

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S MINISTER RESIDENT
TO THE SUBLIME PORTE:
EDWARD JOY MORRIS (1861-1870)

I

When President Abraham Lincoln designated Congressman Edward Joy Morris, of Philadelphia, to serve as his Minister Resident in Constantinople on June 8, 1861, he apparently knew something of what he was doing. Mr. Morris had not only served a number of terms in the United States House of Representatives, to say nothing of the Pennsylvania State Legislature, he had already had experience in diplomacy, as the American Chargé d' Affaires in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (1850-1853), and had traveled widely in Europe and the Middle East.¹ He had also written and translated a number of books, in addition to writing for various magazines and journals. Yet Morris remains a somewhat neglected and even forgotten American diplomatist who served his country with distinction in time of trouble on the periphery of American interest.² He was to remain in touch with the Sublime Porte throughout the American Civil War during the Johnson Administration which followed, and the early part of the Grant period. During his more than nine years in Constantinople he handled problems which were

1. Morris was born in Philadelphia on July 16, 1815 and died there on December 31, 1881. He entered the University of Pennsylvania in the class of 1835, but transferred to Harvard, from which he was graduated in the class of 1836. Admitted to the bar in 1842, he served in the Pennsylvania Legislature during 1841-1843, and was a Whig representative in the 28th Congress (1843-1845), but failed of re-election. President Millard Fillmore sent him as Chargé to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies on January 10, 1850 and he remained there until August 26, 1853. On returning to Philadelphia, he became a member of the Board of Trustees of Girard College, and he served once more in the State Legislature in 1856. Morris took a leading part in the organization of the Republican Party, and was elected to the 35th, 36th and 37th Congresses (March 4, 1857-June 8, 1861). He resigned when Lincoln appointed him as Minister Resident in Constantinople, where he served until October 25, 1870. For brief biographical notice see especially J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884* (Philadelphia, 1885), I, 728.

2. Jay Monaghan, *Diplomat in Carpet Slippers: Abraham Lincoln Deals with Foreign Affairs* (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1945), 210, merely notes the appointment.

often difficult and complicated. Agreeable and conciliatory by nature if firm in the great American tradition he was known for his diplomatic finesse.

A strong "protectionist" and conservative in his economic views, Mr. Morris was of course a faithful and loyal supporter of the Union and the Constitution. In an address before the House of Representatives on December 8, 1859, he vowed: "We are for the Union and Constitution in their full supremacy, and against all who would impair the existence of the one or obstruct the operation of the other."³ With secession stalking the land in 1861, Mr. Morris, who held the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency no cause for trouble, told the House on January 30:⁴

God grant that from its mysterious depths the lurid flames of civil war may not burst forth to consume the monuments of industry and freedom that now cover the land, and to destroy the last vestiges of American liberty and independence! I pray to God that no responsibility for such calamities may rest on me or on those whose delegated authority I here represent.

If these sentiments well fitted him to serve the Union cause abroad, he had other qualifications. Long before the Rogers Act of 1924, long before the establishment of the Foreign Service Institute of the Department of State, he possessed the requisite qualifications both from training and experience whether in general education, training in the law, or tempering in the hard school of the Pennsylvania politics of his day. But it may also be noted that he was fluent in German, French and Italian, conversant in Greek, and later picked up some Turkish and Arabic as a result of his long sojourn in Constantinople.

Whatever his special qualifications, however, it was Morris' political qualifications, and the fact that he was a Pennsylvania Republican and politician which made the post in Constantinople available to him. In fact Morris was a rival of his predecessor, George P. Marsh, for the Post as Minister in Italy.⁵ His appointment to Constantinople came as a result of political pres-

3. *Speech of Hon. E. Joy Morris, of Pennsylvania, on the Election of Speaker, and in Defense of the North, Delivered in the House of Representatives, December 8, 1859* (Washington, D. C. Printed at the Congressional Globe Office, 1859), 6 pp.

4. *Union—Peace—Popular Rights. Speech of Edward Joy Morris of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, January 30, 1861* (Washington, National Republican Office, 1861), 16 pp.

5. Although outstanding in his linguistic achievements, Morris hardly rivaled George P. Marsh, who had also served in Congress, and was Minister Resident in Constantinople during 1849-53. Marsh was a master of some 20 languages and later served as a lecturer in English philology and etymology at Columbia University. See especially David Lowenthal, *George Perkins Marsh: Versatile Vermonter* (New York, Columbia, 1958), Chs. VI-VII.

