These miscreants being under military authority, this will I understand be the first application of the new Law respecting these Irregulars.

Last week some carriers (Christians) were met by a party of Bosniacs, who insisted on taking one of their horses, the Carriers resisted when the Bosniacs wounded with a yatagan and subsequently discharged a pistol of which the ball penetrated the abdomen of one of the carriers. His Brother came to Sarajevo to complain to the French Consul. Monsieur Wiet sent the case with a recommendation to the Pasha who has caused the arrest of one of the parties and the police are on the scent of the remainder. The wounded man has since died.

There is yet another case of murder on the person of a Christian with the details of whom I am unacquainted.

Mons Wiet and myself waited on Khourshid Pasha last evening. He informed us of the steps he had taken in the affair of the French Chancellor and that everything tended to throw suspicion on the master of his House, if not as the actual person who dealt the blow, as the instigator of it. His Excellency promised no effort on his part should be wanting to bring to justice the offender.

I considered it my duty to represent to the Pasha that the city was in a state of fermentation the Christians and Jewish populations declaring they had no security and appealing to us for protection. They said, if such things were done now in cool blood, during the Ramazan what would they have to expect when the festival of the Bairam commenced and the Mussulman Population were under the influence of Wine and Spirits.

I told His Excellency that during the past week several cases of assassination had sullied his province and even his capital, that it was indispensably necessary a public example should be made. If the present state of matters were allowed to pass unnoticed and unpunished, his authority as representative of the Sultan became a mere shadow and I in the most formal manner required from his hands justice in the several cases cited.

Monsieur Wiet will of course see that everything be done in his Individual case but the others are cases of general interest and demand the intervention of the representatives of the Christian Powers, to see that the benevolent intentions of the Sultan be not made a dead letter of.

I must do Khourshid Pasha the justice to say that he appears to have thrown aside much of his want of energy, and he feels the necessity of making his Government and the Laws of the country respected the more so as the fanaticism of the Bosniacs, their hostility to the Christians, appears to have received an increase of intensity from a misunderstanding of the mild conciliating Policy which it was the pride of the Governor General to follow.

I hope before the departure of the post to be able to communicate a successful result to the means adopted to arrest the culprit in Mr Emérat's case.

15. Colquhoun to Canning, No. 10, Sarajevo, 20 June 1854⁴⁰

In my letter No. 8 of the 6th instant I mentioned to Your Excellency my intention of sending Mr Sarell to Mostar, to obtain accurate information on certain points, respecting which we were kept in ignorance here.

Your Lordship will receive herewith copy of the Instructions I furnished to Mr Sarell.

By a letter received from Mostar yesterday, he informs me that matters appears to have been much exaggerated. The incursions (so reported) of the Montenegrins seem to have been merely Bands of organized Brigands, very possibly excited by the Mountaineers, composed indiscriminately of Mussulmans, Rayas and Catholics; these spread over the various districts and caused just alarms to the Mudirs of the Different Towns, who exaggerated the numbers, acts and designs of what might at any other moment have been considered simple Brigandage.

The Mudir of Trebigne whose special Duty it is to report on Events passing in his neighbourhood, reported to Mustapha Pasha, an intended Invasion of Herzegovine and as this coincided in time, with the appearance of the Brigands at Droubnine and Niksity. Mustapha Pasha gave ready credit to it & demanded assistance both in men & provisions from the Governor General of Bosnia, and the General commanding the Troops.

It was the constant recurrence of these Inroads, brought to me and to the French Consul, which induced us to insist on the Troops being sent from hence, which the General was rather indisposed to accede to and we have every reason to congratulate ourselves on having so insisted as the effect of the presence of the Troops near to the Frontier, has been to completely check the acts of Insubordination and Brigandage which if they had been allowed to pass unnoticed a short time longer, would doubtless have acquired a consistency that would have not only given great trouble to repress, but would have encouraged the Mountaineers to act, and thus have in reality assumed a gravity much to be regretted.

