Owen Miller will argue how the Hamidian massacres of the 1890s could be seen as part and parcel of a larger global phenomenon: the efforts of the Ottoman State to control its upland spaces. In the Ottoman Empire, this violence was directed against mountain communities from the Balkans to Yemen, from Dersim to Sinjar. If some of those stories are more widely told, they are rarely connected. The 19th century was a period of almost continual 'small wars' in the upland areas.

In the nineteenth-century, lowland states, like the Ottoman Empire, gained the technological wherewithal to incorporate the upland areas of the world. This expansion of state power — variously termed centralization, internal colonization, or conquest — would contribute to dramatic transformations of governance, ideas of difference (race, ethnicity, national identity), religion, economy, class and society, and the environment.

The Ottoman internal colonization of mountainous areas was facilitated by the advancement of technologies of the industrial age: steam, telegraph, and rifles. These processes can be seen around the world, from the French scorched-earth campaigns into the Atlas Mountains, the Russian conquest of the Caucasus, and the British efforts to control the ‘tribal’ areas on the frontiers of its Empire.

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