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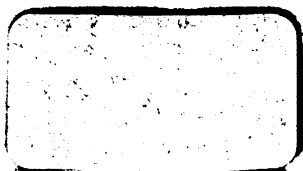
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Alfred A. Finney.
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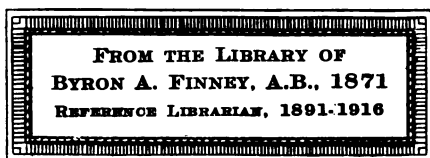
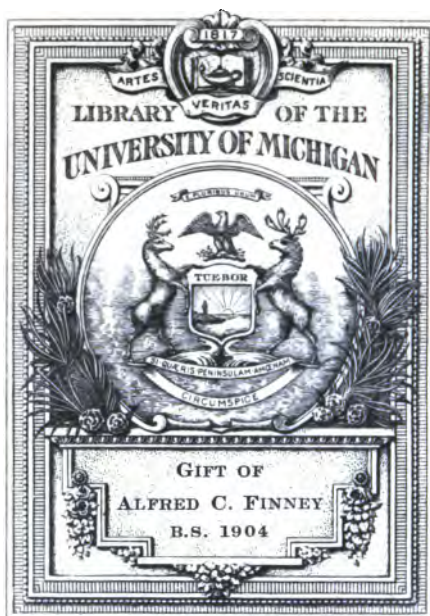
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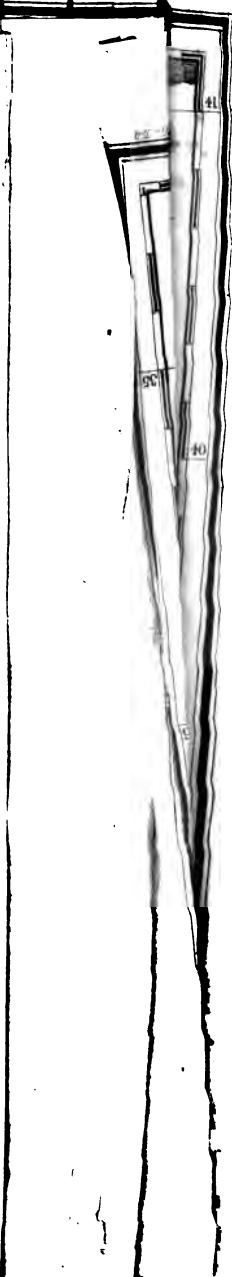
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AN
HISTORICAL SKETCH
OF THE
GREEK REVOLUTION.

BY
SAMUEL G. HOWE, M. D.

LATE SURGEON IN CHIEF TO THE GREEK FLEET.

_____ and who
That marks the fire still sparkling in each eye,
Who but would deem their bosoms burn'd anew
With thy unquenched beam, lost Liberty!
And many dream withal the hour is nigh
That gives them back their fathers' heritage.

Childe Harold, Canto II., Stanza LXXV.

SECOND EDITION.

NEW YORK:
WHITE, GALLAHER & WHITE.

1828.

Southern District of New York, ss.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the second day of August, A. D. 1828, in the fifty-third year of the Independence of the United States of America, Samuel G. Howe, of the said District, hath deposited in this office the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as author, in the words following, to wit:

"An Historical Sketch of the Greek Revolution. By Samuel G. Howe, M. D., late Surgeon in Chief to the Greek Fleet.

_____ and who
That marks the fire still sparkling in each eye,
Who but would deem their bosoms burn'd anew
With thy unquenched beam, lost Liberty!
And many dream withal the hour is nigh
That gives them back their fathers' heritage.

Childe Harold, Canto II. Stanza LXXV."

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FRED. J. BETTS,

Clerk of the Southern District of New York.

TO
MATTHEW CAREY,
AND
EDWARD EVERETT, Esqs.,

THE GENEROUS AND UNTIRING PHILHELLENES, THIS SKETCH OF
THE PROGRESS OF THE STRUGGLE FOR GRECIAN IN-
DEPENDENCE, IS INSCRIBED AS A MARK
OF FRIENDSHIP AND RESPECT,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

Gift of A. C. Finney
Added ed.
4-25-41

PREFACE.

To the Author's friends, who know that he has been obliged to draw up this Sketch of the Greek Revolution, within the last five months, and amid other occupations, no apology is necessary for presenting it, in its present imperfect state; or for the numerous faults and inelegancies in style and composition, which must necessarily have crept into a work, so hastily finished. But to the Public, such an apology is necessary.

The Author had hoped leisurely to digest the mass of historical information concerning the Revolution, which he had collected during three years' service in Greece; to combine with it, statistical accounts, remarks on the soil, climate, productions, and geographical and commercial advantages of that country; with observations on the religion, language, manners and customs, virtues and vices, of the Modern Greeks in such a way, as to form a volume that should contain both interesting, and useful information. But since his return to America, the Author has been called upon (unexpectedly) to devote the principal part of his time, to the advancement of the cause of Philhellenism here, and suddenly to return to Greece; in whose service, it has been the height of his ambition, to perform a part useful to her, and honourable to himself.

Necessity therefore, obliges him to throw his book before the American public, without claiming for it the name of a HISTORY; it is what it professes to be, merely a SKETCH. The information may be depended upon; but it is not all that is wanting. He may appear to have dwelt much upon the characters of the principal Greeks; but he flatters himself, that the authenticity may apologise for this; as he has not ventured to speak of any, whom he has not known personally. The names of many distinguished Greeks, and the character and actions of some Philhellenes, have been omitted; not from want of respect to them, but from the Author's not wishing to speak of any individual, particularly, whom he did not know, (with the exception of Lord Byron) but whose names must have a place in a complete history.

As for dates, the Author has not deemed them of sufficient consequence in a work of this kind, to devote much time in searching them out; he has never put them down therefore, but in those cases in which he could rely upon them.

The influence which the policy of the European Powers have had upon the progress of the Revolution, has been great;

but the Author has not ventured to dwell much upon this subject, which requires more investigation than his time will now allow him to make.

The Author hesitates not to rank himself among the friends, and even among the admirers, of the Modern Greeks ; for he has been rather surprised at finding *so much* national spirit, and *so much* virtue among them. that that there was so little ; and he thinks he has seen enough of them, to justify him looking confidently for the day, when they will shew themselves worthy of their glorious descent ; to the day, when it shall no longer be said with truth, that " Philoœmen was the last of the Greeks."

The arguments of those who reason upon the present degraded situation of the Greeks, and assert that they are less deserving our notice than the Turks, are not worth the pains of a refutation. The feelings of that man, who regards with perfectly philosophical indifference, such a people, such a cause, and such a country, as that of Greece, are not to be condemned ; but, they are not to be envied. And surely a like allowance should be made for the opposite feeling ; for that enthusiasm which is pardonable in this cause, if in any ; for it springs from the best feelings of human nature. To admire Greece, and Greeks, for what they have been, may not be rational, but it is natural ; to hear the descendant of Demosthenes speaking the same beautiful language, which flowed like a rill, or thundered like a torrent, from his lips ;—to hear the Modern Greek women saying, like the Spartan matron to her son, as he goes out to battle—" With it, or upon it ;"—to see the descendant of Miltiades, fighting for liberty on the battle-ground of Marathon ; are scenes which the scholar cannot contemplate without some emotion ; and the feeling of indifference which philosophy tells him to substitute for it, is an artificial, and not a natural one.

But the Author has never, for an instant, let his enthusiasm blind him to the faults of the Greeks, or influence him in recording them ; nor has he ever ranked himself among those Philhellenes, who have imagined that the cause of Greece was to be advanced, by holding up to the world a false picture of the disinterested patriotism, or heroic courage of the Modern Greeks. He has endeavoured impartially, and faithfully, to give an historical Sketch of those events, which have for the last seven years so much interested the American public ; it is as yet very imperfect ; but should it be indulgently received, he hopes that farther researches, and an investigation of Turkish, as well as Greek character and actions, may enable him to present something, that may merit the name of a complete History of the Revolution in Greece.

INDEX.

BOOK FIRST.

CHAP. I.

Page

Causes of the Insurrection—Spread of knowledge among the Greeks—Commerce—Many Greeks serve in European Armies—The Armatoli—Klefts—Fanariotes—Hetaria, or Conspiracy among the Greeks—Rebellion of the Ali Pashaw of Albania—Sultan calls in the Suliotes to assist him against Ali Pashaw—Suliotes form a league with the Ali, quit the army of the Sultan, and commence hostilities. . . . 25

CHAP. II.

The Heterists select Ipselanti to excite and head the Insurrection—He crosses the Pruth—His feeble efforts not well seconded by the People—News of his Movement reach the Peloponessus—Germanos raises the Standard of Revolt—Enthusiastic rush to Arms—Reception of the news in the Ionian Islands—Colocotroni goes to the Peloponessus—Insurrection in the Islands of the Archipelago—Steps taken by the Porte on hearing of the Revolt—Murder of the Patriarch—Massacres—Suliotes—The Lieutenant of Kourchad Pashaw crosses the Peloponessus—Disperses the Insurgents before Patras—Greeks get the advantage over the Laliotes—Colocotroni defeats Mohammed Bey—Insurgents surround Tripolitza—First Cruise of the Greek Fleet. 37

CHAP. III.

Extension of the Insurrection—Assembly at Calamata—Arrival of Demetrius Ipselanti at Hydra—His Character—Blockade of Navarino—Monembasia—Tripolitza—Second Cruise of the Fleet—Its state—Destruction of Aivala—Blockade of Athens—Greeks take the lower town. 47

CHAP. IV.

Blockade of Tripolitza continued—State of the Army—Battle of Kaki Scarlar—Fall of Malvasia—Commencement of Parties—Ipselanti's demands—Commission refuses them, and he leaves the Camp—Is called back—Assembly at Varachova—Result of the Revolt in Moldavia and Wallachia—Arrival of Alexander Mavrocordato—His Character—Goes to insurgre Ætolia—Siege of Navarino—Massacre of the Turks—Death of Constantine Mavromichalis—Plan of the Turkish Campaign—Fleet leaves the Dardanelles—Threatens Samos

	Page
—Appears on the coast of the Morea—Particulars of the Siege of Tripolitza—Sufferings of the Turks—Arrival of Col. Gordon—Plan of Colocotroni to get rid of Ipselanti.	60
CHAP. V.	
Ipselanti leaves the Camp—Progress of the Siege of Tripolitza—Bobolina—Proposals of Terms—Truce—Shameful conduct of the Greek Chiefs—Assault—Town carried—Horrors of the Assault—Ipselanti returns to Tripolitza—His Proclamation—Progress of the Insurrection in Macedonia—Proceedings of Mavrocordato—Convention of the National Assembly.	77

BOOK SECOND.

CHAP. I.

Review of the progress of the Insurrection—First National Assembly—Declaration of Independence—Constitution—First Government—Plan of Turkish Campaign—Military Geography of Greece—Citadel of Corinth surrenders to the Greeks—Outrages upon the Prisoners—Policy of the British Ionian Government—Proceedings of the Greek Government—Its Declaration to the Allied Monarchs.	89
--	----

CHAP. II.

The President Mavrocordato prepares to invade Epirus—Pushes on to Komboti—Desperate situation of Suli—Marco Botzaris flies to relieve it—Is forced back—Greeks are defeated at Peta—Mavrocordato retreats—Evacuates Arcanania—Kuriekuli Mavromichalis killed at Fanari—Mainotes retreat—Situation and defence of the Suliotes—Are reduced to extremities—Mavrocordato falls back upon Misilonghi.	102
---	-----

CHAP. III.

Scio—The peaceable character of its Inhabitants—Forced into revolt by the Samiotes—Blockade the Governor of the Island and all the Turks in the Citadel—Capitan Pashaw appears—Greeks defeated—Massacres—Capitan Pashaw leaves Scio—Attacked by the Greek Fleet—Attacked and burnt by Kanaris—Siege of Athens—The Acropolis surrenders to the Greeks—Massacre of Turkish Prisoners.	111
---	-----

CHAP. IV.

Situation of Napoli di Romania—Blockaded by the Greeks—Turks capitulate—Advance of the army of Drami Ali Pashaw—He takes Corinth from the Greeks—Advances to Argos, and relieves Napoli—Is harassed on the plain by the Greeks—Retreats—Is attacked in the Passes—Slaughter of the Turks—Character of Niketas, the Turcophagus.	126
---	-----

CHAP. V.

Ulysses—Drami Ali Pashaw attempts to regain the Argolis—is defeated—Conduct of Yussuf Pashaw—Londos forces three thousand	
---	--

	Page
Turks to surrender—Close Blockade of Napoli continued—Capitan Pashaw attempts to relieve it—is repulsed—Kanaris burns the ship of the Capitan Pashaw at Tenedos—Napoli di Romania surrendered to the Greeks—Suliotcs forced to abandon Suli—Resistance of Marco Botzaris—Turks besiege Missolonghi—Assault it on Christmas eve—Missolonghi reinforced—Turks retreat.	139

BOOK THIRD.

CHAP. I.

Review of the Progress of Events—Parties—National Assembly at Astros—Military Party gets the ascendancy—Invasion of Western Greece—Marco Botzaris defeats a body of Turks at Creonero—Attacks the Army of Mustapha Pashaw at midnight—is victorious, and slain—Turks penetrate to Anatolico—Blockade of that place—Its defence—Turks repulsed—Mavrocordato arrives.	151
---	-----

CHAP. II.

Turkish Operations in Greece—Opposed by Ulysses—Siege of Corinth—It surrenders to the Greeks—Proceedings of the Fleet—Character of Miaulis—Notice of the Island of Hydra—Skirmish between the Fleets—Turkish Corvettes destroyed, and Turks retire.	160
---	-----

CHAP. III.

Candia—Revolt in that Island—Tombazi appointed to direct it—Turkish cruelties—Interference of Egypt—Notice of the life, genius, and power of Mehemet Ali, Viceroy of Egypt—Jealousies between the Greek Senate and the Executive Body—Violence of the Executive—Senate pronounces sentence of deposition against the Executive—Senate appoints a new Executive—Civil Dissensions—Mavrocordato resumes the Government of Western Greece—Considerations on the progress of the Revolt.	168
--	-----

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAP. I.

Arrival of Lord Byron in Greece—His feelings—Opinions about Greece—Raises a Corps of five hundred Men—His difficulties with the mutinous Suliotcs—Altercations with Col. Stanhope—Lord Byron's services to Greece—His Expenses—Intentions—His Death—Honours paid to his memory.	181
---	-----

CHAP. II.

The Islanders gain the ascendancy; and the Presidency of Conduriotti becomes secure—Proceedings of the Greek Government—Act of the 8th of June—Notice taken of it by the British Government—Repeal—Operations of the Turkish Fleet—Destruction of Ipsara—Miaulis de-	
--	--

	Page
destroys the Turkish Flotilla—Miaulis's Division returns to Hydra— Turkish Fleet attempts the Destruction of Samos—Successfully op- posed by Sacturis—Naval Battle.	199

CHAP. III.

Egyptian Expedition sails for Greece—Opposed by the Greek Fleet— Gallant and skilful operations of Miaulis—He beats the Egyptian Fleet in several encounters—Successfully opposes its passage to Candia—Greek Fleet returns home—Turkish operations by land successfully opposed by the Greeks.	212
---	-----

BOOK FIFTH.

CHAP. I.

Flourishing situation of Greece—Government well established—Educa- tion—Credit abroad—Character of Conduriotti—His Administra- tion—Character of Coletti—English Loan—Egyptian troops land from Candia, under Ibrahim Pashaw—Enmity of Coletti to Mavro- cordato.	221
---	-----

CHAP. II.

President leaves Napoli with an Expedition destined to repel Ibrahim Pashaw—The latter blockades Navarino—Joannes Mavromichaelis killed—Turks defeat Skurtis—Mavrocordato arrives at Skoria—In- trigues of Coletti and others, to detach the Roumeliotes from Mavro- cordato—their success—Mavrocordato flies into the Interior for Rein- forcements—Returns and throws himself into Palio Kastro—Attack on Sphacteria—Turks carry it—Escape of the Brig Mars—Palio Kastro surrenders—Navarino capitulates to the Turks—Miaulis attacks and burns Turkish Vessels at Modon.	229
---	-----

CHAP. III.

Turkish operations in the North—Kutahi is named to the Command— Dissensions at Napoli—Colocotroni is released—Prepares to oppose Ibrahim—Ibrahim takes Nisi and Calamata—Opposed by Flesher— Defeat and death of Flesher—Ibrahim seizes the Passes Leonardari— Confusion at Tripolitza—Populace flies—Town is burnt—Ibrahim advances and possesses himself of its ruins—Pushes on towards Napoli —Battle of the Mills—Ibrahim retires to Tripolitza, having burnt Argos.	242
---	-----

CHAP. IV.

Necessity of discipline in the Greek army—Ulysses—Cavern of Par- nassus—Greek fleet sails in two divisions—Sacturis defeats a division of the Turkish fleet at Cavo d'Oro—Miaulis is obliged to steer to- wards Hydra—Returns to Candia—Attempt to burn the Turkish fleet at Suda—Massacre of Turkish prisoners at Hydra.	252
---	-----

CHAP. V.

Siege of Missolonghi—Scientific operations of Kiutahi Pashaw—Character of the Greeks of Missolonghi—Cannonade and bombardment—Conduct of the women—Various assaults repulsed—Karaiskakis harasses the rear of the Turkish army—Offers of capitulation rejected by the Greeks—Letter of Lambro Veicos—General attack by the Turks—Gallant defence—Miaulis appears to the relief of the place—Driven off by the Turkish fleet—Intrigues of foreigners at Napoli—General Roche—Proceedings of Ibrahim Pashaw—Attempt to burn the Turkish fleet in Alexandria. 262

CHAP. VI.

Alarm of the Greek Government—Flourishing situation of Eastern Greece—Devastation of some of the provinces of the Peloponessus—Greek fleet—Egyptian fleet brings reinforcements to Ibrahim—Progress of the siege of Missolonghi—The efforts of Kiutahi Pashaw defeated—He retires—Resolution of the Missolonghiotes—Turkish fleet arrives before Missolonghi—Vain efforts of Miaulis to throw provisions into Missolonghi—Ibrahim Pashaw commences his operations against Missolonghi—State of that town. 276

BOOK SIXTH.

CHAP. I.

Prospects of the Greeks at the Opening of 1826—Embarrassment of the Government—Call for a new National Assembly—Progress of the siege of Missolonghi—Relieved by Miaulis—Letter of Miaulis—Regular Troops under Col. Favier—Expedition of Negropont—Favier is defeated—Danger of his Troops—Relieved by Ipsariote and Hydriote vessels. 285

CHAP. II.

Progress of the Siege of Missolonghi—Assault—Turks repulsed—Garrison makes a sortie—Ibrahim prepares to attack the islands in the harbour of Missolonghi—Takes Vasiladi—Noulma—Anatolico—Gallant defence of Clissova—Distress of the garrison—Miaulis appears—Is unable to force the blockade—Resolution of the garrison—Last hours of Missolonghi—Steps taken by the Greek Government—Attempt to revolutionize Candia—Greeks take the fortress of Grabonsi—Result of the Candiofe expedition. 300

CHAP. III.

National Assembly appoint a commission to regulate the affairs of the country—Character of the members of the new government—Of Zaimis—Of Petro Mavromichalis—Of Siëni—Of Dillyani—Of Triedepi—Movements of Ibrahim Pashaw—Operations of Kiutahi Pashaw—Commences the siege of Athens—Exertions at Napoli to raise money—Geunadio—Piracies—Observation on. 318

CHAP. IV.

- Proceedings of Ibrahim Pashaw—Attempts to penetrate the District of Maina—Is repulsed—Kiutahi continues the siege of Athens—Battle of Gaidari—Col. Favier with the Regulars is beaten—Kiutahi takes the lower Town of Athens—Greeks shut themselves up in the Acropolis—Action between the Turkish and Greek Fleets—Events in the months of September and October. 335

CHAP. V.

- Proceedings of Ibrahim Pashaw—Distresses of Greece—Operations of Kiutahi—Death of Gourah—Civil dissensions among the Greeks—Arrival of the Steam Corvette, Perseverance—Continuation of Siege of Athens—Relieved by Col. Favier—Expedition of Talanda—Judicious operations of Karraiskakis—Disputes about the place for the meeting of the National Assembly. 346

BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAP. I.

- * Condition of Greece at the opening of this year—Distress prevalent—Want of money—Examination of the management of the London Greek committee—Of the Greek deputies—Abominable waste of the Greek loan—Speculations and peculations of British Philhellenes—Present state of Turkey. 367

CHAP. II.

- Siege of Athens continued—Success of Karraiskakis—Plan for relieving Athens—Colonel Gordon takes position at Piræus—Defeat of the Greeks under Bourbakis—His capture and murder—Kiutahi Pashaw attacks Colonel Gordon—Is repulsed—Heidegger's expedition to Onopos—Arrival of Lord Cochrane—National Assembly—Cochrane takes the duties of Admiral—General Church appointed Commander-in-chief—Capo D'Istria chosen President—Character of Lord Cochrane—Steam-boat expedition. 388

CHAP. III.

- Attempts of Gen. Church and Lord Cochrane to relieve Athens—Monastery taken—Massacre of Turkish Prisoners—Death of Karraiskakis—Greeks defeated on the 6th of May—Bad results of that defeat—Character of Gen. Church—First Cruise of Lord Cochrane. 404

CHAP. IV.

- Progress of the siege of Athens—Terms of capitulation are proposed—Garrison accepts them, and surrenders the Acropolis into the hands of the Turks—Distresses of Greece—Civil disturbances—Colocotroni attacks Napoli by night—Sale of Corinth—Proceedings of Lord Cochrane—Naval battle in the gulf of Salona. 420

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

GREECE Proper, is that small section of country situated between the thirty-sixth, and fortieth parallels of Northern Latitude ; and between the twentieth, and twenty-fourth degrees of Eastern Longitude.

It is bounded on the North, by Macedonia and Albania Proper ; on the East, by the Ægean Sea ; on the South, by the Mediterranean ; and on the West, by the Ionian Sea. Its greatest length does not exceed 250 miles, and its mean breadth not 150 ; it contains no more than twenty-three thousand square miles, exclusive of Macedonia, Albania Proper, and the Islands.

But this little spot of earth has attracted more attention than any other country, for the last thirty centuries : the inhabitants of that beautiful land have been regarded by the rest of mankind, with alternate feelings of surprise, of fear, of admiration, of pity, and of contempt ; till at last, they seemed lost and forgotten by all :—when suddenly, they burst from the slumber of ages—they rush upon the arena of their former glory, and loudly challenge the attention, if not the admiration of the world.

No age or nation has as yet refused the tribute of unqualified admiration of the enterprise, the genius, and the taste of the Ancient Greeks ; nor this alone, because they were able many centuries ago to eclipse the rest of the world, but, that they then carried the mental powers to a degree of perfection, which has never yet been equalled.

And this admiration is the more unhesitatingly given, since there is not the shadow of a doubt, about the reality of what we admire ; it is not to legend, it is not even to history alone, that we trust ; the works of the Greek Poets, Orators, Sculptors, and Architects, still exist, and speak for themselves, in

language stronger than that of words. The "Blind old man of Scio's rocky isle," is still considered the first of poets; and no modern oratory has excelled that which once swayed the Athenian multitude: the greatest modern artists take for their guides the still existing works of Grecian sculptors; and the finest specimens of modern architecture, are but feeble approaches to the grace and symmetry which abounded in Grecian buildings.

The traveller who visits Greece, is at every step presented with some striking proof of the enterprise and genius of the former inhabitants of the land: if he finds but a solitary column, standing erect among the ruins of a temple,* he sees in that column, such beauty and strength, lightness and stability, blended into such graceful proportion, as convinces him the building must have been the work of a master genius. But when he visits the Temple of Theseus, of which every column is still standing, and which is the finest specimen of architecture, perhaps in the world, there is no bound to his feelings of wonder and admiration.

And if those works which chance, or the durability of their materials, has handed down to our age, are so beautiful, and so perfect in their kind; can we not infer, that in the more perishable arts, the Ancient Greeks were as great masters? Could the paintings of Zeuxis and Parhasius be now exhibited, they would be as rich a treat to the artist, as the Rhodian has given them, in the ever-dying throes of Laocoon.

But it is not alone to her poets and orators, to her painters and sculptors, that Greece owes her glory; whether we contemplate her Philosophers, her Statesmen, her Patriots,

* This fact is well exemplified in the remains of the Temple of Bacchus in the island of Naxos. Of this Temple there is now only to be seen a gateway, eighteen feet high, and ten broad; formed by two erect slabs of marble, with a third laid across the top. It would seem the simplest thing in the world, to place three slabs in this position, and form a fine gateway; yet the traveller exclaims, that he never saw any thing equal to it; "what beauty, what strength, what proportion, and yet, how simple! well—those old Greeks were wonderful men!" Such are the exclamations, (often it would seem involuntary) of travellers who visit it.

or her Warriors, we shall find the same extraordinary development of the human faculties, the same brilliant example of greatness and worth.

Greece, by the mental superiority of her inhabitants, overthrew empires; made herself mistress of all around her; and raised herself to a pinnacle of glory, from which she was precipitated, rather by her own degeneracy, than by any other cause.

But the story of her growth to greatness, and her fall to insignificance, is familiar to every one, even to the school-boy; we shall merely attempt therefore, rapidly to trace the history of the Greeks, through those ages in which their name has been lost to the world, down to the time when it re-appeared with new splendour.

The glories of Greece were not extinguished by the Macedonian conquest, but the spirit of liberty was gone; and though the revival of the Æchean league, seemed to promise a revival of freedom, the attempt proved abortive; and before the Romans had triumphed in the East, we find the Greeks divided into three parties, one favouring the Macedonians, a second the Romans, and a third, though the smallest, was in favour of independence. But the arms and influence of Rome prevailed; one hundred and fifty years before Christ, Greece had become virtually a dependent on Rome.

The shadow indeed of liberty was preserved in some parts, particularly in Sparta, which had not been reduced by the Macedonians, and which had successfully resisted the arms of Pyrrhus. In the civil war between Pompey and Cesar, we find the Athenians ranging themselves on the side of the former, as being the party of liberty, while the Spartans espoused the cause of Cesar. The latter, with his characteristic magnanimity, refused to destroy Athens, saying he would spare the children for their father's sakes.

At the time of the birth of the Saviour, Greece had lost her liberties entirely, nor was she of any importance in the political world; but she was still famous as the great school of philosophy, and the arts, and the resort of all the literary and scientific men of the world; even the Roman scholar

could not claim a finished education, until he had made his pilgrimage to Greece.

The first Roman invasion had been cruel, and the fate of the Greeks was sometimes severe ; (for the track of Mummius was not the only one marked with blood) ; but under the Emperors Trajan, Adrian, Constantine, and some others, the Greeks were not only well treated, but highly honoured. Cesar had rebuilt Corinth ; and Adrian restored to splendour many of the neglected temples of Athens.

But the most important change which happened to the Greeks, was their national conversion to Christianity, during, and soon after the Apostolic days. Religion has ever since been to the nation like a band of iron, uniting particles which would have else fallen to pieces. It has been the principal means of preserving their language, since the priests were obliged to keep up a knowledge of the ancient Greeks, during all the changes which the nation has undergone. It has served also to draw much more distinctly the line of division between them, and the different nations who have had the mastery over them.

Greece merits but little historical consideration during the second and third centuries, though she was still the literary emporium of the world ; the removal of the seat of the Roman empire to Constantinople, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, and the peculiar regard shewn to Greece, by Constantine the Great, rendered her situation more interesting. The division of the Empire into the Eastern and Western, gave stronger claims to the Patriarchs of Constantinople, and the distinction between Eastern and Western Churches, began to appear.

In the beginning of the fifth century, Alaric, the plunderer of Italy, led his savage hordes into Greece, and spread murder and rapine over the country. Athens had been taken by the Goths in the middle of the third century, but they spared its beautiful structures ; unlike Alaric, who devastated what he could not carry off. From this time Athens and Greece in general are almost entirely lost to the historian, for several centuries. He can indeed trace their story, by

their connexion with the western or Romish Church ; but politically, Greece was of no other consequence, than as a province of the Byzantine Empire. The sun of Rome had set in the West, and the empire existed only at Constantinople.

But though Rome herself had ceased to be the political mistress of the world, her Prelates were already laying the foundations of that power, which was destined to break the sceptres of Princes, and make crowns bow to the Mitre.

There was an appearance of friendship kept up between the Church of Rome, and that of Constantinople, for seven centuries from the time of the spread of Christianity. The Apostolic church was certainly founded in Greece before that of Rome ; but the Romish Prelates assumed the right of being considered the Great head of the Christian Church, which the Bishops at Constantinople as constantly denied them. Disputes had long existed on various subjects, particularly on that of the use of images, which the Greek Patriarchs condemned as idolatrous.

These disputes proceeded to such a length, that in the year 858, Pope Nicholas I. condemned the election which had been made by the emperor Michael, of Photius, to the post of Grand Patriarch of Constantinople ; and excommunicated Photius. But the latter, so far from conceding to Pope Nicholas the right of superiority, immediately assembled a council of Divines at Constantinople, and answered the Romish Bull by another, in which he thundered excommunications against the Pope himself.

From this moment we may date that separation of the Christian world, into the Romish and Greek Churches ; a separation which has ever since been widening. The Romans or Catholics condemn the Greeks as schismatics, and bear a feeling of hostility and hatred towards them ; while the Greeks with certainly more reason, claim to be the orthodox Church, and return the hatred of the Catholics with those bitter feelings, which religious bigotry so often gives rise to.

And here it may be well to notice the points in which the Greek Church differs from that of the Roman, or Catholic

Church. "Many of the corruptions of the Church of Rome arose before the final separation took place between it, and the Greek Church; and as many of these had their origin in the East, they continued in both churches, after the division; so that in the Greek Church, may be found many, of what are considered as errors in the Latin Church: but, though the former departed widely from the faith which it once professed, and is now sunk in deplorable ignorance and superstition, it can scarcely be admitted, that it is so very corrupt as the latter."*

The Greeks deny the supremacy and infallibility of the Pope of Rome; but substitute for him, their Patriarch, whose seat is Constantinople; and who, they contend, is the head of the true Catholic Church.

The Greek Church condemns as idolatrous, the use of images, as practised in the Romish Church. But for images, it substitutes pictures. It does not condemn its priests to celibacy, though no priest can marry a second time; nor can any married priest rise to the rank of Bishop.

It rejects the Romish doctrine of purgatory; but it directs masses for the souls of the dead. Unlike the Romish Church, it does not condemn the people to an ignorance of the Scriptures. But the invocation of the Saints, and the adoration of the Virgin Mary, is carried by the people to a much greater extent, even than allowed by the canons of the Church. The *Panagea* or All holy Virgin, is to the Greeks, the Alpha and Omega of their religion; more prayers are addressed to her, and more confidence is placed in her intercession with the Father, than in that of the Son. The walls of every house are covered with her pictures, and the meanest hut or the poorest fishing boat, is never found day or night without a lamp trimmed and burning before the picture of the Virgin.

The Scriptures are professedly the rule of faith to the Greek Church, but explained and modified by the decrees of the first Seven Councils.

* Adam, Vol. I. p. 332.

It would be ill-timed to enter now into an explanation of these; suffice it to say, that except in the above-named points, the Greeks do not differ materially in their creed from the Roman Catholics or the Latin Church. Like the latter they are bigotedly attached to their religion; which however, exists so much in outward ceremony, and has so little of spirituality, that it must be an abomination in the sight of Him, who to be worshipped acceptably, must be worshipped in spirit and truth.

From the fifth to the thirteenth century, the history of Greece is little known, and probably of but little importance; it was merely a Province of the Eastern Empire, which was feebly governed by a race of monarchs, at last known by the name of the Greek Emperors.

The first crusaders did not appear in Greece Proper; but towards the middle of the twelfth century, the Venetians, Sicilians, and some other adventurers, overrun the Peloponessus and Attica. Greece was then governed, or rather distracted, by different petty tyrants; and the people were plunged in the grossest ignorance and superstition.

There were never wanting however, pious and learned prelates, whose writing serve as stars, to throw a *feeble* light upon these dark and obscure ages;—in fact, from the days of Cadmus, to those of Coray, the Greeks never have been wanting for any considerable length of time, in industrious and faithful writers on some subject or other.

In the year 1204, the French under the Marquis of Montferat, with the Venetians, and Baldwin of Flanders, took Constantinople from the Greek Emperor; and soon Baldwin was placed on the throne of Constantine. The French, under the Marquis of Montferat, pushed their conquests through Greece Proper, took Athens and Thebes, and penetrated into the Peloponessus. The Marquis bestowed the Government of Athens on Othon de la Roche; hence the singular title of Duke of Athens, which we hear mentioned in the thirteenth century.

Some French Crusaders returning from the Holy Land,

were accidentally* driven upon the shores of the Peloponessus; joined the Marquis of Montferrat, who was then besieging Napoli di Romania; and the whole, accompanied by some Venetians, subjugated all the Peloponessus, except Laeedemon, which was held by a petty native Prince.

The Peloponessus, then called the Morea, was afterwards delivered by treaty to the Venetians; though the possession was disputed by the Genoese. In all these different conquests, the Greeks were regarded in a light scarcely different from cattle belonging to the soil; and of course, the property of its possessor.

But the Europeans did not long hold Constantinople; it was wrested from the family of Baldwin, about the middle of the thirteenth century, by the Greek Emperors of Nice.

From this time, till the middle of the fifteenth century, the possession of Greece was the subject of dispute between the Emperors of Constantinople, the Venetians, Florentines, and other European powers; who in those fluctuating times, were continually gaining, and losing possessions, in the Eastern part of Europe.

By all these different lords of the soil, the Greeks were harshly treated; since they were too ignorant and too degenerate to defend their rights. The sufferings of the country had been such, that the population had materially decreased, and no spirit of improvement was visible. But still the Greeks preserved in a strange degree many of their national characteristics; they mingled not with their masters, but kept distinct in manners, language, and feelings; cruel treatment they often suffered, but not direct persecution; and in the fluctuations which were yearly taking place, there was some chance the spirit of the people might revive, and take advantage of any circumstance favourable to their independence. But there were very few Greeks who then cared, or thought about the liberty of their country; the scholar indeed wept over the present degeneracy of his native land, as he contemplated its past grandeur in the writings of its sages; and the freebooter, who lived a life of rude independence in the moun-

* *Itinéraire de Chateaubriand. Introduction.*

tains, paid the tribute of a passing sigh to the memory of his great ancestors, as he gazed on some decaying temple ; but of which he knew only that they had been the builders.

There was indeed a hope, that the light and knowledge which was then dawning in the West of Europe might extend its influence even to Greece ; but this hope was extinguished in the middle of the fifteenth century, by the torrent of Turkish invasion which poured forth from Asia, and spread itself not only over Greece, but over all the East of Europe.

About the year 1200, the Turks began to appear advancing from the interior of Asia ; every day spreading their conquests, and increasing in power.

Othman was the first of that enterprising and warlike race of Princes, who made such good use of the blind fanaticism, and headlong courage of their subjects ; that in a few years they rendered the name of Turks terrible to the rest of the world, and increased the Ottoman power, with a rapidity almost unparalleled in history.

Amurat I. led the Turks into Europe, and established the seat of their empire at Adrianople ; Constantinople still resisted ; but the mighty Bajazet, son and successor to Amurat, stood ready with five hundred thousand men, to crush that great city, and then rush upon Europe ; when he was checked by Tartar, Tamerlane ; to whom perhaps, Christendom owes her redemption from the scourge of a second Atilla.

But Solyman rose superior to the misfortunes, which the fall of his father had heaped upon him, and upon rising power of Turkey. His successor, Mahomet I, pushed still farther the Turkish arms. Amurat II. overran all Greece Proper, and captured Athens ; which, however, was soon again in the power of the Franks.

It was reserved for Mahomet II. to put the finishing stroke to the destruction of Roman and Grecian power ; he took Constantinople at the head of his Janizaries in 1453, and in a few years, Greece Proper yielded ingloriously to him. It is said, that like Julius Cesar, Mahomet respected Athens ; but his successors were unlike him ; and though it seemed that Greece had been for ages drinking the bitterest portion of the

cup of adversity, she now found, that the still more bitter dregs remained, and she was obliged to drain them to the very bottom, at the dictation of barbarian fanatics of another religion.

From the time of the Turkish conquest in the middle of the fifteenth century, Greece was considered of no other consequence than the frequent seat of war between the Turks and Venetians, who had alternate possession of the country; and who were the alternate tyrants and oppressors of the people, whom they treated like slaves.

It was not until 1715 that the Turks got complete and undisturbed possession of the country; and from that time, we lose sight of the Greeks, or only hear them spoken of, as degenerated slaves, by those travellers, who were led by an admiration of the genius of the Ancients, to take a pilgrimage to Athens, to contemplate the most sublime remnants of antiquity.

In 1770 Catharine II. planned and effected a revolt in Greece, in order to favour Russia in her war with Turkey. She had previously sent emissaries into every part of the country, to prepare the Greeks for an insurrection; and the people were excited by hopes of being freed by Russia, if they would rise. It wanted but little to effect this; for the Greeks had then become somewhat enlightened, and thousands were flattering themselves, that any attempt of theirs at independence, would be encouraged and supported by the European Powers.

A Russian fleet was sent round to the Mediterranean;—twelve hundred soldiers were landed in the Morea, and the Greeks were summoned to arms. They rose,—but not to arms,—for arms had not been allowed them by the Turks; but they rushed upon their oppressors with fury; killed great numbers; took the fortress of Navarino; and drove the Turks from every part of the Morea, forcing them to shut themselves up in the fortresses.

But they were miserably seconded by the Russians;—no means was given them to continue the war; and the Turks calling in the Albanians, the Greeks were driven in

their turn, to take refuge in the mountains, and under the walls of Navarino, where the Russian commander, Orloff, had shut himself up with his soldiers. He refused the Greeks admittance, and thousands were cut up before his eyes. The enterprize was most shamefully abandoned by the Russians, who, after leading the Greeks into a rebellion, refused them support, evacuated the country, and left the victims of their guilty undertaking to suffer the terrible vengeance of the Turks, which would not be appeased for years. Thousands of Greeks were butchered, and the whole Peloponessus laid waste.

Meantime the Russian fleet, under the bold Scot Elphinston, attacked and burnt the Turkish fleet at Tchesme; and this success served in the eyes of the Russians, to atone for the disgraceful termination of their attempt on the Peloponessus.

By the treaty of Kanairgi, signed in 1774, Russia resigned all her pretensions to any possession in the Archipelago, and made some vain stipulations in favour of the Greeks; but they were utterly disregarded by the Turks, who continued to deal vengeance upon them. So far was the Divan exasperated, or alarmed, that the often agitated question of the extermination of the Greek people was resumed, and only prevented from being carried into execution, by the exertions of Hassan Pashaw. That truly great man, after urging other reasons in vain, brought the Divan to its senses by asking, "if you exterminate the Rayahs, who will pay you the great capitation tax, which you now get from them?"

We have thus cast a rapid glance at the political situation of Greece; and the general conclusion to be drawn from the whole, as well as from the evidence of those who have left any record touching the character of the people, is, that they were sunk in ignorance, bound to it by superstition, and though retaining in a strong degree their national characteristics, still too ignorant and spiritless to maintain an independent national existence.

But let us look a moment at the situation and condition of the Greek people in 1700, and compare it with that, in

which we find them in 1800; and it will at once be seen, how little the national character has ever changed; and we shall see also, the commencement of many of those causes, of which a formidable insurrection must have been the necessary effect.

The picture which Greece presents to the historian in 1700, is a most gloomy one; the lamp had not gone out, but it burned with a feeble, sickly glare, and seemed fed by corruption; the Greek preserved the form and lineaments of his ancestors, but, "in all, save form alone, how changed!" the son had the features of his forefather, but the light and spirit which animated him were unseen; the conqueror of barbarians was sunk in the supple cringing slave of barbarians. But the real character of the people was to a wonderful extent unchanged; it had bent and yielded to the storm, but was not broken; it was prostrate upon the earth, and held there by a heavy weight; but lost not that elasticity, which promised a powerful reaction, as soon as the weight should be removed.

A grinding oppression was weighing down the people, and suppressing all hope of an amelioration, from any exertion of industry. The Greek was literally the slave of the Turk; he had no security for his honour, his property, or even his life; he was despised, trampled on, and suffered only to live for the benefit of the lords of the soil.

