



PROJECT MUSE®

---

## Humanitarian intervention in the long nineteenth century

Alexis Heraclides, Ada Dialla

Published by Manchester University Press

Heraclides, Alexis and Ada Dialla.

Humanitarian intervention in the long nineteenth century: Setting the precedent.

Manchester University Press, 2016.

Project MUSE.[muse.jhu.edu/book/51531](https://muse.jhu.edu/book/51531).



➔ For additional information about this book

<https://muse.jhu.edu/book/51531>

---

Access provided at 2 Apr 2020 01:50 GMT with no institutional affiliation



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License.

## Select bibliography

Works in Russian are to be found in the notes of [chapters 6](#) and [9](#).

- Abiew, F. K., *The Evolution of the Doctrine and Practice of Humanitarian Intervention* (The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 1999).
- Akarli, E. D., *The Long Peace: Ottoman Lebanon, 1861–1920* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1993).
- Albrecht-Carrié, R., *A Diplomatic History of Europe Since the Congress of Vienna* (London: Methuen, 1958).
- Alexandrowicz, C. H., 'New and Original States: The Issue of Reversion to Sovereignty', *International Affairs*, 45:3 (1969).
- Anderson, D., *The Balkan Volunteers* (London: Hutchinson, 1968).
- Anderson, M. S., *The Eastern Question, 1774–1923: A Study in International Relations* (London: Macmillan, 1966).
- Anghie, A., *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- Arend, A. C. and R. J. Beck, *International Law and the Use of Force* (London: Routledge, 1993).
- Avineri, S., *Hegel's Theory of the Modern State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).
- Barker, E., 'The Authorship of the *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos*', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 3:2 (1930).
- Barnett, M., *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011).
- Bass, G. J., *Freedom's Battle: The Origins of Humanitarian Intervention* (New York: Vintage Books, 2009).
- Becker Lorca, A., 'Universal International Law: Nineteenth-Century Histories of Imposition and Appropriation', *Harvard International Law Journal*, 51:2 (2010).
- Beisner, R. L., *Twelve Against Empire: The Anti-Imperialists, 1898–1900* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968).
- Beitz, C. R., *Political Theory and International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979).
- Bell, D. (ed.), *Victorian Visions of Global Order: Empire and International Relations in Nineteenth-Century Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- Benton, E. J., *International Law and Diplomacy of the Spanish-American War* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1908).
- Blake, R., *Disraeli* (London: Methuen, 1966).

- Bodin, J., *On Sovereignty: Four Chapters from the Six Books of the Commonwealth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, edited and translated by J. H. Franklin).
- Brewer, D., *The Greek War of Independence: The Struggle for Freedom from Ottoman Oppression and the Birth of the Modern Greek Nation* (Woodstock: Overlook Press, 2001).
- Bull, H., *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977).
- Bull, H. (ed.), *Intervention in World Politics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).
- Cavallar, G., 'Vitoria, Grotius, Pufendorf, Wolff and Vattel: Accomplices of European Colonialism and Exploitation or True Cosmopolitans?', *Journal of the History of International Law*, 10 (2008).
- Chesterman, S., *Just War or Just Peace? Humanitarian Intervention and International Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- Christopher, P., *The Ethics of War and Peace* (Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 2004, 3rd edition) [1999].
- Clayton, G. D., *Britain and the Eastern Question: Missolonghi to Gallipoli* (London: Lion Library, 1971).
- Cobden, R., *Political Writings* (London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1995), vol. I.
- Crampton, R. J., *A Concise History of Modern Bulgaria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 2nd edition) [1997].
- Crawley, C. W., *The Question of Greek Independence: A Study of British Policy in the Near East, 1821–1933* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1973) [1930].
- Dakin, D., *The Greek Struggle for Independence, 1821–1833* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1973).
- Daskalov, R., *The Making of a Nation in the Balkans: Historiography of the Bulgarian Revival* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2004).
- Dialla, A., *I Rosia apenanti sta Valkania: Ideologia kai politiki sto deftero imisi tou 19ou aionu* [Russian attitudes towards the Balkans: ideology and politics in the second half of the nineteenth century] (Athens: Alexandria, 2009).
- Donnelly, J., 'Human Rights: A New Standard of Civilization?', *International Affairs*, 74:1 (1998).
- Doyle, M. W., 'A Few Words on Mill, Walzer, and Nonintervention', *Ethics and International Affairs*, 23 (2009).
- Dulles, F. R., *1898–1954, America's Rise to World Power* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963) [1954].
- Echard, W. E., *Napoleon III and the Concert of Europe* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983).
- Edwards, C., 'The Law of War in the Thought of Hugo Grotius', *Journal of Public Law*, 19 (1970).
- Elbe, J. von, 'The Evolution of the Concept of the Just War in International Law', *American Journal of International Law*, 33:4 (1939).
- Ellis, A., 'Utilitarianism and International Ethics', in T. Nardin and D. R. Mapel (eds), *Traditions of International Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- Eppstein, J., *The Catholic Tradition of the Law of Nations* (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1935).
- Esmein, A., 'La théorie de l'intervention internationale chez quelques publicists français du XVIe siècle', *Nouvelle revue historique, de droit français et étranger*, 24 (1900).
- Fadner, F., *Seventy Years of Pan-Slavism in Russia: Karamzin to Danilevskii 1800–1870* (Georgetown: Georgetown University Press, 1961).
- Farah, C. E., *The Politics of Interventionism in Ottoman Lebanon, 1830–1861* (London: Centre for Lebanese Studies in association with I. B. Tauris, 2000).