With regard to the various subjects mentioned in my instructions to Mr Sarell, as demanding his attention, he tells me the Pasha justifies himself very firmly and has promised to place at his disposal means for his arriving at the correct state of affairs.

16. Colquhoun to Canning, No. 11, Sarajevo, 27 June 1854⁴¹

My Lord,

With reference to the subject of my letter No. 9 of the 19th instance I have to acquaint Your Excellency that the Culprit who dealt the blow on the French Cancellier has been arrested at a village some distance from this. He has confessed

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, FO 78/1010, f. 153–154 (annexed to No. 14 to Clarendon, 21 June 1854).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, FO 195/439, f. 111–113 and FO 78/1010, f. 161–162 (annexed to No. 17 to Clarendon).

having struck Mons Emérat. He gives no reason for having done so, except his having an illwill towards an Austrian subject, from whom he could not obtain Justice. He is an intimate friend of the proprietor of the House, on whose suspicion fell, and his sudden disappearance from Town, where he had had been seen with the said Proprietor in the early part of the Evening, led the officers of Justice to seek him.

The Pasha told Mr Wiet in my presence yesterday that from all the evidence he had taken, & it was very voluminous, there exists no doubt on his mind, that the Proprietor was the principal Instigator & he considered that he should be punished as well as his Tool. He asked Mons Wiet what satisfaction he required? Mr Wiet replied that taking into consideration the gravity of the crime, that it was accompanied by "guet à pens", & on the person of an accredited functionary of the French Government, that it had met with a certain degree of tacit sympathy on the part of the Bosnian Mussulman Population, it was indispensable that the punishment should be as public as the crime, & as prompt & as severe as possible. That he required the Culprits should receive corporal punishment on the spot where the offence was committed; that they should be imprisoned in Irons for a period not yet fixed, & that they should be banished from the Province.

The Governor General appears to acquiesce in the demand, but declares he must refer the case to Constantinople, this is evidently with a view of in some degree justifying himself in the eyes of the Population & throwing the odium of the Example, which I consider it indispensably necessary should be made, on the Consul & the government at Constantinople.

Mr Wiet writes in this sense to Mr Benedetti by today's post, & urges that no time should be lost, as the longer punishment is postponed, the less effect it will have. Meanwhile an angry spirit is kept up, which would have subsided, as soon as the Law shall be vindicated.

It must be understood that any hostile spirit only exists among the Bosniacs, the Mussulman Population has been, very properly, loud in its disapprobation of the attack on the person of a young man in delicate health, who has during eighteen months residence here conducted himself with the utmost propriety, & has earned the esteem of all classes.

P.S.

The Governor has just sent the Kihaya to request Mr Wiet to forego that part of his demand for satisfaction, which required the punishment to take part on the street, proposing it should be administered in the Pasha's court, in presence of the Notables of the place. Mr Wiet has replied that the moment the affair has been referred to Constantinople, he has no further power to interfere. He has I know insisted on the infliction of the full sentence, in his letters to Mr Benedetti. The application of the Governor has been at the earnest prayer of some leading Bosniacs.

**17. Colquhoun to Clarendon, No. 17,
Sarajevo, 29 June 1854⁴²**

My Lord,

The enclosed copy of my Letter No. 11 to His Excellency Viscount Stratford will inform Your Lordship of the turn of the affair of the attack on the French Cancelliere has taken. I am not myself aware whether the Powers of the Governor General are sufficiently extensive for him to have executed the demands for satisfaction of the French Consul. It must be recollected that the new order of things or Tanzimat has not force in this Province of Bosnia.