Not that the tenure by which he held his lands was hard; the nominal condition of the Greeks under the Turks, was never very severe; and if we except the shameful tribute, of the first male child of every family, to the Turks, to be educated in their religion, the Rayah was nominally in a situation, with regard to his Government, hardly worse than the peasantry of some parts of Christian Europe.

The Greek was obliged to set aside one seventh of his produce for the Porte, and then divide the remainder with the landlord, or local governor; besides this, he had only the capitation tax to pay, which seldom exceeded two dollars per annum. But in reality, he was subject continually to oppression, extortion, and direct and often personal abuse, from

any Turk whom chance had put over him. Contributions were demanded by the Pashaws, requisitions for the Porte, for public works, for the support of war, or for any purpose which it might suit the local Turkish Governor to demand them. The peasant was obliged to sell his produce to the imperial officer at a price fixed by the buyer; soldiers were quartered upon him; he was forced out to labour on public works; and his time and money were in such constant requisition, that but a miserable remnant of his gain was left him to support his family.

The Turkish Government apparently tolerated their religion; but even in this they were restricted most severely; churches could not be built, with paying enormous privileges; and for every repair made to them, a new tribute was demanded: schools were more severely dealt with, and could only be kept up in a few favoured spots. In those parts where the Turks and Greeks lived together, the latter were obliged not only to give up almost all their earnings, which were wrung from them under a thousand pretences, but they were obliged to pay every exterior mark of respect to their masters; the form and colour of their clothes were prescribed them; the most degrading marks of servility were exacted by the Turk; he could oppress the Greek in any way; a blow could not be returned, or revenged by the law; if a Turk abused a Greek in any way, or even killed him, it was almost impossible to have justice done upon the offender. The Cadi or judge was a corrupt, bigoted Mussulman, who could not see how the slave, the infidel, the dog,—should be entitled to the rights of a man. Such was the situation of the Greeks, that even when in spite of all obstacles, he had cunningly and secretly amassed some property, he was obliged to conceal it, and affect poverty; he buried his money and went clothed in rags. In many parts, they have been known to consider beauty in their children to be a misfortune; and would keep their faces dirty and disfigured, lest they should attract the attention of some rich Turk, who would not fail by force or fraud, to drag them to his harem.

In some districts where the Turks were but few, the reve-

nues were gathered, and the country ruled for them by Greeks; who thus became a sort of feudal head, in each province and hamlet. Hence arose that Aristocracy of *Proesti* or *Primates*. But the Greeks thus raised to power, were only slaves, ruling slaves; and they failed not to exercise over their more unfortunate countrymen, a tyranny hardly more supportable than that of the Turks.

The Greek priesthood was then exceedingly numerous, and was only enlightened enough to take advantage of the ignorance and superstition of the people; and to practise upon them impositions of various kinds, drawing from their scanty pittance left them by the Turks, the means of supporting in slothful ease its own swarm of drones.

The effects of the oppression of ages was visibly seen in the face of the country; the sites of once populous cities were marked by a few miserable hovels, and in some instances had become unhealthy marshes. The population, vegetation, and products of the country, had diminished in every respect; and Greece presented at the commencement of the 18th century, the dreary picture of people, whose natural characteristics were as strongly marked as any race of men under heaven, but which were gradually frittering away under the continued pressure of a relentless tyranny. There was no point on which the eye could rest with pleasure; for the causes which checked the progress to degeneracy, and gave to the Greek people an impulse towards civilization, and a manly consciousness of their strength and worth, were then but in the bud. Let us look therefore at Greece at the commencement of the nineteenth century, and we shall see that those causes had been in full operation for a number of years, and that a wonderful change had taken place in the condition of Greece, and in the minds of a large proportion of her children.

It is true, that even at the commencement of the nineteenth century, the picture presented to him who contemplated the situation of Greece, is the melancholy one of an oppressed and degraded people; retaining strongly marked the vices of their ancestors, and feeble traits of their virtues; but

there are also bright spots in the picture, and the dawn of regeneration can plainly be seen.

Vox populi vox Dei est, is an excellent proverb ; but surely public opinion was and is most strangely incorrect, as it regards Greece and Greeks ; and it is a remarkable fact, that when those persons who have been longest in Greece, and have become most familiarly acquainted with the language, manners and customs, virtues and vices, of the Modern Greeks ; when they give their opinion of the character of the people, their accounts are always wondered at, and often discredited, because they differ strongly from the mass of evidence before the world ; because they assert, that the Modern Greeks have preserved in a wonderful degree the characteristics of their ancestors ; that they are more intelligent and virtuous, than could reasonably have been expected of a people in their situation.

The secret of this is, that the opinion of the public has naturally been formed upon the testimony of the large majority of those who have visited Greece, or met with Greeks abroad ; these persons are travellers, Levant Merchants, Sea-Captains, Naval Officers, &c. One would suppose that a traveller passing through Greece, might form a pretty correct estimate of the character of the people ; but it is almost never the case ; he flies rapidly over the country, he visits Napoli, Athens, the islands ;—he meets with Greeks in Constantinople, Smyrna, &c. ; he has for his servant, a *Franko-Greek*, who has learned the vices of Europe with the languages, and who steals from him on all occasions ; he trades with the Greek merchant, who lives only by chicanery, and who cheats him in every bargain ; his *cicerone* is a Greek, who practises a thousand frauds upon him ; wherever he turns, he finds some sharp-witted Greeks to take advantage of his ignorance, to gull his credulity, and to fleece him without robbing him ; and he indignantly condemns the whole race, as base and trickish.

The merchants and naval men who visit the Archipelago, or who trade to Smyrna and Constantinople, meet with the Greek merchants there, who are more cunning and knavish

than the Israelites themselves ; who live immediately under the rod of despotism, who are " cringing crouching slaves ;" who can only acquire money by deception and trick, and who can retain it only by counterfeiting poverty ; in a word, our merchants and naval officers, knowing only the most degraded and despicable portion of the Greek nation, pronounce their verdict on its character, with all the vain confidence which partial knowledge gives ;—and we hear them denounce the Greeks as a nation of rascals, less worthy of our attention than the Turks.

Now the fact is, that seclusion from the contact of European vice, and removal from the immediate gripe of despotism, have been the only causes which have preserved in any degree the virtues of the Greeks ; and to know the worth of the people, one must dwell with the peasantry in their retired hamlets ; wander with the Kleftes in the mountains ; or rove with the half-piratical—half-patriotic sailors, among the remote islands of the *Ægean*.

There he will find the Greeks shrewd, inquisitive, lively, enterprizing, industrious, temperate, hospitable, and pious, in their way ; ardently attached to their native land ; eager for their own, and their children's education ; and often with a rude, but sterling sense of honour : he will find them also, fickle-minded, vain, blustering, and deceitful.

The character of the Modern Greeks however, is different in the different parts of the country ; and in this difference we may always see the effect of the remoteness or proximity of their province, to the immediate influence of the tyranny of the different masters of the country. The mountain Greek is brave—often to heroism ;—he is hardy, active, lively, a lover of adventure and of gaiety ; he is hospitable, generous, fickle ; the Albanian Greek is enterprising, persevering, unsocial, inhospitable, cruel ; the Moriote is cringing, greedy of gain, hypocritical, and timid ; but he is industrious, temperate, kind-hearted, and hospitable ; the Greek merchant is shrewd, enterprizing, indefatigable ; but cunning, trickish, supple, and deceitful.

Were there wanting any more convincing proof of the ge-

nuineness of the descent of the Modern Greeks from their illustrious ancestors, than that they speak the same language, which has undergone fewer corruptions than almost any other; that they employ precisely the same characters in writing; that they call places by the same names; that they inhabit the same spots; that they retain many of the prejudices, the manners and customs, that are recorded of the old Greeks; we say, if more proof should be thought wanting, it will be found in the physical aspect, and in the character of the people. The same natural quickness of intellect, love of learning, attachment to country, vivacity, the same fickleness, the same deceit, are stamped in the character of the Greeks of to-day, as they were in the minds of the Greeks of the older times.

We have observed, that though the general appearance of the Greek nation at the commencement of the 19th century, was that of a people plunged in ignorance and superstition; yet, there were several points in which the removal of the immediate pressure of the hand of tyranny, had given a chance for the amelioration of the condition of the people; and it is a certain proof of the elasticity of the Greek character, that in every one of those places, there was an immediate and rapid advance in civilization and refinement. Let us take for example the island of Scio.

This beautiful island (the ancient Chius, the birth-place of Homer) situated under the delicious climate of the East, blest with a fertile soil, teeming with the richest productions of nature, which are brought to perfection by the hand of art, was ever inhabited by a race of Greeks distinguished for their peaceful character. It passed tamely from the power of the Genoese to that of the Turks in 1566; and was, either from its non-resistance, or some other cause, exempt from those oppressions practised on the rest of the Greeks. There came some Turks to live in the island, and an Aga, with some soldiers held the fort: but the Greeks enjoyed extraordinary privileges; they were allowed the use of bells in their churches; the island was governed in a great measure by Greek magistrates; they were exempted, by particular favour, from

the exaction of any Turkish officer, and paid a very light tribute.

The consequences were soon seen ; its population increased in number, in civilization, in refinement ; the face of the country was improved ; it was covered with flourishing vineyards, with groves of lemon, orange, citron, and mastic ; the peasantry prospered ; they built neat and handsome villages, and the island soon became the most interesting one in the Levant—" it is the place and residence, the most agreeable I know," says an old traveller ; " the women are there the most refined, and the most beautiful."* Its principal production was the mastic, so much in use by Turkish ladies ; and the island afterwards passing as an appanage to one of the Sultanas, it has ever since been considered as under the protection of the sister of the reigning Sultan, to whom were sent its yearly tribute of gums and perfumes ; and it was called the garden of the seraglio.

The peasantry gave themselves up principally to the cultivation of the mastic, and to gardening ; and all the fruits of the East, were by the hand of art, brought to the greatest perfection ; the citron, the orange, the melon, the pomegranate, the peach, and the grape of Scio, were considered peculiarly delicious. Commerce increased and was encouraged, and rich Sciote merchants were established at Smyrna and Constantinople, as well as upon their native island : where the appearance of large and splendid houses, richly furnished, gave evidence of increasing wealth and refinement.

The inhabitants acquired in some measure the manners and customs of European society ; a large hospital was erected ; school-houses were opened in every part of the island ; and a College was established, where the languages, ancient and modern, literature, and philosophy, were taught to a great number of young Greeks. The Sciote merchant was ever abroad sharp and close ; but at home, generous and hospitable ; we have seen in their females, much of that delicate refinement which gives a zest to society at home ; we have ex-

* Belon.

perienced in the bosom of their families not only the right of hospitality, but we have been sustained in the dreary days of sickness, by their kind and untiring attentions; and we can never forget the heartfelt gratitude, and earnest thanks, with which they reward the slightest service done by strangers to their country.

The most striking contrast to the Greeks of Scio, was furnished by the Kleftes, and independent inhabitants of many mountainous provinces; for in several districts of Greece, the hardy and intrepid inhabitants had obstinately and successfully resisted the attempts of Venetians and Turks to reduce them to obedience.

The Greeks of the mountainous districts of Ætolia, Arcania, Doris, and the chains of Oeta, Pindus, and Olympus, have for ages been free: after the division of the Byzantine empire, they are noticed as alternately opposing the different nations, who were struggling for possession of Greece; they joined the Turks against the Latin princes, and after the former got possession of the country, they attempted to enslave their allies. But the Greeks maintained themselves in their mountains; and the Turks finding it impossible to reduce them, were forced into a compromise.

As early as 1700, we find the Northern parts of Greece divided into several *Armatoliks*, or Provinces, under the direction of different Greek Chiefs, leaders of bands, called *Armatoli*. These Chiefs had the whole rule over their Provinces, and regulated every thing as far as it related to the Christians. They were nominally subject to Turkish officers, but were really independent; their men were nurtured from the cradle to the use of arms, and knew no other occupation.

During the 18th century, while the Turkish empire was rapidly declining, and torn by internal division, the Sultans encouraged the *Armatoli*, and often employed their bands against the rebellious Pashaws; they had also in many parts, charge of the roads, which they guarded from the Kleftes, or mountain robbers; they were the armed police of the country, and considered as a distinct body of men. They were entirely mercenary however, and we often find *Arma-*

toli with the armies of the Sultan, fighting against the other Armatoli, who were in the service of some rebel Pashaw.

Thus we see a large number of Greeks trained to the use of arms, and living distinct from the lords of the soil; likely to preserve their natural spirit, and cherish the germ of liberty. The Kleftes or robbers, were, as the Greeks style them, wild Armatoli; that is, Greeks who lived by arms, but unlicenced by the Turks, and in hostility to them.

There were many Greeks, who when the Turks got possession of the country, would neither lay down their arms, nor become Armatoli, but chose to retire to the fastnesses of the mountains, where they lived in open hostility to all around; supporting themselves in some measure by a cultivation of the arable strips of land in the mountains, and by their flocks; but principally by plundering the plains below them; they were continually making excursions for booty, and were opposed by the Turks, and by the Greek Armatoli in their service.

But there was only a nominal difference between a Kleft and an Armatoli; a soldier would often quit his place among the Armatoli, and join the still freer Kleftes; and the Kleftes grown old, or tired with a life of continual adventure and warfare, would descend and join the Armatoli. Sometimes whole bands of Armatoli, from conceiving themselves wronged by the Turks, would retire to the mountains, and commence the life of Kleftes.

There was something exceedingly wild, romantic, and enticing in the life and condition of the Kleft; he could not resist the Turks, but he would not bow his neck to the yoke; he sternly retired to nature's bulwark of liberty, to her mountain fastnesses; and from them carried on continual hostility against the enslaver of his country. The first weight that the arm of his infant was taught to raise, was that of the pistol; the first words that his lips pronounced, were those of liberty, and curses upon the Turks; and he knew no masters but his own will, or Chiefs of his own choosing. The Kleft wandered among the wildest, yet sublimest scenes of nature; he danced the Phyrrie dance on the edge of the precipice: and

he quaffed the wine cup presented to him on their knees by Turkish prisoners.* He was a robber, but a robber of mid-day—a robber of tyrants ; glory, and not shame was attached to his profession ; he was free, and brave ; and freedom and courage did not fail to inspire him with noble and manly sentiments ; “ go,” said he to his Turkish prisoners after stripping them, “ go, and get new arms and new equipments, that I may again rob you.”

The history of the brave tribe of Suliot Greeks is too well known to need mention here ; but we may remark, that beside the Kleftes and Armatoli of the North, there were in many parts of Greece, tribes of independent mountaineers, who lived with arms in their hands ; sometimes tolerated by the Turks, but always distinct from them, and often at open variance ; such were the Mainotes in the Morea, and the Sphaciotes in Candia.

In contemplating the condition of Greece at this period, we might notice as proof of its improvement, the religious institutions on the Promontory of Athos, known by the general name of *Αγιον Ορος*, Holy mountain ; in every part of which, Convents were built ; and which were inhabited by more than 4000 Greek monks, who lived however by their own industry ; preserving their religion in the strictness of its forms ; paying only a slight tax to the Turks ; governing themselves ; and presenting the singular spectacle of a Confederation of Recluses.

The learning and accomplishments of the Greeks of the Fanar, as well as their great influence in the Divan ; the schools in various parts of the country ; and the respectable collegiate Institutions at Athos, Constantinople, Yanina, Scio, Aivali, &c. might also be brought as farther proofs of this amelioration ; but we shall trespass no farther upon the patience of the reader, than by briefly noticing the rapid growth of the Commerce of Greece.

The condition of the mass of the Greek population has

* “ We had stolen lambs, and they were roasting, with five Turkish Beys to turn the Spits.”—*Greek Song*.

been so miserable for two thousand years, that the resources of their rich and fertile country have never been properly disclosed, and no evidence given of their real extent and variety; the people had no inducement to raise any more produce than barely enough to live upon; sure that an appearance of possessing wealth would only subject them to extortions, and put their lives in jeopardy. Hence Greece had nothing to export, no commerce to carry on with other nations; but her enterprising people were not deterred by this from attempting navigation; and a century ago, we find that Greek vessels of considerable size were cruising in every part of the Archipelago, and beginning to compete with the Europeans, for the carrying trade. The Hydriotes, a small colony of Albanian Greeks settled upon a barren rock in face of the Argolis, were among the most active and enterprising; but were nearly rivalled by the Spetziotes and the Ipsariotes.

Soon after the treaty signed between Russia and the Porte at Kanairgi, another was made, in which, among other terms demanded by Russia in favour of the Greeks, was the right to sail under the protection of the Russian flag.

This gave a wonderful spring to commerce; the Greeks with the Russian flag, no longer feared the oppressions and exorbitant exactions which were continually practised upon them in every Turkish port, by the Ottoman officers; and they immediately undertook the carrying trade of the Levant and the Black Sea. As they prospered in this, they built large and beautiful brigs, and schooners, with which they drove a profitable traffic to every part of the Mediterranean. Their vessels were every where remarked for the grace and beauty of their models, their lightness, and swiftness; and the Greek sailors were decidedly the most active and expert in manœuvring, of any in the Mediterranean.

Children were taken to sea by their fathers at a tender age, and as soon as they could lisp, were taught the names of the different parts of the vessel; they were afterwards brought on deck; they were taught to mark the points of the compass; to learn the names and position of stars; the

appearance of the sea, the islands, and continent ; and woe to the boy, who could not remember the name of any Cape or Promontory, when he saw it the second time.

Still farther concessions were gained for the commercial Greeks, by their wily brethren of the Fanar, who had such a powerful influence in the Divan ; and they were allowed the privilege of removing themselves completely from the influence of Turkish tyranny, and of an exemption from all taxes, by the payment of a certain sum to the Porte.

The weakness and poverty of the Turkish Government was displayed strongly in this one, of a thousand acts of folly ; it granted to its Christian subjects, *Barats*, or commissions, which exempted them from the *Karatch*, and allowed them to place themselves under the protection of any foreign ambassador. The Greeks failed not to improve all these advantages ; an extensive and enterprising marine population soon made Hydra, Spetzia, Ipsara, Miconi, Cranidhi, Galaxhidi, and other places, but lately unknown, important ports ; whence issued fine vessels, which competed with, and soon gained a complete ascendancy, over the European traders in the Levant ; doing the carrying trade much cheaper than they could, and thus excluding them. They were in danger from the Algerine and other pirates, and hence they had an excuse for arming their vessels ; they carried from six to sixteen cannon, and thus was formed the organ of the future regeneration of Greece.

Each commercial island was obliged to supply a certain number of sailors for the Turkish fleet, and to pay them. Besides this, they paid their tribute to the Porte, which the Capitan Pashaw gathered from each island in his annual round with the squadron. But this was nothing ; no weight of oppression cramped their exertions ; no Turks lived in their islands ; they were almost free, and they failed not to profit by it ; the merchants amassed immense fortunes, the people were all flourishing ; the islands assumed a better appearance ; splendid houses were seen springing up, and the luxuries of Europe began to be introduced. The Greek became more enlightened ; he moved with a prouder step, and

a haughtier front, when he passed the Turks; and when bounding over the waves in his light ship, he felt himself free, and a match for his tyrant.

These are some of the circumstances, which placed Greece at the commencement of the nineteenth century, in a situation to begin a struggle for independence, with a rational prospect of success, and with two millions of people to support it.* We would that our limits would allow us to go into a detail of some other circumstances, of the same nature, which are not generally known; but we must close, and we do so with observing, that the rank and power which Greece may one day claim among the nations of the earth, should not be calculated by the extent of her country, nor the number of her inhabitants; in ancient days, as well as Britain in modern times, she showed what power and sway can be exercised over the world, by a people confined in a small space. Her climate is delicious, without being enervating; there, the physical and mental faculties develop themselves in full perfection; her geographical situation is most admirable:—situated in a central position between Europe, Asia, and Africa; her coasts abounding with large and secure ports; her vegetable and mineral productions, various and inexhaustible; her people enterprising and industrious; all give promise, that should she succeed in shaking off the iron load of oppression which has for ages kept her groveling in the dust of servitude, she may again take a proud stand among the powers of the earth. That such may be the case, should be the prayer not of the Philhellene alone, but of every Philanthropist, of every Christian; for the independence of Greece is not to release her children alone from the thralldom of the Turks; but it will open the door for the advance of liberty, of civilization, and of Christianity into the East.

* Only a part of the whole Greek population has been able to join in the revolt; it is difficult to ascertain the number of the actual insurgents; it certainly has never amounted to more than two millions.

BOOK FIRST.



CHAPTER I.

Causes of the Insurrection—Spread of knowledge among the Greeks—Commerce—Many Greeks serve in European armies—The Armatoli—Klefts—Fanariotes—Hetaria, or Conspiracy among the Greeks—Rebellion of the Ali Pashaw of Albania—Sultan calls in the Suliotes to assist him against Ali Pashaw—Suliotes form a league with the Ali, quit the army of the Sultan, and commence hostilities.

IN order to have a correct idea of the origin and cause of the Greek Revolution, one of the most important, and certainly the most interesting political event of our age; we have only to cast a glance at the state of Greece during the last century to see that it was the inevitable result of a long chain of events tending toward it, and that its era was determined by an accidental concurrence of favourable circumstances. Some have ascribed it merely to a fit of desperation of a people enduring the most galling oppression; others to the machinations of Russia; others to the Carbonari; others to Ali Pashaw; while others suppose mere chance to have caused the breaking out of the revolt. But we shall find, that though each of these circumstances may have had weight, no ~~one~~ was alone enough to turn the balance. For the last hundred years, while the Turks have been retrograding, and gradually losing that religious enthusiasm and military ardour which gained them a footing in Europe; the Greeks have been rousing from that torpor which ages of submission had rendered so degrading, and which three centuries of Turkish tyranny had made death-like. The commerce of Greece was growing important, her sailors formed

the soul of the Turkish fleet ; schools and colleges were springing up in favoured parts, where some of her sons were imbibing the germs of learning ; while others, more fortunate, were perfecting themselves in the universities of Europe. The very councils of their tyrant at Constantinople were influenced, if not directed by Greeks, arrived at the posts of grand drogman, or interpreters to the Porte. While some young men were preparing themselves to be the future instructors of youth ; others, enlisted under different banners, were learning in the wars of Europe, that art which might at some day be needed in their country's cause. In the northern parts the Greeks formed the militia of the country, and bred to the use of arms, were employed by the Turks for the security of roads, and to guard the mountain passes. In other parts, whole tribes, secure in their mountain retreats, openly defied their tyrants, and kept up a continual depredatory warfare.

Let us look a little at each of these causes ; and first, the diffusion of learning : the modern Greeks retain at least this one peculiarity of their ancestors, a "thirst after knowledge ;" and their bitterest enemies cannot deny, that they are as keen and inquiring, and as anxious for their children's education, as the people of any other country in Europe. During the last century, in spite of immense difficulties, hundreds of young men were sent to Italy, Russia, Germany, and some to France, to learn all that could be taught them in the universities ; and though the greater number of them attended particularly to the medical profession, as the one most likely to give them a support in life, they failed not any of them to imbibe those ideas of the rights and equality of man, which are inseparable from enlarged views of things. Meantime, at home every exertion was made for the establishment and support of schools and colleges ; and notwithstanding the Turk frowned on such attempts, and demanded enormous sums for the privilege, took it away upon frivolous prettexts, and razed the buildings to the ground—still Scio, Smyrna, Ayvali, and Yanina could boast of respectable collegiate institutions ; Athens, Patmos, Athos, Thessalonica, Dimitzana, &c. had good schools.

Not of less consequence was the rapid increase of commerce, since this not only enlightened those immediately engaged in

it, but put the merchants in a situation to enable them to support the institutions for the public benefit. They dispersed themselves over Europe and yet kept up close correspondence with their country, in whose prosperity they felt the liveliest interest. Hydra, Spetzia, Ipsara, Poros, and other islands, soon became important from the number of fine ships owned in them; they drove a traffic to every part of the world; and it was owing to them that the foreign mercantile interests in the Levant were ruined; for they, notwithstanding the encouragement given by Turkey to Franks or Europeans, did the carrying trade cheaper; and at the close of the eighteenth century more than 400 Greek vessels were employed in the trade in the Black Sea. The business always profitable, was rendered incredibly so during the French revolution, when the Greeks supplied many of the cities on the southwest coast of Europe with grain at an advance often of two and three hundred per cent. Princely fortunes were made by Hydriote and other island captains; while the Greek merchants, establishing themselves at Trieste and other marts, gave them an importance they could not otherwise have possessed. Many ports in Italy before obscure, now enjoy a flourishing commerce, which they owe almost entirely to the enterprising activity of Greeks, who were driven from home by the oppressive despotism of Turkey.

Meanwhile Turkish tyranny was in various ways sowing the seeds of its own destruction. Many of the Greeks who had been forced to take refuge from it in Europe, joined the different armies, and in subordinate capacities learned the art of war; and when by chance some one of them strayed back to Greece, he looked with proper contempt upon what he had once regarded as the most terrible soldiers in the world, a Turkish horseman covered with gold and silver, and loaded with four pistols, a carbine, sabre, and dirk. He might indeed still fold his hands upon his breast, and humbly bow as his tyrant passed; but his eyes were opened; and he could not but feel his heart burn with indignation at the thought of his country's bondage to a despot so despicable, and long to measure his own strength with him. Having these feelings, he could not fail to communicate them to his countrymen.

But a still more important school for learning the art of war was the establishment of the Armatoli, or armed police ; Greeks employed by the Turks to guard the roads and passes, and who occupied Doris, Oetolia, Arcanania, and the chains of Pindus, Oeta, and Olympus. They differed from the Kleftes only in name, and were often had recourse to by the Sultan to put down his rebellious Pashaws. These Greeks were bred from the cradle to the use of arms ; their captains only nominally subject to a Turkish officer, were rulers in their several districts ; and their men considered in the light of militia, kept the passes and guarded the roads. Bodies of Greeks were employed by Pashaws who could put more trust in them than in Turks, in case of a rupture with the Sultan, as they served merely for pay. It has been said the Armatoli differed only in name from the Kleftes ; in fact an Armatoli was only a Kleft employed by the Turks. Kleft, which signifies robber, was considered a most honourable profession. After the subjugation of the country by the Turks, numerous bodies of Greeks despising the thought of submission, and incapable of farther resistance, retreated to the almost inaccessible fastnesses of the mountains, and lived by a predatory warfare on the Turks, whose villages and plains they ravaged, not always sparing their own countrymen who were living in subjection to the Mussulmen. The character of the Greek Kleftes has been drawn by able and glowing pens ; their valour, hardihood, and strong attachment to their native mountains, have been the theme of many a song ; and the obstinate bravery with which the Suliotes defended their mountains for thirteen years against the whole power of Ali Pashaw, will be cited by the future historian as a proof that all virtue had not fled from the modern Greek.

“ Oh ! who is more brave than a dark Suliote,
 In his snowy camese, and his shaggy capote ?
 To the wolf and the vulture, he leaves his wild flock ;
 And descends to the plain, like a stream from the rock.”*

Nor was Suli alone held by the Greek in full and free defiance of the Turk. Different mountainous districts in Romelia ; Maina,

* Childe Harold, canto 2, stanza lxxii.

in the Morea ; Spacchia, in Candia, and other parts, never yielded completely to them ; and during the greater part of the last century, the mountains of Arcadia were held by the Kleftes, who, in spite of every exertion of the Turks, wrested with strong hand their share of the produce of the plains below. Thus were nearly ten thousand Greeks in the different parts of the country trained to a continual warfare ; wandering about in their wild mountain scenery, and singing the spirit-stirring patriotic songs of Rhiga, which taught them to prefer death with torments, to a life of slavery. Such were the circumstances which placed Greece, at the commencement of this century, in a situation ripe for a revolt, which so many of her sons were sighing for, undiscouraged by the fatal results of those into which they had been led by the selfish policy of Russia, who abandoned them to their fate, after having drawn them into a war with their oppressors.

The Porte, though in general using every possible means to keep the Greeks plunged in ignorance, made an exception in the case of a few families at Constantinople, from whom it was accustomed to select its *drogmans*, or interpreters. These were allowed every opportunity of perfecting themselves in science ; and the office of interpreter, from being at first one of small importance, became soon of the greatest ; the chief interpreter to the Divan, and of the fleet, were at last considered personages of the highest consequence. The influence of some of them over the Sultan was very great ; and when the office happened to be possessed by a man of talent, he had, perhaps, more sway over Turkish councils than had even the Grand Vizier himself. Every honour was heaped upon him, that could be given to a *Rajah* ; and the title and post of Prince of Moldavia, or Wallachia, was the final reward of his labours. These Hospodariats, or Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, conferred by the Porte on those Greeks who had served it well in the office of Grand Interpreter ; gave to them the title of Princes, which by courtesy was extended to their sons : hence, Prince Ipselanti, Mavrocordatos, &c. The *drogmans* having been generally selected from certain families residing in a quarter of Constantinople called Fanar, these families were called Fanariotes ; and were distinguished even among Greeks for their intriguing wily spirit ; and the hypocrisy and meanness which

they used in gaining their way to the great object of their ambition, the post of Grand Dragman. With the vast influence they possessed, it was to have been hoped, that they would have done something to ameliorate the condition of their countrymen; but, if we except one or two of the Mavrocordato family, Morousi and Ipselanti's, we find them all to have been devoid of that patriotism, which would have prompted them to risk any thing to help Greece.

Thus we see that at the beginning of this century, the seeds of the revolution were in the ground; and many causes existing which would make any revolt that might break out, different in character from the vain struggles in the last century. But, fifty years should have been given to these seeds to ripen, and to bring the people, by properly enlightening them, to a state duly to appreciate, and carefully to guard their liberty. This was the prayer of every enlightened Greek who disinterestedly loved his country; and of every friend of liberty and humanity in Europe. But Heaven ordained it otherwise; and we shall see that the succession of events, and a particular combination of circumstances, made Greece seize upon a favourable moment to strike the blow, which moment, if neglected, might have not presented itself again for centuries.

While the prudent but sincere friends of Greece were labouring to establish her future independence by the slow but certain means of enlightening the people; other impatient and fierce, but perhaps not less generous spirits, were burning to hurry her into an immediate struggle with her tyrant; counting more upon their own ardour, and the justice of the cause, than upon the means provided. Such were the men first known as members of the secret society called the Hetaria.* Some have attempted to trace back the origin of this famous association to Rhiga, as its founder; certain it is, that Mavrocordato, ex-Hospodar of Moldavia, during his exile in Russia, had the direction of a society, whose professed end was the amelioration of the situation of the Greeks. Whether this was the Hetaria or not; after his death, its conduct was changed, and every nerve was strained to bring matters to a crisis, and prepare the

* *Εταιρία*—society.

country for a revolution. The founders and first directors of the Hetaria, knew human nature well ; and wrapped their institution in that solemn mystery, so imposing upon all men, but calculated to make a deep impression upon the young and enthusiastic spirits, whom it was their object to select as their members. They constituted themselves into an imaginary power, under the name of *Αρχή* ; their persons were unknown ; but they made all the inferior grades look up to the *Αρχή* with reverence and submission. This invisible power guided all the movements of the society ; received all the moneys, and appointed emissaries to go to every part of Europe where Greeks were to be found. These emissaries [*αποστέλλοι*] sought out, and initiated into the mysteries of the society, as many Greeks as they could find, with the necessary qualifications, viz. : those who were ready to swear to consider every earthly tie and interest as of no force, compared with their sworn duty to the Hetaria.

It was in itself most interesting and gratifying, to see Greece rousing herself after a lethargy of ages, and her sons pledging their fortunes, honours, and lives, to free her from bondage. But when a member was to be admitted into the Hetaria, every art was practised to make it more solemn and impressive : the candidate was brought at midnight, to a room lighted by only one taper, which was placed upon a table covered with a black cloth, on which was laid a skull and thigh bones, and the image of the cross. After solemnly declaring that his only object in demanding to be made a Hetarist, was to serve in the great work of emancipating his country, he was catechised ; many ceremonies were performed ; and then the priest, or admitting brother, received him, saying : “ Before the face of the invisible and omnipresent true God, who in his essence is just, the avenger of transgression, the chastiser of evil ; by the law of the Hetaria, and by the authority with which its powerful priests have intrusted me, I receive you, as I was myself received, into the bosom of the Hetaria.” The novice, still on his knees before the holy sign of the cross, then repeated a most solemn oath, which ended thus : “ I swear that henceforward I will not enter into any other society, or bond of obligation, but whatever bond, or whatever else I may possess in the world, I will hold

as nothing compared to the Heteria. I swear that I will nourish in my heart, irreconcilable hatred against the tyrants of my country, their followers, and their favourers: I will exert every method for their injury, and when circumstances will permit, for their destruction. Last of all, I swear by thee, my sacred and suffering country, I swear by thy long endured tortures, I swear by the bitter tears which for so many centuries have been shed by thy unhappy children; by my own tears, which I am pouring out at this very moment; I swear by the future liberties of my countrymen, that I consecrate myself wholly to thee: that henceforth these shall be the cause and object of my thoughts; thy name, the guide of my actions; and thy happiness, the recompense of my labours."

Mr. Waddington after describing this ceremony, says, "I will violate by no paltry comment the sanctity of this exquisite adjuration. Poetry has produced little equal to it; liberty, piety, and patriotism will never surpass it. On his knees, at midnight, with the cross in his right hand and the taper in his left, the young Grecian consecrated himself wholly to his country. He swore by her future liberty to devote his undivided existence, thought and action, soul, and body to her redemption and emancipation." The member was then initiated into all the secrets of the society, and the signs by which he could know and make himself known to every member of his own grade; for there were three ranks, and though the highest knew the signs of the other grades, a brother of a lower grade could not know those above him.

One hundred dollars was paid by each member on admission, which was transmitted to the public chest kept by the *Agχη*, or invisible government. Every facility was given for admission; and like the Carbonari any one member could constitute another by calling a third as witness. This did not so much endanger the secrets of the society as might be supposed; for except those who received some most lucrative employ from the Turks, no Greek, however base he might be, could help bearing a most deadly hatred toward them, or longing for the hour when he might take deadly vengeance for the horrible injuries done to his race; and wash out in Turkish blood the insults and injuries he had received from the hour of his birth.

The society spread most rapidly : thousands became members in the southern parts of Russia, and in the various kingdoms of Europe. They were found in every mountain-hamlet of Roumelia, in every valley of the Peloponessus, and in every island of the Archipelago ; nor there alone, but the large Turkish towns abounded with them ; and they brooded upon their schemes under the very walls of the Seraglio at Constantinople. Their plan, bold, extensive, and magnificent, was worthy of the descendants of ancient Greeks. On an appointed day every castle in the Morea was to be attacked, fire put to every arsenal and ship-yard throughout the Turkish empire, and their flames with those of the Sultan's Palace, were to be the beacon to tell all Greece that her hour of vengeance had come.

But the Hetaria did not rely solely upon the zeal and voluntary exertions of its individual members ; certain ones were selected and sent forth by the governors of the society, not only to make proselytes, but to keep awake the hopes of the people, and by hints and promises, engage them to hold themselves in readiness for a sudden and general effort upon the first favourable occasion. Many of these, exceeding perhaps their orders, gave themselves out as emissaries of Russia ; who they said was preparing to free Greece and possess herself of Turkey.

But besides those who moved by a generous wish to free their country, urged on the march of the revolutionary spirit, it must be stated, that many others worked with not less zeal, prompted by their own interest. The discontented who had nothing to lose and a chance of gain ; the unemployed who hoped for a change of places in a revolution ; and the restless, who are never content but in action : all sighed for the revolt. Many of the great Primates, or landholders, (a sort of nobility in Greece,) owed immense sums to the Turks, and saw no hope of getting rid of the debt but by a revolution. This was particularly the case in the Morea ; and those who know the country, know the immense influence these primates have over the people, who regard them as feudal chiefs. Other primates hoped in overthrowing the power of the Turks to step into their places : they had no other wish but to change hands with them, and tyrannize over the people as they had done. Many

of the priesthood, particularly the higher orders, wished for a revolution, expecting to become more despotic themselves. The population of the commercial islands was ripe for it: for commerce was at a stand, and they had no prospect of employ; while the primates of those islands were as much opposed to a revolution, for they had amassed immense sums, and saw no prospect, but a loss in the event of a war.

When the present Sultan, Mahmoud, attained his place of head of the empire, he found it on the brink of dissolution; and the real power absorbed by different Pashaws, who by gradual encroachments upon the imperial rights, had attained every thing but nominal independence. Being a man endowed with a strong mind, courage, and persevering resolution, he immediately commenced a reform, and succeeded in reducing the rebellious Pashaws, one after another, till there remained only Mahomet Ali, Pashaw of Egypt; and Ali, Pashaw of Albania, the most powerful of them all. The latter he dared also to attack early in 1820, and declared him *Fermanly*, or outlaw. The Sultan had not underrated the great power of his adversary, and called the whole strength of his empire to overwhelm him. Not depending alone on his Pashaws, he invited the various Christian tribes who had suffered from the tyranny of Ali to join against him. But none were so much solicited, none had so fair promises, as the Greek tribe of Suliotes; a brave and hardy set of mountaineers, who after a war of thirteen years, had been driven from their country, Suli, by Ali Pashaw, and had taken refuge in the Ionian islands. They were invited to take up arms against their old oppressor, to come and reconquer their country, which the Sultan promised to give them for ever; with various other rewards. The Suliotes, whose profession was arms alone, eagerly accepted the invitation, joined the army of the Sultan, and as usual distinguished themselves by their valour. Ali Pashaw was soon blockaded in his castle on the lake of Yanina, but still nothing was done for the Suliotes; the Sultan's general no longer needing their services, refused to allow them to go and reconquer their native mountains, which were held by the troops of Ali Pashaw. He remembered the valour and obstinacy with which they had of yore defended their fastnesses; and how they boasted

that Suli never was sullied by the foot of a Mussulman, and never paid tribute to the Porte; and he feared to give them footing in their ancient strong holds, from which he might never be able to drive them. Not only did the Turkish general refuse to comply with the just demands of the Suliotes, but treated them with insult; nay, meditated treacherously getting rid of them.

But it was as hard to cheat as to beat the Suliotes; [1820. and on this occasion, the young Marco Botzaris, the future hero of the Greek revolution, was the organ of extricating his countrymen from their dilemma. He entered by night the castle of the besieged Ali Pashaw, and thus addressed him: "Ali, the Suliotes, your old enemies, and whom you after so long a struggle drove from their country, and whose country you now hold, have from this moment a common interest with you. If you will give up to us our mountains and the fortresses, pay us a sum of money to send to our families who are in a foreign land, and deliver to us your nephew-as hostage for your faith, (for we know you of old to be faithless,) we will to-morrow quit the army of the Sultan, take possession of our country, and from it, molest in every way your besiegers." It cost Ali Pashaw a sigh to resign possession of that for which he had fought so long and so hard: but he was closely pressed; he knew the advantage it would be to him to detach from his besiegers such men as the Suliotes; the harm they could do them by carrying on a guerilla warfare in their rear; and he did not hesitate a moment to comply. The terms were soon arranged; the Suliotes received \$10,000; the nephew of Ali as a hostage; and orders to his captains in the fortresses of Suli to deliver them up.

On the 24th November, 1820, the corps of Suliotes left the Turkish camp for their own mountains: and this should be considered the commencement of the Greek revolution. Upon arriving in their native mountains, the first care of the Suliotes was to increase their numbers, by calling home their countrymen who were scattered over Greece, and by uniting themselves to those Turks who were in the interest of Ali Pashaw. The orders of the latter, caused to be delivered up to the Suliotes all the strong holds except the castle of Kiapha, the most

important of all ; which with his usual duplicity, Ali withheld on various pretences. They then proceeded to attack in succession the several posts established about their country by the Sultan's general, and soon had the whole province free.

Some Agas, with their followers, joining them, their numbers soon amounted to three thousand ; and they began to harrass the out posts of Ismael Pashaw, the Sultan's general, who was besieging Ali ; and he was obliged to detach a considerable force against them. Part of the Suliotes then went towards the south, and ravaged the country ; became masters of the whole district of Prevesa, and even the suburbs of that town. Here again, they made cunning more useful to them than force ; there was lying in the port, a part of the Turkish fleet, under the command of Ali Bey ; who had formerly had connexion with the Suliotes ; he therefore, relying on his personal influence, sent propositions to them to submit to him ; promising to obtain for them good terms ; hoping, that if by any art, he could get them to lay down their arms, he should gain favour with the Sultan, for retrieving a loss, sustained through the impolitic conduct of Ismael, commander of the land forces. The Suliotes, though astonished at his message, immediately saw how the business might be turned to their own advantage, by pretending to lend an ear to his proposals. The strong fortress of Kiapha had not been delivered up to them by Ali Pashaw, and until it should be, they could not consider Suli as safe. They had in vain solicited and threatened ; Ali Pashaw could not believe they would rejoin his enemies ; but now they were certain that by his spies he would hear of their treating with Ali Bey ; and would hasten to deprecate their wrath, by fulfilling the treaty, and giving them the castle. And they reasoned right, for in a few days an order was sent to deliver it up to them. Nor was this all the advantage they gained ; completely deceiving the admiral about their intention of submission, they gained day after day ; and even persuaded him to advise the commander of the land forces to stop the troops destined against them. This deception was continued until the stupid Turk saw, that their object was only to gain time, and hostilities recommenced.