sure from Simon Cameron, former Senator from Pennsylvania, whom President Lincoln had designated as his Secretary of War. Originally the appointment to the post in Constantinople was to have gone to James W. Webb, editor of the *New York Courier and Enquirer*, a staunch friend and supporter of the Secretary of State, William H. Seward. But Webb had turned down the offer, partly because he did not want to be "exiled" to Constantinople, and partly because that post paid only \$ 7,500 per annum in comparison with the legation at Rio de Janeiro, to which he was sent, which paid \$ 12,000. Cameron wanted Morris "cared for" and President Lincoln duly responded. As the President wrote to Seward on May 6, 1861, Mr. Cameron was anxious that Mr. Morris be named Minister to Constantinople. Since Webb had declined the post, the President inquired: "Why not Morris be appointed?" Pennsylvania was "well entitled to the place" and Mr. Cameron thought there was "political reason for the appointment being made at once." Morris was therefore appointed on June 8. Qualifications were one thing, politics quite another. In the instance of Edward Joy Morris they combined to an altogether proper diplomatic appointment.⁶

II

We shall come later, and briefly, to Morris' work as a diplomat near the Sublime Porte. Of special interest at this point are the Morris writings and, in view of his later diplomatic career, particularly his two volumes of *Travels*⁷ through the Ottoman Empire and Greece during 1839-1840. On his

6. J. G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: Complete Works* (New York, Century 1894), II, 43; Roy P. Basler (Ed.), *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1953, 9 vols.), IV, 358-59, 397n; H. J. Carmen and R. H. Luthin, *Lincoln and the Patronage* (New York, Columbia, 1943), 88-89. According to William Barnes and John Heath Morgan, *The Foreign Service of the United States: Origins, Development, and Functions* (Washington, Department of State, 1961), 113, on the whole, Lincoln's diplomatic appointments proved to be very good, despite the fact that there were few Republicans with previous experience in diplomacy and the fact that many of his appointments were made without reference to the personal qualifications of individuals. As Charles Francis Adams, the Minister in London, has pointed out, in distributing his appointments, Lincoln paid little attention to qualification in diplomacy. "It was either partisan service, or geographical position, or the length of the lists of names to commendatory papers, or the size of the salary, or the unblushing pertinacity of personal solicitation, that wrung from him many of his appointments."

7. Edward Joy Morris, *Notes of a Tour Through Turkey, Greece, Egypt, Arabia Petraea, to the Holy Land: Including a Visit to Athens, Sparta, Delphi, Cairo, Thebes, Mt. Sinai, Petra, etc.* (Philadelphia, Carey and Hart, 1842), 2 vols. A portion of his *Travels* appeared originally in *The United States Gazette*.

grand tour, Morris left Naples for Constantinople in April 1839, passed through the Straits of Messina on April 20, and when the shore near Navarino came in sight, he noted:⁸

Degraded and fallen from her high condition, she [Greece] is yet worth of our warmest sympathies and affections. The parent of civilization—the land of Homer, Plato, and Leonidas—the birth-place of the arts—the cherished home of liberty and letters, she cannot but be regarded with the deepest emotion by everyone who can appreciate the immense benefits she has conferred upon the human race. I, a pilgrim from a world whose existence was unknown to her, come to tread her sacred soil, and pour out my homage at the altars where her children, two thousand years ago, worshipped.—May her ruins inspire me with the wisdom her experience should teach.

But Greece, which responded to Morris' classical heritage, was to wait. Morris arrived in Constantinople on May 4, having already examined the site of ancient Troy. On May 14 he visited the American Legation in Constantinople where he met Mr. John Porter Brown, the dragoman, "the only member of it then at Constantinople, Commodore Porter being in America."⁹ Brown warmly received him, placed a "janissary" at his service, and did many other things for which Morris was duly grateful. In the next many days, Morris visited all the historic sites of Constantinople and his *Travels* provide a fitting guide to any traveler of the period. His description of a Turkish bath is a classic of its kind:¹⁰

8. *Travels*, I, 23.

9. John P. Brown was still a member of the Legation when Morris arrived as Minister in 1861. Born in Chillicothe, Ohio on August 17, 1814, Brown joined his uncle, Commodore David Porter, who had been named Chargé in Constantinople (1831), in 1832. He remained there when Commodore Porter, who had been named Minister in 1839, died in 1843. Brown died in Constantinople on April 4, 1872, having served forty years in the Ottoman capital. He established a reputation as an Orientalist. Among his writings were a translation of the Turkish version of Al-Tabari's *Conquest of Persia by the Arabs*, Mohammed Misri's work *On The Tesavaf, or Spiritual Life of the Sofees*, and the *Patriarch Constantine's Greek Guide Book to Constantinople* (London, 1868). His is probably the best translation of Ahmed Hamdan Suahili's *Wonders of Remarkable Incidents and Rareties of Anecdotes*, a 17th Century Turkish collection of Arab and Persian fairy tales, under the title of *Turkish Evening Entertainments*. He also wrote a work on *The Dervishes, or Oriental Spiritualism* (London, 1868). On Brown see Barnes and Morgan, 94; *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, XII, 25; XII 251; Andor Klay *Daring Diplomacy: The Case of the First American Ultimatum* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 1957), 85 and *passim*.