Khourshid Pasha however, naturally of a mild conciliatory disposition, is not sorry to throw any odium which might have attached itself to him on this matter, on the shoulders of others. His Kehaya called here yesterday, & asked Mr Wiet to forego that part of the demand for satisfaction, which required that the punishment should take place on the public street where the offence was committed. Mr Wiet replied that the subject having been, by the Pasha himself, referred to Constantinople, he considered he had no power to alter in the slightest degree his demand. This request was made by the notables of the place, who did not wish to see one of their order (a Haggi too) publicly punished. It is most repugnant to Mr Wiet's feelings to have had to insist on such a punishment, but such is the state of the people here, that he says it is the only way in which they can be affected. The Pasha is himself of the same opinion, & it is therefore perhaps a pity, with that conviction that he has not firmness of purpose sufficient for the occasion. The reference to Constantinople will have the effect of giving additional gravity to the circumstance.

**18. Colquhoun to Canning, No. 12,
Sarajevo, 30 June 1854⁴³**

My Lord,

Dervish Pasha the General of Brigade who had been sent to the Herzegovine, returned here two days ago with his two Battalions, having as he says, left the Province perfectly quiet. The attitude which Austria assumes with regard to the Montenegro effectually removes the fears which the authorities of the Herzegovine may have entertained of any act of open hostility occurring on that part of their turbulent and implacable neighbour.

With regard to the Bands of Brigands, which for the present have disappeared, but which from one moment to another may again show themselves, it seemed totally unnecessary to keep up a considerable force of regular soldiery, who

⁴² *Ibid.*, FO 78/1010, f. 159–160.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, FO 195/439, f. 115–116. The same information in FO 78/1010, f. 163–164 (Colquhoun to Clarendon, No. 18, Sarajevo, 29 June 1854).

are not adapted for that species of warfare, in a country without roads, composed partly of steep and arid mountains, partly of extensive plains without water. The irregular troops taken from among the native population are much better adapted for such work, & to these the Task will be confided. Their number has lately been increased by the admission into the ranks of some Christians. The two Battalions of Infantry which will remain at Mostar, with those at Fochtcha will be amply sufficient to support the local authority in any special case. And the Irregulars organized in Detachments at fixed Garrisons, will be placed not only along the Line of the Frontiers of Montenegro, but also in the Mountain Passes known as being most liable to be haunted by the Brigands, and also along the road between this & Mostar.

**19. Colquhoun to Canning, No 13,
Sarajevo, 2 July 1854⁴⁴**

My Lord,

The last Post from Constantinople brought us intelligence of the removal of Mustapha Pasha of Mostar, and of his being replaced by Eddem Pasha, recently Caimacam of Sofia, as mirimiram, more immediately under the direction of Khourshid Pasha, whose Powers have been much enlarged over the adjoining Province of Herzegovine.

The same Post conveyed to Khourshid Pasha the news of a convention having been signed between Austria and the Porte, in virtue of which Austria is to occupy certain provinces of the Turkish empire, part of Khourshid's instructions bear that he is to proceed to Mostar, there to make arrangements with General Mamula for a Corps of the Austrians army entering Herzegovine, to repress the Incursions made into that Province by the Montenegrins.

My preceding Letter informed Your Excellency of the quiet condition of the Herzegovine. & Khourshid Pasha having consulted with the military Pashas has come to the opinion that it is perfectly useless his going at present to Mostar, he has written to General Mamula informing him of his determination in consequence of the very satisfactory state of the Province which renders the presence of any Foreign Troops quite unnecessary, but reserving to himself the right of applying to the Austrian General, should matters assume such a turn as should lead him to believe the means placed at his disposal were insufficient.

The Instructions sent to Khourshid Pasha were based on Reports from this place & from the late Governor General of the Herzegovine, & from the Austrian Vice Consul at Mostar, reports which subsequent researches have proved to have been pretty exaggerated.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, FO 195/439, f. 117–120. The same information in FO 78/1010, f. 165–167 (Colquhoun to Clarendon, No. 19, Sarajevo, 29 June 1854).

Your Excellency of course receiving more directly reports from Scutari I do not send in extenso the Letter received yesterday from the Vice Consul there. He mentions the arrival of the Turkish Commissary Tefik Effendi, his having promulgated the firman by virtue of which he is authorized to provide quarters and provisions for those troops which in case of need would arrive etc. The Austrian Vice Consul of Scutari immediately on Tefik's arrival sent to Cattaro, to require the presence of some staff officer to concert measures for the occupation of that part of Albania.