CHAPTER II.

The Heterists select Ipselanti to excite and head the insurrection—He crosses the Pruth—His feeble efforts not well seconded by the people—News of his movement reaches the Peloponessus—Germanos raises the standard of revolt—Enthusiastic rush to arms—Reception of the news in the Ionian islands—Colocotroni goes to the Peloponessus—Insurrection in the islands of the Archipelago—Steps taken by the Porte on hearing of the revolt—Murder of the Patriarch—Massacres—Suliotcs—The lieutenant of Kourchid Pashaw crosses to the Peloponessus—Disperses the insurgents before Patrass—Greeks get the advantage over the Laliotes—Colocotroni defeats Mohammed Bey—Insurgents surround Tripolitza—First cruise of the Greek fleet.

THE Heterists considered the moment of the declara- [1821. tion of war by the Sultan upon Ali Pashaw, to be the proper time to commence the revolt. They remembered the rebellions of Oglau, and of Kera Mustapha, and could not but think this one of at least doubtful issue ; for Ali was terribly strong, and could he have sacrificed his avarice, he might have been a match for the Sultan. All the disposable Turkish force had been drawn off from the Morea. They considered, that if the Sultan should be victorious, he would no longer leave so many armed Greeks in Albania ; that, on the contrary, if Ali Pashaw should be successful, they would have even a worse master. Then, the political horizon was fair ; Italy was in revolt ; they flattered themselves that Russia was on the eve of going to war with Turkey ; and they resolved to strike the blow. The Heterists selected Alexander Ipselanti, a Greek from Constantinople, as the fittest person to head the insurrection. He was named Chief Director of the Society, the funds of which were put into his hands, and the original Directors were delivered from all responsibility, by his giving them a general discharge. Many have thought that this discharge relieved them from a most embarrassing situation, in which the giving an account of the large sums they had received, must have involved them.

They were now enabled to retire with large fortunes, from a post, which three of them, at least, had taken when they were quite poor. Greece owes them nothing: for they not only neglected to make those provisions for the approaching war, which the most common prudence and foresight ought to have directed; but they showed, in the selection of the leader, great ignorance, or insensibility.

Alexander Ipselanti was brave, without enterprise; learned, without a knowledge of men; and vain, without self confidence. He was born at Constantinople, and educated in the light, frivolous, *Fanariote* style, which fitted only for intrigue. He entered into the service of Russia, where he lost an arm; and in that service he had, without military talents, arrived to the rank of a Major General; when he was called by the Hetaria to excite and head an insurrection in Greece. He began by sending emissaries to the different parts of Greece, not to make, on his own part, preparations; but to sound the principal men, and persuade them to make ready to receive him, as the future commander-in-chief. He made great promises, and talked in not obscure terms, of assistance from Russia. He employed, among many most unworthy characters, one, whose name alone would have honoured the expedition, which his future exertions solely kept from being disgraceful, captain Georgaki, an Olympiote. He enjoyed the post of chief of the armed police under the Turks, and was thus enabled, without suspicion, to collect soldiers. Ipselanti had a communication with Soutzo, the Hospodar of Moldavia, who agreed to receive him favourably. With these slight preparations, which his flatterers, however, assured him were sufficient, and followed by about an hundred and fifty Albanians, and a number of Hetarists: he crossed the Pruth, and entered Moldavia on the first of March. [1821. On the 6th, he arrived at Jassy, the capital, and was [March. well received by Soutzo, the Hospodar; the next day he issued a proclamation calling the Greeks to arms, and was immediately joined by all the Hetarists in those parts: others began to come in from abroad, and he saw himself surrounded by a crowd of young men, the pride and flower of Greece. But they were only those Greeks returned from Europe, who had been initiated into the secrets of the plot. The inhabitants of the

province were not ripe for insurrection, and would not join it heartily; and it was one great fault of Ipselanti's plan, that he began the revolt in a part of Greece the least oppressed; and therefore the least apt to rise. The young men who rallied around Ipselanti, were from the best families in Greece, and had, most of them, been educated in Europe; these formed themselves into a battalion, called the Sacred Band, and displayed an enthusiasm worthy of the cause. Their emblem was a Phenix rising from its ashes; and on their cap they had painted a death's head and cross-bones: many of them let their beard grow, swearing not to cut it until their country should be free. Nor was their zeal expressed in this way alone; they organized their band upon the plan of European tactics, and displayed a keen desire to perfect themselves in the necessary discipline, and the manœuvres.

After spending a number of days in the attempt to rouse the inhabitants of Moldavia by pompous proclamations, Ipselanti left Yassi for the province of Valachia. On the route he learnt two circumstances very discouraging to him; one was, the emperor Alexander's proclamation from Laybach, discountenancing his expedition altogether, and pronouncing it a mad scheme: the other, that a rival had started up in Walachia, (named Theodore,) who seemed inclined to organize a revolt, and head it himself. He had collected around him a number of wild soldiers, and called upon the inhabitants to join him, and throw off alike the authority of the Sultan, and of the Greek governors, whom he had placed over them. But Ipselanti continued to advance into Walachia, his motley band continually increasing, until he arrived before Bucharest, the capital; where he spent his time in endeavouring to persuade Theodore, and Sava, (another chief, who acted with neither of them,) to acknowledge him as head; instead of striking some bold stroke to show his superiority, and give the people confidence. His own followers and the people, saw the variance between the chiefs; they saw day after day pass away; the precious time, when the Turks, from surprise, were inactive, entirely lost; and the general and his officers amusing themselves in their quarters. All attempts to revolutionize Servia, had been unavailing; and Ipselanti, who found the Turks recovering from

their surprise, and preparing to bring against him a considerable army, showed strong marks of indecision, if not repentance of the step he had taken. Meantime, let us look at the Morea, where the receipt of the news of Ipselanti's expedition, magnified, as usual, had caused the kindling of the revolutionary flame.

It has been mentioned that Kourchid Pashaw, governor of the Morea, had been called away, with all his disposable force, to assist against Ali Pashaw: he soon got news of the invasion of Moldavia by Ipselanti. Hearing of some disturbances at Patras, he sent orders to his chief officer at Tripolitza, to summon the Greek primates and bishops of the Morea to that capital, to hold them as hostages, and to proceed to disarm the Greek population. This order produced the greatest commotion among those who had been planning the revolt; they saw that if fulfilled, it must be a death-blow to their hopes; it was peremptory, and left them no time to get more certain information about the expedition of Ipselanti, in which they then placed but little confidence; to hesitate, however, was to open the eyes of the Turks. Several bishops and some of the chief men, among others the son of Mavromichalis, bey of Maina, obeyed the order and surrendered themselves, assuring the Turks of the folly of their fears. But Germanos bishop of Patras, and several of the most influential men delayed under various pretexts complying with the summons, till the former, arriving at Calavrita, and having no longer any excuse, suddenly displayed the standard of the cross, [1821. April.] and called upon the people, in the name of God and liberty, to take up arms against their oppressors. This was on the 4th; the people answered his call by a general rush to arms, and the few Turks who were in the place were made prisoners. The spark thus struck mounted into a flame, and spread rapidly over the Morea.

For centuries the people had been suffering the most horrible slavery, without daring to groan aloud; and now at the sound of the word liberty, they raised the cry of vengeance; and seizing upon whatever arms were at hand they fell upon their oppressors—hewed down those who resisted, and butchered those who yielded. Vain was it to urge the policy of making

prisoners; vainer still was the cry for quarter and mercy: too many Greeks could remember their houses burnt, a father murdered, or a mother or sister violated; perhaps themselves treated in a way that makes nature shudder; and they would not miss the opportunity of revenging their wrongs in the blood of their oppressors.

The Argolis and the district of Corinth were soon in revolt; but no man so much distinguished himself as Pierre Mavronichalis, Bey of Maina. He had been placed by the Turks in this situation; his post was lucrative; his influence over his countrymen very great; and he had no prospect of making his condition better by the revolt: but he listened not a moment to any thought but that of the liberty of his country; and warmly seconded by his brave brothers and sons, he led the Mainotes from their mountains, and possessed himself of Calamata and the fine country about it. The Turks, surprised by the suddenness and generality of the insurrection, thought of nothing but personal safety; those who could, escaped to the fortified towns; others hastily shut themselves up in the little towers with which the country abounds; but being without provisions were obliged soon to yield. The news reached the Ionian islands, and excited the greatest enthusiasm among the Greeks, Colocotroni who had been living a kind of exile there, with his brave nephew, Niketaz, immediately crossed over to the Morea; while the inhabitants prepared an expedition to follow them.

Germanos bishop of Patras, thus finding his warmest hopes realized, prepared to make an attack upon Patras before the Turks should recover from their stupor; the only time in which he could hope to succeed with the undisciplined rabble which had collected around him. Accordingly, only seven days from his first raising the standard, he made an ineffectual attempt upon the place. But his numbers increasing every moment, he descended again on the 17th, drove the Turks from the town, (to which, however, they set fire before retiring,) and forced them to shut themselves up in the castle, which he blockaded with 5000 men. But these were the unwarlike peasantry, who upon the impulse of the moment, had seized upon old muskets, rusty swords, sickles, or even clubs, and run together to form an army; but of which they had not one necessar-

and could not be expected to stand against the most feeble charge.

Meantime the cry reached the islands ; Spetzia [*April*, 1821. heard it and rose ; Ipsara followed ; but Hydra the most important of all hesitated : a few words will explain the cause of this. The rich merchants who form the aristocracy of the island, were in a very easy situation ; they paid a small tribute to the Sultan, but had not a Turk upon their island. They had rapidly amassed immense fortunes by commerce ; and although they suffered from the present stagnation of business, it was not to be lessened by the war ; nay, they were to risk every thing without a hope of ameliorating their situation, even in case of complete success. These considerations operating upon men by nature very selfish, induced them to use every means to put down the revolutionary spirit which had infected the populace, entirely marine ; and which was gaining fast from the suffering which then prevailed, arising from the stagnation of business. But there were not wanting demagogues to increase this spirit, and to excite the sailors, who at last forced the primates to hoist the flag of liberty. A certain Captain Antonio persuaded the people that it would be right to oblige the primates to fit out a squadron at their own expense ; and that every sailor should receive from them 250 piastres ; and the primates were obliged to comply. This was the most important point gained ; for without the marine force of these islands the insurrection could not have been continued six months.

Thus we see that by the first of May, 1821, the insurrection had assumed a most formidable appearance ; Ipselanti in Moldavia ; the Suliotes in Albania ; all the Morea and the islanders were in arms ; Greece had gone too far to retract ; she had only the alternative of victory or extermination. But we shall see that the Sultan, as if to render impossible any future reconciliation with the Greeks, took just the steps to infuriate the revolted, and make those who had not yet joined them hasten to do so.

When the news reached the Sultan of the insurrectionary movements, he resolved upon a mode of revenge which showed that he merited the title of butcher, bestowed upon him by the Greeks. Let us pass over the murder of the young, learned,

and accomplished Demetre Morousi, his Grand Interpreter : for this there was the shadow of an excuse. But to his followed that of ten Greeks of the first families of Constantinople ; among others one of the Mavrocordato family. But in order to outrage in the highest possible degree the feelings of every Greek, it was resolved to strike a blow which should excite their indignation and horror ; not only by the enormity of the crime, but by the sanctity and rank of the victim. The head of the Greek church, the Grand Patriarch, resident at Constantinople, was then Gregory, a man who had been raised to that office on account of his genuine piety, and induced to hold it against his will, by the universal and strongly urged wishes of his countrymen. Nothing could be more interesting than the appearance of this venerable man, then nearly ninety years of age ; nothing more mild and engaging than his demeanour ; nothing more blameless than his whole life ; yet on Easter Sunday, after the performance of church ceremonies, he was seized as he came out at the door by the Sultan's emissaries ; dragged off to his palace, and hung up over the gate like a dog ; and his body left for two days to be scoffed at and spit on by every good Mussulman, and then dragged by the heels to the sea shore and thrown into the water. This brutal act, accompanied by every aggravating circumstance that could render it worthy of the imperial butcher by whom it was perpetrated, was the signal for the commencement of outrages upon the Christians ; then began those massacres of men, women, and children, with the sickening details of which the European journals teemed for months. Then the streets of Constantinople ran down with Christian blood ; then murder and rapine had full sway in the lair of the Sultan. Churches were broken into and pillaged, the ornaments torn down, and the pictures of the saints defiled in every way ; nine bishops, besides hundreds of priests were hung ; and many thousands of the common people butchered in cold blood, and without possibility of defence.

The bloody signal given at Constantinople, was heard through Asia Minor, where the Turkish population greatly outnumbers the Greek ; and they began an indiscriminate slaughter of all whom they could find. The smoke of hun-

drods of peaceable villages, and the blood of tens of thousands* of Greeks, were made to atone for the fault of their countrymen in a distant part of the empire, who had dared to revolt. If there was a Greek who till now had hesitated, desperation decided him; the die was for ever cast; and Greek and Turk had become open and irreconcilable enemies. The bloody tale spread rapidly through the country; those in arms were rendered tenfold more determined and vindictive; those who had not taken them up, hastened to do so.

We left the Suliotes just re-entered into their native country, and beginning to harass the out-posts of Ismael Pashaw's army. They were not joined by so many imitators, as the assurances of Ali Pashaw had led them to expect; for his efforts to revolutionize the country had in a great measure been unsuccessful; he being in the situation of many tyrants, who, from having long acted a double part, cannot obtain credit, when they earnestly assert the truth. Still, the Suliotes effected a considerable diversion; they first entirely cleared the surrounding country of the Turks, and carried every position which was of importance, and, having secured their own district, extended their depredations farther from home. Small bodies of Turks only could be spared from the main blockading army; these were sent, and uniformly defeated. One affair, in particular, deserves note. About 4000 Turks were encamp'd at Plaka, and Marco Botzaris, wishing to drive them from their position, yet not having sufficient force to attack them in the day time, fell upon them at midnight, with about 500 followers; and succeeded in routing and scattering them. Many and unimportant battles were fought under Lambro Veicos, Javellas, and other Suliote chiefs. Numbers of prisoners were taken in arms, and to the honour of the Suliotes, be it said, they were generally sent back unhurt.

Let us leave these brave mountaineers contending, without organization, or money, or ammunition, or magazines, against an enemy well provided with all of them; and turn to the state of the insurrection in the Peloponessus, which began to assume a favourable appearance.

* It is impossible to state with any precision, the number of Greeks butchered at Asia Minor.

We left the Morea in a state of insurrection, from Corinth to Modon ; from Napoli to Gastouni. Germanos, bishop of Patrass, was blockading that fortress ; Colocotroni, Mavromichalis, and others, were assembling men, and cutting up the Turks who were scattered about the villages. But the news had reached Roumelia,* and Yussuf Pashaw, at the head of one thousand cavalry, dashing across the Isthmus of Corinth, flew to the relief of Patrass. The appearance of the horsemen dispersed the peasantry, which Germanos had collected ; and he was obliged to fly to the mountains. Meantime, Kourchid Pashaw despatched his lieutenant, Mohammed, with 6000 men, to quell the insurrection, by overrunning every part of the Peloponessus. This brave, active, and bloodthirsty Tartar, crossed the gulf of Corinth, at Patrass ; marched rapidly to Corinth, and garrisoned that fortress ; then went to Argos ; the flames of which, marked the moment of his departure. He reinforced Napoli, and then threw himself into Tripolitza ; having left behind him a track, marked by devastation of the fields, the ashes of villages, and the blood of the peasantry. Hearing that the insurgents had been collected in considerable numbers under Germanos and Colocotroni, at Lala, he immediately resolved to attack them ; judging well, that a defeat at this moment, would damp the insurrectionary spirit, and perhaps quench it. The Laliotes, a brave and hardy tribe of Albanian Turks, settled at Anti-Lala, (a place beyond the Greek position,) still maintained their village, in spite of the general insurrection around them. To these Turks, Mohammed wrote, directing them to fall upon the rear of the Greek post, while he should attack it in front. But his well laid plan was obstructed by an unforeseen circumstance. It has been mentioned, with what enthusiasm the dawn of the revolution was hailed by the Greeks of the Ionian islands ; and that they were preparing an expedition to assist their countrymen. This expedition was commanded by count Andreas Metaxa, of Cephalonia, who debarked upon the Morea near the mouth of the Alpheus, with six hundred men. He immediately advanced into the interior, and, at a most lucky moment, halted upon the banks of

* The Greeks give the general name Roumelia, to those parts generally called Continental Greece, above the Isthmus of Corinth.

a little stream, just as the Laliotes arrived at the opposite bank, on their way to attack the Greek position, as they had arranged with Mohammed. Metaxa knew nothing of this ; yet he prepared to dispute their passage.

A sharp skirmish took place, to the disadvantage of the Turks ; who then began to negotiate, and sue for a passage ; saying, there ought to be nothing in common between the Greeks of the islands and the Moreites. But Metaxa was firm ; and the next morning a desperate struggle took place : the Greeks were far inferior in number, but their position was fine ; for the Turks had not only the stream to pass, but the marsh on its edge, where they got entangled ; and after considerable loss, fled, and were pursued to Anti-Lala. Nor did they stop here, longer than to take their families ; and save themselves under the walls of Patrass, while Metaxa took possession of their town.

Meantime, Mohammed advanced with all his force from Tripolitza ; and at sunset was before the position of the Greeks ; who, about 2500 in number, were commanded by Anagnostara, Germanos, and Colocotroni. Mohammed felt himself sure of them ; and only waited for the morning, to hear the war-shout of the Laliotes in their rear. Morning came, but there came no Laliotes ; bodies of men were seen coming up irregularly, but they were reinforcements to the Greeks. At last, tired with waiting, Mohammed resolved to attack alone. A furious onset of the Turks, carried several Greek posts ; but when they advanced to the line of *tambouris*, or breastworks ; a terrible and well sustained fire of musketry from the Greeks, who were completely sheltered, staggered them : they advanced again, and again, but were equally unsuccessful ; when, seeing more Greeks come up, all the efforts of Mohammed could not prevent his soldiers from retiring ; and the Greeks, sallying upon them, urged them into a complete flight ; and pursued them, to the very walls of Tripolitza.

The consequences of this victory were astonishingly [1821. disproportionate to its real importance ; that is, by [May. the moral effect it had upon the people : it inspirited the whole Peloponnesus ; it showed the Greeks that they might contend with, and beat the proud Osmanli, whose nod they had so long

trembled at. Numbers flocked in daily, and swelled the bands under Colecotroni, Niketas, Anagnostara, and others; who took up their position upon the mountains by which Tripolitza is surrounded, and showed Mohammed that he might be closely blockaded.

Meanwhile, the islands had not been idle; Hydra contributed eleven vessels; which, joined to the seven from Spezzia, and four from Ipsara, sailed on the 2d, under the command of the Hydriote, Jacemaki Tombazi. Arriving at the large island Tinos, they found the flag of liberty displayed there; and the people full of enthusiasm. They found several other islands in the same condition; but at Scio, the Primates and priests were busy in putting down the revolutionary spirit, which had begun to manifest itself among the people: since, from the peculiar situation of their island, it could only involve them in a hopeless struggle. The fleet, after making some unimportant captures, returned home; its successes greatly magnified by report, which, however, was productive of momentary good.

CHAPTER III:

Extension of the Insurrection—Assembly at Calamata—Arrival of Demetrius Ipselanti at Hydra—His character—Blockade of Navarino—Monembasia—Tripolitza—Second cruise of the fleet—Its state—Destruction of Aivala—Blockade of Athens—Greeks take the lower town.

THE rapid spread, and the momentary success of the revolt in the Morea, attracted the attention of all Greece; the outrages committed at Constantinople, and the murder of the Patriarch, seemed to put an end to any hope of reconciliation; and all prepared for the contest. The peasants of Attica, after securing their effects in the mountains, began to issue forth in small bands, and harass the Turks. Bœtia, Etolia, and Locris, followed the example. Missolonghi was then merely a fishing station, but was already in arms; as high up as Macedonia, the Greeks were in commotion; and all the Chersonese was in a state of

insurrection. But still more important was the insurrection of the large islands : Samos set the example, and was followed by Paros, Andros, and some smaller ones ; and soon, Candia, the richest and largest of all, joined the revolt, as well as Negropont. Those islands in which there was a majority of Catholic Greeks,* as Naxia, Santorin, Syra, &c. were the last ; in fact, they held back as long as possible.

The commencement of the revolt, in these parts, was attended with the same circumstances as in the Morea : the Turks, generally taken unawares, endeavoured to gain the fortified places, where they shut themselves up. If they failed in this, they were massacred in the fury of the moment ; or subjected to a slavery, often as galling as that they used to exercise ; and which generally put a speedy end to itself by its severity.

After the defeat of the Turks at Lala, by Anagnostara and Colocotroni, a stability seemed to be given to the revolt ; and thinking men immediately turned their attention to establishing something like a government, to direct its yet tottering steps. A meeting was called at Calamata, of the Primates, or rich men of the Morea. This assembly taking upon itself the name of Senate, elected Petro Mavromichalis President, and proceeded to take such steps as would convert to the advantage of the cause, the momentary panic of the Turks. Exertions were made to introduce some kind of order into the mere mob of armed men, which constituted the army. Germanos, bishop of Patrass, who was the first to begin the revolution, had given up all direction of military affairs to Colocotroni ; and took a leading part in the Senate. Measures were taken to blockade all the Turkish fortresses ; besides those of Navarin and Monembasia, which were really invested by the peasantry, and some of the

* During the time that the Venetians possessed Greece, the Roman Catholic clergy contrived to make some proselytes, especially in the Islands ; and during the present struggle for liberty, the descendants of those proselytes have not only shown an unpatriotic spirit, but they have prayed and laboured for its failure. They hate the orthodox Greeks, with that genuine hatred which bigotry so well inspires ; and the compliment is returned ; though from the number of the Catholics being so small, the Greeks have no reason to fear them, and therefore season their hatred with scorn. The Catholic Greeks attempt an imitation of European dress and manners ; and laying aside the graceful costume of their country, cut a ridiculous figure in hats and coats, which they know not how to make, or put on when made.

wild soldiery. Tripolitza was watched by a considerable force, which had united under Theodore Colocotroni, and amounted to seven thousand men. This individual is the son of a Kleftes, or mountain robber, who became so renowned for the cunning and courage with which he committed his depredations upon the Turks, that a large band collected themselves under his command, and he became the terror of the Morea. He died as he had lived,—in war with the Turks; and his name, preserved in the memory of the Kleftes, and handed down in their wild songs, gave a reputation to his son; who from his youth followed his father's profession.

The Turks having succeeded pretty well in clearing the Morea of these freebooters, Colocotroni was obliged to seek other occupation; and we find him serving in a regiment of Albanian Greeks, organized by the British, in the Ionian Islands; in which he held some subordinate office; until the regiment being disbanded, he found himself out of employ. The breaking out of the insurrection opened to him a new career; he hastened over to the Morea, and his name and reputation, at that moment, when he had few competitors, gained him the greatest influence among the wild soldiery. He is about fifty years of age: has a huge clumsy figure; to which is united by a brawny bull neck, an immense shaggy head; with a face strongly, but coarsely marked; indicating cunning, presumption, and dogged resolution; which are in fact, the attributes of his character. Enjoying a high reputation for courage, he seemed to think any demonstration of it unnecessary; and there is hardly an instance known of his exposing his person during the war. As profoundly ignorant of politics, as of letters, he seemed disregarding of his reputation, and his actions have been uniformly directed by his ruling passion, avarice; and, as subservient to this, a desire of military supremacy in the Morea.

The assembly at Calamata finished its labours by an address to the nations of Europe, declaring the object of the insurrection, the resolution and ability of their countrymen to make a desperate struggle for independence, and praying for assistance. The governing power was then vested in a Commission of

seven persons ;* of whom Mavrómichalis was chosen President ; and the Assembly dissolved, or rather adjourned its meeting, till the surrender of Tripolitza ; which was then hoped for, though almost against hope. The Commission continued endeavouring to introduce something like order ; and to insure the continuance of the blockade of Navarin, and Monembasia ; where it was known the Turks could have but few provisions. They soon received a letter from Prince Demetrius Ipselanti, announcing his arrival at Hydra ; that he had come as the representative of his brother Alexander Ipselanti, who had appointed him to head the insurrection in the Morea. This individual had left Russia accompanied by several followers : he was obliged to traverse the Austrian dominions in disguise of a servant ; and at last arrived at Hydra, where he was received with extravagant joy by the people and primates ; and though the latter were a little startled at his extraordinary pretensions, yet being in want of a leader, and great reliance being placed on the exertions of his brother, who talked in his proclamations of the forty thousand Russian bayonets which were to follow him, they recognised Demetrius as their generalissimo.

A finer opportunity to run the race of ambition could not be presented to a man of genius than had Demetrius Ipselanti : one of ordinary talent even, without his personal defects, might have done much ; but these were great. He is about forty years of age ; but being small of stature, his gaunt and almost skeleton-like figure, and bald head, give him the appearance of premature old age ; while his nearness of sight, a disagreeable twang of the voice, and a stiff, and awkward, and embarrassed manner, excites disagreeable feeling in any one introduced to him amounting almost to pity. But Demetrius Ipselanti has not the character which his exterior seems to indicate ; he possesses that best kind of courage, a cool indifference to danger ; is free from the besetting sin of his countrymen, avarice ; is a sincere patriot ; and when once the reserve of first acquaintance is worn off, he proves the kind and generous friend. But unfortunately for him, he was surrounded by

* The names of the members of this Commission were Sotiri Karalampi, Athanese Kanacaris, Nicolo Poneropulo, Theodoraki Rendis, Anagnosti, Paparopulo, and Theodore Bishop of —.

a set of weak-minded, vain young men, whose sole recommendation was their talent of flattering, and who probably suggested to him the idea of setting up ridiculous pretensions of superiority, which people will never submit to in one deficient of the talent and power to enforce them.

After spending a few days at Hydra, Ipselanti crossed over to the Morea, where the chief primates were waiting to receive him. They paid him their respects on board the vessel; and were immediately disgusted with the cold and disrespectful manner in which he received them; for he did not even rise on their entrance. This was intentional, and not arising wholly from his naturally ungracious manner, for when Colocotroni and the other military chiefs came he rose; and it appeared that he meant to attach this party to him. From that moment the primates resolved to ruin him; and we may see how strongly the spirit of intrigue is engrafted in the Greek character by the steps this already formed party took. The revolt was hardly stable; all was doubt and uncertainty; a Turkish army might crush it in a month; yet they began by circulating letters to all their districts, to try to raise a party against Ipselanti; because from one interview they suspected he would not favour them. But nothing could be done openly, as the people were all loud for Ipselanti. On landing, he was received with the greatest enthusiasm; crowds rushed to see him, and as he passed along he was hailed as the destined deliverer of his country. Thus enjoying a kind of triumph by anticipation, Ipselanti passed on to Calamata; and on his arrival his first thoughts were turned upon the ways and means of forming regular troops; or at least of introducing some kind of order into the mass of men with muskets, then styled the army: meantime, let us turn our attention to the other parts of Greece.

Near the centre of the Peloponessus, and at a considerable elevation above the level of the sea, lies a large plain, entirely hemmed in by mountains, which rise round it in a circular form; and from which there are no outlets except by two or three narrow passes. On this plain, where once rose Manfinea, Tegea, and Palantium, is built Tripolitza. It is of a square form, surrounded by a wall, crowned with battlements and flanked with towers; and at the S. W. part it has a small citadel garnished

with a few poor cannon. It was the Turkish capital of the Morea, and contained 20,000 inhabitants, which number was now augmented by the influx of the Turks from all the surrounding country, who fled to it as a place of refuge on the breaking out of the insurrection. All the male inhabitants were armed; and besides there were to garrison it about 3500. Albanian Turks and some cavalry. The place was under the command of Mohammed, the lieutenant of Kourchid, Pashaw of the Morea, who himself was with the Sultan's army, besieging Ali Pashaw at Yanina.

To invest this important place was Ipselanti's first care. He found the mountains around the plain filled with bands of armed Greeks, who kept the passes toward Napoli di Romania, and that one leading south to Navarino, and effectually cut off the Turks from any communication with either of those places; but they had by their cavalry complete command of the plain, from which they drew considerable support: nor had want so far manifested itself, as to make them attempt forcing any passage. Remaining here himself to draw closer round the Turks the net in which they were caught, Ipselanti sent Cantacuzene to superintend the blockade of Napoli di Malvasia.

This singularly strong natural fortress, called by the Greeks Monembasia, (from its having but one entrance,) is situated on the eastern coast of Maina. About a musket shot from the shore, rises suddenly and precipitous to a great height, an enormous rock, perpendicular, and perfectly inaccessible on three sides, where the base is washed by the waves; on the fourth, to the S. E. there is a narrow strip of land between the foot of the precipice and the sea, where is built the town; above which the rock rises to a dizzying height, and its top is only accessible by a zigzag path worked in the side. To hoist cannon to the level top of this rock, to dig cisterns, and build magazines, were the only labour the Venetians had in acquiring one of the strongest fortresses in the world.

On arriving before this place, Cantacuzene saw that the only hope of taking it was by famine, the approaches of which already had begun to be felt by the inhabitants of the lower town; though the garrison in the citadel above was not in want: for the former had flocked in hastily from the surrounding country.

and were unprovided. The greatest obstacle Cantacuzene had, was from the thievish Mainote Greeks, who although they kept the blockade very strict, and were not backward in repelling by force any attempt of the Turks to sally out; yet could not refrain from accepting the offers of the rich Turks, who in their evening parleys would offer immense sums for bread, and seldom failed to get it. To stop this disgraceful traffic, Cantacuzene attempted to carry by assault the little bridge which connects the town with the main land; but the Turks defended it resolutely and repulsed him. He then contented himself with hemming it in closely, and awaiting the slower but sure effects of famine.

The blockade of Navarino or Neo-castro had been commenced before that of any other place, and an idea of the discipline and subordination which exists in Greek armies may be had from the transaction before it. On the first alarm the Turks had shut themselves up in the fortress; and after some successes, the Greeks assembled before it to the number of two thousand. This was frequently augmented, and a line of breastworks was thrown up, or rather built with stone like a common wall, to defend them against any assault of the Turks. A few days before the feast of Easter, great numbers of the Greeks began to leave and go home to keep the feast; it was in vain that the leaders exerted themselves; it was in vain to talk, or pray, or threaten. It is necessary, said the men, that we should go home and enjoy ourselves during the feast, and *afterwards* we will hasten back and begin the blockade again. On the day of the feast, only one hundred and fifty men were to be found, and fifty more were watching Modon. But though these men were induced to stay in their *tambouris*, or, breastworks, nothing could keep them from celebrating the festival, which they did in their usual way, drinking wine, dancing, and firing their pistols. The Turks, who know well the Greek mode of celebrating festivals, became aware of their diminished numbers from the small number of pistol reports which they heard, and they prepared accordingly to take advantage of it by a sally. The next morning they presented themselves at break of day before the Greek breastworks, which they assailed; the Greeks defended them obstinately, but after half an hour's strug-

gle were upon the point of flying before the increasing numbers which the Turks brought up, when the fifty men who were stationed on the Modon road, attracted by the report of the musketry, suddenly appeared upon a hill, and the Turks imagining them to be the advance of a large body of men, and the whole affair to be a scheme to draw them to a distance from [1821. their walls, suddenly retreated.

In a day or two the feasters returned and the blockade was resumed.

A second naval expedition in the mean time was preparing at Hydra ; and as in the first one the sailors, that is the mass of the inhabitants of the island, forced the primates and ship owners not only to loan their vessels gratis, but to fit them out, and to pay very high wages. This was submitted to with pretty good grace, as they were rich and could afford to be fleeced a little. Accordingly, the squadron was prepared and put to sea, consisting of twenty-two Hydriote, nine Spetziote, and seven Ipsariote vessels. But what was a Greek fleet, about which so much has been said, and whose really praiseworthy efforts have been so much extolled and magnified ? Perhaps it is not generally known, that until the arrival of the steam ship Enterprise from England in 1826, the Greeks had not one single national vessel ; not a boat could government command without the permission of its private owners. At the commencement of the insurrection, Hydra, Spetzia, and Ipsara possessed from 400 to 600 beautifully modelled, light rigged, swift sailing merchant brigs of about 250 tons burden : armed generally with from eight to sixteen cannon to protect them from pirates. These cannon were of a small calibre, seldom exceeding twelve pounders, and hardly two alike on board of one vessel. With 38 of these small vessels, each manned with from 90 to 100 sailors, Jacomaki Tombazi, the first Greek admiral sailed from Hydra on his second cruise. His title of admiral sounded well, but what did it amount to ? First, there manifested itself, even at this early period, a spirit of jealousy between Hydriotes, Spetziotes, and Ipsariots ; each had its commander or admiral, whose command alone they would obey *if it suited them* : in fact, neither admiral nor captain had any real authority ; all depended upon the sailors. If the admiral ordered the captain

to do a particular service he consulted his men ; if they agreed, well—if not, he could not force them ; the service was left unperformed and nothing was said about it. The interior of each vessel presented a scene of still greater confusion and insubordination ; there was the captain—but between him and a common sailor there was a void unfilled by any officer—no lieutenants or midshipmen, or grade of any kind.* Among the men the same confusion existed ; no portion of duty was allotted ; no gangs were formed ; if a sailor saw any thing that appeared to him necessary to be done, he did it without waiting for an order ; or if an order was given, all hands sprung to perform it at once, though not more than five, perhaps, were necessary. They were perfectly free with their captain, except that he ate alone : if for example, they saw, or thought they saw the necessity of going to port, they told him so ; and in such a way too, that he seldom ventured to neglect the hint.

A service so constituted could not exist with any but Greek sailors : they are, strange as the quality may appear in a sailor, temperate ; even slight intoxication is very rare with them ; and a man drunk to insensibility is a sight never witnessed : they are active and skilful, though they cannot be called daring sailors. They are exceedingly *clannish*, if the term can be thus applied. A rich Hydriote, for example, will have brothers and sisters—half brothers, cousins, second, third, fourth, down to sixteenth cousins ; he has always many among the common sailors, who have some connexion with him by blood or marriage ; distant, indeed, but not the less thought of. From among these he picks the crew of his vessel ; so that it is a kind of family property ; each man has a feeling of interest in the vessel, and will regard her welfare as paramount to every other consideration, his own private interests always excepted, of course. The owner of the vessel sometimes commands in person : more often, however, one of his relatives does it ; in either case it was often the source of evil, for on going into action, however brave the commander of a vessel might be, his interest would tell him to keep out of the fire and not ex-

* The *Lustromos* has but the shadow of command, and the *Scrivano*, or *Grammatikos*, hardly that.

pose his ship to injury, which would have to be repaired [1821. at his own expense; and doubtless it has kept many a vessel aloof, whose captain thought more of getting his spars injured than having his men's, or even his own limbs carried away. These and similar motives acted on some; a dislike to danger and death on others; and we shall find most of the boasted feats of the Greek fleet on examination, to have been without bloodshed or danger; and the really heroic actions which have been performed, to have been the work of a few gallant and noble patriots, whose names alone are enough to redeem the character of the modern Greeks from the odium their enemies would cast upon it.

To return from this digression—Tombazi directing the course of his squadron of brigs toward the Dardanelles, on the 5th of June discovered a division of the Turkish fleet; consisting of one seventy-four, one fifty gun ship, three frigates, three corvettes, and two brigs, coming from Constantinople and directing its course for Scio. On discovering the Greeks, the Turks ran for Sigvi in Mytilene; but though they were to windward and the port under their lee, the fifty gun ship was cut off and ran for Egripo. She was pursued by the Greeks, and by bad management got on shore: she then lay at their mercy; but she was like a wounded beast, whose teeth and claws make him still formidable to the hunter. The light brigs with their small cannon could not approach her with impunity; and as for boarding, though writers have asserted that the sailors impatiently demanded it, they never thought of it, or only with fear and trembling, convinced as they were, that the Turks in their desperation would blow themselves up. In this dilemma, captain Athanase, a Hydriote, proposed a fireship; and after spending the day in trials, in which one vessel was burnt ineffectually, a second was attached to the enemy; the torch was applied, and in an instant, hull, rigging, and sails were in one sheet of fire, and her crew of five hundred and fifty souls all perished in the flames except about twenty. This was the first use of the *Brulot*, or fire-ship by the Greeks; and as all the victories and naval advantages which they have gained have been by means of them, a few lines may be devoted to explaining the way in which they are prepared and used.

An old vessel, but one which will sail well, is selected ; every thing valuable is taken out of her ; her inside is daubed with a composition of pitch and sulphur, and filled with furze or light combustibles : several new hatches are cut along the deck on each side, under each of which is placed a small cask of powder ; the rigging is well daubed with tar, and the ends of the yards armed with hooks, that they may catch and entangle in the enemy's rigging. When every thing is ready, a train of powder is laid from the combustibles, communicating with each cask of powder, and leading to the stern of the brulot ; then with all sail set, she is run directly for an enemy ship ; the sailors (generally twenty in number) crouch behind the bulwarks, to hide themselves from the shot ; and at the moment she strikes against the ship meant to be burned, every man leaps into the boat, which is kept ready dragging astern ; the captain fires the train and follows them, and leaving the brulot, of which every spar, rope, and sail is in an instant in one broad blaze, to grasp in its fiery embrace the enemy's vessel ; they pull rapidly away with from twenty to thirty oars, and try to gain the vessel appointed to pick them up.

Nothing can be conceived more terrible than the situation of a large vessel thus attacked ; for though while at a little distance it is easy to escape a brulot, yet once united, once that the train is fired, there is no hope for a soul on board ;—the only refuge from a fiery grave, is to plunge into a watery one.

The news of this achievement of the infant fleet flew like wild fire, and was as usual enlarged and improved. In the minds of the Greeks it produced joy and exultation ; in those of the Turks a savage fury : torment and murder, which for a time had ceased, were again the order of the day ; and thousands of Greeks in Asia Minor paid with their blood for the loss of the few hundred Turks on board the vessel.

But no place suffered like Aivali, or Cydonia. This flourishing and most interesting spot, was inhabited solely by Greeks ; who enjoyed the rare privilege of living under their own town rulers. There were 30,000 inhabitants in the town previous to the revolution, many of whom however had fled. It had a college, and its population was one of the most enlightened of any Greek town. Situated as they were in the heart

of the Turkish empire, the thought of revolt could never have entered their minds ; but the Pashaw of the province was determined that it should ; he therefore, upon pretence of the discovery of a conspiracy, sent a thousand soldiers to be quartered among them. The next day a larger number arriving, began to commit every outrage upon the inhabitants, and wanted only an excuse, to fall upon and massacre them. The third day, the Greek fleet appeared off the harbour, but merely by accident, not having had any communication with it. This however was the signal for the Turks, who began to massacre all that fell in their way, and set fire to the houses. The inhabitants, in despair, rushed to arms ; boats were sent off from the fleet ; the sailors united with the inhabitants, and after a severe fight, the Turks were driven out of the town. But the inhabitants knew it was only a momentary respite ; in the morning the Turks would return with immense forces, and the only refuge from death or slavery was on board the vessels. That night was to them one of horror and confusion, more easily imagined than described ; every one was anxious to get on board, with as many of his effects as he could save. About 5000 were received on board the fleet, and the next day as many more were butchered by the Turks. All the men, the young and aged, were murdered in cold blood ; the women and boys, whose beauty made them valuable prizes, were carried off to sell in the markets of Constantinople, and serve the brutal lusts of the rich. The buildings were all burnt, and of the flourishing Aivali, there remained but the ashes of its houses and the bones of its inhabitants.

The fleet bore away with its melancholy charge—every vessel crowded full. That of Tombazi had more than 600 on board. They were distributed among the islands, and left to the compassion of the inhabitants ; and the fleet returned—each division to its own port.