10. *Travels*, I, 56-58. The Morris volumes may also be compared with Lt. W. F. Lynch, *Narrative of the United States' Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea* (London, Richard Bentley, 1849), 508 pp. Lynch led a U. S. naval exploratory expedition to the Jordan

As the bath is a rather serious affair in the East, we went to it early in the morning. The bath which we had selected was one of the most elegant in Constantinople. Its exterior, as usual, was mean and unpromising; upon entering we found ourselves in a spacious circular hall, lighted by a dome, pierced with numerous holes, covered with various colored glass. Around the walls were recesses, in which were reposing upon carpets and divans persons who had just finished the bath. In the centre of the hall was a fountain, whose falling water made a pleasant murmur in the still heat of the summer morning. A row of Grecian columns, several of which were from Alexandria Troas, supported the roof. We delivered ourselves into the hands of one of the half naked attendants of the bath; he changed our garments for a vestment of clean linen, and thus attired, and preceded by the attendant, we shuffled with our wooden clogs, over the verd-antique pavement, into another apartment where the heat stood at 100°. The hot vapour was so dense that we could hardly discern an object. We were immediately seized hold of by a half naked savage, with a head barely shaven, except a tuft upon the peak by which he might be drawn into heaven. We were thrown upon our backs, and then commenced such a scrubbing as I never had before. Not a particle of extraneous matter remaining upon the skin, we were turned over, and our bones were made to crack in such a manner that I thought mine would snap asunder. Remonstrances and cries of agony were unavailing, as our tongues could not be understood by our torturer. After this process we were deluged with a torrent of soap and water, and were then plunged into a tank of boiling water. Our mustaches being trimmed, and beards dressed and garments changed, we were reconducted to the hall.

All's well that ends well, however, and, with clean linen, a rest on the divan, lemonade, sherbet, coffee, and "a well filled pipe of Lattakie tobacco," Morris and his companion,

passed an hour and more in a dreamy repose, looking upon the Turks around us, and enjoying that sweet do-nothing existence; in which the cares and troubles of life are forgotten in the happy condition of a quiet and languid frame, and soothing imagination.

Following a visit to Smyrna (Izmir), Morris spent some two months, during May-June 1839, visiting Greece, traversing, as he writes, "the Peloponnesus and Hellas," and visiting "every state of ancient Greece," contem-

Valley during November 1847-June 1848, and his observations (see especially Chs. V) remind one of those of Morris. His description of a bath in Damascus rivals that of Morris. After being "parboiled" and having "the scarf-skin" scraped off, then "boiled a little more, lathered, and thoroughly washed off, he and his party were enveloped in napkins, a turban was wreathed around their heads, and, "almost exhausted and panting for a less raffied air," they were "slowly supported to the outer room," where they "reclined upon luxurious couches, and, at will, sipped coffee or sherbet, or smoked the aromatic chibouque."

plating "the sites and ruins of Sparta, Corinth, Argos, Messene, Achaia, Delphi, Plataea, Thebes, Lenetra, and almost every spot memorable in Grecian history, either for the deeds of valour, of which it was the scene, the temples and architectural monuments which it contained, or the legislation and laws which characterized it."¹¹ In Greece, thanks to his classical education, he felt a sense of kinship at least with the ancient tradition, although he was constrained to reach for his pistols whenever he saw an Albanian, had interesting views of men and events, and was much attracted to the American missionary enterprise in Greece during this period.

Morris, who tramped over Greece on horse and donkey, provides vivid descriptions of the ancient monuments and temples of classical Greece, often in the poetic terms of other writers. For the Greek people of the period, of high or low station, he entertained a certain respect, even if he found it difficult to understand their habits and customs. The Turks in Greece, on the other hand, he found "entirely ignorant" of the great ruins in which they built "their miserable huts." All they knew of history they had learned from the Qur'an but since they were no longer studying their own Holy Writ, they were "losing that vague and fabulous lore it contains." But the Turks were¹²

beginning to be convinced of one fact, however, that their existence as a nation depends upon the will and pleasure of the *infidel* powers of Europe and that while they have been fixed and stationary, the rest of the world has so much advanced in arts and arms, as to leave the followers of Mahomet in the rear of civilized nations.

Morris also noted that the Bavarian dynasty in Greece¹³ was "very unpopular." The Greek revolution, he thought, had produced several chiefs of "great merit," who had "signalized themselves by feats of extraordinary courage, which might have cast a lustre on the heroic age." While Otho had been selected king (1832-1862), and was hailed "with universal joy as a pacificator," new discontents "had broken out." Otho had "nothing national about him but the Greek costume,"¹⁴ his head and heart being Bavarian, and he governed Greece as "an appanage of Bavaria," with most of the offices filled with Bavarians. His reign was a hindrance to the development of "national resources," and the country had been in "a progressive state of impoverishment, and while its revenues are daily diminishing, King Otho

11. *Travels*, I, Chs. IV-XII; see especially p. 238.