The Christian population of the Country hail the arrival of the Austrian forces with gladness, while the Turkish population are proportionally indignant. These latter cannot divest themselves of their old detestation of Austria, in consequence of the long series of encouragement held out to their neighbours of Montenegro, to the great detriment of Turkey. Angry menaces are heard which give some uneasiness to the residents who are well acquainted with the nature of the Albanians, a well armed and warlike people. The Vice Consul adds "the Albanians we would have willingly seen an Anglo-French occupation, in whose loyalty & friendship they have full confidence. They would have abstained from making any remarks, if Austria had continued her masses of Troops on the Frontiers, till, a real danger occurring to the Turkish Government, a forward movement might pretty be called for". The preceding is from our Vice Consul. I annex a few remarks from the French Vice Consul Mr Hesquart to Mons Wiet. "Ici les Turcs Albanais si turbulents, si ennemies, à tout qui est étranger, qui détestent l'Autriche pardéplus tous, sont capable de faire un mouvement contr'eux et Dieu sait quelles en seront les conséquences". He goes on to say "I think the entry of the Austrians nearly decided on; the Turkish Commissary Tefik Effendi having told the Austrian Vice Consul, that not having yet received his final instructions, he could not judge whether the fit moment was arrived for the Entry of the Troops; the Austrians Vice Consul was reported to have replied that the Porte had nothing more to do in the matter, General Mamola was the only judge of the fit moment for action".

In our various and frequent interviews with the intelligent Governor General, Mr Wiet and myself have considered it our Duty to reassure him as to the sincerity and bona fides with which Austria has now joined the two Western Powers against the Common Enemy; we have to a certain degree succeeded, but it is still very evident that it will be only ay the last extremity that either His Excellency or the military Pashas will consent to call on the Austrians for assistance. The usual argument adduced is; we cannot at once & so suddenly, blew out from our recollection; the long years of more than doubt and suspicion which have filled our minds as to the intention of neighbour, who has observed but little retenu in his Conduct towards limitroph Provinces, whose component elements unfortunately have given ample scope for the exercise of the unscrupulous course of intrigue, which has characterized the Austrian agent, whether of high or low Rank, whether recognized or secret.

**20. Colquhoun to Clarendon, No. 21,
Sarajevo, 12 July 1854⁴⁵**

I have little official to report since my last, except the return here of Mr Sarell & the dragoman of the French Consulate. These Gentlemen are making up the report of their journey into the Herzegovine, which I will send to Your Lordship by the first post from hence.

We received this morning the information of another act of assassination on the persons of two Christian Merchants & of a House Servant, who passing the night at a Han near Belina in the District of Tuzla, were found next morning murdered. The master of the Han was absent at the time. A number of persons chiefly Bosniac Mussulmans are in arrest on suspicion.

The Governor General confesses he sees now the inutility of lenient measures, & I hope he will in the several cases I have before alluded to, now increased by this recent act, employ vigorous means to put a stop to these atrocities.

The Vienna papers which arrived this morning confirm some intelligence that Mr Fonblanque had communicated to me on the 4th instant that the whole Body of Russian troops were quitting Wallachia for Moldavia, that Giurgevo was evacuated & he further informs me that Austrian steamboats on the Danube, which till lately plied only as far as Widdin, would now continue on to Rustchuk and Silistria.

In this state of things, I think it may be desirable that I should leave Bosnia & avail myself to the Steam Boats, that I should go as far down the Danube as I can, so as to shorten as much as possible my land journey on horseback at the present season, when the heat are so intense. From Varna I shall proceed to Constantinople, to receive the order of His Excellency the Ambassador.

I have not yet fixed on the day of my departure, but it will be early in the ensuing week, the 17th or 18th instant.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, FO 78/1010, f. 171–172.