Athens was, at this time, blockaded ; on the first extension of the insurrection to Attica, the inhabitants of Athens retired to the island of Salamis, as of yore, when obliged to desert their city. The Turks had not molested them, nor had violence of any kind been committed. This is to be accounted for, partly from the mutual respect in which they held each other ; the

Greeks, knowing they could not possess themselves of the fortress, and the Turks being obliged to respect them for their numerical superiority ; and partly, perhaps, from the character of the Turks inhabiting Athens. It has been remarked that they were less cruel, tyrannical, and bigoted, than any others in Greece : and instances are cited of mildness and forbearance, nay, of familiarity with the infidels, almost inconsistent with the character of a good Mussulman.*

The breaking out of the revolt in Attica, was unaccompanied by the cruelties elsewhere perpetrated. But soon the Athenians rallying from Salamis, began to form themselves into small parties, and, united with the Megarians and Eleusinians, they ravaged the fine plain of Athens. Forming ambuscades among the olives, or along the banks of the little channel of the Cephissus, they surprised the Turks whenever they sallied out, continually cut off small parties, and at last, obliged them to shut themselves up in the town. The Greeks, rapidly augmenting in numbers, resolved to attempt taking the place. A feeble [1821. guard only was kept on the walls by the Turks : these [June. were overpowered at midnight ; the Greeks entered in, and were, once more, masters of Athens. The Turks retired into the Acropolis, and were, from that time, closely blockaded. Thebes, Candia, Salona, and Missolonghi, were likewise active scenes of revolt : which had reached Thessaly and Macedonia, where the name of Ulysses, or Odysseus, was first heard.

*Is it enough to explain this, by saying, as is generally done, that the transient visits of European travellers could have produced this change in the manners of a people, who, in Constantinople, in continual contact with an European population, are still stubborn Turks ? is it not rather a fresh proof of the influence of the peculiarly happy climate of Attica over its inhabitants,

CHAPTER IV.

Blockade of Tripolitza continued—State of the Army—Battle of Kaki Scarlar—Fall of Maloazia—Commencement of Parties—Ipselanti's demands—Commission refuses them, and he leaves the camp—Is called back—Assembly at Varachova—Result of the revolt in Moldavia and Wallachia—Arrival of Alexander Mavrocordato—His character—Goes to insurgent Etolia—Siege of Navarino—Massacre of the Turks—Death of Constantine Mavromichalis—Plan of the Turkish campaign—Fleet leaves the Dardanelles—Threatens Samos—Appears on the coast of the Morea—Particulars of the siege of Tripolitza—Sufferings of the Turks—Arrival of Col. Gordon—Plan of Colocotroni to get rid of Ipselanti.

ALL eyes were now turned upon Tripolitza, and the hopes and fears of Greek and Turk, were justly excited about its fate. Around it was collected the most considerable Greek force; and there were assembled the most influential men. From it, then, as from a centre, we can look at the progress of events in the different parts of Greece. Ipselanti endeavoured to act as generalissimo, but found innumerable obstacles in his way: one of the most important of these arose from the character of the soldiers, and their ideas of military duty. Here it may be well to look into this character, and we shall see in each individual that of the whole mass: a Greek soldier is intelligent, active, hardy, and frugal; he will march, or rather skip, all day among the rocks; expecting no other food than a biscuit, and a few olives, or a raw onion; and at night, lies down content upon the ground, with a flat stone for a pillow, and with only his capote, which he carries with him winter and summer, for covering; baggage wagon and tent he knows nothing of. But, he will not work, for he thinks it disgraceful; he will submit to no discipline, for he thinks it makes a slave of him; he will obey no order which does not seem to him a good one; for he holds that in these matters, he has a right to be consulted. In a European army, a body of Greeks would be called cowards.

They never can be brought to enter a breach, to charge an enemy who has a wall before him, or to stand up and expose themselves to a fire. The invariable practice is to conceal their bodies behind a wall, or a rock, and fire from under cover. They wear pistols, but never come within reasonable distance to use them; they have yataghans, but the only service they are of is to cut off the head of a slain enemy. *As an army*, then, and compared to Europeans and Americans, they are not brave; but it may be doubted whether Europeans or Americans in the same situation, would be any braver. It is not individual courage which is wanting; it is the *esprit de corps*; it is that confidence which long habits of discipline give to the soldier in his arms and his comrades. Can it be expected of men who have no ideas of military subordination; who have no respect for their officers; no fear of punishment, and no hope of reward; that they will expose themselves more than is necessary? The instinct of self-preservation is strong in all men; and the soldier who neglects it, does so generally, from love of the praise, and fear of the censure of his fellow men. But after all, truth forces the confession, that though instances of heroic courage can be cited among the modern Greeks; they are not remarkable for personal valour.

The Chiefs have always violently opposed the introduction of discipline, or the least order among the soldiery; knowing that their own interests must decline as this advances: they alone pay the soldiers, and are alone known by them: for example, they demand pay and rations from government for five hundred men, have only fifty in their service, and pocket the rest of the money. Not even the numbering of the soldiery is allowed, much less the forming them into ranks, and teaching them manœuvres. If a man who has money, and therefore influence, wishes for a body of soldiers, he calls to him the Capitani, and engages them to collect each one as many soldiers as he can—himself being responsible for the pay and rations. The soldier engages, but very often no contract is signed: he is at liberty to remain or not—and the chief who has to-day two thousand men, may, if his means fail him, find himself alone to-morrow. Then the love of titles makes the evil worse: no one is content to be a soldier; he who can support ten men is

a Captain; double the number makes him a Colonel; thirty or forty, a Lieutenant-General; and he who can show eighty or a hundred is dubbed General: no military knowledge whatever is required; the groom of to-day is a captain to-morrow.*

This miserable system, or rather this want of system, has been the cause of most of the losses, and the principal means of the commencement and continuance of most of the civil wars which have disgraced the revolution.

With 8000 such men, and under such regulations, did Demetrius Ipselanti find himself before Tripolitza. The Turks in the place amounted to 6000 effective men, which their cavalry rendered a far superior force to that of the Greeks; for without bayonets they could not be resisted; and an hundred Turkish horsemen could drive a thousand Greeks from the open country: it was their object, therefore, to induce the Greeks to come to an engagement upon the plain, which the latter as carefully avoided. Tired of waiting, the impetuous Mohammed sallied out, determined to push through the passes and obtain provisions. But at a difficult pass, called Kaka Scarla, he found a body of Greeks, who retired before him until he was drawn in among the rocks, where his cavalry was useless; when they from every part opened a fire of musketry. The Turks defended themselves bravely, and were upon the point of carrying the pass, when a fresh band of Greeks coming in sight they fled, leaving 100 dead, and were pursued to the very walls of Tripolitza. The Greeks seized upon some ruined houses about musket shot from the S. W. gate, which completely commanded a patch of herbage upon which the Turks had heretofore supported their horses. From this moment confidence was infused into the Greeks, and an equal degree of dejection into the minds of the Turks. Famine began to manifest itself among the besieged, and their only hope was from the fleet, which was daily expected to arrive at Modon, and to land troops.

- * Strolling one day in the camp, one of the Capitani passed me, richly dressed, and followed by the usual train of dirty soldiers: the countenance was familiar, I looked again—it was a fellow I had seen six months before, the servant of a friend; he had picked up by a lucky hit some money; the commission was easily procured, and he was Captain at once.

News then came of the surrender of Napoli di Malvasia, and the rattling of musketry, and the wild shouts of joy and exultation which rang along the hills, told the Turks of their loss, and showed of what importance the Greeks considered the gaining of the first fortress. We have seen that Cantacuzene, being sent to assume the direction of the blockade at Malvasia, put a stop to the practice of the Mainotes of selling provisions to the besieged, and introduced some order. This discouraged the Turks, and the more so as the blockade was also kept up at sea by two Spetziote brigs, which watched narrowly the port. The effect of famine soon began to show itself among the inhabitants of the lower town, while the garrison above had still provisions. Some of the families then attempted to escape in boats to Cerigotto; but the Spetziotes overtook them and forced them to go back; on arriving they were refused admittance to the town, as it was an object to get rid of as many mouths as possible. These miserable wretches then wished to surrender to the Greeks, but neither would they receive them; but pointing at them their muskets, drove them back to the narrow scrap of rock between the wall and the sea, where under the eyes of their countrymen, they raved with all the pangs of hunger, until death eased them of their sufferings.

Nor were those in the town in a much better condition; every dog, cat, or rat, that could be caught was eaten; the leather was all consumed; the most nauseating filth and offals were sought after and fought for; and when all was gone, human flesh was actually eaten; several Greek children were butchered and roasted. Human nature could endure no more, and the inhabitants of the lower town, seizing upon the upper citadel, where their Aga and some soldiers still refused to listen to terms as they had some bread left; they forced them to comply, and the place was surrendered to the Greeks upon the condition of the safe conveyance of themselves and their effects to Asia Minor.

Horrible was the scene presented when they came out; their bodies covered with sores,* and emitting an insupportable

* I have been assured by an eye-witness, that some Greeks who were slaves in the town, and who had of course suffered more than the Turks, had no

stench: weak and emaciated, with hollow-sunken eyes and hectic cheeks, they tottered toward the Greeks,—as yet doubtful of the fate that might await them, but ready to risk life for a piece of bread.

To the credit of the soldiery be it said, no violence was done them, and they were embarked for Asia Minor. It was impossible, indeed, that the condition which had been stipulated, that they should take effects with them, could be observed, although Cantacuzene honourably exerted himself to effect it; the soldiers would not be deprived of their spoil. The captives were conveyed to the coast of Asia Minor and there landed. And how did their countrymen receive this garrison which had so long and so resolutely borne up against the most dreadful suffering rather than surrender? With scoffs and sneers; “you should have died,” said they, “on your posts.”

The taking of Napoli di Malvasia placed a few cannon and a pair of mortars at the disposal of the Greeks, and with immense labour they were transported over the mountains to Tripolitza; and being placed on an eminence near the walls, the siege of the place was commenced. By this time parties had formed themselves among the Greeks, and occupied scarcely less attention than the pressing the siege of Tripolitza. The first party was that of Ipselanti, who insisted on being acknowledged as the Supreme Director of civil and military affairs. His pretensions were founded on his capacity of lieutenant to his brother Alexander, who as representative of the Hetaria, headed the insurrection in Moldavia and Wallachia; and about whose power and successes exaggerated reports had been circulated. Demetrius was supported by the prudent among the military, and by the middling class of people, who began to dread the power of the military Chiefs.

The second party was that of Colocotroni; or that of which as the most prominent military man, he began to be considered the head. This party wished for the establishment of a temporary military government; which they meant, however, to take good care to render perpetual.

sores upon them, and no unpleasant smell; a remarkable instance of the influence of the passions upon the body. The Turks were depressed by despair, the Greeks buoyed up by hope of being relieved from captivity.

The third party was that of the *Primates*, or the great civil chiefs or landholders; men, who under the Turks had been always looked upon by the Greek peasantry in the light of feudal Chiefs. They constituted the aristocracy of the country; and the object of most of them in favouring the insurrection, had been the hope to succeed to the places of the Turks, and enjoy an equal power. This party wished for the establishment of an oligarchy; but in order to make head against Ipselanti and Colocotroni, was obliged to flatter the people and to counterfeit democratical sentiments. All these parties united in calling for a National Assembly, to which Deputies from every part of the country should be sent; each one flattering itself that it should be able to gain the supremacy in it.

It has been observed that the Assembly of Calamata had deputed their power to a Commission, which pretended to direct the affairs of the country; from this Commission Ipselanti demanded an open acknowledgment of his supreme control over all military operations. The Commission hesitated; for the demand was not only unreasonable in itself, but it was made in that haughty insulting tone, which the upstart followers of Ipselanti were accustomed to use; and which he probably never authorized: it is said, that Condiotti, who carried the message, threatened to bring ten thousand Russian bayonets to enforce it. The Commission giving an evasive answer to a second message, in which Ipselanti threatened to leave the Morea, if it were not immediately complied with, he left the camp in the afternoon, and passing the defile of Leondari, halted for the night. The next morning there was a kind of tumult in the camp—the soldiers demanding Ipselanti, whom they learned had been driven off by the Commission; and whom they respected for the influence he was supposed to possess in Russia. The Commission, alarmed, sent to General Anagnostaras, who was a favourer of Ipselanti, to beg him to return, and promising to comply with any demands. Anagnostaras overtook him two hours beyond Leondari, and easily persuaded him to go back to the camp, where he was received with shouts of joy by the soldiery.

This was one of those critical moments which occur in revolutions, and of which master spirits serve themselves to turn

the tide of popular feeling into the course they wish it to take : had Ipselanti's talents equalled his virtues, he might at this moment have seized upon the Primates and military Chiefs, and by disposing of them, have avoided those continual intrigues and civil wars, which have since paralyzed Greece : he might have concentrated in his own person the whole power ; and the people would gladly have confirmed it to him. By properly directing the then existing enthusiasm, he would in a few months have cleared the country of the Turks ; and, by keeping the supreme power in his own hands, until the people were prepared to receive, and direct it, he would have ranked himself among the greatest benefactors of mankind. But Ipselanti was not the man to execute so bold a measure ; and it has been the peculiar misfortune of Greece, that the few brave and virtuous patriots whom she possesses, are not men of talent ; while her men of talent are generally unprincipled. It is even asserted that some of the followers of Ipselanti proposed putting to death all the Primates and Chiefs ; but he spurned the proposal with all the horror a virtuous mind must feel ;—a mind which had not learnt the dangerous doctrine, that the end justifies the means.

•The only advantage which Ipselanti took of the popular feeling in his favour, was to call a meeting of the Primates and Bishops of Varachova. They met, and though there was much intrigue, still his influence was predominant over all other : but not to the degree he wished. A body was chosen under the name of Senate, which was to govern, until the state of affairs should render a more perfect meeting of the Deputies from all parts practicable. Ipselanti was made President of this body, and General in chief in the Peloponessus ; but without power to act out of it : and the meeting was dissolved.

Ipselanti's influence being derived from the reputation of his brother Alexander, of course depended upon the success or failure of the latter—let us look therefore at his proceedings.

All his hopes of assistance from Russia had been destroyed by the proclamation of Alexander, issued from Labach, denouncing his attempt as an unjustifiable revolt against a legal and established government. But the measures of Alexander Ipselanti, from the very first, had been marked by indecision :

and the people of the provinces Moldavia and Wallachia barely tolerated, without supporting him. He had a few thousand rude soldiery and peasantry, constituting his army; and had patched up an insincere arrangement with Theodore Vladimiresko, a Greek Chief of very doubtful character. He wasted his time in useless and ill-judged movements, in issuing pompous proclamations, or in idle amusements. Meantime the Turks were preparing to attack him; the Sultan had called the faithful to arms, declaring Islamism to be in danger. The Pashaws of Silistria and Routzouk were ordered to cross the Danube, and hasten to Bucharest: they obeyed, and were followed by a horde of eight thousand Turks. Hadji Achmet, Pashaw, entered lesser Wallachia with as many more men; and Yussuf, Pashaw of Ibrail, marched into Moldavia. Ipselanti knew not which way to turn; but the general tendency of his movement was toward the Russian frontier. As the Turks approached near him, the views of Vladimiresko became more apparent; proofs were obtained of his intention to betray Ipselanti into the hands of the Turks. But Ipselanti feared to break with him, as his soldiers were so much devoted to him; the brave Georgaki, however, whose energy alone seemed to give some spirit to the operations, hesitated not to seize Theodore in his own quarters, while surrounded by his men, and brought him prisoner to Ipselanti. Some of the officers of the latter, (it is hoped without his orders,) put Theodore to death without trial.

But a battle at last became necessary, and Ipselanti with his followers not amounting in all to five thousand, made a stand near Dragacan. Here a battle was fought, of which pompous accounts have been given, and its loss attributed to the cowardice and treachery of the Greek Chiefs. But it is more probable that Ipselanti was surprised; at any rate he was not personally in the affair. The Turks fell upon the Greeks with a body of infantry not superior in numbers to their own, but supported by an efficient corps of cavalry. The Greeks were routed; and the Sacred Battalion, composed mostly of young enthusiastic Greeks, sons of men of fortune, and who had been educated in Europe; in fine, the flower and hope of Greece—was almost entirely cut to pieces. They were only four hundred

in number, and exposed in the open plain to the charge of fifteen hundred cavalry. They maintained their position, however, and resisted the first onset with great firmness. But their artillery getting out of order there was nothing to check the second charge; and the cavalry breaking through their ranks, these brave young men were hewn down one after another, making a gallant, but individual, and therefore ineffectual resistance.

Ipselanti, who was at a little distance, fled, and was followed by part of the Turkish force; at the same moment that Georgaki, coming up on the other side, fell furiously upon the Turks, who had cut up the Sacred Battalion, with his mountaineers, and in some measure revenged its defeat. But he could do nothing more, the day was lost, the rest of the army was scattered, and he retired to the mountains. Had his advice been taken, the fatal battle of Dragacan had been avoided; as it was, he could only try to remedy the evils resulting from it. Ipselanti retired to the northern frontiers, and left the Provinces without another effort to continue the struggle. His intention was to pass through the dominions of Austria, and embark from some port of the Adriatic to join the insurgents in the Morea. But he had committed a deadly offence against the principles of the Holy Allies, in attempting to free his country; he was seized therefore by the Austrian Government, and thrown into the dungeons of Mongatz; where he lingered away, year after year, and was lately released—to die from the diseases brought on by long incarceration.

But the heroic Georgaki did not entirely abandon the enterprise so rashly lost by another; he retreated, disputing every foot of ground; and often by daring and well devised attacks, destroying considerable bodies of Turks. He could not muster more than a thousand men; but with them he continued for five months to alarm and harass the Turks; who kept ten thousand men in pursuit of him. At last, worn down with fatigue, and wounds, he shut himself up with a few devoted followers in the monastery of Scala; and after a desperate resistance, in which most of his men were killed, he entered a small tower where some powder had been stored, and blew it up, with himself, his soldiers, and the Turks who rushed after them.

Thus ended the insurrection in the northern provinces : Moldavia and Wallachia were again overrun, and the blood of thousands of their inhabitants was shed ere the Turks would forgive them the heinous crime of allowing Ipselanti to enter their country.

The receipt of this disastrous news in the Morea, greatly diminished the influence of Demetrius Ipselanti, already impaired by his undecided, and often childish conduct. Cantacuzene, who had conducted the siege of Malvasia, became disgusted, and left him and the country. In fact, it appears that Ipselanti was governed entirely by the rash and ignorant young foreigners who surrounded him, and who generally deserved no better name than that of needy adventurers. About this time arrived at the camp, from Missilonghi, Alexander Mavrocordato, a man destined entirely to eclipse Ipselanti, and to take the lead in the revolution. Alexander Mavrocordato (called by courtesy Prince* Mavrocordato) is of that family so dear to Greece, from the patriotic labours of some of its members, who have enjoyed high honours about the Porte. Alexander was early initiated into that system of intrigue and political cunning which is the leading trait in the character of the Greeks of the Fanar, and he was employed as chief minister by his relation the Hospodar, or Prince of Moldavia.

At the breaking out of the revolution he was in France, and on hearing of it he hastened to Marseilles ; where, partly at his own expense, and partly by the contribution of his friends, he loaded a brig with arms, ammunition, &c. and sailed for Greece, as yet uncertain what might be the state of the revolt. On touching at the Ionian Islands, he learned that Missilonghi had joined the insurrection, and thither directed his course. He had brought with him a number of young Frenchmen, filled with enthusiasm for the cause and the country, and his arrival was hailed with joy.

* The Hospodars, or Governors of Moldavia and Wallachia, were Greeks appointed by the Sultan ; they were usually styled Princes : and custom gave this title also to their sons, or immediate male relatives. Hence Ipselanti, Mavrocordato, Cantacuzene, are styled Princes, though they have no proper claim to the title.

After remaining some days at Missilonghi, and informing himself of the state of the country, encouraging the inhabitants by his assurances, and assisting them by his counsels, Mavrocordato left it to join Ipselanti before Tripolitza. On his way he visited the camp before Patrass; after doing all the good he could there, by striving to heal the beginning dissensions between the Chiefs, he passed on to Tripolitza, and presented himself before Ipselanti, demanding of him to be employed in some useful way.

- Alexander Mavrocordato is about 38 years of age, rather below the middling height, but perfectly well made; his fine olive complexion looks darker than it really is, from the jetty blackness of his hair, which hangs in ringlets about his face, and from his large mustachios and sparkling black eyes. His manners are perfectly easy and gentlemanlike; and though the first impression would be, from his extreme politeness and continual smiles, that he was a good-natured silly fop, yet one soon sees from the keen inquisitive glances which involuntarily escape him, that he is concealing under an almost childish lightness of manner, a close and accurate study of his visiter. He speaks fluently seven* languages, and having been an accurate observer of men and manners, can make his conversations extremely instructive; his political talents are of the very first order, and his mental resources great. He has a just confidence in his own powers, but unfortunately he has not that personal firmness and hardihood necessary in the leader of a revolution. He cannot be called cowardly, for he will resolutely put himself in situations which he knows to be dangerous; yet

- * "He speaks French with elegance and facility. His conversation is lively, agreeable, and full of wit. He is very ready in his answers. One day General Roche (of the French army) remarked, "It is really singular, that at Paris more is said about the affairs of Greece than in Greece itself." Mavrocordato replied, "That is because it is easier to talk than to act." The general said, "I believe it proceeds from our always speaking like lovers of those we love." Mavrocordato rejoined, "Pity that hitherto your love has been only Platonic."

"He has all the talents requisite in a secretary of state, and understands and expedites business with readiness; he is versed in the labyrinth of European politics, and his primary object is to preserve Greece independent."—*Narrative of Count Pecchio*, p. 61.

when the danger actually arrives, he, in spite of himself, loses his coolness and presence of mind. There is but one opinion in Greece about the talents of Mavrocordato; all allow them to be very great, but this is not the case in respect to his virtues. His friends ascribe every action to the most disinterested patriotism, but his enemies hesitate not to pronounce them all to have for their end his party or private interest, and say that he would sooner subject his country to the Turks than have his political opponents get the credit of saving her. But here, as is often the case, truth lies between the two extremes; let his enemies avow, that he loves his country and has laboured hard to benefit her, and his friends confess that he is ambitious, and has always had a considerable regard to his own political interest, and a nearer approach to his true character will be had. As to his intriguing and crooked policy, it may be said, that his excellence in it, alone kept up his influence; he could not oppose the schemes of his enemies but by using the same arms he was attacked with: the only way to escape a mine is by countermining.

Without family influence, without a military reputation, and without money, he gained and long kept the supremacy; and the true cause of his having a party against him was, that he endeavoured to reform abuses, and to introduce order and discipline into the army. He has had large sums of public money at his disposal, almost without being under the necessity of rendering the least account, yet he is and always has been poor.

On arriving at the camp, Mavrocordato endeavoured to persuade Ipselanti to declare openly his intentions, and act boldly up to them; but soon perceiving this impossible, and that Ipselanti was bent on following other and more narrow schemes, he resolved to quit him and go where he might be useful. Soliciting, therefore, for mere form sake, a commission to go and direct the just rising insurrection in Ætolia, he left the camp, and crossing into Romelia he began to encourage the inhabitants by every means in his power. He traversed Ætolia, Locris, Bœtia, and even penetrated as far as Arta, in order to have communication with the Suliotes; he endeavoured to turn to the advantage of the Greeks the critical situation of Ali Pa-

shaw, and encouraged the rebellious Albanian Chiefs in their disaffection to the Porte.

Ipselanti, about this time, received the news that the Turks, besieged in Navarino, wished to capitulate to some European officers; they not putting any confidence in the Greeks. He accordingly sent Tipaldo, an Italian, and Baleste, a Frenchman, (a name dear to Greece for generous services rendered, and life laid down in her cause.) On their arrival they found the Greek Capitani perfectly ready to grant any terms, but without the least intention of keeping them; they therefore refused to take any responsibility.

The Greeks, about 2000 in number, under the direction of the gallant Constantine, son of Mavromichalis, (if any such thing as direction might be said to exist among such a rabble,) had reduced the Turks to great distress by cutting off the water, and effectually preventing any sally to obtain supplies. Two Spetziote vessels cruised off the mouth of the harbour; and thus completely blocked up, the Turks began to feel the approaches of famine. All common food had been consumed, and then began the search for whatever might possibly be eaten. Every morning at dawn, the walls were covered with pale emaciated beings, anxiously stretching their eyes over the sea, in search of their expected fleet: but they only met the banner of the cross continually floating before the harbour; and howling at it a bitter curse, they turned away, and went to their almost hopeless task of seeking out a little food to satisfy the cravings of tormenting hunger. Such sufferings could not long be endured, the Turks began to talk about capitulation; and, appearing sincere, the Greek vessels came into the harbour in order to take on board the families. But as soon as night came on, several boats put off from the town, were filled with women, children, and useless persons, and sent off for Modon, with the double purpose of ridding the garrison of many useless mouths, and of communicating to the Turks at Modon their desperate situation. The Greek vessels were becalmed, and could not pursue; but luckily one of their long boats had been out in the night fishing, and at daylight discovered the Turkish boats creeping round the coast; she attacked them, and after a sharp firing of musketry, forced them back. All

hopes of escape were now over ; and the Turks capitulated, after having exasperated the Greeks still more by this piece of treachery, which, if successful, would have enabled them to hold out a few days longer, perhaps till they should be succoured. The terms were the same as at Malvasia ; respect of person and personal property, and transportation to Asia Minor.

It cannot be, that one so brave and generous as Constantine, the young commander of the Greeks, could have been cruel ; it might have been from thoughtlessness, but more probably from incapacity to restrain such an unruly mass, that he allowed the soldiers to rush into the town ; but it was done—they furiously entered the houses and began to pillage them. The trembling inhabitants were stripped, and whether some one resisted, or some soldier discharged his arms unprovoked, is not known ; but at this critical moment musketry was heard ; the cry was raised—“ The Turks are upon us,” and in an instant, the work of slaughter commenced ; men, women, and children were indiscriminately butchered, and in half an hour, two thirds of the inhabitants were weltering in their gore.*

The feelings of Constantine may better be imagined than described ; but his thoughts were soon turned from the scene. A report came that the Turks were marching out from Modon upon the place ; he rushed to meet them, drove them back, and pursued them to the very walls of Modon : but following them too close, he outstripped his men ; and some Turks turning furiously, mortally wounded him, and carried him into the town, where he died two hours after.

But it must not be supposed that the Turks made no attempt to stem the torrent, or formed no general plan of defence. An army was collected in Thessaly, which was to overrun Phocis, Boetia, and Megaris, put down all insurrection there, and then

* As to the alleged cruelties committed upon Sphacteria, it may be that some Turks were butchered there ; but it could not fail to have been more known had a large number been left there to starve. At any rate, the island well deserves its name, which signifies, Slaughter ; it was the scene of a bloody triumph of the Athenians over the Spartans ; in the insurrection of 1769, several thousand Greeks, old men, women, and children took refuge there—the Turks landed and butchered every one ; Turkish blood washed upon it in 1821 ; Greek blood washed it out in 1825 ; and in the late action between the European and Turkish fleets, many a Turk perished upon it

pass the isthmus of Corinth, and co-operate with the fleet from Constantinople, which was to appear off the southern coast of the Morea. The army had passed Thermopyle, (no longer the difficult defile that it was in days of yore,) and was preparing to enter Boetia; but it found the passes of Mount Cnemis occupied by the Greeks under Ulysses and Gourah, who had taken strong positions. The Turks attacked them, and after considerable loss, were repulsed; their army was thrown into confusion, and the Greeks sallying out, dispersed them so completely that they could not be reunited; and the intended invasion was abandoned.

Meantime the fleet had left Constantinople, and passing the Dardanelles, steered south for Samos: the inhabitants of which island were all in arms. The Captain Pashaw sent on shore demanding the surrender of the island, and the deposition of arms, stating that Hydra and Spetzia had been visited, and had submitted: but the Samians saw the artifice; and endeavouring only to gain time, they pretended to wish to enter into negotiations, while they continued rapidly to perfect their plan of defence. At last the admiral determined upon an attack, and for this purpose got ready all the troops he had brought, and sent for others from Asia Minor. He endeavoured to land them near Port Vathi, but this was opposed successfully by the Samians, and before the attempt could be renewed, the Greek fleet, consisting of more than eighty vessels, was discovered coming down, and the Captain Pashaw saw fit to retire to Scala Nova.

Soon after he left that place again, and steering for the Morea, appeared off Calamata, and created a great alarm in the minds of the Greeks there, as well as of those besieging Tripolitza. An attempted descent was repulsed by the brave Baleste, who had been stationed at Calamata by Ipselanti, for the purpose of disciplining a battalion. He with his infant corps, and some of the inhabitants, made successful head against the debarkment; so that the Captain Pashaw was obliged to draw off, and went to Modon and Conon, where he threw in supplies. But the appearance of the fleet occasioned just alarm to Ipselanti and the Greeks before Tripolitza, who anticipated a debarkment of troops, and an attempt to raise the siege by march-

ing on the place. They hastened, therefore, to take possession of the pass at Leondari, and send piquets to watch the enemy's movements. But the news reached the besieged Turks in Tripolitza, who were greatly cheered by it, and encouraged to support their sufferings, which began to be severe. They had eaten all the horses, and the Greeks, no longer in dread of a charge of cavalry, took up their position within musket shot of the place; and every night held conversations with the besieged who mounted the battlements. Often they entered into agreements to do one another no harm; and then the Turks, coming outside of the walls, and the Greeks advancing, they would sit down upon the ground and chat together for hours,* discussing the chances of the place holding out; each party of course magnifying their means. Sometimes these conferences had serious terminations; for, from argument, they would get to dispute; from dispute to recrimination, when one party would seize his musket, and fire at his opponent who had beat him in argument. But this was the least evil; for so great was the want within, that the rich Turks would offer enormous sums for bread, and found little scruple of conscience on the part of the Greeks, particularly of the Mainotes, about taking it. The lower class of the people inside the town suffered extremely; the little they had, was plundered by the soldiers, who, while getting their own rations, would make continual demands upon the families.

There was no fuel in the place, and but little water; and happy was the family who could get some of it, to mix up their meal with, which they eat unbaked. To make misery even greater, a disease broke out in the place, and swept off hundreds every day. Sometimes it would seize upon a family, every member of which would be sick at the same time with it; and they lay in lonely misery, for not a friend came near them; or, if he came, it was only to see if a little bread or water might be plundered;—humanity had been frozen up by misery; and without a hand to bring a draught of water, or close their dying eyes, they gasped out their existence in sight of one another,—and their bodies laid and rotted away in their solitary chambers.

* Most of the Turks of the Peloponessus spoke Greek.

Could human misery be greater?—It was that, suffered by the Greeks in the place; these were, partly the hostages which had been received, but principally the poor families who inhabited the place previous to the commencement of the revolt.

These unfortunate beings, abused, beat, and spit upon, were suffered to prowl round, and subsist upon filth, merely it would seem, to be some object upon which the Turks could vent their fury; and upon whose greater miseries they could gaze as an alleviation to their own. Some of these miserable beings escaped from time to time, and brought to their countrymen without, an account of the misery that prevailed among the Turks; and confirmed the opinion that the place could not long resist. The siege was therefore pressed; two mortars had been brought from Malvasia, which were for some time useless from want of a person able to direct them; but Mavrocordato having brought with him a young French officer named Rabaud, a bombardment was commenced, which annoyed the Turks much.

A Scotch gentleman of fortune, Col. Gordon of Cairness, had also arrived there, and contributed his knowledge to the assistance of the besiegers. This distinguished Philhellene, from a previous intimate knowledge of Turks and Greeks, detested the abominable tyranny of the one, as he pitied the sufferings of the other; and upon first hearing of the insurrection, he generously chartered a vessel, loaded her with arms, ammunition, and three cannon, and hastened to the scene of action. He was now employed trying to discipline a small body of men, whose pay and expenses he contributed from his own fortune. The presence of such a man, and of Ipselanti, was a source of great uneasiness to Colocotroni and several other chiefs, who foresaw the speedy fall of the place; and who had determined upon pillaging it for themselves.

They urged, therefore, upon Ipselanti the necessity of his following in person the course of the Turkish fleet, to oppose any debarkment that might be made from it. He became easily their dupe; for disregarding gain himself, he could not conceive how others could sacrifice the general good for it, and he fixed upon the 25th for his departure.

CHAPTER V.

Ipselanti leaves the Camp—Progress of the Siege of Tripolitza—Bobolina—Proposals of Terms—Truce—Shameful conduct of the Greek Chiefs—Assault—Town carried—Horrors of the Assault—Ipselanti returns to Tripolitza—His Proclamation—Progress of the Insurrection in Macedonia—Proceedings of Macrocordato—Convention of the National Assembly.

IPSELANTI left the camp on the 25th with about 1000 men, principally belonging to the band of Panos, eldest son of Colocotroni, who accompanied him ; Gordon attempted to march his men with him also ; but although paid, clothed, and fed by him, and pretending to be regular troops, they absolutely refused to obey the order to march ; they imagined Tripolitza would soon fall, and they were determined not to lose their share in the spoil. After Ipselanti's departure, the camp became, if possible, a scene of greater confusion. The traffic with the town, before concealed, was now carried on openly ; fruit, bread, and refreshments were brought and sold to the starving Turks, often for their weight in silver. Some of the Mainotes shamelessly opened booths upon the plain near the walls ; while the Chiefs drove more extensive bargains. It was known that Tripolitza contained immense wealth ; its fall was daily expected ; and there swarmed around it all the worthless Greeks of the Peloponessus, talking loudly of liberty and patriotism, and vengeance for past wrongs ; and thinking of gold, and jewels, and splendid dresses. But amid this motley throng, one was particularly remarkable ; the famous heroine Bobolina, the modern Artemisia of the French and German writers, who have represented her as beautiful, and brave, and disinterested ; giving up her great wealth to her country, and leading on her ships to battle in person. It is really a pity to spoil so fine a picture ; but it would be carrying respect to ima-

ginative female heroism too far, to allow it to gloss over the abominable conduct of Bobolina at Tripolitza. That she was brave cannot be doubted, for she defied alike danger and shame ; but she was old and ugly, and fat and greedy ; and as for her disinterestedness, she owned that her sole object in leaving her vessels and coming to the camp, was to get her share of the expected plunder. She was the widow of a rich Spetziote merchant, who, dying about the commencement of the revolution, left her in management of all his property. She then following the bent of her bold and masculine disposition, as well as a thirst for gain, fitted out two brigs, and went with them herself to the fleet ; nor did she shun any danger. Her vessels were now blockading the gulf of Napoli di Romania.

But though the blockading army, headed by avaricious, unprincipled chiefs, was composed principally of mountain robbers and greedy peasantry, attracted by hope of plunder, still there were many whose end and aim was their country's good, and who sighed for the fall of the place as a thing of vital importance, to give a fixed and stable character to the revolution. Among the Chiefs was Niketas, the nephew of Colocotroni, whose courage gained for him the name of Turkophagus, and whose generosity had endeared him to all. If a post was to be surprised or a sally repulsed, Niketas was ever forward ; as soon as the enemy had fallen, and the plunder was to be shared, Niketas was missing.

Farther resistance was now rendered impracticable by the quarrels between the soldiers composing the garrison of the town ; there were 1500 Albanians under Elmaz Aga ; 1000 Asiatic Turks ; and 2000 remained of the troops brought in by the Commandant of the town, Mohammed Kiaya Bey ; besides the Turks of the place, and those of the neighbourhood, who had taken refuge there ; making the whole garrison amount to 6000 men capable of bearing arms. The Albanians, tired of the long siege, began to talk of capitulating, and were furiously opposed by the Commander of the town, who wished to put to death all the useless persons, to hold out the place to the last, and if not relieved, to set it on fire, and attempt to cut his way to Napoli. But he could find very few to back him in his fierce resolution ; and having no actual command over the Albanians,

and but little over the other soldiers, (when his commands were contrary to their wishes,) his courage and obstinacy availed little. Some of the Chiefs, unknown to him, demanded a conference with the Greeks, and asked on what terms they could treat. "Forty millions of piastres, half your effects, all your arms, and transportation to Asia at your own expense," roared out Colocotroni, and the conference was cut off. The next day the Chiefs of the Albanians came out, and proposed to quit the town, and leave the inhabitants to their fate, provided they were allowed free passage from the Morea, with their arms and baggage; and the Greeks, seeing no prospect of getting any thing from them but unprofitable fighting, agreed to it.

This was immediately known in the town, and the inhabitants seeing their fate approaching, endeavoured to provide for it; a deputation was accordingly sent, consisting of the Chiefs and principal Agas of the place, to demand terms of capitulation. What must have been the feelings of these men! born and reared in the lap of luxury, passing their lives in the indolent enjoyment of every thing wealth could procure, and surrounded by slaves whose law was their slightest nod;—they now came, clothed indeed in silk and ermine, and glittering with gold, but with downcast looks, and almost breaking hearts, to demand their lives from those infidel dogs, whom they had always considered as inferiors and treated as slaves.

They were conducted to the quarters of Colocotroni, viz. the shade of a tree, where he received them, seated upon a carpet, spread on the ground. After some trivial conversation, they began upon the important subject on which so many lives were depending; the Turks were anxious to have Ipselanti or some Europeans present, to guarantee any terms which might be agreed on; but Colocotroni wished neither one nor the other; he was determined that the riches of the place should not go to the public chest; and he was warmly seconded by several other chiefs. He therefore encouraged the Turks with the idea of arranging every thing, and securing them passage to Asia. He received rich presents in diamonds and jewels; and a truce was agreed upon for two days.

Among those who came out to the conference was a Jew, one of the richest men of the place; and who wore in his belt a

pair of rich, gold-mounted pistols, sparkling with diamonds. These attracted the eye of Colocotroni—"Ha!" cried he, "a Jew, and armed! this must not be;" and seizing them, he stuck them into his own belt as a lawful prize.* The rich Turks took advantage of the truce to make their peace with Colocotroni and the other Chiefs; they heaped upon them presents in money, plate, and jewels, to an immense amount, hoping to secure a friend; and by sacrificing part of their wealth, buy protection for the rest. Mules and horses loaded with plate and rich goods, were nightly sent off by the Greek Chiefs to their respective homes under strong escorts; and loud cries of discontent began to be heard among the soldiers, who saw their prey thus taken from them.

But none was more forward upon this occasion than the heroine Bobolina, none more greedy or successful; protected by her sex, she entered the town astride her horse, and impressed the Turks with a high idea of her power and influence. All of course were anxious to buy her favour; she even penetrated into the forbidden recesses of the Pashaw's harem; the helpless and affrighted beauties of which place eagerly crowded around her, heaping upon her their jewels and rich ornaments, the pride of their hearts, and begged for her protection. The heartless old hag took all, and repaid them with hollow promises, and waddled off with her load of treasure, to put it in a place of safety and come again for more.

These shameful transactions could not be concealed from the soldiery, who, mad with rage and disappointment, sought an opportunity of entering the town before all the plunder should be gone; on the third day, a party of them venturing near the wall, observed a part of it unguarded; they mounted, and displaying their flag, it was seen from every part of the camp. The effect was instantaneous: a wild rush was made from all sides, the walls were scaled almost without opposition; the gates

* By treachery he gained, and by treachery he lost them: I saw them some months ago, glittering at the waist of Grivas, Commander of Napoli: Colocotroni had tried to bribe one of his soldiers, for an enormous sum, to open the gate of the town in the night to him; the soldier took the pistols in part pay, and went and presented them to his master, disclosing to him the plot.

were opened, and a confused mass of soldiers pouring in, shot, or hacked down all the Turks they met. Some streets, indeed, were fiercely disputed with the pistol and yataghan; musketry rattled from the windows, and grape was showered down from the cannon of the citadel. But the Albanians, upon the strength of the separate treaty they had made, shut themselves in the court of the Pashaw's palace, and made no resistance. The Commander, Mohammed Bey, shut himself up with several followers in the little citadel: another body fled from the town and attempted to escape, but forty of them only passed the defiles. Those who remained resisted indeed most furiously, but without plan or union, and they were soon put down; resistance was over, but havock ceased not. It is useless here to follow the sickening task of detailing the horrors of the scene; suffice it to say, that Tripolitza suffered all the miseries of a town taken by storm. The bodies of 5000 Turks choked up the streets, and those of several hundred Greeks showed that resistance had been desperate. The next day the Albanians marched off, their arms procuring them respect; and they regained their country unmolested. Mohammed Bey and the Turks who had taken refuge in the citadel, were without water, and surrendered unconditionally. Colocotroni and some chosen followers entered it, and kept themselves shut up for three days, making arrangements for the transportation of the treasure which they found there.