- Field, Jr, J. A., 'American Imperialism: The Worst Chapter in Almost Any Book', *American Historical Review*, 83:3 (1978).
- Finlay, G., *History of the Greek Revolution* (London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1861).
- Finnemore, M., 'Constructing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention', in P. J. Katzenstein (ed.), *The Culture of National Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).
- Fixdal, M. and D. Smith, 'Humanitarian Intervention and Just War', *Mershon International Studies Review*, 42:2 (1998).
- Fonteyne, J.-P. L., 'The Customary International Law Doctrine of Humanitarian Intervention: Its Current Validity Under the U.N. Charter', *California Western International Law Journal*, 4 (1973–74).
- Franceschet, A., 'Kant, International Law, and the Problem of Humanitarian Intervention', *Journal of International Political Theory*, 6:1 (2010).
- Franck, T. M. and N. S. Rodley, 'After Bangladesh: The Law of Humanitarian Intervention by Military Force', *American Journal of International Law*, 67:2 (1973).
- Ganji, M., *International Protection of Human Rights* (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz, 1962).
- Geyer, D., *Russian Imperialism: The Interaction of Domestic and Foreign Policy, 1860–1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987).
- Gong, G. W., *The Standard of 'Civilization' in International Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).
- Gordon, T., *History of the Greek Revolution* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1844, 2nd edition) [1832].
- Gould, L. L., *The Spanish-American War and President McKinley* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1982).
- Grewe, W. G., *The Epochs of International Law* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2000, translated from the German and revised by M. Byers) [1984].
- Grimsted, P. K., *The Foreign Ministers of Alexander I: Political Attitudes and the Conduct of Russian Diplomacy, 1801–1825* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969).
- Hagenmacher, P., 'Sur un passage obscur de Grotius', *Revue d'histoire du droit*, 51 (1983).
- Hanioglu, M. Ş., *The Young Turks in Opposition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).
- Harris, D., *Britain and the Bulgarian Horrors of 1876* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939).
- Hartigan, R. S., 'Noncombatant Immunity: Reflections on its Origins and Present Status', *Review of Politics*, 29:2 (1967).
- Heraclides, A., 'Humanitarian Intervention in the 19th Century: The Heyday of a Controversial Concept', *Global Society: Journal of Interdisciplinary International Relations*, 26:2 (2012).
- Heraclides, A., 'Humanitarian Intervention in International Law 1830–1939: The Debate', *Journal of the History of International Law*, 16 (2014).
- Herring, G. C., *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations Since 1776* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- Hinde, W., *George Canning* (London: Collins, 1973).
- Hinsley, F. H., *Power and the Pursuit of Peace: Theory and Practice in the History of Relations Between States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963).
- Hitti, P. K., *Lebanon in History* (London: Macmillan, 1967).
- Hoffmann, S., 'The Politics and Ethics of Military Intervention', *Survival*, 37:4 (1995–96).
- Holbraad, C., *The Concert of Europe: A Study in German and British International Theory 1815–1914* (London: Longman, 1970).
- Jahn, B. 'Humanitarian Intervention – What's in a Name?', *International Politics*, 49:1 (2012).