12. On the general point see Serif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas* (Princeton, Princeton University, 1962), 456 pp.

13. *Travels*, I, 75-76.

14. *Travels*, I, 77.

is erecting himself a splendid palace of Pentelican marble which is to rival the glories of the Parthenon." In Morris' view, the King was ¹⁵

a vain silly young man, intoxicated with the idea of holding a sceptre, and ambitious, not to restore a fallen, yet fine race of people, to the dignity and renown of their glorious ancestry, but simply to play a part among the other despots of Europe.

Mr. Morris was much impressed with Mr. and Mrs. Hill, American missionaries at Athens, and especially with their school for girls. Hill "had become the almoner of civilization on our behalf, in the dispensation of the lights and blessings of civilization." He was especially pleased that the language of instruction was English, since English literature was "peculiarly the literature of civilization and freedom; wherever it extends, it carries with it the most precious influences for the moral and social conditions."¹⁶ Morris was quite convinced that Mr. Hill's "female school" would¹⁷

have a happy effect in this point of view. The return of so many young girls to their families with their natural graces heightened by mental accomplishments, will materially affect the tone of society, and must in the end, should similar schools be established, restore woman to her legitimate supremacy.

Generally speaking, Morris rated the Missionary effort of his day very highly, although as American Minister to the Sublime Porte, somewhat later, he was to have his difficulties on this subject:¹⁸

Of the American missionaries, it is impossible to exaggerate the services they are rendering to humanity. Whether on the sands of Egypt, in the city of Constantine, on the plains of Greece, the hills of Syria, or in the city of David, wherever I have met them, I have found them devoted to the enlightenment and improvement of their fellow men. Braving the most pestilential climates, leaving the delights of home and kindred, compassing sea and land for the furtherance of their philanthropic designs, undismayed by the terrors of the periodical pestilence which scourges the East, I know of no body of men who can be compared with the American missionaries for bold, zealous, and Christian philanthropy. The name of their country, which is now respected to the farthest corners of the earth where liberty is cherished, receives additional honour from the natives of the East, from the beneficent labours of the missionaries. Their hospitality and kind attentions to the American traveller, is too well known to need comment.

15. *Travels*, I, 78-79.

16. *Travels*, I, 109.

17. *Travels*, I, 148.

18. *Travels*, I, 116-17.

Greece itself was a "great field" for the American missionary enterprise : "A nobler employment than that of enlightening the minds of those whose ancestors have handed down the light of wisdom and learning to all succeeding ages, cannot be conceived."¹⁹

After recuperating from the ardors of his Greek trip in Switzerland, Morris, who constantly reflects on the ease and rapidity of travel during his day, having toured Central Europe during the summer and autumn, descended through Austria *via* Vienna to Trieste, set out in November 1839 for Egypt aboard the S. S. *Metternich*, and soon arrived in Alexandria, which he found better built than Constantinople, the houses being constructed of stone, coated with plaster. But his description of Alexandria, it may be observed, hardly rivals that of Lawrence Durrell. The trip from Alexandria to Cairo took six days, and here he was much impressed with the pyramids and other ancient monuments. The stay in Cairo was "insensibly" protracted to three weeks before preparations were made for the voyage to Upper Egypt, and Morris found the city "undoubtedly the most interesting of all the oriental cities to the traveller," with the finest models of "Saracenic" architecture. There were "four hundred mosques of unrivalled elegance, all the trades and professions, all the wares and merchandize of the East, and representatives of all its different nations, presenting the most astonishing variety of costume and physiognomy."²⁰

Through an unnamed diplomatic agent, Morris was introduced to Mohammed Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, and he was very favorably impressed:²¹

Mohammed Ali is what the world calls an extraordinary man, if the possession of rare endowments of mind, and a rise from the lowest condition of life to one, in which he has become master of the lives and properties of millions of his fellow men, entitle him to that appellation.

But in the Morris view, Mohammed Ali would have done better to have devoted himself less to the arts of war and more to those of peace. Nevertheless, he had "established such profound internal quite and order that for security of life and property the traveller in Egypt has as little to fear as in the most civilized kingdoms of Europe."

Cairo was also fascinating for its bazaars and coffee houses and we note not only that Morris climbed the pyramid of Cheops but spent the night on top of it much to the consternation of his Egyptian guides! But on December 27, 1839, Morris and his party, who chartered or rented the *Kandija* for

19. *Travels*, I, 124.

20. *Travels*, II, 69.