During all this time the work of slaughter had not ceased—many Turks shut up in their houses, defended themselves singly, and it was often necessary to burn them out; a few women, whose beauty made them valuable, some children, and the men of distinction, among whom was Kiamil Bey of Corinth, were all that were spared. Thus, between famine and the sword, 15,000 Turks perished in Tripolitza.

Ipselanti got the news of the fall of the place at Vasiliki. On leaving the camp he marched to Calavrita, where learning that the Turkish fleet had entered the gulf of Corinth, he moved for Vostitza, but only to view the flames of Galixidi. This flourishing little port possessed about thirty vessels besides small craft, which were burnt by the Turkish fleet, as well as the town; and thus it became master of the navigation of the gulf. The

fleet had also thrown provisions as well as reinforcements into Patrass; and a sally being made, the Greeks blockading it were driven off. Ipselanti then moved to Vasiliki, and had been there a week when the particulars of the fall of Tripolitza reached him. Panos Colocotroni immediately quitted him, with all his followers, to go and get his share of the plunder; so that he was left with only 300 men. It seems that Ipselanti was almost disgusted and disheartened; he made a movement as if to quit the Morea—turned—moved again,—seemed to change his mind every hour, till he persuaded himself it was necessary he should go to Tripolitza. All fear of a debarkment from the Turkish fleet was over, and he accordingly started, and in two days arrived at Tripolitza.

He was enthusiastically received by the soldiery, and might have made the Chiefs give up a part, at least, of their treasure, had he taken advantage of the moment. Tripolitza presented to him a melancholy scene; its capture had always been looked forward to, as the period at which confusion should cease, and order and discipline commence; its riches were to form a national treasure, and the place to become the seat of government. He found its houses ransacked and pillaged; the doors and windows broken in; every thing valuable had been removed; the streets were filled with rubbish, and choked up with putrifying carcasses, which filled the air with a horrible stench.

The army was rapidly diminishing, for the soldiers wished to go home and hide their treasure; while those who remained complained loudly of the avarice and rapacity of the Chiefs: not a dollar had been reserved for the wants of the country.

In this confused state of things, Ipselanti, as well as every good patriot turned his thoughts to the National Assembly, which was regarded as the great *panacea* for every trouble; a proclamation* was accordingly issued for the assembling at

* PROCLAMATION OF DEMETRIUS IPSELANTI.

“Citizens of the Peloponessus, priests and people, young and old, soldiers, inhabitants of all ranks and all ages! the time is come for you to assemble yourselves at Tripolitza, to give your common opinion of the rights and wants of the country. I, Demetrius Ipselanti, have come to fight for your liberty; to defend your rights, your honour, your lives, and your property; I have come to give you your just laws and equitable tribunals, so that no one shall be able

Tripolitza, on the first of November, of Deputies from every part of the country, to fix upon some form of government, and choose the administrators of it.

A month was to elapse from the date of this proclamation, to the time of assembling of the deputies. Meanwhile, let us look at what was passing in the other parts of Greece. It has been mentioned, that Macedonia was in a state of insurrection; but no part was so actively engaged as the peninsula of Cassandra. The inhabitants of that peninsula, joined by the brave and active partisan Diamantis, pushed their excursions even as far as Salonica, plundering and burning the Turkish towns; cutting off the communication between one and another; and harassing the whole country. Jussuf Pashaw employed against them all his resources, but in vain. Having cut a trench across the narrow neck of land which joins their peninsula with the main; they retired behind this, upon the approach of any overwhelming force, and defended themselves; but were sure to sally out upon the least diminution of the blockading army, and carry terror through the country. They were visited now and then

to infringe your rights or to jeopardize your existence. Tyranny must cease; not only Turkish tyranny but that of individuals, who, entertaining Turkish feelings, wish to wrong and oppress the people. Peloponesians! unite yourselves if you wish to put an end to the evils which have afflicted you. I am your father; in the centre of Russia your groans reached me; I have come to protect you as my children, to render you happy, to guarantee the happiness of your families, and to draw you from that abject state to which you have been reduced by your impious tyrants, and by the friends and companions of those tyrants. Assemble then, all of you; come from towns and villages to demand before me your rights as freemen. Nominate the persons you think most capable as the representatives and defenders of your interests. Lose not a moment, become not the dupes of wicked friends of tyranny; show that you know how to value liberty; that you acknowledge your commander-in-chief and your defender. It is thus you will give to the rest of Greece the example of a government wise and lawful. On the first of November I desire you will assemble round me, and discuss freely your rights under the eyes of your Chief and father. For this purpose, I send you good patriots to read you the present, and to impress on you by word of mouth the necessity of assembling."

DEMETRIUS IPSELANTI.

This proclamation, completely in character with the rest of his proceedings, shows strongly the incapacity of Ipselanti. How could he have named more openly the primates as the enemies of the country? What more effectual way could he have taken for making them his own? Yet no steps did he take to guard against that enmity.

by a Hydriote or Spetziote vessel, but received no succour from their compatriots—nor did they demand it. Uncontaminated with European vices, this simple and hardy set of Greeks fought on in the cause they had voluntarily embraced; animated by a deadly hate of their tyrants; and cheered by the hope of liberty. They had carried on the kind of war described, since May, and had now to prepare to encounter a new and more formidable enemy—Mehemet Aboulaboud, lately appointed Pashaw of Salonica.

This man (said to be a renegade Greek) had fought against the French at St. Jean d'Acres; and to the reputation which he there gained for headlong courage, he soon added one for cunning and cruelty. On taking command of his district, he found that the Cassandriotes had for some time been shut up in their peninsula, and watched by a strong force. He instantly repaired there, and imagining well that the Greeks would not suspect an attack from a force which had been lying so long idly blockading them, he determined to attack them immediately. Accordingly, in the night, he fell furiously upon their position; and, having succeeded in filling up the fosse, and breaking down the breastwork, he got over a part of his cavalry; which, falling upon the Greeks in the rear, put them to flight. Confounded by an attack in so unexpected a manner, the Greeks had no plan of action, no point of union; and the rout was complete, the slaughter dreadful. The peninsula was overrun, and an indiscriminate butchery of its inhabitants followed; none were saved but those women and children whose beauty made them valuable prizes.

The inhabitants of the region above Athos, tired of the ravages and cruelties committed by the Turkish troops passing through their country, had taken arms, and defended themselves in the mountains. But their resistance could be only partial and trifling, without the concurrence of the monks of Athos. These, amounting to about 3000, had fortified the different monasteries, which were not only well provisioned, but had arms, cannon, and ammunition, and more than all, were rich. But they basely submitted to the terms imposed by Aboulaboud—the delivery of the strong posts, their arms, and ammunition; besides, paying a heavy contribution. Thus ended the rational

hope which had been formed of effecting here a powerful diversion, which would have kept any Turkish troops from being drawn from upper Macedonia. But the monks of Athos soon had reason to repent the cowardly part they had taken ; for, after they had paid the contribution, amounting to more than an hundred thousand dollars, and delivered hostages, the Turks began their usual system of plunder and massacre. The churches were robbed of their rich ornaments ; many priests, and all the hostages, butchered ; and every possible oppression and cruelty practised. It was the hope of getting hold of the treasures of the monasteries of Athos, that had induced Aboulabout to defer attacking the insurgents of Mount Olympus, much more formidable from their position and warlike character.

The brave mountaineers inhabiting Olympus, Ossa, and Pelion, had been long in arms, and without leaders, or ammunition, or artillery, had done immense mischief to the Turks. In the first moment of wild and fierce enthusiasm, and when the enemy was unprepared, the want of a leader was not felt. All occupations were left for that of arms ; and each man, not only eagerly contributed his mite, but came forward in person with his musket. This could not last long ; and the want of organization being felt, Deputies were sent to Ipselanti, at Tripolitza, soliciting a chief, some cannon, and ammunition. Ipselanti, with his usual misconception of the characters of men, selected Sala, a vain inactive fool ; who, after endless delays in the islands of the Archipelago, was deserted by the European officers appointed to accompany his expedition, who were justly disgusted with his ignorance and inactivity. While these succours were thus delayed, the insurrection, general at first, began to languish ; and the chain of mountains, which, under proper direction, could have been filled with 12,000 hardy soldiers, soon became only the scene of action for a few bands, under venturous captains, who struggled to keep up the flame, which had languished only for want of proper organization and a head.

But though the extremities thus waxed cold, the flame burnt brighter and steadier near the centre. We have seen, that Mavrocordato, disgusted with the inefficient measures of Ipse-

lanti, and finding himself nearly useless at Tripolitza, had crossed the gulf of Corinth. He visited every part of Arcanania, Ætolia, Locris, and Phocis, rousing those who had not taken arms, encouraging the lukewarm, and seconding the active. He penetrated as far as Arta, and entered into communication with the Suliotes, who, separated from the common centre of the revolution, yet kept up their resistance with a courage worthy their high renown. Having completely roused every soul, Mavrocordato proceeded to organize an internal government ; and, by establishing order in the different departments, to avoid those evils which had crushed the revolt in some parts, and sowed the seeds of future civil wars in the Morea.

Continental Greece, so called, is divided into two parts by the strongly marked natural partition, formed by the range of Pindus, which runs through it from north to south. Adopting this division, Mavrocordato assembled deputies from Western Greece, at Missilonghi. There, a senate for the temporary government of the province was chosen, of which Mavrocordato was elected president. Eastern Greece, also, under his influence, formed a senate at Salona, and chose Theodore Negris for its president. Both of them were destined to represent their respective provinces, in the approaching great assembly to be convoked at Tripolitza. For this purpose, Mavrocordato left Missilonghi, and visited the camp at Patrass ; for the Greeks had again blockaded that place. He saw the vast importance of this fortress, and was most anxious to do every thing possible to take it ; it is situated at the narrowest part of the entrance of the gulf of Corinth, having opposite to it, on the Roumelia side, the castle of Naupectus ; and the guns crossing each other, command the entrance to the gulf.* Now, while this place is in the hands of the Turks, they can at any time effect a debarkment, either on the southern coast of the northern part of Greece, or on the north of the Morea ; or they could

* This castle might command the gulf, although captain Hastings, in the steam-ship, and Thomas, in the *Sawveur*, have since daringly passed it. They were exposed to a severe fire, and if the batteries had been in good order, and served with a few hot shot, their vessels would probably have been destroyed, especially in returning, as there is a two and a half knot current running up.

supply any army blockading Corinth. Thus, in a military point of view, Patrass was all important to the Greeks, not only to secure the southern shore of the northern provinces, but, in case they should be lost, the Morea could be shut up, by securing the passes above Corinth, and no troops could be transported across the gulf. Mavrocordato therefore determined to remain several days with the blockading force, in order to unite the leaders, and encourage the soldiers; as well as to endeavour to introduce some order into the army, and make it more vigilant. Three days after his arrival, the Greeks being in possession of the lower town, the Turks, profiting by their fancied security, made a strong sally at midnight, and succeeded in spreading a complete panic among the Greeks, who fled in all directions. Mavrocordato was very near being made prisoner; he saved himself only with the loss of his baggage and papers.*

Having learned upon his route, that the assembly was to be convened at Argos, and not at Tripolitza, as had been announced, (on account of an epidemic which prevailed there,) he proceeded to the former place, where he found most of the Deputies united. But it was found inexpedient to continue the sittings so near Napoli di Romania, then blockaded, as the presence of their soldiers might give an undue influence to the military chiefs. The assembly accordingly removed to Epidaurus. Mavrocordato was elected President; and a committee was appointed to draw up a constitution, and present it to the assembly.

From the moment of Mavrocordato's appearance at Argos, Ipselanti's influence was gone; he had been allowed sway by the members, for there was no one else to take it who could be trusted with it; but now all regarded Mavrocordato as the lead-

* The literary world has to regret, among these, the loss of a manuscript history of the invasion of Europe by the Turks, and their subsequent revolutions; a work which he had nearly ready for the press. His intimate knowledge of Turkey, and his accession to manuscripts, in Constantinople, rendered him highly capable of writing a work on this interesting subject; and he had spared no pains to render it creditable to him.

ing individual; and Ipselanti seeing this, would not present himself at the meeting at Epidaurus. The assembly was opened on the 15th, and Mavrocordato had to exert all his powers with the friends of order, to reconcile the jarring interests, and try to unite all in the common task before them.

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER I.

Review of the progress of the Insurrection—First [1822. National Assembly—Declaration of Independence [Jan.—Constitution—First Government—Plan of Turkish Campaign—Military Geography of Greece—Citadel of Corinth surrenders to the Greeks—Outrages upon the Prisoners—Policy of the British Ionian Government—Proceedings of the Greek Government—Its Declaration to the Allied Monarchs.

Upon reviewing the progress of the insurrection up to the commencement of 1822, it will be seen, that on the whole, it had gained ground more rapidly and assumed a more stable appearance, than could reasonably have been expected. The capital of the Morea and two of the strongest fortresses had fallen into the hands of the Greeks; Napoli di Romania, Coron, and Modon, were blockaded, and Corinth, closely besieged, was expected soon to yield. Arcanania, Livadia, Ætolia, Locris, Phocis, Boetia, and Attica, all were in a state of insurrection, and partly organized; and Athens alone held out. Of the islands, Samos, Scopelos, Skyros, and all the Cyclades, might be considered as completely free; and Candia, Negropont, Cyprus, and Rhodes were in arms; and with some hope of soon completely freeing themselves. Ali Pashaw still held out; and the Suliotes, in their mountain fastnesses, gave such occupation to the Turkish army in Epirus, that an invasion from that quarter was not to be immediately feared; even should they be put down, it was but reasonable to hope, that by keeping the pass of Thermopylæ, on the east, and that of Makrino-

ros, on the west, invasion might be guarded against. As the contest began to lose the appearance of a mere insurrectionary movement, and take on that of an important and determined struggle of the whole Greek nation for its liberty, the sympathies of Europe began to be excited in its favour; and though the different governments, by every indirect means, attempted to suppress it, the people showed a resolution to support it. Committees were formed for the purpose of receiving subscriptions, purchasing arms, ammunitions, and provisions, and sending them to Greece. Young men, struck with the singular spectacle of Greece, rousing from the dust and slumber of ages, and struggling for liberty, hastened with a generous enthusiasm to her shores, to offer themselves as volunteers; and to enter the lists with her sons for glory.* Among these, the names of Norman and Baleste were the most distinguished.

The long wished for National Assembly had met at Argos; and was composed of deputies from all parts of the Morea, from the islands, and some from Romelia. They were sixty in number; and after organizing, and choosing Alexander Mavrocordato their President, they appointed a committee, consisting of the President, with Theodore Negriz, Germanos, Caradja, and Colletti, as a committee to draft a constitution.

Mavrocordato and Negriz had previously occupied themselves on this task, and on the 1st of January, the formal declaration of independence was made.

ΕΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΔΙΑΡΕΤΟΥ ΤΡΙΑΔΟΣ.

Τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος, τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν φρικώδη ὀθωμανικὴν δυναστείαν, μὴ δυνάμενον νὰ φερῇ τὸν βαρύτερον καὶ ἀπαραδειγμάτιστον ζυγὸν πῆς τυραννίας, καὶ ἀποσεύσαν αὐτὸν μὲ μεγάλας θυσίας, κηρύττει σήμερον διὰ τῶν νομίμων Παραστασῶν τε, εἰς Ἐθνικὴν συνηγμένην Συνέλευσιν, ἐνώπιον Θεῶ καὶ ἀνθρώπων " Τὴν Πολιτικὴν αὐτῶ ὑπαρξίν ηαὶ ἀναξαρτησίαν" ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ, τὴν ἀ. Ἰαννουρίου, ἔτει αωκβ' καὶ ἀ. τῆς ἀνεξαρτησίας.

* The motives of these men were generally good; they were actuated by a laudable ambition of gaining a name in a glorious cause. But they expected immediate and active service; high commands and sounding titles. They scorned the fatigues and dangers of war; but then they looked for its pleasures and dissipations; without these they were discontent; and unjustly considering the Greeks as the cause of their disappointments, they often vilified and abused them in their letters to Europe.

“ In the name of the Holy and Indivisible TRINITY.

“ The Greek Nation, unable to bear the galling and oppressive yoke of Tyranny, under Turkish despotism, proclaims this day, through its lawful Representatives, met in a National Assembly, before God and men, its political existence and *Independence.*

“ EPIDAUROS,

“ 1st January, 1822, and first year of Independence.”

The constitution,* which the committee had drawn up, was unanimously accepted by the Assembly.

It provided, that the government should be vested in a Senate, and Executive body. The senators were elected for one year. The executive was composed of five members, to be taken from the body of the Senate. The Executive appointed eight Secretaries ; viz. : of State, of the Interior, of Public Economy, of Justice, of War, of the Navy, of Religion, and of the Police.

The framers of this constitution were perfectly aware of its great fault, viz. : the limited power given to the Executive. But it was inevitable, from the jealous fear of the Assembly, that too much power in the hands of a few, might be dangerous to the liberties of the country ; and they chose the alternative of clogging the wheels of government, by checks which could not fail to make every operation more slow and intricate.

The Assembly then proceeded to choose the Executive Body. Alexander Mavrocordato was made President, and Athanasius Kanakaris, Vice President ; Anagnosti Pappaianopolo, John Orlando, and John Logotheti, were the other members.

The presidency of the Senate was offered to Ipselanti ; but he, conceiving that the Presidency of the Executive should have been given him, refused it. Theodore Negriz was appointed Secretary of State ; John Koletti, of the Interior, and *pro tem.* for War ; Panoutzo Notpras, of Finance ; a commission composed of one Hydriote, one Spetziote, and one Ipsariote, directed the Navy Department ; the bishop of Androusa, that of Religion ; Lambro Nako, of Police ; and Vlasios, of the Administration of Justice.

* See Appendix, No. 1.

The Assembly, having finished its labours, by the appointment of a provisional government, issued an address to the nation, which ended with these words :—" The Assembly declares to the nation, that, having completed its task, it this day dissolves itself. It is the duty of the nation to submit to the laws and authorities which emanate from it. Grecians ! but a little while since, ye said, ' No more slavery ! ' and the power of the tyrant has vanished. But it is union alone which can consolidate your liberty, and your independence. The assembly offers up its prayers, that the mighty arm of the Most High may raise the nation toward the sanctuary of his eternal wisdom. Thus discerning their true interests, the magistrates, by a vigilant foresight, the people by a sincere devotion, will succeed in founding the long desired prosperity of our common country."

The newly organized government proceeded to the herculean task of reducing to order the chaos before it. The President exhibited zeal, knowledge, and activity, which were creditable to his head and heart ; and he endeavoured to prepare something like an organized opposition to the immense forces which he saw preparing to crush the revolt. The Greeks had surprised Turkey, by rising at a moment when the whole energies of the Porte were occupied in putting down the rebel Ali Pashaw ; hence all the Turkish operations in 1821 had been unconnected, partial, and ineffective. But now Ali had fallen, and the Sultan prepared to bring the whole disposable force of the empire against the *Giaours*. The result appeared hardly doubtful. " On one side was a power larger in extent of territory than any in Europe ; which had maintained its station for near four centuries, in one of the most commanding positions in the world ; whose integrity was admitted by all the other great powers, to be essential to the general peace ; ready, by the nature of its government, to enter upon a war at a short notice, and furnished with all the fiscal, military, and naval establishments of a monarchy of long standing. On the other side, were the inhabitants of a small province of this extensive empire ; without any central authority, without cavalry, artillery, magazines, hospitals, or military chest ; whose whole military force, in short, consisted only of a rude undisciplined infantry, armed with an awkward long musket, to which were added, according

to the circumstances of the individual, pistols, a dagger, or a sword;—ignorant of the use of the bayonet; acknowledging no discipline; and more uninstructed in war as an art, than the Greeks of the heroic ages; led, indeed, by men possessing courage and enterprise, and some of the essentials of command, but who were scarcely less ignorant and unenlightened than their soldiers, and too selfish to lose any opportunity of enriching themselves, or to preserve that harmony with the other leading men which was so necessary in the dangerous position of the country.”*

The plan resolved upon in Constantinople for the campaign, was admirable, and did credit to those who suggested it. The army which had triumphed over Ali Pashaw, was to overrun Western Greece; to march down to Missolonghi, and take position on the borders of the gulf of Corinth. An army collected in Eastern Greece, was to pass Thermopylæ, sweep through Bœotia, Attica, and Megara; and at passing the Isthmus of Corinth, was to receive supplies and artillery from the fleet, which was to meet it there. The fleet was then to go round to the gulf of Corinth, transport the army of Western Greece from Naupactus across to the Morea; and then the two armies, one starting from Patrass, the other from Corinth, were to march upon Tripolitza.†

* Colonel Leake's "Outline."

† If any one will take pains to read, carefully, the following admirable account of the military geography of Greece, with the assistance of the map, he will have a clear and full idea of the hinges on which all scientific military operations must turn.

"In terms most general, Greece may be divided into Insular, Peninsular, and Continental; or, in other words, the Islands, the Peloponessus, and Northern Greece. The last of these may be subdivided into Greece to the South, and to the North of Mount Œta; the latter containing Epirus, Thessaly, and Macedonia, and including also the modern subdivision of Albania, the whole of which is comprehended in the ancient Epirus, or within the most extended limits of Macedonia.

"But the division of Greece, political and military, which has been adopted by the Greek Government, is that of the Islands, the Morea, Eastern Greece, and Western Greece; of the two latter, the great ridge of Pindus forms the separation; for this range of mountains runs from north to south, through the whole extent of Northern Greece, dividing it longitudinally into two unequal parts, (the eastern being the greater, and terminating in the Corinthian gulf, between Naupactus and the Crissæan

The plan which the Greeks opposed to it, was to push a force in Western Greece as high up as Arta ; to occupy the passes of Makrinoros, and support the Suliotes in the noble resistance

bay. The defensive strength of the Peloponessus by land, does not, in the present circumstances, consist in its isthmus at Corinth, which being formed of low land, four miles in breadth, offers no means of resisting very superior numbers, without a large regular army, and such assistance from art as is totally out of the power of the Greeks. In the hands of such troops as theirs, the great protection of the Morea, from the northward, lies in that double barrier of mountains which separates the isthmus from Bœotia. The first of these, anciently known by the name of the Oneia and Gerenia, lies between the isthmus and the plain of Megara ; the second, under the ancient names of Cithæron and Parnes, stretches from the Corinthian to the Euboic gulf. Athens lies between the two lines, but it is separated by such strong defiles from the Megaris, that it may be doubted whether the direct route from Bœotia into Megaris, across Cithæron, or the circuitous route through the passes of Mount Parnes and the Eleusinia, is the most difficult in the presence of an active enemy ; and there is scarcely a third choice ; for the approach along the steep shore of the gulf of Corinth is of the most hazardous kind, particularly on the cornice of Cithæron, between Creusis and Agosthenæ ; the difficulties of which route are illustrated on two occasions in the Hellenics of Zenophon. The Bœotian plains terminate to the northwest, in the valley of Phocis and Boris, watered by the Cephissus and its branches, which have their origin in Mount Cæta. This valley separates Mount Parnassus from a prolongation of Cæta, anciently known by the names of Callidromus and Cnemis ; the northern face of which looks down on the valley of Spercheius, and the Mallac gulf, where some hot springs issuing into the maritime marshes, at the foot of the steepest part of Mount Callidromus, gave name to the celebrated pass of Thermopylæ.

The valley of the Spercheius extends thirty miles westward into the interior ; to the north, it is separated from the great plain of Thessaly, by a branch of Mount Othys, which stretches eastward to the Pagætic or Pelægic gulf, and towards the west is connected with the mountain of Dolophia, and through them with Mount Pindus, and the barriers which separate Eastern from Western Greece. As Callidromus is immediately connected with the highest summit of Cæta, which mountain extends quite across the continent to the Ambracic gulf, and to the coast of Arcanania, it was impossible for the Turks to dislodge the insurgents, unless momentarily, from their positions in Cnemis and Callidromus ; but, on the other hand, as the Turks possessed the post of Zituni, (the Ancient Lamia,) situated at the important point where the road from Thessaly, through the branch of Othys, just mentioned, emerges into the valley of the Spescheius, over against Thermopylæ, there remained no positions capable of offering any impediment to the Ottoman forces, between the north of Thessaly and the barriers of the Megaris, except those of Callidromus and Cnemis, which contain the passes leading from the valley of the Spercheius into that of the Cephissus.

As to Thermopylæ itself it is no longer of the same importance as in the time of the Persian, or even of the Gallic invasion of Greece : the new land

they were making in their mountains to the whole Turkish force, and the continuance of which would detain the latter in the north: to occupy the pass of Thermopylæ on the east,

formed at the mouth of the Spercheius having rendered it easy in summer for an army provided with means for crossing the river, to turn the pass to the eastward. This had been actually done by the Turkish army in September, 1821, just before their defeat in the passes of Mount Cnemis. As a position of great strength in itself, however, and as a central point for observing the enemy in the Maliac district, and for occupying the passes of the Callidromus, with a view to interrupt his communication between Thessaly and Bœotia, and to harass his advance or retreat,—Thermopylæ is a post of the first importance; and, as such, it has, from the beginning, been occupied by the Greeks. In Western Greece, which we have already designated as the country lying westward of the crest of Mount Pindus, there is a series of plains and valleys lying between that mountain, and a parallel, though very irregular, range which borders the entire extent of the western and southern coasts of Northern Greece, from the Acroceraunian promontory to the isthmus of Corinth. These valleys, although separated from each other by some difficult passes, constitute a natural chain of communication from Macedonia and Illyricum, as far as the coast at the entrance of the Corinthian gulf.

Proceeding from north to south, these valleys are as follows:—the maritime plain, in which were the ancient cities of Dyrrhacium and Apollonia—the plain of Korybza—the valleys of the branches of the Aous above the Fauces—Antigonenses, containing the modern towns of Premidi, Arghyro-kastro, and Konibza—the plains of Toannina—of Atta—and of Vrakhosi. The last of these, which lies below the ruins of Stratus and Thernus, and contains the Lake Trichonis, is watered on the western side by the Aspro, anciently the Achelous. It is separated only by the abrupt ridge from the maritime district of Calydon, in which is the modern Missilonghi, and by a similar barrier from that of Naupactus, which is still a fortified town and harbour, called Epakto by the Greeks, and Lepanto by the Italians. The most remarkable interruption, in this line of communication through Western Greece, is caused by the Ambraciac gulf, which divides Epirus from Acarnania. At its eastern extremity rises a steep rugged mountain, now called Makrinoro, which formerly separated Amphilocia, from the Ambraciotis, and which constitutes a pass of great strength and importance, corresponding to that of Thermopylæ at the western end of the Œtæan range; for these mountains, as we have already remarked, stretch quite across the great isthmus lying between the Maliac and Ambraciac gulfs; and as they form a continuous mass with Pindus, as well as the mountains on the northern shore of the Corinthian gulf, they complete the barrier of Eastern and Western Greece, and render the communication between them in every part, a military operation of extreme difficulty. As long, however, as the Turks possess the fortified towns of Patrass and Naupactus, and the castles on the Capes Rhium, and Antirrhium, they are, by means of an adequate naval force, masters of the navigation of the gulf of Corinth, and may transport across it any troops collected on the Ætolian shore opposite to Patrass, or on any part of the northern coast of the gulf, for the purpose of co-operating with an army destined to enter the Peloponessus from Eastern Greece by the isthmus.

and thus prevent the passage into Greece of the army of Thessaly.

The fleet also was to be fitted out ; and as considerable difficulty existed about paying the sailors, Mavrocordato went in person to Hydra to endeavour to remove it.

Ipselanti in the mean time had gone to Corinth, to press the siege at that place. He found the Greeks closely blockading it, and endeavoured to get the garrison to capitulate, through the intervention of Kiamil Bey, the commander of the place. This man, whose family had ruled the province of Corinth for more than a century, was in Tripolitza at the time of its fall, and was taken prisoner, and he wrote orders to his garrison to surrender, though he found means to signify to them his real wishes ; so that Ipselanti, managing here with his usual want of cunning, brought nothing to pass. The Greek Capitani, finding all hopes of carrying so strong a citadel as the Acro-Corinthus by force, were in vain, opened a communication with the Albanian soldiers of the garrison, and induced them to quit the fortress. They marched down accordingly, and were embarked in boats, and sent across the gulf of Corinth to the northern shores ; whence they easily gained their native mountains. The rest of the garrison finding themselves deserted, capitulated likewise, and were allowed transport to Asia Minor, without arms or baggage. But, unfortunately, these hard terms were violated ; and some Greek soldiers rushing upon the prisoners, many were sacrificed before order could be established.*

* Extract from the memoirs of Col. Voutier, a French officer, who was present at the surrender of Corinth.

“Walking in the fields, near Corinth, a few days after its capture, an old shepherd asked me, “when Bekir Aga was to quit the fortress ?” “Why do you ask ?” said I, with a melancholy presentiment of his intention. “To waylay him at the pass, and kill him.” “Oh, wretch !” cried I. “Alas,” said the old man, “you are happy not to know the Turks ; the earth must be purged of this cursed stain. It offends both God and nature. This Bekir Aga one day asked my son for some milk to refresh himself ; but it was not with thirst that he burned—it was with cursed passion ; unhappily, my son was handsome ; resisting the infidel, Bekir drew his yataghan, and my son’s clothes were torn. Exasperated by this treatment, the boy took up a stone, and threw it at the Aga, who then butchered him on the spot :—and all this happened here under my own eyes—in the midst of these very sheep.”

“Having ended his story, the old man scraped the earth with his staff, and

The possession of so important a fortress as Corinth, was a great assistance to the Greek cause; and government hastened to make it their seat.

A division of the Greek fleet had again put to sea, and directing its course towards Patrass, fell in with a division of the Turkish fleet, consisting chiefly of Barbary vessels. An encounter followed; the result of which was the complete disorder of the Turks by the superior manœuvring of the Greeks; and their fleet fell back and took refuge in a port of Zante, one of the Ionian islands. A few Greek vessels then steered north, with the intention of attacking a Turkish corvette and four brigs, which had taken refuge at Mourto; but what was their astonishment at being accosted at the entrance of the channel of Corfu by an English brig of war, and forbidden to pass the channel. It was vainly asked, "why do you let the Turks pass there; why shelter them from us?" "Pass not the channel of Corfu," was the only answer. The Greek Admiral, astonished at such strange conduct, sent a vessel (the *Terpsichorde*) to Corfu, with a letter of complaint. On entering the port she was seized; her flag forcibly lowered; the captain ordered to unfit his ship; the envoy was put under an arrest, and kept for some weeks. What was the pretext for this strange proceeding? That some Greek sailors had formerly landed at Santa Maura, and stolen some sheep!

It is difficult to suppose, that the British government, with a policy so liberal as it has *lately* pursued, could have given instructions to the local authorities in the Ionian islands, to pursue such a line of conduct towards the Greeks. But the following account of the affair of the *Terpsichorde*, will serve as a specimen of their policy at that time.

"The Greek government, in a very unpresuming letter, requested the deliverance of this vessel; the answer of Sir T. Maitland was rude and illiberal, as well as inconsistent; it read thus: 'His Excellency has just received letters from persons who give to themselves the name of the Government of Greece,

looking at me wistfully, exclaimed—'Here are his bones!'"—*Memoires du Col. Voutier*, p. 205.

Where is the father, with a soul so free from the frailties of human nature, as not to have exclaimed with the old shepherd—"give me vengeance, and let me die!"

by a messenger now in this port. His Excellency is absolutely ignorant of the existence of a provisional government of Greece, and therefore cannot recognise such agent. The necessity only to maintain, as his Excellency has always done, the most strict neutrality, makes him consent to answer some passages of those letters. He will not enter into a correspondence with any nominal power which he does not know ; and his determination is this : no vessel calling herself Greek, and under a flag not known and not authorized, can be received in British ports. His Excellency is not obliged to enter into a discussion with an unknown power on the propriety of his own measures, but he will say, that he considers the *whole channel of Corfu*, from Mourtoux to Cassapo, as the *port* of Corfu !

“The government of the Ionian islands cannot but deplore the *foolish presumption* of one of the two belligerents, which has occasioned the present deplorable state of things.”

This letter speaks for itself. It first absolutely denies the existence of Greek power : then talks about neutrality between the belligerents. Neutrality ! why admit Turkish vessels ? But the last cutting and discouraging sentence was meant to produce a peculiar effect ; to chill the hopes of a people, who were eagerly stretching out their arms to the governments of Europe for assistance, by a cold-blooded, contemptuous condemnation of their struggle, as a piece of folly and presumption.

The President, Mavrocordato, having returned from Hydra after effecting the departure of the fleet, immediately began to give life and spirit to the operations of the newly organized government. And here it may be well to remark, that when we contemplate the interesting spectacle of a government formed by Greeks, we should not ascribe its faults to want of talent, or to inexperience alone, but rather wonder, when we consider the immense difficulties under which it laboured, that any thing was effected. When it is said, it had no money, every thing is said ; how could it overcome the prejudices of the wild chiefs, who knew not, and would not know discipline ; how support a national fleet, or a standing army, or a civil police ?

The very resources of the country could not be commanded, and except contributions by the islands of the Archipelago, no revenue was paid, or at least but a very small portion.

Determined, however, to make a commencement, the President ordered the raising of a corps of six hundred men, who were regularly organized and drilled, upon the plan of European tactics. They were commanded by Baleste, a French officer; and officered by the Philhellenes, who had already begun to flock to Greece. As there were not posts enough for all of them, these generous and enthusiastic young men, principally German and French officers, were formed into a body, called the Philhellenic corps.*

A detachment of irregular soldiers went under Nikitas to the passes near Thermopylæ, to watch the army of Turks which was gathering at Zituni. Demetrius Ipselanti accompanied this expedition, but without any actual command.

Colocotroni, with about 2000 soldiers, was ordered to continue the blockade of Patrass. The siege of Athens and of Napoli di Romania was pressed, and the castles of Modon and Koron, in the S. W. part of the Peloponessus, were kept in blockade by the peasantry.

Government then proceeded to the enactment of several salutary measures; the prohibition of all traffic in slaves; an address to the Christian Powers of Europe;† a declaration of blockade, &c.

* Colonel—Alexander Mavrocordato; Chief of Battalion—General Normann, of Wurtemberg; Adjutant—Maxime Raband, Frenchman.

† DECLARATION TO THE CHRISTIAN POWERS.

The great struggle in which the Greek nation is engaged, has occupied Europe, as it will the pens of historians. From the first moment, all hearts, imbued with honour and sensibility, applauded these words—"Greece is fighting for liberty." A prey to the most humiliating and severe oppression, she excited the pity of the whole civilized world. Humanity loudly claimed the deliverance of her benefactress. Justice, prostrate before the throne of the Most High, accused those who profaned the mysteries of Christ, plundered all property, and caused the tears of the widow and the orphan to flow. Whence comes it, that European policy, far from aiding such virtuous efforts, suffers itself to be deceived as to their tendency? Whence comes it, that an unprecedented malevolence endeavoured to calumniate the views of an oppressed nation, and to darken the brilliancy of actions which needed not excuse? Had not the insurrection at once its reason and justification in previous oppression? Was not armed despair the only protector capable of redressing our wrongs? Whatever may have been the occasion on which the revolution burst forth; whatever may have been the circumstances of its origin, it is proved to have been founded on the universal discontent, whose con-

Meantime a storm was gathering in Albania. The Turkish hordes who had conquered Ali Pashaw, had reduced the Sulio-tes to the last extremity; and were only waiting to get pos-

sequences were, sooner or later, to include all Greece in one conflagration. The Greeks were serving foreign masters, inexorable tyrants, insatiable tigers! No compact bound them to the foreign power, which, in the madness of its pride, claimed them by mere brute force for ever. The time was come, not to overthrow a national and respected sovereignty for some chimera of perfectibility, but to break a sceptre of iron, to repel force by force, and to substitute immutable rights in place of atrocious abuses. Besides, what disasters could be feared, greater or more monstrous than those which were afflicting Candia, Epirus, and the Morea? An execrable administration was sucking the last drop of blood from the veins of the political body. The complaints of the oppressed expired before they reached the Sublime Porte, as Destiny, that merciless goddess, used to see the incense of mortals melt away before her temple of iron. Already a conversion to Mahometanism appeared the sole safeguard to the wretched population; and what would have become of the sacred claims which the Gospel has acquired to the pious gratitude of the Greeks? Would Europe have wished to see the consummation of this gigantic act of apostacy? Would she, though proud of a Christian Holy Alliance, have sanctioned afresh the triumph of the Arabian code over Christianity, of barbarism over civilization?

We did right in taking up arms, if it was only to fall with honour; and when the first step was trodden it was necessary to advance. The revolution, popular in its motives, became still more so in its progress. The frightful acts of vengeance exercised on so many distinguished persons, on so many illustrious families, pointed out the abyss into which the entire nation would fall, if it had the baseness to yield. What security could it obtain against the violators of all law? It is thus that the Greeks have chosen the desperate alternative of perishing or of being delivered. And they would in fact have perished, if Providence had not hitherto vouchsafed the miracle of our successes. For the last thirteen months, God has aided the work of the righteous. They see the all-powerful hand which created this harmonious system of worlds, laid heavily on both nations and kings, repairing the ravages of time, and distributing the compensations of ages. Greece, abandoned by the rest of the earth, with the volume of her past splendour, and her woes, and her rights in her hand—Greece will still pursue her arduous career. Her cities sacked, her villages burnt, her population decimated, her fields ravaged, bear witness to her proud determination. Crushed by numbers, she will yet wash out her defeats in her blood. What will be the feelings of Europe towards her? Assembled Greece has solemnly proclaimed her independence, and has given herself a government, surrounded by national emblems, having for its first object the welfare of Greece, and not the interest of a party. This legitimate organ of the nation has thought it due equally to itself and to the people, to lay the preceding statement before the Christian powers. Honour and hope will guide Grecian constancy through the gloom of futurity. The Greeks aim at peace combined with independence, and at the political fruits of civilization. They protest, beforehand, against any violation of their rights, so lately purchased by the most heroic sacrifices. In a word,

session of Suli, when they would pour down through Arcania to Missilonghi, be transported across the gulf of Corinth to the Morea, and unite at Tripolitza with the army from Eastern Greece, that was to come by the way of the isthmus of Corinth.* To prevent this, it was essential to enable the Suliotes to continue their gallant resistance. Government was fully sensible of it, and was further induced to take immediate and active steps to effect it by the prayers and arguments of the gallant Marco Botzaris, who had left Suli, passed the lines of the besieging armies, and accompanied by a few attendants, traversed on foot the whole of the wild country, till he reached Corinth. His object was to get arms and men, and fall upon the rear of the Turks, while his countrymen should sally out; and he hoped to route them, and relieve Suli. His fiery zeal gave a spirit to the proceedings of government; while his great sagacity helped the better to mature a plan which was admirably calculated to effect the object. It was resolved, that the President in person should lead an expedition toward the defiles of Makrinoros,* that a detachment under Kuriekuli Mavromichalis, should be transported by sea to Fanari, and advance upon Suli from the west; while Marco Botzaris, with another band, should penetrate through the mountains, and advance from the east.

humanity, religion, interest, all plead in their favour. It is for the powers of Christendom to decide on this occasion, what legacy they propose bequeathing to history and to posterity.

Given at Corinth, the 15th April, 1822.

The members of the Central Government of Greece.

A. MAVROCORDATO, President.

ATHANASIOS KANACARI, Vice President.

ANAGNOSTI PAPAIANOPOLO,

JOANIS ORLANDO,

JOANIS LOGOTHETI,

TH. NEGRI, the Secretary of State.

* This assumption of the military character was the rock upon which the fortunes of Mavrocordato were wrecked. Nature had not qualified him for it. Besides, his absenting himself from the government was not only injurious to the general cause, but prejudicial to his own private interest. Cunning as he is, perhaps he did not then know, that many among the leading men would not hesitate to throw every obstacle in the way of his success; nay, peril their common country for their own private or party interests.

CHAPTER II.

The President Mavrocordato prepares to invade Epirus—Pushes on to Komboti—Desperate situation of Suli—Maroo Botzaris flies to relieve it—Is forced back—Greeks are defeated at Peta—Mavrocordato retreats—Evacuates Arcanania—Kuriekuli Mavromichalis killed at Fanari—Mainotes retreat—Situation and defence of the Suliotes—Are reduced to extremities—Mavrocordato falls back upon Missilonghi.