- Jelavich, B., *Russia's Balkan Entanglements 1806–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- Kant, I., 'Toward Perpetual Peace', in Immanuel Kant, *Practical Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- Keal, P., *European Conquest and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: The Moral Backwardness of International Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- Kingsbury, B. and A. Roberts, 'Introduction', in H. Bull, B. Kingsbury and A. Roberts (eds), *Hugo Grotius and International Relations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).
- Knudsen, T. B., 'The History of Humanitarian Intervention: The Rule or the Exception?', 50th ISA Annual Convention, New York, 15–18 February 2009.
- Koskenniemi, M., *The Gentle Civilizer of Nations: The Rise and Fall of International Law 1870–1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- Kovič, M., *Disraeli and the Eastern Question* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
- Laberge, P., 'Humanitarian Intervention: Three Ethical Positions', *Ethics and International Affairs*, 9 (1995).
- LaFeber, W., *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860–1898* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1963).
- Lauterpacht, H., 'The Grotian Tradition in International Law', *British Year Book of International Law*, 23 (1946).
- Lederer, I. J., 'Russia and the Balkans', in I. J. Lederer (ed.), *Russian Foreign Policy: Essays in Historical Perspective* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967).
- Lillich, R. B., 'Forcible Self-Help by States to Protect Human Rights', *Iowa Law Review*, 53 (1967–68).
- Linderman, G. F., *The Mirror of War: American Society and the Spanish-American War* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1974).
- Little, R., *Intervention: External Involvement in Civil Wars* (London: Martin Robertson, 1975).
- Macfie, A. L., *The Eastern Question, 1774–1923* (London: Longman, 1996) [1989].
- MacKenzie, D., 'Russia's Balkan Policies Under Alexander II, 1855–1881', in H. Ragsdale and V. N. Ponomarev (eds), *Imperial Russian Foreign Policy* (New York: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Cambridge University Press, 1993).
- Malanczuk, P., *Humanitarian Intervention and the Legitimacy of the Use of Force* (Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 1993).
- Ma'oz, M., *Ottoman Reform in Geographical Syria and Palestine, 1840–1861: The Impact of the Tanzimat on Politics and Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).
- Marriott, J. A. R., *The Eastern Question: An Historical Study in European Diplomacy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918).
- McCartney, P. T., *Power and Progress: American National Identity, the War of 1898, and the Rise of American Imperialism* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 2006).
- Meron, M., 'Common Rights of Mankind in Gentili, Grotius and Suarez', *American Journal of International Law*, 85:1 (1991).
- Mill, J. S., 'A Few Words on Non-Intervention', in J. S. Mill, *Dissertations and Discussions: Political, Philosophical and Historical* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1867), vol. III.
- Miller, K. E., 'John Stuart Mill's Theory of International Relations', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 22:4 (1961).
- Molen, G. H. J. van der, *Alberto Gentili and the Development of International Law: His Life and Times* (Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1937).

- Morgan, H. W., *America's Road to Empire: The War with Spain and Overseas Expansion* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1965).
- Mowat, R. B., *A History of European Diplomacy, 1815–1914* (London: Edward Arnold, 1922).
- Nardin, T., 'The Moral Basis for Humanitarian Intervention', in A. F. Lang (ed.), *Just Intervention* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2003).
- Neumann, I. B., *Uses of the Other: 'The East' in European Identity Formation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).
- Nussbaum, A., 'Just War – A Legal Concept?', *Michigan Law Review*, 42:3 (1943).
- Offner, J. L., *An Unwanted War: The Diplomacy of the United States and Spain Over Cuba, 1895–1898* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).
- Olson, W. C. and A. J. R. Groom, *International Relations Then and Now* (London: Routledge, 1991).
- Orakhelashvili, A., 'The Idea of European International Law', *European Journal of International Law*, 17:2 (2006).
- Pagden, A., *The Enlightenment and Why It Still Matters* (New York: Random House, 2013).
- Parekh, B., 'Rethinking Humanitarian Intervention', *International Political Science Review*, 18:1 (1997).
- Pavlowitch, S. K., *A History of the Balkans, 1804–1945* (London: Longman, 1999).
- Pérez, L. A., Jr, *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).
- Pitts, J., 'Boundaries of Victorian International Law', in D. Bell (ed.), *Victorian Visions of Global Order: Empire and International Relations in Nineteenth-Century Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- Pratt, J. W., *A History of United States Foreign Policy* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965, 2nd edition) [1955].
- Prokesch-Osten, A. von, *Istoria tis epanastaseos ton Ellinon kata tou Othomanikou kratous en etei 1821* [History of the revolution of the Greeks against the Ottoman state in the year 1821] (Athens: Athinas, 1868, trans. from the German by G. E. Antoniadis) [1867].
- Prousis, T. C., *Russian Society and the Greek Revolution* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1994).
- Puryear, V. J., *France and the Levant: From the Bourbon Restoration to the Peace of Kutiah* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1968).
- Ragsdale, H. and V. N. Ponomarev (eds), *Imperial Russian Foreign Policy* (New York: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Cambridge University Press, 1993).
- Ramsbotham, O. and T. Woodhouse, *Humanitarian Intervention: A Reconceptualization* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996).
- Rieber, A. J., 'Alexander II: A Revisionist View', *Journal of Modern History*, 43:1 (1971).
- Rodogno, D., 'The "Principles of Humanity" and the European Powers' Intervention in Ottoman Lebanon and Syria in 1860–1861', in B. Simms and D. J. B. Trim (eds), *Humanitarian Intervention: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- Rodogno, D., *Against Massacre: Humanitarian Intervention in the Ottoman Empire, 1815–1914. The Emergence of a European Concept and International Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).
- Russell, F. H., *The Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).
- Salibi, K. S., *The Modern History of Lebanon* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965).
- Schmitt, C., *The Concept of the Political* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1976 translated from the German with Introduction and notes by G. Schwab) [1932].
- Schulz, M., 'The Guarantees of Humanity: The Concert of Europe and the Origins of the