21. *Travels*, II, 44 - 50

the journey, set out on a trip to Aswan up the Nile which took altogether some forty - five days. By January 15, 1840 he was at Luxor and Karnak, tramping among those magnificent ruins, and visiting Thebes and the Valley of the Tombs. Like many a visitor, he was utterly astounded by what he saw, and he remarks as to Karnak:²²

I had seen all the temples of Rome and Greece and I had conceived in imagination a magnificent idea of the scene I was about entering. But nothing I had seen or imagined equalled the grand and magnificent reality that now extended before me.

Three days later, on January 18, his bark moored to the shore at Aswan, and on January 21, the *Kandija* turned downstream for the return trip, visiting Edfu, among other places, and once more he set foot among the ancient temples of Luxor and Karnak.²³ On the way down the Nile, Morris met some Americans and reflected on the breed away from their natural habitat, in terms which indicate that not much change has occurred in the intervening century:²⁴

There is a feeling of nationality among Americans abroad that I think belongs to no other people. The English shun each other, and the French are much more cordial to strangers than to their own countrymen; but the Americans I have observed abroad always seek out and associate with Americans.

I never met an American abroad who did not, in some degree, consider himself a representative of his country, and who did not feel that the national character was implicated in his conduct. I am proud to say that, in whatever country I have followed in the track of American travellers, I always met a warmer reception from the good impression that they had left behind them. This arises, in part, from the general intelligence of Americans, but in greater degree, from that cordiality and frankness of manner which is produced by their Democratic education and which leads them to sympathise with and move among all classes of people. An Englishman speaks to a peasant as an inferior, an American as an equal. We have no rank but what nature gives us; we are sovereigns at home and the equal of sovereigns abroad; from this want of artificial distinctions the American finds the door of the palace and the cottage alike open to him and he has but to act like an American to be well received in both.

Although a Whig in American politics, it is quite evident that, as a young man, Morris had imbibed something of the spirit of Jacksonian democracy!

Returning to Cairo on February 9, he now set out on a sixty-five day camel caravan across the Sinai Peninsula to Petra.²⁵ As he notes:

22. *Travels*, II, 103.

23. *Travels* II, 153-57.

24. *Travels* II, 163.

25. *Travels*, II, Chs. XXI-XXII.

It was among the rock-hewn temples of Lower Nubia, that I resolved upon following the arts into the deserts of Arabia Petraea, from which according to Sir Isaac Newton, they had first emerged; there upon the summit of Sinai, to see the spot where God had communed with man, and had handed down to him from heaven the eternal laws of justice — there, among the excavated tombs and temples of Petra, and the ruined cities of Idumaea, to see the most ancient forms of art — and there, among the dismal wastes and barren mountains of that curse-stricken desert, to follow in the foot-steps of the chosen people of God in their journey from Egypt to the promised land.

Starting out in a thirty-camel caravan to the Monastery of St. Catherine in the Sinai Peninsula, he continued to Akaba with four camels, and thence went to Petra which, in many ways, he considered the highlight of all his travels. Back to Akaba, he returned to Petra with an eight-camel caravan, and thence went on to Hebron, Jerusalem and Beirut, before returning home *via* Alexandria and Malta. It may be noted that Morris had “a very favorable” impression of the bedouin, with whom he parted as “old friends with whom I had formed an affectionate attachment.”

After publication of his *Travels*, Morris translated three volumes from the German for the edification of his fellow-Americans, while pursuing an active political and legal career. With the onset of the Crimean War (1853 - 1856), he translated the brief and concise handbook of Alfred de Besse on the Turkish Empire,²⁶ since he felt that Americans should know more of this part of the world, in which great events were then taking place.

Similarly, in 1854, Morris translated a novel from the German of Theodore Mügge,²⁷ whom he considered to be “one of the most distinguished writers of fiction in Germany,” and he wanted Americans to know “this beautiful work of genius.” Good American Victorian that he was, it may be questioned that Morris would have approved of Henry Miller, for he says that the reader of *Afraja*

will not fail to remark the high moral tone and pure sentiments which pervade the whole composition... the more striking from its

26. Alfred de Besse, Member of Embassy at Constantinople, *The Ottoman Empire; Its Historical, Statistical, and Religious Condition; Also its Manners, Customs, Etc.* Translated, Revised, and Enlarged (from the Fourth German Edition) with Memoirs of the Reigning Sultan, Omar Pacha, the Turkish Cabinet, etc., etc. By Edward Joy Morris, Late U.S. Chargé d’Affaires at Naples (Philadelphia, Lindsay and Blakiston, 1854), 261 pp.