HAVING embarked the regular troops, and the Philhellenes in some of the small vessels which had escaped the conflagration at Galaxhidi, Mavrocordato, accompanied by Botzaris, and several hundred Peloponessians and Islanders, set off by land for Patrass, where he expected to be joined by Colocotroni, with 2000 men, and to have others sent after him by Government; so that his force might amount to 5000 men. On arriving at Patrass, he found Colocotroni disinclined to accompany him, and could not *persuade* him to do it. As for forcing him, it was out of the question; his influence was great in the Morea, and Mavrocordato dared not break with him. However, to save appearances, Colocotroni agreed to send his son Panos with 300 soldiers. With these, and 500 Mainotes, Mavrocordato embarked, and crossing the gulf of Corinth, landed at Missilonghi.

Here he remained ten days, as well to get recruits, and provide for his supplies, as to allay the jealousies which already manifested themselves among the Chiefs; he began to see the difficulties of his situation, and the obstacles thrown in his way, by his political opponents. But he had decided, and was forced to go on; and a pressing message which he received from the Suliotes, informing him of their distressing situation, urged him to depart. Accordingly, having despatched the 500 Mainotes, under Kuriekuli, by sea, with orders to land at Fanari, near Parga, and advance toward Suli; he himself moved northward through Ætolia, Arcanania, and Amphilochia. His hopes of being joined by considerable bands of *Armataki* having been disappointed, he was obliged to unite with two Chieftains

of very doubtful faith—Gogo Bakalos, and Vernakiotis ; and took post at Komboti, just below the pass of Makninos, with a force which did not exceed 3000 men.

At Komboti they were immediately attacked by the Turkish cavalry, but repulsed them ; the second and third day the skirmishes continued, and the Greeks invariably getting the advantage, it was determined to push on, and take possession of the strong position of Peta. Another courier had arrived from Suli, and represented its situation as desperate ; the communication with the sea had been cut off for some time ; not only were the Suliotes without provisions, but ammunition began to fail them, and they could not possibly hold out much longer. This was too much for Botzaris to bear ; and he resolved to set off with his 300 Suliotes at all hazards, and trust to fortune for an opportunity to fall upon the besieging army in the night, and disperse it. Accordingly he started on his almost hopeless errand ; his men concealing themselves by day, and groping their way over the mountains by night ; while the main body, under general Norman, advanced to Peta, and a small division took up its position at Langada.

But treason was already at work ; Gogo, who was more than suspected, kept up a correspondence with the Turkish commander, and sent him notice of the departure of Botzaris. Instantly a body of one thousand Turks were sent off, to join those already out, and attempt to stop Botzaris at Placa. They met him ; and Botzaris, unable to oppose them openly, kept up a continual skirmishing during the daytime, and pushed on during the night ; his intimate knowledge of the country, and his skill in mountain warfare, enabled him to baffle all their attempts to surround him ; and he harassed them dreadfully for several days. Hearing of his unequal contest, the corps of Europeans, about 90 in number, struck with admiration of his skill and boldness, demanded permission to go, and attempt to assist him : this being obtained, they marched off with only two days provisions. They wandered about four days without being able to effect any thing, and returned to the camp about two hours after the arrival of Botzaris, who, having been baffled in his attempts to reach Suli, after many hair-breadth escapes, being often almost entirely surrounded, had forced his way back to the camp again.

It was now ascertained that the Turks were preparing to attack them at Peta, with a force of about eight thousand men ; and though that of the Greeks did not amount to three thousand, still it was determined to await them. The village of Peta is situated on sloping ground, at the foot of a mountain, and has a high ridge of land on each side of it. It was resolved in a council of war, that the regular troops should occupy a line in front of the village, and below it. The remainder, and larger proportion of the forces, were formed in a line behind and above the village, with the two wings extending forward like the horns of a crescent, and occupying the two ridges which formed the flanks of the foremost line. The right of this rear line was commanded by Gogo, and the left by Botzaris ; and it was agreed, that if the front line, composed of the new regular troops with the Philhellenes on their right, should be driven from their posts, they should fall back and rally in the village, under the fire of the second line, or the irregulars. This arrangement made in the council, was strongly opposed by Botzaris, who urged with great reason, that as the principal reliance was to be placed upon the few regular troops, they should be placed in a position to support the others, and be a point for them to retreat upon, if driven by the first assault : " but," said he, " if your regulars, who are considered your best, fall back upon the irregulars, depend upon it, a general flight will follow." His objections, however, were overruled by the European officers, who *of course* must know better than a young mountain Chieftain ; and the forces, drawn up in the manner described, passed the night of the 15th under arms. An hour before dawn, the neigh of horses, and the confused noise of voices, announced that the Turks were near ; daylight showed them rapidly advancing, about 8000 in number : 600 horse advanced toward Comboti, to cut off the retreat toward Langa-da ; the rest came on in form of a large crescent, so as to outflank the Greeks.

The attack was begun by 4000 Albanians, who, with their banners flying, and uttering wild shouts, rushed on to within musket-shot of the Greek regulars, and fired ; this, to their astonishment, was not answered. Their standard-bearers then advancing nearer, planted their colours, and the whole body

rushed up to them ; but the Greeks at this moment firing with effect, swept down many of them, and drove the rest back. Animated afresh by their officers, the Turks rushed on again with their wild shouts of Allah ! Allah ! but were again firmly met and repulsed ; the musketry of the regulars doing severe execution, and two field-pieces, on the right, sweeping the whole plain. This continued for two hours ; the regulars and the Ionians, with the corps of European Philhellenes, firmly resisted every shock ; when it began to be perceived that the Turks were assembling in force, and preparing to attack the position which covered their right. In a few minutes Gogo, who commanded the height there, after giving one discharge, fell back ; and the height was immediately covered with Turks, who swept down upon the plain, and fell upon the rear of the Ionians, who were driven in upon the regulars. The flight of Gogo involved that of Varnakiotti, and Botzaris with his three hundred was completely surrounded ; but he extricated himself, and forced his way to the mountains with but little loss. The regulars retreated in some order back towards Peta, but they could not make a stand there, and were obliged to fall still farther back, leaving their sick and wounded. In quitting Peta their flank suffered considerably.

But the fate of the corps of European Philhellenes was terrible. " A mass of Turks came rushing from the village in their rear, bearing the bloody spoils of the soldiers of Tarella, and the heads of the sick and wounded whom they had surprised in Peta. Surrounded, and despairing of life, the Philhellenes thought only of selling it dearly. They made toward Komboti, but found it occupied by the enemy's cavalry ; the position they had abandoned was covered with thousands of the infidels, whose fire galled them ; and the instant an European fell, an hundred rushed forth to dispute for his head. An Ethiopian threw himself before Col. Dania, seized his horse's bridle with one hand, and kneeling upon one knee, parried with his sabre, and the animal's head, the blows which the Colonel aimed at him ; the frightened horse reared, and twenty Turks rushing forward, seized the Colonel, and severed his head from his body before the eyes of his companions.

" Merziewski, followed by eleven Polanders, attempted to

“cut a passage through the village; they entered, and there found their deaths. Many Philhellenes separated from their comrades, and surrounded by assailants, fought, and bravely fell. One of them, Captain Mignac, wounded in the leg, supported himself against an olive tree: the splendour of his uniform made it supposed that he was the commander of the strangers, and the Turks attempted to take him alive. They succeeded, but it was only when he had just broken his sword upon the fourteenth enemy, who lay dead at his feet; and he attempted to cut his own throat with the remnant of his sabre.

“The Turks could not use their fire arms without wounding one another; the sabre, the bayonet, and the dagger, were the only weapons. In this terrible affray, Europeans were seen, in falling, to cling to an enemy, and tear his face with their teeth in dying. Chauvassaigne killed a Turkish standard-bearer, and took his flag; lost it again—retook it—and was cut in pieces, rather than leave it. Arrived at the foot of a hill, the larger part of them were forced to halt, from the nature of the ground, and the increasing number of the enemy. Exhausted by wounds, by fatigue, and their exertions, they now sunk down around their standard upon a heap of carcasses. Lt. Teichman bore the glorious banner: he did not see it taken, for he was hacked in pieces ere the charge committed to his valour was wrested from his grasp.

“Few only were made prisoners, but these were made to envy the lot of those who fell. Stripped and maimed, they were forced to carry to Arta, the heads of their slain companions. The heat was insupportable, and they arrived, bending under their load, and covered with the blood which dripped from their horrible burdens, and mixed itself with that from their own wounds. Received by a furious populace whom a success so dear bought had maddened, these miserable victims found rest, only after having suffered all the excesses of cruelty, and endured all kinds of outrage.”*

* “Mémoires sur la Grèce.”—Mons. Rabaud has written a book under this title, well worthy the perusal of any one; unlike most of his countrymen, he confines himself to what he saw and knew, and does not write romance and call it history.

All the officers of this corps perished, and about 60 out of its 90 members. Tarella, the commander of the regulars, was killed in a generous attempt to save Dania, commander of the Philhellenes. General Normann was wounded, but escaped. In fact, with the exception of the Philhellenes and the Ionians, no very extensive loss was suffered. The Greeks united at Langada, where Mavrocordato was at the time of the battle. His grief at meeting them (for he started off to bring up his few men on hearing the firing commence) may be easily imagined.*

A speedy retreat now became necessary ; but with a strange degree of hardihood or ignorance, the Greeks remained twenty-four hours in their position, that the stragglers might come in. Had not their enemy been the most stupid in the world, they would have found the passes below them occupied, and not a Greek could have escaped from Epirus. Falling back upon Catonni and Vrachori, Mavrocordato made every attempt to raise men enough to enable him to defend Arcanania, but without success. He soon heard of the fate of the Mainotes, who had landed near Parga, and attempted to push on to Suli ; they

* This action, however, proved completely the mistake of those who asserted that the Greeks could never be brought to stand in regular order and receive the fire of an enemy. Though they had been trained but a short time, the regular troops behaved exceedingly well, considering it was their *debut*. They were observed to show some emotion when their officers commanded them to refrain from returning the first fire of the Turks, but soon recovered themselves, and behaved well, until they were surrounded. And here it may be well to remark, that want of means to establish a regular *commisariat*, was not the only difficulty to be overcome in an attempt to discipline the Greeks. Their best soldiers, the *Armatoli* and *Kleptes* of the north, who were trained from their youth to arms, and a life of wild freedom, and who are always looked to as patterns in war by the Greeks, despise the occupation of a regular soldier ; and call him a slave. I have often heard them express their contempt of those who would condescend to all the rules and minutiae of discipline. The young Greeks, of any spirit, regarding as they do these *Kleptes* who have always by their arms guarded their independence, as the finest soldiers in the world, and their roving life the most interesting, could seldom be induced to join the regular troops : consequently the corps was composed of very young ignorant men ; or of those who had no means of buying arms of their own to enable them to act as *Pallikaris*. For every *Pallikari*, or irregular soldier owns his arms ; and they are the pride of his heart : every dollar he can get, he expends in ornamenting and beautifying them ; the stock of the pistols, the handle, and scabbard of the yataghan, should be massive silver washed with gold. To obtain these, soldiers will endure for months and years the want of a shirt, and all the comforts of life.

were met by a body of Turks of four times their number, who opposed their progress. The Mainotes allowed themselves to be attacked, fought well for two hours, and repulsed the attack ; when their brave leader Kuriekuli was shot through the head, and they abandoned all hope of advance. They made good their retreat, however, to their vessels, with trifling loss. Thus all hope of relieving the Suliotes being blasted, Mavrocordato retreated to Anatolico and Missilonghi.

Let us now look at the situation of the Suliotes, left without hope of succour, and surrounded with immense numbers of assailants. Those brave mountaineers had done inconceivable mischief to the Sultan's army, commanded by Kourehid Pashaw, who was blockading the rebel Ali Pashaw, in his fortress at Yanina. The Suliotes were continually cutting off detachments of his army, and interrupting his communications, so that he was obliged to send a very considerable division of his army against them. Blockaded in their mountains by an overwhelming force, the Suliotes saw that if Kourchid should beat Ali Pashaw, he would then be at liberty to turn his whole army of thirty thousand men against them.

They, therefore, took every possible precaution, in fortifying the passes to their strong hold ; but their greatest fear was that famine would make them yield to a long blockade. They therefore sent deputies to Malta, and other parts, soliciting provisions and ammunition.

The destruction of the power of Ali Pashaw, did, as the Suliotes had foreseen, enable Kourchid to bring his whole force against them, and they were now closely blocked up in their mountain fastnesses. Their warriors did not amount in all to two thousand ; but they defended with obstinacy all the approaches to their mountain for some time. They destroyed great numbers of Turks, in the different attacks which they repulsed, but were gradually losing their own men. Unable, therefore, to defend a large extent of country, they retreated towards Kiapha, their principal strong hold, where they had a good fortress. Here they again made a stand ; and for several weeks defended the country immediately around ; obstinately rejecting all terms of arrangement with the Turks.

But the number of their enemies increased every day; the whole force of the western part of the Turkish empire, was arrested by this little band of mountaineers; for there was nothing now to prevent Kourchid Pashaw from marching down through Arcanania and Locris, and crossing the Corinthian gulf into the Peloponessus, but the fear of leaving the Suliotes unconquered in his rear. He bent his whole attention, therefore, to subduing them; and soon by heedless sacrifices of his men, he narrowed the circle in which the Suliotes were shut up; till at last only Kiapha was left, and a circle of about ten miles around it. A minute detail of the skirmishes, the numerous attacks, and the obstinate defences, which every day occurred, would be carrying us to too great length; suffice it to say, that the courage, the perseverance, and sufferings of the Suliotes have not been exaggerated by the numerous admirers and recorders of their gallant defence. The courage and devotion of their women has been dwelt upon; and candour forces the confession, that in passive courage, and in patient endurance, they excelled the men. Every day they were seen, during the defences of the passes, bringing powder or water to their husbands and brothers, who were fighting behind their breastworks. Many of them were killed in the performance of these duties. What wonder, then, that the Suliotes fought with such desperate determination, when they had such women to encourage them.

The Suliotes felt perfectly certain that in any event they could find a safe retreat in their castle of Kiapha, where they would be secure from all active assaults, which they knew they could repulse; but they feared the effects of famine, and resolved to send a deputation to their brethren in the Peloponessus for succour. The only difficulty was for any one to pass the circle which the Turkish army had drawn around Kiapha; and the object of which was to prevent the ingress or egress of any thing. But Marco Botzaris, who had distinguished himself, even among the brave Suliotes, for extraordinary courage and resolution, undertook the mission; and, accompanied by Lambro Veicos and W. Zervish, with a few followers, he succeeded in passing the Turks. We have seen the result of his mission,

and that he was now advancing with Mavrocordato to the relief of his countrymen.

But, notwithstanding all their heroism, the Suliotes, worn out by the daily recurrence of attacks, (in which a few men only could be placed to defend each position, and were consequently obliged to fight all day,) were obliged to shut themselves up in the castle of Kiapha, with all their families, cattle, and goods, and leave the surrounding country to the enemy.

They were immediately followed up by the Turkish army which took positions around them, and prepared for an active siege.

The Suliotes, on their part, contented themselves with barely acting on the defensive, and repulsing every assault with vigour. They suffered little from the enemy's artillery, for the Turks could not drag heavy ordnance over the rough mountains which surround Kiapha in every direction, and which constitute the safety of Suli. But they waited with the greatest anxiety for the result of their mission to the Peloponessus. They had now been many months blockaded, and provisions were growing scarce.

Soon they got news from their beloved chief, Marco Botzaris, who, as we have seen, had left Mavrocordato behind, was pushing through the mountainous district to the east, and had arrived within a few hours of the rear of the Turkish army. This news raised the spirits of the Suliotes to a pitch of extravagant exultation, which prompted them to an immediate sally. They then made preparations for acting in concert with Botzaris, who had directed them to sally from the fortress at the same time when he should fall upon the rear of their besiegers, of which he would give them a signal by fires upon the mountains. Impatiently did the Suliotes wait for this signal; it was not made—day after day passed, and they began to be discouraged; when they got information that Marco Botzaris had been met at Plaka, and forced to retire. Soon after they heard of the fatal results of the battle of Peta, and that the main Turkish army, having left force enough to blockade them, had pushed south and gone as far as Missilonghi.

They were thus left alone in the northern part of Greece, without any hope but from their own courage. To support

this, however, food was necessary ; their provisions were almost exhausted, and they had no prospect of a supply. But they reduced the allowance of each soldier and person in the place to the smallest quantity that would support life ; and thus prepared for the longest possible resistance. Meantime they began to communicate to the Turks their willingness to listen to terms, but demanded a large sum of money to induce them to give up their fortress, and go to the Peloponessus ; for they assured the Pashaw that their castle was well provisioned for many years.

Meanwhile Mavrocordato, after his defeat at Peta, had fallen back as far as Missilonghi, which he was now defending, assisted by Marco Botzaris. Let us leave, therefore, the northern parts of Greece to these able defenders, and turn our attention to the other parts.

We have seen the government established at Corinth ; but the principal scene of action was before Napoli di Romania, which the Greeks were besieging.

CHAPTER III.

Scio—The Peaceable Character of its Inhabitants—Forced into Revolt by the Samiotes—Blockade the Governor of the Island and all the Turks in the Citadel—Capitan Pashaw appears—Greeks defeated—Massacres—Capitan Pashaw leaves Scio—Attacked by the Greek Fleet—Attacked and burnt by Kanaris—Siege of Athens—The Acropolis surrenders to the Greeks—Massacre of Turkish Prisoners.

THE flourishing state of the beautiful and populous island of Scio or Chius, has already been alluded to ; we have seen also that its peaceful inhabitants, accustomed only to commerce and agriculture, and entirely ignorant of the use of arms, unfitted both by their habits, and by the situation of their island, from partaking with advantage in the general revolt, refused the in-

vation to join their countrymen, and remained tranquil under the Turks. A fleet of Spetziote vessels had appeared off their harbour; but upon the remonstrances and representations of the Primates, it had withdrawn, and no insurrectionary movements were made in the island.

But the bare possibility of such an event was too good a pretext for the Pashaw to let pass without being improved to the utmost in augmenting his exactions from the people. Forty-five persons, selected from among the richest and most respectable families, were seized and carried into the citadel as hostages; extraordinary contributions were exacted from the merchants; the produce of the peasantry was taken from them in more than a usual proportion, and every possible imposition practised upon them; arms they had never been allowed to wear or possess; but diligent search was made for them by the Turkish soldiers of the garrison. Fresh troops were called in to reinforce the garrison; and besides the daily abuses committed by that undisciplined band, many of the inhabitants were murdered. All these abuses, practised upon a community who had enjoyed greater privileges under the Turks than any of their countrymen, did not provoke them to any opposition; and Scio was perfectly tranquil until the 17th March, when a body of Samiotes, about 600 in number, directed by two worthless Chiefs, Vurmja and Logotheti, landed upon the S. E. extremity of the island, and called on the peasantry to arm and join them in the work of delivering their island from the Turks.

They were but very poorly seconded, the inhabitants, in general, showing no disposition to revolt; a few of them, however, relying on the boasted power of the Samiotes to supply them with arms, and every necessary for war, were induced to join the invaders.

The news of this affair soon reached the Pashaw of the island, who immediately seized upon fifty more of the principal men as hostages for the good conduct of the rest; he also sent out a small body of cavalry to destroy the invaders. At the same time the Primates and principal men of the island hastened to assure the Turks that no danger was to be apprehended; that neither they themselves, nor their fellow-islanders would join in the projected insurrection, and utterly disclaimed any com-

munication with, or knowledge of the plans of the Samiotes. They took also every possible precaution to prevent the peasantry from rising and joining the invaders.

But the Samiotes defeated the body of troops which the Pashaw had sent against them, and marching towards the principal town, they were joined by numbers of the peasantry, armed with sickles, knives, or clubs; and all united forced the Turks to fly from every part of the island toward the citadel, where they shut themselves up with the Pashaw.

The prudent part of the Sciotes now saw that their safety was jeopardized, that enough had been done to draw down the vengeance of Turkey, and that their only chance of escape from it, was in promoting by all possible means, the cause of the insurgents, and endeavouring to get the castle into their own power, before any assistance could arrive to the Turks from Constantinople.

The castle was therefore blockaded; the inhabitants of the island were called upon to rise and arm themselves, and a deputation was sent to the Central Government in the Peloponessus, demanding arms and ammunition. A Commission was immediately appointed, consisting of six persons,* for the temporary direction of affairs. It was found, however, on examination, that there were very few arms in the island, and there were no means of providing them for the inhabitants; for the Samiotes themselves had come poorly supplied, and they had brought only two light field-pieces. Still something it was necessary to do; and the Commission exerted itself to blockade the Turks in the citadel so closely, that a speedy surrender was to be hoped, as they had no provisions. But farther difficulties arose from the folly and presumption of the two leaders of the Samiotes: Burnia was a native of Scio, who had spent many years in France, and borne a commission in her army; he arrogated to himself the right of assuming the supreme control of every thing; while Logothesi, a Samiote, treated the Greek

* Ephors they were called: Kotzi Vouros, Ponteli Zervondaki, Nikoli Frankopolos, Frankouli Polliki, Polychroni Diamantavi, and Stephanos Yan-noutzo. The two Deputies sent to Peloponessus were George Glarakis and ———

inhabitants of Scio as he would foreigners, whose country he had conquered, and levied heavy contributions on the peasantry.

The blockade of the citadel, however, was converted into a siege, (such as they could carry on,) and the Primates began to hope that the speedy arrival of their deputies from the Peloponnese, with artillery and ammunition, and the approach of the Greek fleet would put them out of danger. Suddenly on the 11th April, a fleet was seen steering toward the port; soon from the size of the vessels it was known to be the Turkish, and the Greeks were in terror. The force of the Capitan Pashaw consisted of seven ships of the line, and twenty-five frigates and corvettes. With these he approached the town, and immediately opened his broadsides upon it; and the Turks from the citadel, sallying at the same moment, drove off the Greeks who were besieging it. They retired about ten miles into the interior of the island, and were followed by most of the inhabitants of the town; about five thousand only remaining, choosing to trust to the mercy of the Turks.

Thus master of the town and of several thousands of the inhabitants, the Capitan Pashaw commenced his measures, to put in execution the bloody scheme planned in the Divan at Constantinople; he landed about six thousand men from the fleet, and employed three days in bringing over a swarm of Turks from the coast of Asia Minor. While he was thus collecting his myrmidons, and setting them in array, the Capitan Pashaw neglected no means to lull the inhabitants into a fatal security, by solemn promises of forgiveness of their faults, and mercy and protection, if they would return each one to his home and resume his occupation. Many did so, relying on the faith of the Consuls of England and France, who came clad in their respective uniforms, and urged the Sciotes to throw themselves on the clemency of the Capitan Pashaw. Convinced by this, many returned to the town; and about a thousand of the peasantry, openly separating from the insurgents, retired to the monastery of St. Minas.

The fourth day the preparations of the Capitan Pashaw being completed, he ordered the Greeks who were in the monastery to be brought out, and butchered one by one. This was the signal for the commencement of that tragedy to which modern

history affords no parallel ; the Turkish troops gathered round the town, rushed among the defenceless inhabitants, and began to butcher all they found. For hours every street resounded with the yells of the assailants, the shrieks of the women and children, and the groans of the wounded and dying ; the shops were pillaged ; the houses burst open and ransacked ; the churches profaned and demolished. And a few hours were sufficient for all this ; a few hours of rapine and murder had changed the beautiful town to a scene of utter devastation ; to a slaughter-house, still streaming with the blood of thousands of all ages, and of both sexes, whose mutilated and headless bodies, lay in every direction about the streets ; but there was no human voice heard there ; the whirlwind of destruction had swept over it, and left it desolate ; the Turkish hordes had gone out from it, and scattered themselves over the island, to renew in every village and in every hamlet, the work of murder and devastation.

For three days this went on in the neighbourhood of the town, and the Turks had only unarmed and unresisting victims to immolate. But at the foot of Mount Opus, and near the sea shore, a resistance was made by about two thousand Greeks ; they were driven from their position, but not till many families had embarked in boats and fled. At Thymiana also on the sea shore, another body defended themselves with fury for some time ; some ships were brought round to cannonade them from the sea side. But one frigate getting on the rocks, the Greeks attacked her furiously, contrived to get on board of her before all her crew had left her, and put them to death notwithstanding their cry for quarter. The resistance, however, was short here. The Greeks soon scattered ; the Samiotes had all fled ; and several thousand Sciotes also put off in boats and small vessels, and saved themselves at Ipsara. There were now no armed men to offer resistance ; the interior of the island was filled with the fugitive families from the sea-coast ; and there was full scope for the exercise of the fury of the Turks, who thought the blood of a Christian an acceptable offering to God. They divided themselves, therefore, into small bands, and swept over every part of the island, plundering, burning, and murdering. The Greeks who ran away were shot down,

or pursued and stabbed ; those who gave themselves up, were violated and murdered ; the desperate man who resisted, shared the same fate as the timid wretch who flung to the knees of the barbarians, and screamed in vain for mercy. None were spared but the handsomest of the women and children, who were sent to town, and reserved for sale.

Such was the state of the beautiful Scio for seven days. "My God! (says an eye-witness who escaped) what a scene was then presented! On what side soever I cast my eyes, nothing but pillage, and conflagration, and murder, appeared. While some were occupied in plundering the country-houses of the rich merchants, and others setting fire to the villages, the air was rent with the mingled groans of men, women, and children, who were falling under the yataghans and daggers of the infidels. The only exception made during the massacre, was in the favour of the women and boys, who were preserved to be sold as slaves. Many of the former were running to and fro, half frantic, with torn garments, and dishevelled hair ; pressing their trembling infants to their breasts, and seeking death, as a preservation from the greater calamities that awaited them." The carnage then ceased for a time ; and those wretches who had been reserved for sale, were driven to the town, where more than ten thousand women and children were collected. The boys were circumcised, in order to fit them to become Mussulmen, and the whole embarked on board the fleet, to be conveyed to Constantinople. The Capitan Pashaw, in order to renew the fury of his soldiery, then took the eighty hostages, the oldest and most respectable men of the island, and hung them up at the yard-arms of his vessels ; and the signal was instantly answered from the shore, by the butchery of seven hundred peasants who had been confined in the citadel.

An attempt was then made to induce those of the Greeks, who in great numbers had fled to the mountains, and the almost inaccessible parts of the island, to come down and give themselves into the hands of their masters, who promised them mercy : and, strange to say, many of them did do so, and were all butchered except those whose beauty made them valuable.

The Capitan Pashaw then sailed, his vessels laden with the beauty and booty of the once lovely Scio, but which was now

a solitary waste, covered with the smouldering ruins of its villages, and the putrifying carcasses of its inhabitants.* And where were now the eighty thousand people whom he found there? Twenty thousand had been butchered; twenty thousand he was carrying into captivity; fifteen thousand had escaped to the neighbouring islands; the rest were now hiding among the rocks and mountains, like the beasts who are hunted from the plain. Many of them were taken off by the vessels sent to them from the neighbouring islands. But several thousand took refuge in the houses of the different European Consuls, whose flag they knew would protect them from the Turks.

And how did these worthy representatives of the illustrious monarchs, who unite in 'Alliance,' yclept 'Holy,' for the peace and happiness of the world; how did these Consuls treat the miserable fugitives, who had cast themselves upon their mercy, and the faith of their flags? Are the stories of their courageous defence of these wretches, their generosity and philanthropy in sending them off free, to be credited? No! just the contrary; they coldly speculated upon their miseries; they gave them their liberty, it is true, but it was only at the price of the last valuable they might have preserved from the destruction of their houses. The men were obliged to pay, or obligate themselves to pay, large sums to the Consuls for their protection; and the women were obliged to strip off their jewels, on their rich garments, to satisfy these rapacious representatives of Christian tyrants.

Such a deed alone was wanting to crown the great tragedy which was acted in the face of this enlightened Christian age; acted by the orders of the Sultan, whose legality is acknowledged by all the kings of the earth—by the 'old and faithful ally of England;' by that tyrant, to whom even America can cringe,

* There is no want of testimony, or good evidence, of the catastrophe of Scio. The only difficulty is in ascertaining the number of the sufferers. Besides the numerous respectable Greeks who escaped from the horrible scene, it was visited a few days afterwards by several Europeans of respectability; by an English naval officer particularly, whose description is most teaching. Colonel Voutier, among other striking passages, has the following words:—'he told me that no sight gave him such sensations as that of the body of a woman just dead, and whose breasts were eagerly pressed by her moaning infant child.'

and humbly beg to send an Ambassador, to be ranked among the other titled 'dogs,* who feed on the crumbs that drop from his table.

But let us follow the movements of the Capitan Pashaw, for whom an offended God was preparing a just retribution. He steered for the coast of Asia Minor, where he landed many of his captives, and sent them by land to Constantinople.†

Soon the Greek fleet, under Tombazi, appeared off Scio; and after taking on board several thousands of those who had concealed themselves in the mountains, the fleet went round to attack with fireships the Capitan Pashaw, who was lying in the straits. But having a favourable wind, the Turkish vessels got under weigh, and came out to meet them. In the open sea the Greeks could gain no advantage; and the fleets were separated by a gale of wind, after an unimportant skirmish, which both parties announced as a victory. The Captain Pashaw then returned to the straits of Scio, and the Greek fleet, after a vain attempt to attack him to advantage, was obliged to go to attempt to cover Candia, from an expedition which the Pashaw of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, was preparing.

This situation of things being known to Government, and that it was impossible to effect any thing by a general attack,

* When an Ambassador arrives at Constantinople, he is not at once admitted into the presence of the Grand Signior, but the Vizier goes and announces that "there is a dog from such,—or such an infidel nation, who waits without for your sublime pleasure." "Take the dog, Vizier, and give him food and lodging," is the reply.

† The fate of these captives, principally women and children, is known to the world; the open exposal in the slave-markets of the beautiful women and children of Scio, in the presence of the Ambassadors of all the European Courts at Constantinople, could not pass unnoticed; though in those different Courts, it was attempted by the Ministers to gloss it over. The butchery of the Sciote hostages, whose security was at least indirectly promised, and ought to have been looked to by those Ambassadors, was not the smallest outrage committed upon those amiable and unfortunate islanders. These outrages were in consequence of a license given by the Sultan; and that license was withdrawn principally by the prayers and remonstrances of Asma Sultana, sister of Sultan Mahmond. She was the protectress of Scio, its revenue having been appropriated to her support for many years; and she was considered as having the right of interference in all matters relating to it. She was naturally indignant that her little colony should have been so desolated by the Capitan Pashaw, and refused with scorn his offered present of sixty beautiful maidens selected from the captive Sciotes.

they accepted the offer of the intrepid Kanaris, to attempt burning the enemy's fleet with his fireship. He sailed for the straits of Scio, in company with an Hydriote vessel. On arrival in the neighbourhood of Scio, he fell in with some of the Turkish look-out vessels, but by an artful manœuvre he completely deceived them;* and made them suppose his vessels were merchantmen bound to Smyrna. As soon as it was dark, Kanaris stood away boldly for the mouth of the straits, within which lay the Capitan Pashaw's fleet; when about to enter the gulf, the Hydriote Captain hailed him, and begged him not to enter, since, should the wind remain in the same quarter, they must certainly be lost if they failed in their daring plan. Kanaris, however, persuaded him the wind would change, and ran boldly in. Here new difficulties awaited him; his crew began to feel those symptoms of fear which were naturally inspired by their situation: they were getting enclosed by the land on both sides; the wind was aft; and they were driving down upon the Turkish frigates, and line-of-battle ships, whose situation began to be known by the long line of lights which stretched across the gulf, without a possibility of returning. The sailors were refractory, and unwilling to go on; but this was the moment for a spirit like that of Kanaris, to blaze forth; the modest retiring man became the hero, and his puny figure seemed to grow in height, as he sternly said to the murmurers, 'you came here voluntarily, the ship shall go on, and you may go with her or jump overboard.' They were silenced, and the vessels rapidly approached the lights.

The first they could distinguish were several Turkish frigates; but these were two ignoble prey; Kanaris had come to revenge the blood of Scio, and nothing but the blood of the

* He hauled his wind, and stopped his course by not bracing up his yards; and, though heading toward Smyrna, was gradually drifting to leeward.

"Seeing several Turkish frigates near Green Island, Kanaris braced his yards, and ran close on to them, yet passed without being known. It became moonlight when he saw some frigates on Black rock side: in mid-channel he saw the fleet lights, five seventy-fours at anchor, and crossed toward the town. He then braced his yards sharp up, but could not fetch far enough to weather them all; when close, he was hailed from the Capitan Pashaw's ship, answered not, but ran him on board on the starboard bow, and fired his vessel which instantly communicated."

Notes of a British Naval Officer.

leader of the barbarians could atone for it; the moon shone clear, he was in the middle of the Turkish fleet, which, securely anchored, dreamed not of danger; and he could see on the other side, the huge ship of the Capitan Pashaw. Altering then his course. Kanaris bore down for him, and was soon within hail. 'Keep away! Keep away!' cried the Turkish guard; still the fireship came on,—when the wild cry of 'Brulotta, Brulotta,' apprised Kanaris that he was known. That dreadful cry had aroused the sleeping Turks, and hundreds rushed to the deck in confusion; they began to fire; but still the strange sail rapidly approached them: all Kanaris's men were crouched behind the bulwarks, and sheltered; he alone stood up, and strong in his terrible resolution, steered his vessel full on the Pashaw's ship, regardless of the shot which began to whistle around him. In a few minutes his bow struck her side with a terrible shock, and entangled. Instantly the boat was lowered: every Greek sailor jumped into it; and Kanaris himself, after crying out "*Κανάρις έναυ*" touched the train, and following his men, they pulled rapidly away. The train communicating with the combustibles, they flashed forth in one broad blaze, which instantly began to envelope the Turkish ship, where ensued a scene of horror, and confusion, among the twelve hundred persons on board, more easily imagined than described. Nothing could be done on the crowded and choked up decks, to separate the vessels; orders could not be heard, nor if heard, obeyed; and the Greeks could only distinguish, amid the wild uproar of voices, the agonizing shrieks of the timid, who leaped overboard in despair. The sails and cordage were all in a blaze, and the fire dropping on deck, lit up every thing there. The boats were lowered, but instantly staved or sunk by the numbers who rushed into them. The Capitan Pashaw and his officers, succeeded in getting into a pinnace; and by cutting away with their scimitars the hands of the swimmers who clung to her, he got a little way from the ship, when the mainmast falling, struck his boat, and crushed him to death with every soul in her.

The Hydriote fireship had struck a Turkish seventy-four, and was fired; but unfortunately she bounded off, and did no harm. The two boats, pulling each twenty oars, rowed rapidly

down the straits, which were illuminated by the bright glare from the burning ships ; at daylight they were off Cape Blanco, and at 10 A. M. fell in with two Greek vessels which were cruising for them, and got safely on board without having lost a man.

The successful accomplishment of this daring act completely established his fame ; congratulations poured in upon him, and every Greek was proud of the name of Kanaris, except Kanaris himself. He is by birth an Ipsariote, and had hitherto been known only by those immediately about him, who loved him for his mildness, and goodness of heart, and respected him for his sterling integrity. No one would ever divine the character of Kanaris from his personal appearance ; he is about 34 years of age, of low stature, slender but well made ; and his mild interesting countenance bespeaks rather feminine goodness of heart than what he really possesses—a mind that knows no fear. He appears insensible to danger ; and his resolutions, which might be easily altered by persuasion, are made stubborn by open opposition, and fresh obstacles are to him only inducements for fresh exertions. He loves his country with the sincere unostentatious love of a patriot, and he calmly and steadily continues to make every exertion for her good, in the conviction that he is doing only his duty. He boasts not the performance of that, of which the neglect would be a crime, and seems to look for no other reward than the proud consciousness of having materially contributed to his country's emancipation.

We have seen, that at the commencement of the revolt, the inhabitants of Athens retired to Salamis, and left the Turks in quiet possession of the Acropolis ; that in a few months they issued from Salamis, and commenced the blockade of the Acropolis. That blockade was continued for some time, and the Turks began to feel the effects of famine ; when the advance of Omer Pashaw, relieved the place, and drove the Greeks again to take refuge in Salamis. Omer, while he remained in Athens, was guilty of the greatest enormities to those of the Greeks who were unfortunate enough to fall into his hands. He ravaged Attica, burnt the villages, and destroyed the crops.

One of his favourite amusements was a Greek hunt, as the Turks called it. They would go out in parties of from fifty to a hundred, mounted on fleet horses, and scour the open country in search of the Greek peasantry, who might from necessity or hardihood have ventured down upon the plains. After capturing some, they would give the poor creatures a certain distance to start ahead, hoping to escape; and then try the speed of their horses in overtaking them, the accuracy of their pistols in firing at them as they ran, or the keenness of their sabres' edge in cutting off their heads.

Very many instances are well authenticated of these parties, after tiring of slaughter, having brought in part of their *game alive*; that is, old men or women who could not escape; of their taking them before Omer Brioni, and deliberately torturing them to death for his amusement and that of his followers. Many a poor Greek, refused the merciful doom of the bullet or knife, was held down on the ground on his face, and had a sharp-pointed stake applied to the lower part of his body, and driven with a mallet through the whole length of it along the spine, till the point came out at the back of the neck. The stake would then be reared erect, one end planted in the ground, and the miserable victim left shrieking with torment, and gasping with thirst, till death should relieve him of the horrid pangs of impalement.* The recital and particulars of these horrid scenes, would be omitted, were it not that they go in this instance to show that they were perpetrated deliberately, and by the order of the Turkish chief; and because they can be incontrovertibly proved. It is not merely the blindly fanatic soldier,

* Impalement is perhaps the most dreadful punishment to which man can be subjected; for the driving of the stake through the body, does not always (as would be supposed) put an instant period to life. If the stake (which is as large as the wrist) is carefully directed along the inside of the spine, it sometimes escapes the vital organs, and the sufferer may live for twenty-four hours or more. The raising him erect, and planting one end of the stake in the ground, seems a refinement of cruelty, practised in some particular cases; for generally, after being spitted, the victim is left upon the ground to writhe and die. Impalement is a legally authorized punishment in Turkey. In Candia, several Greek priests, thus spitted alive, were slowly roasted by the Turks. This is rarely the case however. I have not seen an instance myself, but can vouch for several, being assured of them by more than one European, men of honour; besides the general testimony of the Greeks.

who sees in a Christian only a dog, who is so much to blame to the chiefs, members of their government, who ought to know better; or if they do not know, ought not to be dealt with as equals, or their alliance, or even friendship sought, by Christian and civilized nations.

But Omer soon retired from Athens, leaving it well garrisoned. Hardly had he gone, when the Athenians, issuing again from Salamis, obliged the Turks to evacuate the lower town of Athens, and shut themselves up in the Acropolis; the blockade of which was immediately recommenced.

This had now been continued several months, and the very remarkable fact of no rain having fallen to fill the cisterns of the Acropolis, reduced the Turks to the greatest distress. The Greeks had made an assault, intended to carry the citadel; they had failed in this object, but got possession of the spring just without the walls, which had heretofore supplied the Turks with water. They also had brought a few miserable cannon, and a pair of mortars, with which they cannonaded and bombarded the fortress; but this had but little effect upon the garrison, who were suffering however from thirst. During the siege, proof was given of that affection which Mussulmen have for animals, and which seems more remarkable when contrasted with their cruelties to men. They were seen to lower down their mules, jackasses, dogs, and cats, from the precipitous sides of the Acropolis, and let them fall into the hands of their enemies, rather than kill them, or let them die of thirst in the citadel. Nay, several mules were preserved alive to the very end of the siege by their masters, who had probably some secret supply of water, while many of their fellow-men had perished from thirst.

The Greeks continued to press the siege* in their rude way, with their rude materials, notwithstanding they made so little

* The ever accurate, and often amusing Waddington, relates some of the scenes which took place at this siege, in a manner that gives a better idea of Greek warfare, than the most pompous and elaborate memorials of others. Speaking of an assault, he says: "It was preceded, as in the days of Nicias and others by a short harangue; so short, indeed, and so ungraced with Atticism, that we should be apt to mistake it for the address of some sturdy Enomotarch to his Laconian warriors. The words were exactly these:—
Βρέ Μάνδροκυλιδά· Θα συγόμεν μὰ ἄσπερό πρόσωπῳ ἢ με χεσμένο;

impression. But it was necessary to do something, and the whims of several fanfaronading European officers, who were continually talking about approaches and contravallations, and blinds and gabions, must be complied with : so the siege, as it was called, went on.