- Russo-Ottoman War of 1877', in B. Simms and D. J. B. Trim (eds), *Humanitarian Intervention: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- Seton-Watson, R. W., *Disraeli, Gladstone and the Eastern Question* (London: Frank Cass, 1962) [1935].
- Shannon, R., *Gladstone and the Bulgarian Agitation 1876* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1963).
- Simms, B. and D. J. B. Trim (eds), *Humanitarian Intervention: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- Smith, E. K., "A Question from Which We Could Not Escape": William McKinley and the Decision to Acquire the Philippines', *Diplomatic History*, 9:4 (1985).
- Smith, J., *The Spanish-American War: Conflict in the Caribbean and the Pacific, 1895–1902* (London: Longman, 1994).
- St Clair, W., *That Greece Might Still Be Free: The Philhellenes in the War of Independence* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2008) [1973].
- Stavrianos, L. S., *The Balkans Since 1453* (London: Hurst, 2000) [1958].
- Stojanovic, M. D., *The Great Powers and the Balkans, 1875–1878* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939).
- Sumner, B. H., *Russia and the Balkans, 1870–1880* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937).
- Susumu Y., 'Civilization and International Law in Japan During the Meiji Era (1868–1912)', *Hitotsubashi Journal of Law and Politics*, 24 (1996).
- Sylvest, C., *British Liberal Internationalism, 1830–1930: Making Progress?* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).
- Temperley, H., *The Foreign Policy of Canning 1822–1827* (London: Frank Cass, 1966) [1925].
- Tesón, F., *Humanitarian Intervention: An Inquiry into Law and Morality* (New York: Transnational, 1997) [1988].
- Tibawi, A. L., *A Modern History of Syria Including Lebanon and Palestine* (London: Macmillan, 1969).
- Todorov, T., *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1992) [1982].
- Trask, D. F., *The War with Spain in 1898* (New York: Macmillan, 1981).
- Trim, D. J. B., "If a Prince Use Tyrannie towards his People": Intervention on Behalf of Foreign Populations in Early Modern Europe', in B. Simms and D. J. B. Trim (eds), *Humanitarian Intervention: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- Tuck, R., *The Rights of War and Peace: Political Thought and the International Order from Grotius to Kant* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
- Varouxakis, G., 'John Stuart Mill on Intervention and Non-Intervention', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 16:1 (1997).
- Varouxakis, G., *Liberty Abroad: J. S. Mill and International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- Vincent, R. J., *Nonintervention and International Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974).
- Walzer, M., *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations* (New York: Basic Books, 1977).
- Walzer, M., 'The Politics of Rescue', *Social Research*, 62:1 (1995).
- Wheeler, N. J., *Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- Williams, H., *Kant and the End of War: A Critique of Just War Theory* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

- Woodhouse, C. M., *The Greek War of Independence* (London: Hutchinson's University Library, 1952).
- Woodhouse, C. M., *Capodistria: The Founder of Greek Independence* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973).
- Wortman, R., *Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), vol. II.