27. Theodore Mügge, *Afraja, A Norwegian and Lapland Tale: or Life and Love in Norway.* Translated from the German of Theodore Mügge, by Edward Joy Morris (Philadelphia, Lindsay and Blakiston, 1854), 571 pp. Mügge was born in Berlin on November 8, and died on February 18, 1861. He wrote, among other things, *Skizzen aus dem Norden* (1844); *Nordisches Bilderbuch* (1848); and *Leben und Lieben in Norweg* (1854).

contrast with the depraved taste and corrupting influence of so many of the works of fiction of the present day. It is lamentable to witness the growing depravity of this department of literature, and the unholy zeal with which great talents are prostituted to the inculcation of false views of life and duty, and the diffusion of immoral principles. The success of *Afraga*, however, in Germany has demonstrated that the public mind has not lost its partiality for those who seek to refine and elevate the imagination, and to base their hopes of success on an appeal to the higher feelings of our nature.

While Chargé d'Affaires in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Morris made a journey to Corsica during the summer of 1852, attracted "as much by its unexplored solitudes, and the grandeur of its scenery, as by the original character of its people." The history of the Corsicans, "as sternly rugged as their mountains, and as wondrous as their own natures," had "an entirely exclusive character." Even if it had not produced Napoleon, Corsica would "still be worthy of the admiration of the world." The result of his trip was the translation of the work on *Corsica* by the distinguished German historian, Ferdinand Gregorovius.²⁸ In 1855, Morris was also preparing a memoir dealing with his *Four Years' Residence in the Kingdom of Naples, with Observations on the History, Antiquities, Manners and Customs, etc., etc., of that Country*. Evidently, however, he was unable to complete the work, in view of his increasing political activities, following his return from the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.²⁹ He was soon back in the Pennsylvania Legislature, then in Congress and in 1861, as already noted, returned to old haunts when he was designated as President Lincoln's Minister Resident near the Sublime Porte.

III

Strong in the faith of the Union and ardent in its support, Edward Joy Morris succeeded an equally strong supporter of the Confederacy, James Williams, of Tennessee, who had served as Minister Resident in Constantinople since 1858. He was cordially received in the Ottoman capital by the Sublime

28. Ferdinand Gregorovius, *Corsica: Picturesque, Historical and Social, with a Sketch of the Early life of Napoleon, and an account of the Bonaparte, Paoli, Pozzo di Borge, and Other Principal Families*. Suggested by a tour of the island in 1852. Translated from the German of Ferdinand Gregorovius by Edward Joy Morris (Philadelphia, Parry and M'Millan 1855), 522 pp. Gregorovius was born at Niedenburg, January 19, 1821 and died in München on May 1, 1891. His great work was the *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter, 400-1534* (Stuttgart, 1859-1872), 7 volumes.

29. For his writings, Morris fits into the later tradition, if not the same genre, continued by Samuel Sullivan Cox, who wrote *Diversions of a Diplomat in Turkey* (New York, Charles L. Webster, 1887), 685 pp., and General Lewis Wallace, the author of *Ben Hur*, who served as Minister during 1881-1885.

Porte, which looked with favor upon the Union cause throughout the Civil War, not so much because of sympathy with the North, as because of its antipathy against rebellion in principle.³⁰ Throughout the war, indeed, American-Ottoman relations were very friendly, if not always simple and uncomplicated. On March 26, 1862, an order was issued prohibiting the entrance of privateers or any class of vessels into the ports and waters of the Ottoman Empire fitted out for the purpose of preying upon American commerce and exempting American warships from any restrictions. Morris considered this action, taken at his request, as a "sign of the determination of the Turkish Government to discountenance the hostile designs of the rebels against the integrity of the republic of the United States," and he noted that the Sublime Porte had never recognized the Confederate States of America as a belligerent, despite the action of Great Britain and France. Nor did the Porte, "at any time, directly or indirectly, manifest any sympathy with their efforts for the destruction of the American Union." Moreover, as early as February 25, 1862, the United States and the Ottoman Empire signed a new Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, which was proclaimed on July 2, 1862, on a most favored nation basis.³¹ As Morris advised the Department of State on February 25, the treaty, which modified the original instrument of May 7, 1830, and was based on the Anglo-Ottoman treaty of April 29, 1861, covered "a much larger field and contains all the prominent features of modern commercial treaties between Christian States." It was, in his view, "the most liberal Treaty that has ever been made by the Porte, and cannot fail of promoting a large increase of trade between the United States and the Ottoman dominions."³² He seemed especially pleased that the treaty placed "the citizens of the United States on a footing of perfect equality with the subjects of the Porte as to both do-

30. For details, with documentary citations, see Harry N. Howard, "The United States and the Problem of the Turkish Straits: The Foundations of American Policy (1830-1914)," *III Balkan Studies* (1962), 1-28.

31. See especially Hunter Miller, ed., *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America* (Washington, D.C., U.S.G.P.O., 1948), VIII, Doc. 227, pp. 716-752; Basler, *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, V, 176. As Morris indicated in a number of despatches, the Ottoman Government received news of Union victories during the Civil War with satisfaction, since it viewed the possible downfall of the Union as calamitous. It greeted the re-election of President Lincoln in 1864 and the news of the assassination was received with the greatest concern. To counteract the general feeling that President Andrew Johnson might not be able to meet his problems, Morris had his biographical sketch published in all Constantinople papers. See especially U.S. *Foreign Relations*, 1865, III, 281, 287-288. In general, see also Leland Gordon, *American Relations with Turkey: An Economic Interpretation* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1932), *passim*.