But no rain fell in the Acropolis ; the rainy season was passing away ; the surrounding country was deluged with showers ; the olive-groves were blooming in their verdure, which the rain continually brightened ; and the besieged saw the heavens covered with clouds every where, except just over their heads ; they divided and passed by the Acropolis on each side, and showered their contents upon the plains : while the Turks, parched with thirst on the dry top of the Acropolis, called in vain on Allah to send them one single shower. But none came ; the rainy season passed entirely away ; the bright transparent sky of Attica was again without a cloud, without a single speck for the eye to rest upon. Had Allah deserted them ? The Turks thought so ; and after suffering from thirst for many days, during which they every night licked off with

μὲ ἀσῶπο, Καπίτῆν μᾶς, μὲ ἀσῶπο :—and they are very nearly translated thus : ‘ You bull dogs, you ! shall we come out of this affair with a clean face or with a foul one ? ’ ‘ With a clean face, captain, with a clean face ! ’ was the enthusiastic response. It would exceed the imagination of Philhellenism to extract poetry or pathos from this dialogue.”

“ One day the Athenians having received some reinforcements from the island of Zea, were anxious to make a demonstration of their force for the utter intimidation of the enemy ; and selecting the most natural method to effect this purpose, they decided on marching in long Panathenaic procession round the walls of the city. To make the spectacle more imposing, they called in the husbandmen from the vineyards ; and for the aggrandisement of their cavalry, they pressed every quadruped in Attica, which was capable of supporting the weight of a man. The procession at length set out, and moved on for some time in great festivity and triumph ; and the Turks, collected on the fortress walls, observed the incomprehensible scene in anxiety, not unmixed with terror. At last, by the malice of fortune, the pomp took such a direction as to present itself directly before the mouth of one of the guns of the Acropolis, and the Turk, contrary to his usual principle of warfare, chose that precise moment to discharge the gun. The ball executed its errand, and carried off the head of a Hydriote. Thunderstruck by so unexpected and unprecedented an occurrence, the whole procession, man and beast, dispersed at the instant ; and while some took refuge in the olive-groves, others fled for security to the rocks and caves of Hymettus.”

“ If the Turks had taken any advantage of this panic, they might have recovered temporary possession of Athens.”

their tongues the moisture that gathered on the columns and marbles of the Parthenon and other buildings, they at last capitulated to the Greeks on the 21st.

The garrison, eleven hundred in number, gave up their arms, and stipulated only for their lives, and a small quantity of baggage for each person, with which they were to be transported to Asia Minor. But even these hard terms were not observed, for the very next day some of the Turks were put to death. This, however, was but what in the East would be considered fair retaliation for a previous outrage of the Turks. When the insurrection first broke out in the north, and long before it reached Attica, the Turks had taken ten Athenians, heads of families, by force, and kept them in the Acropolis as hostages. Soon after, when the Athenians rose, they took about fifty Turks prisoners, and in order to insure them their lives, they delivered them to the Austrian Consul for safe keeping. In a day or two after, the Turks being besieged in the Acropolis, amused themselves with killing their Greek hostages, and hanging their bodies over the wall. The friends of these murdered men swore vengeance. And the day after the capitulation, they in some way obtained possession of the persons of ten Turks, took them to the very spot where their own friends had been butchered, and there put them to death, in atonement for the blood of the ten hostages.

We would that no fouler blot than this, disfigured the page of modern Athenian story; but a more disgraceful scene followed. The prisoners, amounting to one thousand, (for several had died,) had been kept for nearly five weeks in some of the large buildings of the town, waiting the arrival of the European vessels that were to take them to Asia Minor. They were treated well, regularly supplied with provisions, and it was hoped the speedy arrival of the vessels, (for which the foreign consuls were exerting themselves,) would put them beyond the reach of any popular tumult.

But they were in a critical situation; a great number of mercenary, unruly soldiers, had assembled in Athens; many of the refugees from Scio, who had fled from their burning houses, over the mutilated bodies of their relations, had arrived, and by their horrid tale of the destruction of their island, had put

the public in a ferment. Suddenly there came news that a large army of Turks were marching rapidly upon Athens; the news spread in the place, and the soldiers, as by a common impulse, rushed to the place where the Turks were confined, and commenced killing them; and nearly four hundred of them were butchered before a stay was put to the popular fury. Several women were carried off by the soldiers, and kept in slavery. The rest were put under the protection of the foreign consuls, and soon after embarked on board French and Austrian vessels of war, and sent to Smyrna. We in vain seek for a palliation sufficient to diminish the horror felt at such a cowardly massacre: such an imitation of Turkish cruelty; unless we say, in the beautiful language of Waddington, "If, indeed, the signal for murder was given by the hand of a Sciote, fresh from the scene of his country's ruin, his eyes yet moist with the tears of sorrow and indignation, and the last shrieks of his enslaved family still ringing in his ears;—we might almost be tempted to suspend in his favour, the severity of our condemnation, and to pardon the savage retaliation to which he had been driven by his miseries."

CHAPTER IV.

Situation of Napoli di Romania—Blockaded by the Greeks—Turks capitulate—Advance of the army of Drami Ali Pashaw—He takes Corinth from the Greeks—Advances to Argos, and relieves Napoli—Is harassed on the plain by the Greeks—Retreats—Is attacked in the passes—Slaughter of the Turk—Character of Niketas, the Turcophagus.

NAPOLI DI ROMANIA is situated at the head of the Argolic Gulf, on a short tongue of land which projects into the sea. On the west side the land rises in a precipitous craggy wall from the sea, to a considerable height: on the eastern side it is lower, and terminates in the marsh, which communicates with the plain of Argos. The upper and western part of this land, is surrounded with a wall, and forms a fortress, called

Hich Kaly ; below this is the part of the town which was occupied by the Turks, and which also is included within a wall ; while the part between this wall, and the shore, where is the landing place, dock and wharf, was inhabited before the insurrection, by the Greeks, who were not permitted to enter the walls after sunset. A little island called Bourgee, is situated about a quarter of a mile from the town, and being surrounded with an embattled wall, and surmounted by a tower, has a fine picturesque effect. Going out of the land-gate, the rocky hill called Palamede, rises very abruptly to the height of a thousand feet ; and is crowned with extensive fortifications, built in the best manner, by the best engineers of Venice. This fortification is very extensive, and if in good hands, and in good order, would deserve its appellation of the Gibraltar of the Archipelago. Its batteries command the approach to the town on one side ; and on the other, the castle Bourgee, with the battery Πεντε Αδελφοι, or Five Brothers, command the approach by water ; so that Napoli never could be taken by Greek or Turk, except by starving the garrison. It is built on the site of ancient Ναύκλιον, and the fortifications in some places are reared on the remains of the ancient walls, which seem by their structure to date their origin almost as far back as the Cyclopean age. The possession of this fortress had of course been considered of very great consequence by both parties ; the Greeks had blockaded it by land and water, since November ; and the garrison now began to feel the consequent inconveniences. As the time of its probable fall drew nigh, the bands without, began to augment in number by the influx of the peasantry and the wild soldiery, who were attracted by the hope of plunder. Within the place, independent of the inhabitants of the town, were about eight hundred soldiers, who had possession of the castle. The Pashaw was within ; also several Turkish officers of high distinction. No other precautions were taken for the defence of the place than barely keeping a look out ; for the nature of the fortifications enabled them to scoff at any attempt on the part of the Greeks, at bombardment or cannonade.

Urged by the foreigners however, and some of their own leaders, the Greeks did make one attempt at an assault, on

the night of the 15th December past ; but it failed as might have been expected, from the impossibility of making a combined and simultaneous attack from different points. Taking up their quarters therefore in the ruined villages about the outskirts of the town, or forming little circular breastworks with stones, or digging holes in the ground, the Greeks sat down patiently to await the effects of famine ; determined that nothing should enter the town from the land-side ; and confident that their sturdy heroine, Bobolina, who was blockading the Gulf with two brigs, would not let the smallest bark pass up.

The sufferings of the Turks now began to be severe ; they looked in vain for the fleet which was to be sent from Constantinople to their relief ; and it became every day more and more probable, that their last biscuit would be exhausted before succour would arrive. Informed of this state of things, government removed from Corinth to Argos, not only with the idea that the blockade could be more rigorously kept up under its inspection ; but the better to counteract the designs of Colocotroni, who had been for some time very negligent of all duty, and was now evidently making an attempt to get the spoils of Napoli for himself. Government not feeling itself strong enough openly to oppose the selfish designs of Colocotroni, stooped to intrigue ; and endeavoured, secretly, to raise up opponents to him in the Primates of the Morea. This unmanly conduct resulted only in giving a colouring of pretext to the proceedings of Colocotroni, who, among other most unjustifiable acts, ordered his son Yanni, who with three hundred soldiers had accompanied Mavrocordato, to return to him immediately. The son accordingly left Mavrocordato without other ceremony than signifying that he had received such order from his father, who to him and his band, was more than all law or government. This accounts for the sudden desertion of Yanni before the battle of Peta, which has been noticed.

The garrison of Napoli now began to think seriously of surrendering, and a capitulation was signed, by which it was agreed that the town and its fortifications were to be surrendered into the hands of the provisional government of Greece ; that immediate possession should be taken of the little castle in the harbour ; and that the government should supply the garrison with

rations for forty days ; at the end of which time complete possession should be taken of the town, and all the garrison transported to Asia Minor.

This stipulation of forty days' delay was not at all insisted upon by the Turks, who were reduced to the last extremity, but was allowed by the government, which has been much blamed for the measure, for as will be seen, it protracted the fall of the place for months. But on examination it will be found that the measure, if not a good one politically, or not according to the laws of *strategie*, was the only one which could secure to government the riches of the place, and prevent the ill treatment of the prisoners. The vice president, Kanacaris, was a virtuous and patriotic, though not a strong minded man ; he shuddered at the thought of a repetition of the scenes which had disgraced the arms of Greece, at the fall of Navarino and Athens, and was determined to prevent it. The capitulation was formally signed, hostages were delivered on both sides, and scribes were sent into the town by the government, to take an inventory of all the property.

But while thus occupied, there came a rumour, that the vast Turkish army, which had for a long time been collecting together in the plains of Thessaly, had passed Thermiopylæ without opposition, and was rapidly advancing toward the Morea. Kurchid Pashaw having resigned the prosecution of the war in Western Greece to Omer, turned his whole attention to the raising of a large army at Larissy.

He succeeded in collecting nearly thirty thousand men,* and having ordered the Pashaw, Mehemet of Drama, commonly called Drami Ali Pashaw, to take command of these as an advance army, while he himself should collect others as a reserve, he gave the signal for moving ; and the cavalry dashing forward, left the rest of the army far behind. They "crossed the ridges of Othrys and Eta, without opposition : the former was

* "It is so difficult to arrive at numerical accuracy in Turkey, that we seldom venture to state the numbers on either side in this war. The present estimate rests on the authority of a physician in the service of Kurchid, who was present when the Pashaw stationed himself with the other Turkish leaders, for three days, on the side of the bridge of the Spercheus, near Thermopylæ, while the army defiled over the bridge. Col. Leake's "Outline," p. 26.

hardly defensible, as the important points of Pharsalus, Thaumaci, and Lamia, were in the hands of the Turks; but it was expected that Thermopylæ, and the passes of Mount Callidromus and Cnemis, which were then occupied by Ulysses, son of Andrisco, would have presented a vigorous resistance." But it was not so; to the astonishment of every one, (except the government, perhaps, who were doubtful of him,) Ulysses left open the "gates of Greece;" and the Turkish hordes rushing through them, scattered themselves over Phocis and Bœotia, plundering and burning; enslaving, torturing, and murdering. No resistance was made—none could be made; the peaceful villages, scattered over the country, were in apparent security; and the peasantry would hardly get the terrible news of an invasion, ere the tramp of horses, and the wild hurra of the horsemen would be heard, as they came rushing into the village, and cut down all they met. They then galloped up and down the streets waving their bloody scimitars and firing their pistols, till they were certain nothing was left to oppose and endanger themselves; when bursting into the rooms, where the half-distracted females had shut themselves up, they would butcher one or two, the more to intimidate the rest, and then force them to tell where their husbands, brothers, or sons, had hid themselves. These were dragged forth, hacked to pieces, and their heads severed from their bodies. "Give us your money," cried the brutal Turks; and when all was done, when those poor females had suffered indignities worse than death, they were stabbed, their noses and ears cut off, and they left to writhe on the headless bodies of their relatives. None were spared, except, perhaps, the most beautiful, who were loaded with the spoils, and often with a string of ears and noses, and driven off like beasts of burden. But the scene closed not here; some fugitives might still be concealed, or the wounded might live; the fire would find what the sword had missed; then the torch was applied, and as the flames arose, these human figures mounted their horses, and galloped away with wild yells, to seek in other villages, new scenes of triumph.*

* I have known women, who have escaped after such scenes, (for some will always escape,) from whose minds the lapse of years had not been able to efface the impression. If the subject was only slightly alluded to, they

Having collected his troops, which had scattered over the country to destroy the villages, Drami Ali leaving Athens, (which had lately been taken by the Greeks,) on the left hand, bent his way for the strong passes of Megara, which command the entrance to the isthmus of Corinth. These he expected to find occupied, but alas! the dissensions and imbecility of the Government (for both operated) had left them open; and not that alone, but left the fortress of Corinth in the hands of a few soldiers, commanded by a Hydriote priest, utterly unqualified for it.* The fortress probably, was not well supplied with provisions; still there were enough for some months; and such is its strength, that it would have been impossible for the Turks to take it, had it been well garrisoned; but there were very few soldiers in it, and these imitated the example of the priest their captain, and prepared to fly. When they saw the long lines of Turkish troops filing out of the passes, they naturally concluded that the Pashaw had successively conquered all the different bands of Greeks, which *should* have been stationed in the defiles above; and hopeless of making any successful resistance to such an overwhelming force, they fled, after putting to death their prisoner, Kiamil Bey, the former commander of the fortress.

Hopeless of reducing the proud fortress, which towers above the isthmus, the Turks were marching by, contented with having sent a reconnoitering party to observe it. This party, on approaching close to the walls, observed some one descending the hill, waving a white cloth. It was a Turkish woman

would clasp their hands convulsively over their eyes, as if to shut out the memory of some horrid dream; and they never could relate any part of it without sobs and tears. I shall never forget the scene presented by some women who had escaped from Scio, on hearing a report that a body of Turks were marching on the place where we were; their shrieks—tearing their hair—and beating their bosoms—with the frantic horror of their countenances, gave a forcible idea of what terrible scenes they must have witnessed; since the bare fear of their repetition occasioned such emotion.

* This priest (whose name was Achilles) was no traitor, though he is generally accused of being. Such was his remorse, at finding he had quitted his post unnecessarily, that he committed suicide; a crime which is most rare in Greece; in fact, this is the only instance that I recollect of, except those of persons who were in danger of being taken by the Turks, and anticipated their doom.

whom the Greeks had left, and she informed her countrymen, that the fortress was deserted. Suspecting some snare, the soldiers carried her before the Pashaw, and she persisting in the same story, a party was sent to examine; they found it as she said, and in a few minutes the banner of the crescent was floating over the Acro-Corinthus.

This was a most unexpected stroke of good fortune; and the Pashaw remained several days here, both to collect provisions for the fortress, and put it in a state for defence; and to station a corps of men in the Megarean passes, to secure his communication with the north.

His army being collected together, and amounting to nearly thirty thousand men, Drami Ali then pushed forward to relieve Napoli; and finding no opposition in the defiles below Corinth, he entered safely the plains of Argos.

The situation of things in the Morea was most critical; government, it is true, was apparently about to get possession of Napoli di Romania; but they were on ill terms with Ipselanti; and Colocotroni, in open violation of his orders and duty, had quitted the blockade of Patrass, and gone to Tripolitza, leaving the whole country open. But the news of the advance of the army of Drami Ali to Corinth, only eight hours' march from Napoli, acted like an electric shock; the direction of military affairs was put into the hands of Ipselanti, Colocotroni, and Mavromichalis; and the government embarked on board the Hydriote vessels, which lay at anchor in the gulf.

The Turkish garrison at Napoli refused to fulfil the terms of the capitulation on hearing of the approach of Drami Ali; and the Greek scribes, who were in the town taking an account of the property, hastily gathered up their pens and papers, and prepared to leave the place, which they were allowed to do, as the Turkish hostages were also given up.

All was now zeal and activity on the part of the Greeks, to repel the invaders; and whatever might have been the motives of Colocotroni's late criminal conduct, he now strained every nerve to save the Morea. He spread the alarm through the country, and summoned the peasantry to arms. Ipselanti got together a small body of followers, and Mavromichalis went off to bring up his Maniotes. The crops on the plains of Argos

were destroyed ; and every thing that could be of use to the enemy was burnt or carried off.

Still not more than thirty-five hundred men could be got together, when the head columns of Drami Ali's army were seen issuing from the lower passes, and spreading themselves over the plains of Argos. Ipselanti, with a degree of disinterested courage, which must be considered more honourable to his heart than to his head, immediately threw himself, with three hundred followers, into the ruined Venetian fortress which is built on the remnant of the ancient Acropolis of Argos.

The next day the central column, under the Pashaw himself, *debouched* upon the plain ; and a body of several thousand men entered the village of Argos ; while three thousand horse galloped over to Napoli, where they were received with open arms by the delighted inhabitants, who, by the roar of cannon from the Palamede, and from the batteries, announced their delivery to the country around.

The Pashaw, finding that the citadel of Argos was occupied, sent up messengers, demanding its surrender, on pain of instant assault from his whole army. Ipselanti received them with all proper precaution, for concealing the miserable state of the fortress ; and though his men had only three days rations, he contrived that the Turks might see them all, coolly assured them he had an excellent stock for four months, and with economy, could make it hold out six ; and told them his nine hundred men were resolved to resist to the last extremity, and laughed at the idea of being assaulted.

The next day an attack was made by the Turks, and repulsed. It was renewed on the second and third, with no better success ; when it was concluded to blockade the place. But Ipselanti had no more provisions ; his water was entirely exhausted ; and he descended in the night, and succeeded in breaking his way through the enemy's lines, and joining Colocotroni, who occupied the position of Corna, and the Racinus.

The prospects of the Greeks now began to brighten ; the peasantry flocked in from all parts, and joined the bands under Colocotroni, who, making the Mills his head-quarters, scattered his men all over the southern end of the plain of

Argos. There certainly was displayed much patriotism in this influx of the armed peasantry, who soon swelled Colocotroni's numbers to six thousand.

The Turks were soon in trouble ; for, taking advantage of the broken marshy ground, and sheltering themselves from the cavalry by the rivulets, the Greeks, by creeping among the vines, and through the rank herbage of the marsh, approached very near their positions, and annoyed them exceedingly.

The Pashaw, therefore, ordered serious attempts to be made to dislodge them : but the Turks, unable to use their cavalry, could not make any impression ; the Greeks repulsed them with loss, and following up their success, with a noble enthusiasm, drove them to the ruins of the village of Argos ; attacked them there, and forced them to abandon it ; thus getting possession of an important position.

Greece now began to breathe again ; it was soon found that this vast invading army was only a bugbear ; the monster was huge and strong, but unable to direct his strength. Thirty thousand Turks had come to the relief of Napoli ; they had penetrated to the plain of Argos, and entered the fortress ; but had not brought supplies enough for their own consumption, much less for the garrison. The Pashaw lay encamped upon the plain, apparently ignorant of his own plans, or rather without any. To push on to Tripolitza, would have been madness ; to remain in his position was imprudent, for his provisions were fast decreasing. He had expected to reap the rich crop of the vast plain of Argos ; but the Greeks had left him only its ashes. There he lay then, with his vast army around him, stupidly stretching his eyes down the gulf of Napoli, wondering that the fleet from Constantinople could by any possible event be delayed from coming, since it had pleased the Grand Seignior positively to order it to come.

His army presented that scene which Turkish armies then always presented ; a confused assemblage of men, without order or discipline ; and whose knowledge of war, as a science, but little exceeded that of American Indians. They were assorted, it is true, into little bands of about one hundred ; each of which had its standard, or *bairac*, which they planted

in a particular spot, and around which they collected in the hour of danger, or in a moment of attack. They generally contrive to stop in some place where they can have their rear defended, and build in front a breastwork of stone and dirt, about two feet high; behind which they can lie down and fire. There is no keeping them in ranks, or knowing even their numbers; they go where they choose, and when they choose; and it was venturing about in small parties, on the extremity of the plain, that so many of them were cut off by the Greeks who laid in wait for them.

The army of the Pashaw was composed of five parts, raised and commanded by five different Pashaws under him. But they were divided, and almost independent of one another. One of them, more prudent than the rest, had brought a larger stock of provisions, and finding that he should be obliged to give it up, without much emolument, he chose to set fire to his stores. The soldiers, being on scant allowance, ate the grapes, melons, and other unripe fruit, with which the plain abounded; and the dysentery began to rage among them. Then they began to murmur, and loudly demand, "where are the rich cities, the beauty and plunder which was promised us?" They had apparently arrived at the destined object of their march, and instead of being in fine quarters, and living on the spoils of the Giaours, they found these Giaours stubbornly resisting them; nay, closing the passes around them.

At length Drami Ali seemed to awake from his lethargy; the desperate situation of his army, daily harassed by the Greeks, without his being able to retort, forced him to give the order for retreat towards Coriath. His army was soon in motion, and the vast bodies of men, with the camels, the horses, and all the baggage, crossing the plain, told the Greeks that their formidable enemy was retreating. But this did not satisfy them; the brave Niketas flew with a small band to occupy the narrow defiles which led out of the plain; while Colocotronaj advancing upon their flank, and the rest of the soldiers following up their rear, threw them into great confusion. Considerable numbers were killed; but the head columns reached the entrance to the defiles, and rested for the night, while the main body encamped upon the plain. "There is no

outlet from the plain of Argos, in the direction of Corinth, but through the passes of Barbati and Dervenaki, which lead from either side of the ancient Mycenæ, into the valley of Cléonæ, and thence through another pass into the maritime plain, which includes Sicyon, Corinth, and the Isthmus."

At daylight the cavalry moved forward, and entered the dangerous pass, which is very narrow, and from each side of which the mountains rise very precipitately. Both of these sides were occupied by the Greeks, who concealed themselves among the rocks. The Turks entered in crowds, and the pass was filled; still not a shot was fired; not an enemy showed himself; the heads of their columns began to issue from the pass upon the plain—" *Bismillah!* now the peril is past," cried they: when suddenly a signal was heard, and the Greeks, starting from their hiding places in the rocks on each side, plunged down a terrible fire on the mass of heads in the deep valley below them; then bounding from rock to rock, they descended nearer, keeping up a continual shower of balls, every one of which took effect. The horror and confusion of the Turks may be easily imagined. No defence was attempted; the mass behind pushed on those before, who were mown down by hundreds; while the Greeks, animated by success, and seeing the confusion of their enemies, rushed down with their yataghans, and charged the thickest mass of them; and had not the attention of the Mainotes been more attracted by the baggage horses, than the desire of further slaughter, none of the Turks would have escaped.

At the same time the rear of the Turks was attacked by the main body of the Greeks, under Colocotroni and Ipselanti, and suffered most severely. Several thousand strewed the plain,* and a body of 2000 cavalry, which formed the rear guard, despairing of forcing the passes, turned their horses, and galloped towards Napoli. In the middle of the plain, they met three hundred Greeks on foot, and cut two thirds of them to pieces; and bore their heads to Napoli, as some solace for their own misfortunes. But the main body of the Turks had yet more to suffer. The upper part of the defiles next the

* The number is generally stated at 5000, but is probably exaggerated.

plain of Corinth, is the narrowest and most difficult pass. Here the rocks rise very steeply on both sides, and approach very near one another; and here were stationed 600 Greeks under Niketas, who waited with the stern resolution of taking vengeance for the blood of the thousands of innocent unresisting victims, who perished in the track of the invaders. The numerous bodies of foot and horse which had escaped from the slaughter below, came rushing towards the narrow glen, without order or precaution. They saw the danger of the defile; knew the Greeks must be there: still they rushed towards it, as if driven on by irresistible destiny.

It is probable that Niketas, when he saw the vast numbers of the Turks, all well armed and nobly furnished, hesitated to drive them to despair; be it as it may, he allowed the pass to be filled, and the stream to roll on for some time. The head horsemen, and among them the guard of the Pashaw, had already passed, and were safe upon the plain; the crowd was rapidly rushing through, when Niketas gave the dreadful signal, and in an instant a shower of bullets strewed the valley with dying men and floundering horses and camels. The mass of bodies for a moment checked the stream, and the Turks recoiled; but the numbers behind pushed madly forward, and they rushed on again to where the murderous fire of the Greeks, and the sword of Niketas, who with a few of his bravest stood forward, had piled up the corpses of their comrades. The horsemen plunged their spurs into their horses' sides, and covering their eyes with their hands, dashed through, or were cut down. The foot soldiers threw aside their arms and accoutrements, and endeavoured, by madly rushing on, to pass the terrible defile. Many yielded and cried for quarter; but there was no quarter for those who had come to burn, and devastate, and murder;* and the Greeks went on slaying, not till tired of slaughter, but till the rout of the Turks became so

* "Some of the Turks effected their retreat towards Corinth, but the greater part fell victims to their own indiscipline, and the improvidence and rashness of their leader in the passes of Tretus and Mount Eubœa; on either side the ruins of Mycens, where a Grecian imagination might picture the ghosts of the Atridae, witnessing from their still existing sepulchres, a slaughter of the barbarian hosts, from which perhaps Greece may date her resurrection from slavery."—Col. Leake's "Outline."

complete, that there was no possibility of their recovering themselves; and then the Greeks turned to the more agreeable task of gathering the spoil; and thus many stragglers escaped.

The Turkish officers and soldiers were most of them splendidly equipped, and loaded with the spoils they had collected in their destructive march through Northern Greece. Now they thought of nothing but flight; and to promote it, arms, equipments, even their full pantaloons, were cast aside; and the ground was strewed with rich dresses, splendid scimitars, and pistols, and costly arms of all kinds. These the Greeks failed not to collect; and with the baggage of the camels, mules, and asses, and other beasts, gained an immense booty. The tents, artillery, and camp equipage, also fell into their hands. Several thousand Turks were left dead in the pass, which is now whitened with bones of men and beasts.

Niketas, who for his disinterestedness and uprightness of conduct, had often been styled the Aristides of modern Greece, received for his valour during this affair, the title of *Turcophagos**—eater, or destroyer of Turks; and has ever since retained it. A truer patriot, a braver soldier, a more generous man, than Niketas is seldom to be found; but he wants that strength of mind, and judgment, which might make him more highly valuable to his country. He is nephew to Colocotroni, and completely under his direction; so much so, that he can make him believe he is acting for his country's good, when in violation of duty. Niketas is always to be found near the enemy, and is dreaded by them. He has had numerous opportunities of enriching himself, but would never profit by them.

* *Τυρκοφάγος* and *φάγος*. After the battle, the immediate followers of Niketas were dividing their immense spoil, when one suddenly cried, "*πού είναι ὁ Σιγαύρος μας;*" "Where is our general?" And ashamed, that he, whose voice had not ceased to cheer them in the thickest of the fight, should so soon be forgotten, they went to seek him and offer him his share: but he could only be prevailed on to take a Damascus scimitar. Nor could he, on his part, persuade his men to leave the booty for the government, and the use of the country.

CHAPTER V.

Ulysses—Drami Ali Pashaw attempts to regain the Argolis—is defeated—Conduct of Yussuf Pashaw—Londos forces three thousand Turks to surrender—Close blockade of Napoli continued—Capitan Pashaw attempts to relieve it—is repulsed—Kanaris burns the ship of the Capitan Pashaw at Tenedos—Napoli di Romania surrendered to the Greeks—Suliotcs forced to abandon Suli—Resistance of Marco Botzaris—Turks besiege Missilonghi—Assault it on Christmas eve—Missilonghi reinforced—Turks retreat.

THE conduct of Ulysses had hitherto been wavering and suspicious, to say the least; but the defeat of Drami Ali put an end to his doubts and hesitations, and he immediately occupied the passes below Thermopylæ, and effectually opposed the attempts of Chourchid, the commander in chief of the Turkish army, to come to the relief of Drami Ali. The latter, after his signal defeat at Mycenæ, collected as many of his men who had escaped as he could, and found they amounted to about eight thousand; and having received fresh orders from Chourchid, and being aware of the perilous situation of Napoli, made a move, as if to relieve it; but being vigorously opposed by the Greeks in front, he desisted. The defiles in his rear were partly occupied by Niketas also; and it was only with the loss of one thousand men that he regained his position near Corinth.

Here his situation became every day more and more critical. Ulysses cut off his supplies from the north; and the occupation of the passes below, prevented his having any communication with Napoli. He was principally dependent upon Yussuf Pashaw, commander of Patrass; who sent him provisions by way of the Corinthian gulf. But Yussuf, true to the principle which actuates every Turkish governor, to make as much money as possible, in the day of his power; saw in the situation of his countryman, only an opportunity of speculating on his misfortunes. He used every means in his power to in-

crease the embarrassments of Drami Ali, and for all provisions that he sent him, he obtained an enormous price.

Three thousand Turks, principally horsemen, had left Drami Ali and attempted to force their way to Patrassá by land, but were met and stopped by Londos, in a deep valley. With their usual stupidity, the Turks waited a day or two, expecting the small body under Londos would retire; but instead of that, the Greek chief immediately spread the notice about the country—collected the peasantry, and so completely fortified all the outlets from the valley, that it was impossible for the Turks to get out, without sacrificing two thirds of their number. In this situation, after enduring the torments of hunger, as long as human nature could endure it, they consented to lay down their arms, and give up their baggage, and every thing but life. This alone was promised them, and their promise was fulfilled. They were all allowed to retire unmolested to the north.

Thus this expedition, destined for the relief of Napoli di Romania, the recapture of Tripolitza, and the subjection of the Morea, ended in the complete discomfiture of the Turks. Napoli was more closely invested; and though dissensions began again to show themselves between Colocotroni, who had grown in reputation by the late military events, and the government; still, the capture of Napoli was of such importance to the general good, that all parties united in seeking to procure it. The Greek peasantry, dignified with the name of soldiers, set themselves in little independent parties about the foot of the mountains; in such situations as to effectually blockade the place. Wherever it might seem to one of these parties on its arrival, that an important post was unoccupied, there it would establish itself, build up a little stone-wall in a circular form, and encamp within it; for they had no tents, and were quite unincumbered with baggage: the capote of a Greek soldier, being his cloak by day, and his bed by night; and his *fastinellar* (a garment made of white cotton, in form of a Scotch kilt) is his handkerchief, table cloth, and towel. These rude imitators of regular soldiers, confined their exertions to preventing the Turks from making any foraging ex-

pedition on the plain of Argos, which would enable them to support their cavalry; and thus maintain their superiority.

The plain of Argos was daily the theatre of some petty conflict: Niketas, a brother of the Turcophagos, mounted upon a fleet Arabian, was one day hovering round a few Turkish horsemen, and contrived to separate one of them from his party, and drove him backwards and forwards, in front of the Greek posts, much to their amusement. He would keep so near the Turk with his drawn sword, as to prevent him turning round to defend himself, and would prick his horse, as if in sport, and the more to embarrass him. At last, the Turk in mere despair, thrust his hand behind him, and fired his pistol entirely at random; but the ball passed through Niketas's head, and killed him on the spot. Such scenes, like those before Ilium, continually occurred to break the monotony of the long blockade. But the inhabitants of Napoli began to feel the approaches of famine, as soon as the few supplies left them by Drami Ali, were exhausted; and their only hope was that the Turkish fleet might come to their relief.

But those delays and obstacles, which must always make their fleet an inactive one, while directed by officers entirely ignorant of maritime science, was in this instance increased by the terror and confusion following the attack on it by Kanaris. It did at last sail and arrived safely at Patras, where a few troops were disembarked, and the new* Capitan Pashaw, or Admiral was taken on board. The fleet then sailed for Napoli and were discovered by the Greek fleet on the 20th approaching Spetzia. That day, and the next, was almost calm; but the Hydriote and Spetziote vessels put to sea, and accompanied by several fireships, ranged themselves across the mouth of the Gulf of Napoli. When the wind sprung up, they bore down towards the huge Turkish vessels, which, while they were yet four miles off, and four times as far as their shot would reach, began a most terrible cannonade from *both* broadsides, towards and from the Greeks, in order to make a greater noise

* The office of Capitan Pashaw is often given to some Chief who has rendered important services on land, and can pay for it. Sometimes it is a man from the interior, who has never seen the inside of a ship.

and more smoke, to drown their own fears while they increased those of the enemy. The light Greek brigs, though they could not approach very near the Turkish frigates, some of whose large shot might by chance hit and destroy them, still hovered about them, ready to take advantage of any accident; and greatly embarrassing their huge unwieldy vessels by rapid and skilful movements around them. It was almost impossible to attach fire-vessels to the Turkish ships while under sail; still the Greeks attempted it, and burnt two or three brulots without success; but not without some effect, since it filled the Turkish sailors with dread.* Thus four hours passed without any other result, on either side, than the burning an immense quantity of powder, and the expending many thousand shot: the Turks, however, were frightened by the novel attempt to burn them while under full sail; and the Greeks were confirmed in the belief that, by mere show of opposition, they could defeat the principal design of the enemy—that of throwing provisions into Napoli.

* At this moment, when the inhabitants of Hydra and Spetzia, men, women, and children, were gazing with attentive anxiety upon the fight, the commander of the *L'Estafette* chose to enforce a demand which he had previously made upon the local government of Hydra, for the payment of 35,000 piastres, by firing upon the Greek vessels, and cannonading the town of Hydra. The cause of such ungenerous conduct at such a moment was this:—a merchant brig, commanded by a Ragusian, but under French colours, sailed from Constantinople, and steered for Monembasia, a Greek fortress, with a cargo of grain for sale. The Captain of the vessel secretly delivered letters from the high officers of the Porte, to the Greek governor of Monembasia, (a brother of Mavromichalis) offering him immense rewards, if he would betray the fortress into his hands, and promising to make him Bey of Maisa. So much is known: whether or not the vessel was sent there with the intention of supplying the Turkish army, which was expected soon to march towards Monembasia, and which was pretended by the Greeks, does not appear. But the governor seized her, and confiscated her cargo. Soon after she was recovered by a French vessel of war, and 35,000 piastres demanded of the Greek Government for damages: this the Government would not, or could not pay; and the French Commandant demanded the sum of the local authorities at Hydra. Followed by three vessels of war, he appeared off Hydra; gave them a few hours notice to collect the money; and the time having expired without its arrival, he opened his batteries upon the town, at a moment, when every man, woman, and child was in a state of intense anxiety about the contest between their own and the Turkish vessels; the loss of which might bring upon Hydra a fate similar to that of Scio.

The next morning, the Turkish admiral appeared bent upon doing what common sense and common courage required ; to sail deliberately up the gulf to Napoli, regardless of what the pigmy Greek vessels could do to stop him : but when he appeared at the mouth of the gulf and found them drawn up on one side with their fireships, his heart failed him, and he contented himself with sending up two Austrian transports, laden with corn for the suffering garrison. One of these the Greeks took before his eyes, and he then gave the signal of retreat, sailed coward-like away, leaving Napoli to its fate, and was followed by the Greek squadron. The other Austrian vessel which he had sent up, was pursued by a Hydriote brig, and captured in plain sight of the despairing garrison of Napoli, who, from the height of joy and exultation at their expected relief, were reduced to the extremity of despair.

On board one of the vessels, a letter was found from the admiral to the commander at Napoli, informing him, that in the affair of the preceding day, the *irresistible vessels of the Sublime Sultan* had destroyed one third of the fleet of the infidels ; that his large ships not being able to approach Napoli on account of the *shallowness of the water*, he had sent him two cargoes of corn, enough, he hoped, to suffice till his return.

The fleet then sailed for Crete, and from thence to Tenedos where it lay for some time at anchor.

The Greek fleet returned to Hydra, where it lay entirely inactive, and nothing was done to molest the enemy, until the active Kanaris repeatedly urged the Government to give him the means to attack the Turkish fleet with brulot. Not much notice was taken of his proposition, until he offered to buy at his own expense one fireship ; the Government then provided him with another, and two smaller vessels to take him off after the fireships should be burned. He sailed for Tenedos, where the Turkish fleet was laying, and arrived off Mitylene on the 21st ; having the wind from the S. he parted from his small craft, directing them to rendezvous to the N. of Tenedos, if they should see a light. Night coming on, he steered directly for Tenedos, and at midnight passed three guardships without being seen ; he soon saw, however, that they had tacked, and were coming after him ; still he hesitated not, but pressed all

sail for the channel, where he discovered the fleet at anchor, consisting of 1 line-of-battle ship, 16 frigates, 13 corvettes, and 34 brigs.

Bearing directly down for three of the largest ships, Kanaris passed the one to the windward near enough to hear the men talking on board ; but leaving her for his companion, who was astern, he made for the next, which proved to be that of the Capitan Pashaw. As he approached, two cannons were fired, and the shot passed through his mainsail. Still he bore on, and could see the poop crowded with men, who were confusedly crying out, "pirates—*brulotta*—fire upon her." In a few minutes his bowsprit crashed against her side, and the two vessels came together with a shock that threw them from their feet ;* instantly the Greeks lowered their boat from the stern ; every man leaped into her, and Kanaris, standing up with a torch in his hand, touched the train, followed his men, and they rowed rapidly away.

Quick as light the train communicated with the combustibles below ; the hatches were blown off, and the flames running up the rigging, spread among the spars and sails, till both vessels were involved in one broad blaze. The Capitan Pashaw had fled in his boat on the first alarm ; but he alone escaped ; for no exertions were made to put out the flames, and the stupidified Turks were all burned, or leaped overboard and were

* Every person can conceive the peril in which Kanaris was placed, and admire that coolness which made him pass the smaller ships of the enemy so very close, and yet keep on his course, to select the larger one of the Capitan Pashaw. But naval men will yet farther conceive the difficulty and danger of the operation, and give to Kanaris credit, not for courage alone, but for a display of nautical skill and sound judgment. He had lashed every thing aloft, to prevent his sails being brought down by the shot ; and when within pistol-shot, he found that the enemy's ship was not lying head to wind ;—the natural supposition would have been, that her cables were cut, and that she was adrift ; but Kanaris thought she was tide rode, and instantly changing his plan, ran her aboard as much abaft the forechains as he could ; for if he had pursued the original plan of striking her under the bows, the fire would have been too far forward ; the wind would not have driven the flames fore and aft the ship, but athwart her, and would have been more easily extinguished. He ran his bowsprit therefore into the part abaft the forechain, on the larboard side, and his fireship, swinging round, lay broadside and broadside in contact with the seventy-four, to the windward, and in a position from which there was no possibility of escaping the mass of flames which were blown athwart the ship, almost from stem to stern.

drowned. Kanaris' companion was not so successful ; he had fired his vessel, but probably from want of that great presence of mind, so necessary in such a situation, had not done it at the precise moment, and missed the enemy. The two boats, however, pulled away ; and such was the confusion in the Turkish fleet, cutting of cables, and getting out of the way, that no one thought of pursuing them, and they got off clear, and were picked up by their vessels which were waiting for them. Confounded by this daring attack, the Turkish fleet put to sea in confusion, and after suffering considerably from tempestuous weather, returned to the Dardanelles, and up to Constantinople ; and thus closed the naval campaign, from which the Turks had hoped for so great results.

The Turkish garrison of Napoli now found themselves entirely deserted by their friends, closely hemmed in by their enemies, and after having entirely exhausted their provisions, and eaten all the animals* they had, began to talk of surrender. A single attempt was made to rescue them by sending an English transport vessel with corn, to break the blockade ; she contrived to get up the gulf in the night, and was just abreast of the little castle at the mouth of the port at daylight. This castle was still in the hands of the Greeks, and there being one foreigner† among them, he had presence of mind enough to run to the battery, and fire a cannon at her ; the ball of which, killing the mate at the helm, so frightened the crew, that they '*put about ship,*' and ran down the gulf, pursued by the balls from the Turkish batteries also, which opened upon her the moment she turned to go away.

A report now reached the Greeks that the garrison of Palamede, on the upper fort which commands the town, had descended to seek some provisions there ; upon this, the brave Captain Staikos resolved to scale the walls, and attempt to carry the castle. In this he succeeded with a small body of soldiers

* Asking a Greek one day, how he could account for the immense number of rats and mice with which Napoli abounds ; " Oh !" replied he, " you know the Turks during the siege eat up every cat in the place, the rats they could not catch ; and these, rid of their enemies, the cats, have gone on to increase and multiply in undisturbed security."

† Lt. J. Haine, of the Hanoverian service, who distinguished himself as a volunteer, by a long and dangerous course of service in Greece.

the same night ; and on entering, found only a few Turks, who could make no resistance.