32. Miller, VIII, 739.

mestic and foreign trade, and removes all the invidious distinctions which have existed in this respect."

Morris was both skillful and assiduous, to put it mildly, not only in protecting American rights, but in stretching the letter of the law in that respect, especially in getting American warships through the Turkish Straits, despite the restrictions imposed on all men-of-war by the "ancient rule of the Sultan's Empire" and more particularly under the Treaty of Paris of March 30, 1856, which ended the Crimean War. When the U.S.F. *Ticonderoga* was refused passage of the Straits in August 1866 because it was too large, over weight and over gunned, Morris obtained right of passage on the ground that, since only a courtesy visit was intended, it would be "considered discourteous" on the part of the Porte to refuse passage. The *Ticonderoga* arrived at Constantinople on September 7, 1866 for an eleven day visit. Commodore Steedman was presented to Sultan Abdul Aziz on September 17, was wined and dined, there were no untoward incidents, and the visit was pronounced a resounding success. As Morris noted:✓

The moral and political effects of the visit cannot fail to be of the most salutary character and it is the more remarkable as no vessel of her dimension belonging to any European power is admitted to pass through the Straits to Constantinople.

Mr. Morris was not unfavorably impressed with a unanimous resolution of the House of Representatives on July 6, 1868, submitted by Congressman William D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, which urged the abolition of all restrictions of passage through the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus to the Black Sea.³³ Granted the general principle of the "freedom of the seas," to which the United States professedly adhered, the resolution actually made little, if any, sense, but Morris advised Secretary of State Seward on July 20 that, in his opinion, the time had come when the restrictions on vessels of war "should be abolished altogether and when their navigation" in the Straits "as well as that of the Black Sea, should be open to all the navies of the world."³³ Later he wrote Seward with considerable prescience:

33. See his Despatch No. 263, July 20, 1868; National Archives, Turkey No. 20. E.J. Morris, May 3, 1867-March 3, 1869. 205-394. Department of State. See also his despatch of August 1868. For an interesting critique of the Resolution of July 6, 1868 see *The United States and Turkey* (Washington, D. C., McGill and Witherow, 1868), 1-17, in which the author noted that restrictions of the passage of warships had served both the interested of "guaranteeing the integrity of the Ottoman empire, and of insuring a safeguard to European peace." He also noted that, by signing the treaty of 1830, the United States had accepted the restrictions and that, as to commercial passage, the Sublime Porte had "always shown a readiness to remove all cause of hindrance thereto, and to lessen the obstacles which in-

During the Crimean War, the American shipping interest in the region was quite large. It is now inconsiderable, but the future of the United States is so vast and the enterprise of the American people so great, that our commerce may take quite a large development in this part of the East at no distant period. In this aspect the restrictions and regulations in question seem to deserve consideration.

Morris felt that the restrictions imposed by existing treaties, to which, in any event, the United States was not a party, were harmful to commerce and contrary to the American-Ottoman treaty of 1862, which he had negotiated.

Mr. Morris demonstrated much finesse during the visit of Admiral Faragut to Constantinople during August 1868. The admiral had come into the Straits on the U.S.F. *Frolic*, and when his flagship, the U.S.F. *Franklin*, appeared off the Dardanelles, the Porte was inclined to exclude passage because of its dimensions, its weight and its guns, and noted that, unless "a prince of the blood royal" were aboard, a ship of this size could not pass. Morris promptly replied that, under such a rule, the United States, a democratic country, with no royalty, "would not enjoy the same privileges as the aristocratic states of Europe, and that this provision of the treaty [of Paris] was partial in its application, and to the derogation of our dignity." Passage was ultimately permitted, in an altogether exceptional manner, out of deference to Admiral Faragut and to "the great American Republic," and because the Sultan desired "to see this magnificent frigate." But the Sublime Porte, fearful lest a dangerous precedent be established, especially in the instance of imperial Russian warships, later indicated that it would never happen again!

But Mr. Morris was also aware of other aspects of the problem of Constantinople and the Straits, and especially of Russian pretensions which looked toward possible control of the Dardanelles. Commenting, on February

terfere with navigation." As the anonymous author, actually Christopher Osanyan [Hatchik Oscanyan], the Ottoman Consul-General in New York, notes: "Do we not also discover the object of the Kelley proposition? Whatever this may be, should we find ourselves forced to a choice between the false, equivocal, and dangerous policy which this proposition seems to indicate; where interests of natures so different, that they could not be mingled save by a resort to diplomacy, or complications still more weighty, are confused and confounded, whether unintentionally or by design; were we called to choose between this proposition and the course of the American statesmen of 1830, who were so careful to exclude from their treaty all that could call in question its strictly commercial character — while we do not wish to impugn the intention of the honorable Representative from Pennsylvania — we should not hesitate to avow our preference for the policy, at once wise, loyal, and dignified, of Van Buren, Clay, and John Quincy Adams." Osanyan, leaving aside his work as Consul-General, indulged in intelligent propaganda and was also the author of *The Sultan and his People, by a Native of Turkey* (New York, Derby and Jackson, 1857), 456, pp.

28, 1868, on the developments in the Danubian Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, which ultimately looked toward the establishment of an independent and unified state of Rumania, he wrote that "the absorption of the principalities by Russia would put that power in possession of all the available routes of access to Constantinople" and render it impossible to defend "the capital with any prospect of success." On November 2, 1868, he advised the Department of State of the recognition of Prince Karl von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen as Hospodar of the Danubian Principalities and of the fact that the project for union did not please St. Petersburg, and for obvious reasons.³⁴

Generally speaking Mr. Morris got on well with members of the small American community mostly engaged in the missionary-educational enterprise in the Ottoman capital, although he had his problems in this connection.³⁵ He played a not insignificant role, during the Farragut visit in August 1868, in securing the property rights for Robert College.³⁶ Yet the Rev. Cyrus Hamlin, the first President of Robert College, complained that the American Legation was not³⁷

disposed to take an active part in protection of the College. It was not a question of commerce; and Mr. Morris declared that, as our treaty was a commercial one, he had no imperative duties in the case. I asked him if the question had involved a cargo of rum belonging to a merchant, what he would do. He replied that he should certainly interfere in such a case.

On the other hand, the British Embassy, at least for a time, seemed very helpful. Relations between Dr. Hamlin and Mr. Morris, in fact, remained strained for years. As the Rev. George Washburn, son-in-law and successor of Dr. Hamlin, as President of Robert College, has put the matter, Robert College depended chiefly for a period, on Lord Lyons, who had just come from Washington. Lord Lyons "was an enthusiastic friend of America" and "saw clearly that Robert College would strengthen English influence in Turkey." But,³⁸

34. U.S. *Foreign Relations*, 1866, II, 237-238, 254-255.

35. Note his difficulties when American missionaries were murdered in 1862 (U.S. *Foreign Relations*, 1862, pp. 784-791; 1863, Pt. II, 1174-85; 1864, Pt. IV, 366-73).

36. Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times* (Boston and Chicago, Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society, 1893), 432-452. But see E. D. G. Prime, *Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D. D., Forty Years in the Turkish Empire* (New York, Robert Carter, 1878), 449.

37. Hamlin, 432.

38. George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1909), 28-33.

Dr. Hamlin was so disgusted with what he felt to be a want of sympathy on the part of the American minister that he had broken off personal relations with him, and the situation was farther complicated by the fact that the minister and his first secretary and dragoman [John P. Brown] were not on speaking terms. Yet all the official communication with the Porte had to be carried on through the American Legation. Happily I was on good terms with all the parties concerned. Dr. Hamlin told me what he wanted and I went to the minister and got his promise to act; then I went to the dragoman and persuaded him to act on the same line, in both cases listening to the complaints which the one had to make against the other. It was the most curious experience that I ever had in diplomacy. In 1868 Dr. Hamlin resumed direct intercourse with the American minister.

He did so, in fact, during the Farragut visit, and Dr. Hamlin was much pleased when Mr. Morris advised him of the Ottoman confirmation of the College property rights. On July 5, 1869, Mr. Morris duly took part in the cornerstone laying of the College building along with other dignitaries.³⁹

Morris left his post in October 1870, after more than nine years in Constantinople, where his name had become somewhat legendary, to retire in Philadelphia, and was succeeded by Wayne MacVeagh, also of Pennsylvania. His first wife, Elizabeth Gatliff Ella, died in Constantinople, and he married Susan Leighton in October 1876. Morris himself died on December 31, 1881. Some of his despatches can be read in old volumes of *The Foreign Relations of the United States* and many others are safely stored in The National Archives in Washington. They well repay further study, not merely for his record of honorable service to the United States in what was then a far off corner of the world, on the periphery of American interest, but for what he was and what he thought about men and matters. As suggested above, President Lincoln evidently knew what he was doing when he sent him as Minister Resident to the Sublime Porte, even if it were largely for the reason that Pennsylvania, not just Edward Joy Morris, was "well entitled to the place."

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39. Hamlin, 457-458. Samuel S. Cox, who served as Minister during 1885-87, had a high regard for Morris, and noted that Farragut's efforts in the case of Robert College were "skillfully seconded by the diplomacy of my lamented friend" (*Diversions*, 586).