The next morning, the Turks in the town saw to their astonishment the banner of the cross waving on the walls of the Palamede over their heads ; and as the guns of the castle could destroy every house in the place in a short time, they immediately surrendered, on the sole condition of having their lives spared. And this condition was strictly observed. The captives were delivered to Captain Hamilton, of the British frigate *Cambrian*, who came up with some other vessels, and safely carried them to Asia-Minor.

The possession of this place was of vast importance to the Greeks ; since it possesses extensive and strong fortifications ; large public magazines, and buildings ; and has a good harbour, in a situation very convenient for intercourse between the Morea and the islands of the Archipelago.

It has been stated, that Mavrocordatō, disappointed in his hope of relieving Suli, and defeated in his attempt to carry the war into Epirus, had fallen back to Anatolica and Missilonghi, Oct. 10th, after an ineffectual attempt to cover Arcanania. Suli had been given up by its brave defenders, after the consumption of all their provisions. They had insisted, even at the last moment, that they should be allowed to march off with all the honours of war ; with their arms, families, baggage, every thing that they could remove. This the Turks granted ; and the capitulation being guaranteed by Sir Fred. Adam, Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, the Suliotes marched out, having only about six hundred warriors left. They formed a column, put their families in the centre, with thirty Turkish officers as hostages, and thus marched to the sea-shore, where they were embarked in vessels under the British Ionian flag, and safely landed in the Ionian islands.

The evacuation of Suli left Omer Briones without any anxiety about his rear, and he determined to follow up his successes ; to take Missilonghi, and cross over to the Morea. His army, amounting to about 12,000 undisciplined, but brave Albanians, he divided into two parts, (or rather it was of itself divided,) and marched himself with one part by Stamnar, toward Missilonghi, while the other half under Reschid Pashaw went by

Vrachori. His march was but little harassed, except by Marco Botzaris with a few Suliotes. It was a most important point, that time enough should be gained to drive in the cattle and sheep to Missilonghi, and this Botzaris undertook to do. Posting himself in an advantageous position near Anatolica, he opposed such a desperate resistance to the progress of the Turks, that they were checked for some time, and they only drove him from his position after the loss of many men on their own part; and when Botzaris, having gained time enough, had no more inducement to remain, he effected a safe retreat into Missilonghi.

The town of Missilonghi is built on a perfect flat, and has no walls on the sea-shore; it had then merely a wall made of dried mud, and a ditch. A few miserable pieces of cannon garnished what were called the batteries of the town.

Yet this place, with all its disadvantages, was a most important post for the Greeks; and Mavrocordato deserves, for his resolution to risk all for its defence, the hearty thanks of his country.

Animated by the never flagging zeal of Botzaris, the President used every possible exertion to put the place in as respectable a state of defence as possible; the wall was patched, the ditch cleaned out, the guns placed in advantageous positions, and the few men posted so as to be of most use. Botzaris passed his days in such occupations, and every one of his nights, for six weeks, during that rainy inclement season, wrapped up in his *capote*, and lying on the ground by the outer wall, next the enemy. The Turks made daily desultory attacks, and kept up a cannonade and bombardment; but the preservation of the place was owing more to the cunning than the strength of its defenders. Mavrocordato and Botzaris used various means to sow dissensions among the Turkish leaders, and succeeded completely. Omer, Reschid, and Yussuf of Patrass, each wished to have the glory of taking alive the President and Botzaris; and each was anxious to deprive the other of it. They sent various proposals to them privately, all of which were answered in such a way as to gain time, by keeping up an illusory hope on the part of the Turks, whose exertions to take the place by force, were thus restrained. The Pashaws also were un-

willing that the place should be assaulted, not from regard to the thousands of women and children shut up in it, or to spare them the horrors which must follow a storm ; but from a desire to obtain for themselves the riches which they imagined that Missilonghi contained.

But notwithstanding this inactivity on the part of the besiegers, the situation of the garrison was very uncomfortable ; the Turkish leaders at times doubting the sincerity of the pretended wish of the Greeks for capitulation, kept a cannonade and bombardment that did considerable injury. Yussuf Pashaw sent two vessels of war to blockade the place, and famine began to stare the inhabitants in the face.

Mavrocordato had used every possible means to impress on the Government the importance of maintaining the position of Missilonghi, and they now felt it, and called on all good patriots to exert themselves to save it.

Mavromichalis, the brave old Mainote, with about 600 men, and Londos with 400, marched to the north of the Peloponnesus, and waited only means of transportation across the gulf, to throw themselves into the town. Seven brigs were despatched from Hydra, and the inhabitants of Missilonghi had the happiness to see the blockading Turkish vessels fly to the fortress of Lepanto, and their countrymen come to anchor before the place. The vessels were despatched immediately to bring over the expected reinforcements, who soon arrived under Mavromichalis, Zaimis, and Londos, and increased the number of the garrison to sixteen hundred men. Several sorties were made, in which the Greeks gained the advantage.

The rainy season had also set in, and the Turkish army began to suffer from sickness, while their leaders now saw clearly that all the negotiations which had been carrying on, tended only to give time to the Greeks to secure supplies. They resolved then upon a general attack, and selected for the moment of it, Christmas eve, a time of great church ceremonies with the Greeks, and in which they expected the garrison would be engaged. A select body with scaling-ladders were to approach the walls silently on one side, while the attention of the garrison was to be drawn off by a feigned attack in the centre, and a real one upon the other wing.

But the Greeks got notice of the plan, and made every preparation for a vigorous resistance ; the men were kept at their posts all night, and Mavrocordato, Botzaris, and the other leaders, went about cheering them, and keeping a diligent watch. Nevertheless the scaling party approached unseen to the very ditch, and awaited the signal. This was given at 5 A. M. and immediately the roar of cannon, and rattle of musketry, along the whole Turkish line, with the shouts of the soldiers, announced to the Greeks how many, and how near their enemies were. But every man was sheltered behind his breastwork, and they escaped the Turkish shot ; while their own, directed upon the flash, proved very destructive. The scaling party crossed the ditch, and began resolutely to climb the wall ; but they were as bravely met by the Greeks, cut down, and thrust back ; only two* entered the town. The Turks pressed on at the other parts, but were driven back by the musketry from the walls, and the grape from the guns.

Daylight presented a striking scene ; the plain was covered by the Turks, who in the greatest confusion were retiring, while next the walls " in a semicircle lay " the ridge of dead who had fallen in the onset, and the battlements were covered with the exulting Greeks, who pursued, with shouts of derision, their retiring enemy. The Turks lost 1000 men, while the Greeks had not fifty killed, wounded, and missing.

Encouraged by this decided advantage, the Greeks now began to think of something more than mere defence. Mavromichalis with about seven hundred men embarked in the vessels, and was landed on the coast of Arcania, with an intention of rousing the peasantry, and occupying the passes in the rear of the Turks. But they got notice of it, and after burying their dead, and destroying many of their camp articles, they retreated precipitately in the night, abandoning the rest of their bag-

* " They were two standard-bearers. One was instantly cut to pieces, the other was preserved by order of the President. It is remarkable that the besieged lost but six men killed, and that one half of that number was by this brave Albanian, who killed three with the lance of his standard." *Memoires sur la Grece*, p. 457.

gage to the Greeks. Marco Botzaris closely pursued them, and the mountaineers harassed their march considerably; on reaching the Achelous, they found it impassable from the floods; and were obliged to stand on the defensive against the pursuing Botzaris; till the river subsiding, allowed them to pass, and they evacuated the country entirely.

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER I.

Review of the Progress of Events—Parties—National [1823, Assembly at Astros—Military Party gets the ascendancy—Invasion of Western Greece—Marco Botzaris defeats a body of Turks at Creonero—Attacks the Army of Mustapha Pashaw at midnight—Is victorious, and slain—Turks penetrate to Anatolica—Blockade of that place—Its defence—Turks repulsed—Mavrocordato arrives.

ON a review of the events of the last year, it will be seen that on the side of the Greeks, “there was a great increase in public confidence, and in the extent of the insurrection; while the recent advantages obtained over the enemy, gave the best hopes for the future. Their military position in general, however, was nearly the same as in the preceding year. The Turks were still in possession of all the fortresses of the Morea, except two; with so much of the level country of Northern Greece, as their posts at Larissy, Lamia, and the Euripus could command. In other respects their embarrassments were increasing: the Porte found great difficulty in equipping its fleet; and had resorted to such violent measures for sustaining its finances, that the piastre, which, not many years before, had been equivalent to an English shilling, was now reduced to the forty-fifth part of the pound sterling.

“But, on the other hand, the wealth of the commercial islands and towns of Greece was equally exhausted by the exertions which had been made since the beginning of the contest; some of the powers of Continental Europe continued to regard the insurrection as part of a general conspiracy

“ against established governments ; the others refused all countenance to the insurgents ; and individual charity was inadequate to supply the wants of a people in the situation of the Greeks. Hence they were unable to retain in their service, or to satisfy the most moderate expectations of the numerous military men of experience, who had been left in idleness in every part of Europe by the general peace ; and who were anxious for employment in Greece. They were unable even to take into the service of Government their own private ships, by which all the naval efforts had been made ; or to execute the repairs of a two years’ war for them ; so that the number of those ships, in a state to oppose the enemy, was considerably diminished. Still less could they organize an artillery, or create a corps of infantry under the orders, and in the pay of the Executive, without which it was impossible for the Government to follow any improved plan of military operation ; or even to establish a national treasury, collect the taxes, and administer for the benefit of the revenue, all that large portion of the property of the insurged districts, which, having formerly belonged to the Turks, or their Government, was now confiscated to the State.

“ A Government without a treasury, marine, or an army, was of course little better than a cypher.

“ The collection of the contribution in every part of Greece, except the islands, still remained in the hands of the illiterate chieftains of the land forces ; who, though brave and sincere in the cause, were too ignorant to see the necessity of giving way to others for the general advantage. Some of them feeling no inclination to an abridgment of their power or their profits, and all of them being naturally more disposed to trust to themselves, for obtaining the resources necessary to keep their followers together, than a Government in which they could not possibly have any great confidence.”

To the above just and judicious remarks of Col. Leake, it must be added, that the jealousies and dissensions which had manifested themselves among the leading men of Greece, contributed in no small degree to give an unfavourable aspect to their affairs. In Greece, sectional feelings and prejudices are particularly strong ; and until the people become sufficiently

enlightened, these prejudices will always be made subservient to the selfish views of individuals : until the Greeks shall become sufficiently educated as a people, to see and thwart such designs, a free elective Government cannot be supported.

Hardly had six months elapsed from the commencement of the revolt—hardly had the first burst of enthusiasm subsided, when the leading men began to unite into those parties, which have ever since existed ; and to which each one was drawn by his particular views or interest. The military chiefs were opposed in their plan by the great landholders, but the power was gained by Mavrocordato, and what was styled the Fanariote party ; because the two first could not reconcile themselves together, and because, in the formation of a Government, or in organization of any kind, Mavrocordato and his party were the only ones possessed of the necessary talent and information.

We have seen the fault of Mavrocordato in leaving the Government of which he was President, and assuming the military character : we have seen also the open disregard of the orders of Government, by Ulysses and Colocotroni, who hardly paid to it the shadow of respect : but we cannot yet know the secret intrigues which were carried on to ruin the schemes of the President, and the seemingly unjustifiable measures which he took to thwart them. Theodore Negris, who had been associated with him, who assisted materially in drawing up the Constitution, and whose great talents justified him in hoping for distinction, joined against the President. The military party, and the Primates, made every exertion to get into power, through the approaching election of Deputies for a new National Assembly ; and it was no difficult matter to make the people believe, that the campaign in Western Greece (which on the whole was highly creditable to Mavrocordato) had been unsuccessful, through the want of military talents.

Each side put its springs to work, to carry the day in the Assembly, but the result could not be doubted ; and here it may be well to remark, that the elections, though prescribed by the Constitution, did not take place with any thing like order or fairness anywhere, if we except perhaps in Missilonghi and Athens. In some parts, even the form of voting was not observed, the title of the person who was selected by the leading men, was undisputed by the common people.

The Assembly met at Astros, on the western side of the gulf of Napoli ; and by a considerable increase in the number of Deputies, gave proof of the extent and permanency of the revolt. The military influence here united with that of the Primate or landholders, in a sufficient degree to sway the assembly in spite of the efforts of Mavrocordato to prevent it.

Petro Bey or Mavromichalis was elected President of the Assembly, the Bishop of Brasthena, Vice President, and Theodore Negris, Secretary. The first act was to appoint a Commission of seven, to revise the Constitution adopted at Epidaurus, and recommend such alterations as experience should have pointed out to be necessary. The different local Governments, as that of the Morea, Romelia. and some of the islands, were then dissolved, since they had been found a fruitful source of discord, and had always embarrassed the General Government.

An act strongly exemplifying the jealousy of the Greeks, was then passed, by which the naval and military commanders-in-chief held their rank only for the time of the expedition they might be engaged upon. Some acts of minor consequence occupied the attention of Congress several days, when it dissolved itself, after issuing a spirited Address, in which are the following words :—" Before its dissolution, the Congress, the legitimate organ of the nation which it represents, declares for the second time, before God and before man, *the political existence and independence of Greece.* It is for the recovery of these blessings, seized by foreign violence, that the Greek nation has for more than two years, been shedding its most precious blood. Relying upon their incontestable rights, the Greeks will continue their struggle, with the determination to rescue from the usurper the rights of which he has robbed them by violence : and to succeed in procuring the recognition of the perfect independence of Greece ; for the glory of the holy Christian religion, and for the happiness of the nation ; or to descend into the grave, to the last man, like true Christians and freemen. Such is the resolution to which they have sworn, for that cherished freedom which they have not learned to value at the recommendation of strangers, as has been said, but which is the natural property of the nation. The very earth on which they tread, reminds them that liberty is their birth-right by all the endless

recollections with which it abounds ; and which at every step, show the traces of the glorious and reiterated struggles and illustrious victories obtained over barbarians, by their ancestors.

“ Such is the declaration which Congress is charged by its constituents to make before the whole world, in favour of that independence for which the people have taken up arms. In that is expressed the unanimous feelings of the different parts of Greece ; their sole and immutable object is the establishment in their country of that civilization which sheds its blessings over the states of Europe—States which they wish to resemble, and from whom they trust always to obtain the good wishes, and the succours which justice demands.”

The Executive, taken from the body of the Senate, consisted of Mavromichalis, President ; Colocotroni, Vice President ; Andreas Metaxa, and Andreas Zaimis. Both bodies, the Senate and Executive, then removed to Tripolitza, and began to make arrangements for the ensuing campaign : though they had hardly gone on a week, before difficulties and disputes began to arise between them.

The plan of invasion by which the Sultan determined to finish the war this year, was precisely the same in outline as that of the last ; but it differed in the detail, by which it was to be executed. The chief direction was given to Mustapha, Pashaw of Scodra ; he was to assemble an army of Turks in the Northern parts of Thessaly, one division of which was to effect a passage to Galixhidi, and the parts N. W. of Corinth, on the shore of the Gulf ; the other was to pass the difficult defiles of the mountains which separate Eastern from Western Greece, and form a junction with a smaller army to be collected by Yussuf of Patrass, in Western Greece. United, they were to take or blockade Missilonghi ; and to be transported across the Gulf of Corinth by the fleet of the Capitan Pashaw, who was to meet them at Patrass. When landed on the Northern shore of the Peloponessus, the army was to march along it as far as Corinth, to relieve that place which was then blockaded, and if necessary, to assail the Megaric passes from the South, while they should be attacked on the North by the troops collected at Galixhidi ; and these being carried, the whole army would be united, and ready to march to any part of the Peloponessus.

Yussuf of Patrass was second in command to Mustapha, having the direction of the forces collected in the Western parts, which gave great offence to the Albanians. Omer Pashaw was also to join the expedition. Yussuf occupied himself in assembling men at Vonitza, while Omer Pashaw, who was assembling his also at Leparon, used every means to prevent the success of Yussuf; and so thoroughly did he succeed, that when Yussuf was about to march through the passes of Arcanania to meet his superior, Mustapha Pashaw, his Albanians revolted, and were so outrageous, that the Pashaw's life was in danger, and he was obliged to fly to the sea-shore, where he hastily embarked for Patrass with but few men. The Albanians pillaged his camp, and then passing up through the defiles of Makrinoro, where Omer Pashaw had probably so arranged it with the Greeks, that they should not be attacked, most of them joined the standard of their favourite Chief. Thus rid of the object of his jealousy, Omer Pashaw had only to think of effecting his junction with Mustapha Pashaw.

To oppose this, there were 1200 Greeks under Marco Botzaris, and Yonkos another Chief.

Hearing that a body of Turks had been sent by Yussuf to land at Creonero above Missilonghi, to attack him in flank, Marco immediately flew to the shore, fell upon them while landing, drove them back to their ships; and then turned to oppose the progress of Mustapha Pashaw, who with 12000 Turks was rapidly advancing to enter Arcanania. With an extraordinary celerity of movement, Marco arrived at Karpenisi, and on the plain below him, found Mustapha Pashaw encamped with his whole army.

The situation of Marco Botzaris was most critical; but instead of daunting him, it only called forth the whole faculties of his active mind, and nerved him for great resolves. He summoned all the wild chiefs of his band about him, and addressing them in his persuasive way, stated the peculiar difficulties of their situation: "We have no store of provisions, our ammunition is short, our numbers are small, the passes are not strong;—must we retreat then? We shall not suffer in doing so, but we shall leave this horde of barbarians to pour down upon the plains of Arcanania, and the whole country as far as Missi-

longhi ; and to spread terror, rapine, and murder over the whole of it. We can neither maintain our post then, nor quit it with honour. But there is one resource, we will fall upon the enemy, numerous as he is ; the darkness will conceal our numbers, and the surprise may overcome all his resistance ; we may rout him and the plunder of his camp may supply our wants." He then proceeded with Yonkos to arrange his plans ; he chose 400 Suliotes to attend immediately about his person, and penetrate with him to the centre of the enemy's camp at midnight.

The rest of the men were to be divided into three parties, who should proceed to different points, and at the signal from Botzaris, were to make a simultaneous attack.

About ten o'clock, on the night of the 19th, every thing being arranged, Botzaris with his band of Suliotes, started upon his daring undertaking. They passed the outposts of the Turks, by speaking to them in the Albanian tongue, and telling them they had come from Omer Pashaw, from whom reinforcements were expected. Botzaris thus traversed a considerable part of their camp, amid the thousands who slept in confident security ; he had nearly reached the centre, when he sounded his bugle, and was answered by the wild shout of his men, who began the work of destruction. The Turks were awakened to find enemies in the midst of them, with sabre and pistol ; while the rattle of musketry from the Greeks on the outside, showed they were surrounded, and they knew not by how many. The surprise, the darkness, and the shouting, made useless all attempts at order ; the sleeping soldier, so rudely awakened, thought only of firing his musket on whoever he saw near him, without knowing if he were friend or foe ; and in a few minutes, the whole camp was a scene of uproar and confusion, in which each one thought only of safety in flight. Amid all this Botzaris pushed on, animating his men to deal death around them, shouting aloud, and calling them to follow him to the tent of the Pashaw, which he had nearly reached, when suddenly his voice was hushed ; he fell, struck by a random shot and died in an instant.

The victory was complete, considerable numbers of Turks were slain, the army was dispersed, and their camp plundered : but it was a dearly bought victory ; Greece could not rejoice at

it, for she had lost her bravest and best Chief. The Suliotes felt the loss most severely; they bore the body of their hero to Missilonghi, where it was received with all possible respect; and interred with all the imposing pomp and ceremony of the Greek Church, made more impressive by the deep and universal feeling of melancholy which pervaded the country.

The value of the services of Marco Botzaris were more deeply felt by the effects of his death; for the soldiery, after their victory and spoil, having no Chief of commanding influence to keep them together, dispersed, and no advantage was taken of the victory, farther than the check it gave the enemy. But this was only temporary; Mustapha soon re-assembled his men, and easily overcoming the disunited attempts of the Greeks in the passes to oppose him, he joined Omer Pashaw on the plains of Ætolia. They then easily opened a communication with the fortresses at the entrance of the Corinthian Gulf, and with the detachment of the fleet left there.

Undiscouraged by the failure of the other expeditions, Mustapha, assisted by the indefatigable Omer, pushed down to Anatolica, and immediately besieged it. In this miserably defended place, about 2000 Greeks, principally women and children, had shut themselves up. Not 500 men were armed, yet they prepared for an obstinate resistance.

The siege was begun by closely hemming in the place on the land side by a line of posts, while three gun-boats were prepared to act on the lagoon. Batteries were opened, and a great number of shot and shells thrown into the town daily: the latter bursting among the houses did considerable damage, killing women and children. The Greeks had several old cannon, with which they answered as "fast and well" as they could the fire of the Turks. But their pieces would at almost every report, demolish the frail staging called a carriage, upon which they were mounted, and fall to the ground; and it required considerable time and exertion to remount, load, and get their muzzles somewhere in the direction of the enemy; to touch them off, when the ball flew in one direction, and the carriage in twenty pieces in the other.

Still the Greeks worked as busy as possible, nor did they suffer severely as long as the communication by sea with Missi-

longhi was open ; for from thence they obtained all their fresh water in small boats by night ; as there were no cisterns in a good state within the place, and the Turks had cut off the spring which usually supplied the town. But the channel to Missilonghi was soon rendered impassable by the erection of a battery on the edge of it, and the inhabitants were suddenly reduced to the utmost distress by want of water ; nor could they have held out five days, but for a very curious circumstance. A bomb from one of the Turkish mortars, falling on to the roof of a small church, broke through, and buried itself deep under the stone pavement of the floor ; and bursting there, opened a spring of water which was sufficient to supply the place.*

The Turks continued the siege about a month ; the Pashaw then made an attempt by boats to land his troops in the place, and carry it by assault. But the Greeks repulsed him ; and he beginning to feel alarmed for his communications with the north, as well as straitened for provisions, commenced a precipitate retreat, leaving a few cannon, and a quantity of baggage to the Greeks. He passed the defiles unmolested, and his men dispersed themselves, each one going his own way.

Omer Pashaw retired to Arta, and his Albanians disbanded ; and thus the campaign by land, in Western Greece, terminated most disgracefully to the Turks. The Greek squadron, which had long been expected from Hydra, now arriving, forced the Turkish vessels which were blockading Missilonghi to retire. Mavrocordato who had arrived with the fleet, resumed his government of the Province of Western Greece.

* This circumstance, about which I believe there is no doubt, is considered by the common people in Greece, as one of the many instances of the direct and miraculous interpositions of the Saints in their favour. And St. Michael, whose church this was, got great credit ; and the Priests who officiated for him, great advantage in the shape of offerings to his *Saint-ship*, which they kept for their own use, and balanced their accounts with him, by payment in prayers and ceremonies to the full value.

CHAPTER II.

Turkish Operations in Eastern Greece—Opposed by Ulysses—Character of Ulysses—Siege of Corinth—It surrenders to the Greeks—Proceedings of the Fleet—Character of Miaulis—Notice of the Island of Hydra—Skirmish between the Fleets—Turkish Corvette destroyed, and Turks retire.

WE now revert to the state of Eastern Greece. The division of Turks destined to act particularly under Bercofzali Pashaw, passed the Thermopylæ, and overran Boetia and the north part of Attica, penetrating as far as Athens; the Greek families retired to Salamis, and the men shut themselves up in the Acropolis. The Turks spread themselves over Livadia, burning the villages, trampling the vines, cutting down the olive-groves, and chasing the peasantry who escaped the sword, to the mountains; where in those parts inaccessible to the cavalry, they defended themselves. The Turks having devastated the plains, were checked in their attempt to pass the defiles of Helicon and Parnassus, by the armed peasantry, and remained some days near Livadia to prepare for a new attempt to penetrate down to the gulf.

But Ulysses, who had been waiting in the Acropolis of Athens to be joined by some men from the Morea, and to get money to carry on the expedition, left his Lieutenant, Gourah, in command of the fortress, and sallied out with about 600 men; and being joined by the gallant Niketas, with as many more, they embarked at Megaris, and sailing up the gulf, landed near Salona. They immediately moved on toward the Turks, and being joined by numbers of the peasantry, commenced a *guerilla* warfare which harassed the Turks extremely. Light and active as deer, the Greek soldiers would skip about the rocks, and hang on the edge of the Turkish army; every where present in detached parties, yet no where tangible; for as soon as a considerable force was brought to oppose them, they disappeared; and in a moment,—their shouts, and the rattle of their musketry, announced that they had found another quarter,

where bad position or inferior numbers had placed the Turks at their mercy.

Thus continually galled by the Greek *Palikaris*, whom they could not induce to descend upon the plain and engage openly, the Turks were obliged to retire; and were harassed dreadfully all the way to Euboea or Negropont. Having entered this island by the bridge, which their fortress completely commands, the Turks began to commit the same cruelties upon the Greek inhabitants there, which they had practised upon the continent. This was unmerited, as the inhabitants had never attempted to revolt, except, in inconsiderable numbers, and then at the instance of some Chiefs who had landed from the main. Still the excesses committed were dreadful, and made a waste of some of the finest parts of that rich and fertile island.

But the Turks were soon followed by Ulysses, who having received considerable additions to his band, embarked near Marathon, and landing in Euboea, drove them from the interior of the island, and forced them to shut themselves up in the fortresses of Caristo and Negropont: the first of which he closely blockaded.

Niketas had gone to Salona, to prepare for the defence of that country.

It may be well here to look a little at the character of Ulysses, who had become very notorious. Andritzos, the father of Ulysses, was a Thessalian, born near Thermopylæ; he was engaged in the singular enterprise of the famous pirate Lam-bro, and after its failure resided in Yanina.

His son Odysseus or Ulysses, was born in Ithaca, (hence his name,) but soon removed to Yanina, and was taken into the establishment of Ali Pashaw. "Distinguished by his graceful person, and his skill in the manly exercises, he was first introduced to the particular notice of his master by his extreme agility; and from his earliest recorded exploit, we should rather infer his descent from the Thessalian Achilles, than his birth among the pastureless rocks of Ithaca. It was this: he challenged the finest horse of Ali Pashaw to a trial of speed and wind; the race was to be performed on rising ground, and the man was to keep pace with the beast, till the latter should fall down dead. In case of failure he was to forfeit

“his head. The Pashaw accepted the challenge for his horse, as well as the condition proposed by the challenger, the execution of which he prepared to exact with great fidelity.” They ran in his presence, the biped was triumphant, “and from that moment became the favourite of his master. His talents and address enabled him to maintain a situation to which they certainly had not assisted in raising him ; and he rendered some important service. which Ali Pashaw rewarded by presenting him a bride from his own harem. The value of the gift, under any circumstances flattering and honourable, was enhanced by the extreme beauty of the lady ; and that nothing might be wanting to the happiness of his favourite, the Pashaw accompanied his present by a circular order to all the opulent householders of his Pashalik, to pay to the bearer the sum of one sequin each. A dewry raised by the contributions of a province, could not fail to be considerable ; and the son of Andritzos became generally known and envied throughout the mountains of Romelia.”

After the rebellion and fall of his master Ali, Ulysses retired to Ithaca, and remained until the commencement of the revolution. “He was among the first who obeyed the call of his country, and he occupied without delay his favourite haunts among the caves of Parnassus and Helicon. In that position he harassed the Turkish armies, cut off their supplies and impeded their advance into the Morea. From the caves of Parnassus he was called to the possession of the Acropolis of Athens, and the command of Eastern Greece. Thus then, from having run a race with a horse on the hill side, he is become the adversary of the Sultan, and one of the most active competitors in the stadium of Grecian independence.”

“Ulysses is in no respect distinguished from his meanest soldier, except by the symmetry of his form, and the expressive animation of a countenance, which, though handsome, is far from prepossessing ; for an habitual frown, and a keen restless eye, betoken cruelty, suspicion, and inconstancy ; and those who have derived their opinion of his character from the observation of his exterior, and the rumour of his most notorious actions, pronounce him to be violent, avaricious, vindictive, distrustful, and inexorable. Those on the contrary,

“who believe themselves to have penetrated more deeply into his feelings and principles, conclude him to be under the exclusive guidance of policy and interest. His passions, they say, however habitually impetuous, will never betray him into any measure of great imprudence, while his flexibility will ever allow him to change with every change of circumstances; his violence and cruelty will seldom be wanton or excessive while he possesses the favour of assuming what virtues he pleases. So that he is equally capable of performing a very good, or a very wicked action. Nor is it doubted that he possesses talents to discern, and firmness to pursue the path that his interests dictate.

“For his religion, he is known not to profess any ardent affection; the name of liberty he can hardly have learned to venerate; for his country, for ancient heroic Greece, he is the last to feel, or affect any enthusiasm; but his profound knowledge of the character and government of the Turks, his acquaintance with the real terrors of their hostility, and the real value of their friendship, has inspired him with that contempt for the one and that diffidence for the other, which would probably prevent him even in the absence of all better motives, from any treachery to the cause of which he has become one of the most eminent supporters.”* Such was the character of Ulysses, as drawn by a candid observer, in the early part of the struggle:—if there was then a doubt about the purity of his patriotism, subsequent events have established that doubt; and proved, that though he did heartily hate the Turks, and wish Greece free from them, still his rancour towards his political opponents was as bitter; and he would often overlook, nay, sacrifice the good of his country, to forward his own immediate interests, which he was foolish enough to suppose were separate. It is in vain that his friends say he could not oppose the invading army of Dram Ali; he

* As I did not know Ulysses personally, I have preferred extracting this sketch of him from Mr. Waddington's "Visit to Greece." Of this interesting little book the reader who knows Greece always says—"pity that the visit was not longer and the book larger." Whatever Mr. W. says, may be relied on as said in truth and candour; and so far as he had means of informing himself, perfectly correct.

The character of Ulysses for courage is not well established.

did not *try* to oppose it; it is in vain to urge reasons for his animosity to Mavricordato; it was his duty to have forwarded the plans of the President, without judging of them; and not let feelings of personal or party hatred lead him to oppose them, by favouring the enemy.

The blockade of Corinth in the meantime had been strictly observed by some Peloponessians, under different Captains, the most distinguished of whom was Staikos, who had been there ever since the fall of Napoli. The garrison was very much distressed for want of provisions, but held out with great resolution, until the retreat of Bercofzali Pashaw cut off their hope of relief; and they sent proposals of surrender to Staikos, and Giorgarki Kitzo,* a Suliot Chief: both men of known valour, and more remarkable for clemency and humanity. Staikos having communicated with the Government, and having received the authority from it, began to treat; when Colocotroni and his rude followers, who scent plunder as far as vultures their prey, came trooping up to Corinth, to be in at the death. But the garrison refusing to treat with any but the first named, Colocotroni retired.

The Turks surrendered the Acrocorinthus, and were embarked on board some foreign transports and sent to Asia Minor.

Considerable delay had occurred in getting out the Greek vessels this season, on account of the want of means to pay the men; who having most of them families, and feeling that their services were absolutely necessary, would not go to sea without their wages. But active exertions were making at Hydra,*

* Yorgarka Kitzo is brother to the beautiful and interesting Vasilika, youngest wife of Ali Pashaw of Yanina, and who exercised almost absolute sway over that tyrant in his last days.

* Hydra is a barren rock, without verdure, or a spring of water; about twelve miles long, and two and a half broad, rising abruptly from the sea, and lying in face of the S. E. coast of the Argolis, twelve miles distant. Toward the East end, and facing the main, is what is called the Port; but is only an inward curve of the line of rocks which form the shore, and which rise one above another to a considerable height; receding backward, and forming something of an amphitheatre. On the very line of the water in this bend, commences the lower range of houses; and other ranges are built above it, the foundation of one being upon a level with the roof of the other; and thus seeming to cling to the side of the rock, they rise a considerable way up

Spetzia, and Ipsaria, the three naval islands, to fit out a squadron under the command of Andreas Miaulis, who had been chosen Admiral.

It is delightful to contemplate such a character as that of Miaulis. As the eye in a dry and barren landscape, delights to rest on some patch of verdure, which may chance to appear; so the mind, wearied with contemplating the selfishness and vices of the leading Greeks, turns with pleasure to Miaulis, for a striking proof that all good has not departed from them. Miaulis was born at Hydra, and educated on the water; he is about sixty years of age; his frame large, and rather corpulent, is well made, and full of vigour. His countenance is one of

the mountain. The houses are built of stone, and painted white; and the view of the town from the sea, is one of the finest imaginable; it seems more like a panorama than reality, the whole front of each house being in view, and their perfect white being so strongly contrasted with the dark colour of the rocks. The mountain rises to a considerable height, and is crowned by a large stone monastery.

"What a place you have chosen" ! I, (says Waddington) addressed myself to Tombazi, late Admiral of the Greek fleet, "what a spot you have chosen for your country!" "It was liberty that chose the spot, not we," was the patriot's instant reply. "And long may liberty preserve and protect an habitation so worthy of her."

Hydra has about 30,000 inhabitants; they are the descendants of a colony of Albanians, who were driven from their homes in the north nearly two hundred years ago, by the severity of Turkish despotism, to take refuge on the barren rock, which by their industry soon became an important commercial place. The Hydriotes are an enterprising, cautious, selfish race of men; much of the same stamp perhaps as Yankees would be, if placed in a similar situation. They had more intercourse with the world by their commerce than any of their countrymen, previous to the commencement of the present war; yet they profited by it less in every way, except that of pecuniary emolument; in learning and refinement they are far behind their brethren of Seto, or Aivali, or Constantinople. In fact they value education but little; though all the better class can read and write their own language, and the Italian. But they are too devout worshippers of Mammon, to apply themselves much to learning. They are exceedingly clannish; a man is bound by strong ties to revenge the death of a rotation (even if removed to the sixteenth degree,) by the blood of his murderer.

They are extremely neat in their persons; and there is perhaps hardly a spot in the world where the whole people are so well, and cleanly dressed as at Hydra. Their houses are clean as those of Dutchman. They are all built of stone, and painted white; generally they are low, but some of them are large and magnificent; those of Tombazi, Miaulis, Oenariotia, and some others, are four stories high, well finished and furnished; and having courtyards paved with marble. There are in Hydra three mints for making counterfeit Turkish coin, which is sent to Turkey and put into circulation.

those most difficult to describe, yet most strongly impressive ; it inspires with affection and respect ; and though there is no mark of greatness about it, yet you see there the kind heart, the firm mind ; you know not why or wherefore, but you see in his face enough to convince you that it is the face of an *honest man*. His complexion is light, and rather florid ; his features strongly marked ; the nose particularly large ; and his eyes of a mild hazel colour. Strangers are always struck with his patriarchal appearance, and after ever so short an interview, go away satisfied that there is at least one honest, pure patriot in Greece.

Miaulis inherited some property from his father, and like all his fellow islanders, he followed the sea from his youth. For a great number of years he sailed in his own ship, and by commerce gained a very considerable fortune ; and always stood high in character among the Hydriotes, who were *then* remarkable for their *integrity in mercantile transactions*.* He had long sighed for the liberty of his country, though enjoying every thing that wealth could command ; though his native island was never sullied by the foot of a Moslem, and escaped all direct oppression, by the payment of an annual tribute, and the supply of a quota of seamen to the Turkish fleet ; still, in common with many around him he felt bitterly the degradation of Greece ; and was ready to risk fortune and life in any rational scheme for her redemption. He was averse to the struggle being commenced at the precise period it was commenced ; because he did not consider the people sufficiently enlightened, to

* Conversing with Mavrocordatos a few days before I left Greece, I expressed to him my doubts about what I had often heard of the honesty and good faith of the Hydriotes, previous to the commencement of the revolution. He replied—"I do not wonder at it ; it is hard to conceive how seven years should so completely change a body of men ; yet so it is. War and its attendants, anarchy and confusion, has altered the Hydriotes from an industrious, sober, and honest people, to what you now see them. Such a thing as a note or bond, was almost unknown ; a merchant would lend another money, and only request him to make a minute of it ; he would ship goods on board a vessel, and take no bill of lading ; vessels would come into port, and the captain and crew run to see their friends, leaving the vessel unlocked, and perhaps speak on board. Shops were left open by their owners without fear, and often the shutters only closed, and the door latched during the night. This was the case also in Spetzia and Ipsara ; the word of a merchant or a sea captain, was sacred.

conduct it to a favourable issue : but when once the blow was struck, he embarked heartily in the cause, and has ever been foremost in exposing himself, in sacrificing his fortune, in giving an example of obedience to government and perfect disinterestedness of action.

Such is the man who commanded the Greek fleet ; and so irreproachable is his character, that even in Greece, where the people are so jealous and suspicious of their leading men, that the least foible cannot escape them, no voice is ever raised against Miaulis ; all parties unite in considering him perfectly pure and disinterested in his patriotism. And a doubt expressed of it would sound as strange to a Greek, as it would to an American, to hear the patriotism of Washington questioned.

The principal service performed by the Greek fleet this year, was the protection it gave to the islands. The large and fertile one of Samos particularly, which it was a part of the Capitan Pashaw's plan to devastate, was saved ; and its numerous inhabitants, who had all become perfectly free, were left in the undisturbed possession of their lands.

A division of the fleet had also gone with troops to assist the insurgents in Candia.

At the very commencement of the campaign, and weeks before the Greeks could collect the means to get their vessels to sea, the Turkish fleet had left the Dardanelles, and joined by several Algerine and Tunisian cruisers, (which are in reality active and efficient ships,) proceeded to supply the different Turkish fortresses which are on the sea coast. The fleet was more efficient and less unwieldy than it ever had been before, because the large ships of the line had been left at home, as they presented such fair marks for the Greek fire-ships.

The Capitan Pashaw then, with his long line of frigates and corvettes, swept slowly across the *Ægean*, and threw supplies successively into Carysto, Negropont, Volo, Koron, Modon, and Patras. He sent a division to the fortresses in Candia, and having left a small division off the entrance of the gulf of Corinth, he set out on his return. But the Greeks had by this time got their miniature fleet out to sea ; Miaulis met the Capitan Pashaw near the northern entrance to the gulf of Negropont, and attacked him with a fire-ship—the fleets approaching one another, and keeping up a heavy, but harmless firing. The

violence of the wind prevented the Greeks from reaping any advantage from their *brulots*, and the fleets separated.

Near Lemnos, however, the Greeks again overtook their enemies, who were hastening toward the Dardanelles; and a smart action commenced, which resulted in the destruction of one Turkish corvette, and several small vessels, and the capture of several transports.

The Capitan Pashaw retired within the Dardanelles, to the very entrance of which he was followed by the Greek vessels.

Miaulis also attacked a Turkish division, convoying some vessels from Salonika to Negropont, scattered them, and took several transports. But the most important operation of the Greek fleet this season, was the landing made from it at many places in Macedonia. These were only excursions to carry off cattle or to plunder: but they kept the Turks in alarm, and furnished a most excellent excuse to the different Turkish governors, for not sending their contingent of troops to the army.

Descents were also made on the coast of Asia Minor, but these seldom had any other result than alarming the Turks, and drawing down their vengeance on the harmless Greek inhabitants of that country. For every sheep carried off, scores of Greeks were beheaded; and for every Turk whom the sailors killed or took, in their descents along the coast, the plundering and burning of Greek villages, and the blood of their inhabitants, atoned.

CHAPTER III.

Candia—Revolt in that Island—Tombazi appointed to direct it—Turkish cruelties—Interference of Egypt—Notice of the life, genius, and power of Mehemet Ali, Viceroy of Egypt. Jealousies between the Greek Senate and the Executive Body—Violence of the Executive—Senate pronounces sentence of deposition against the Executive—Senate appoints a new Executive—Civil Dissensions—Mavrocordato resumes the Government of Western Greece—Considerations on the progress of the Revolt.

THE position of Candia is so advantageous, its extent is so great, its climate so delicious, its soil so fertile, its products so

rich and various, and its castles so strong, that it certainly is one of the most important islands in the Mediterranean. Then its ancient history is so interesting; the changes which it has experienced so many and so strange, that it presents the finest field for an historian. The part which it has taken in the late struggle, would alone furnish him with much interesting matter. But our limits will not allow a minute examination of this; nor a detail of those actions, by which Kourmoulis, Antonis Milledonius, and some others, rendered themselves dear to their country, and which only terminated with their lives.

Soon after his appointment to the post of Harmostis, or Captain General of Crete, Emanuel Tombazi sailed from Hydra with a small division of the fleet, for Candia, and landed upon the island with a few soldiers, collected principally from the Morea. He was accompanied by some foreigners, the most distinguished of whom was Captain F. A. Hastings, an Englishman of fortune; and a man of cool, clear judgment. Landing near Kisamos, Tombazi immediately invested that place by land and sea; and in a short time, compelled it to surrender. Its garrison was safely sent to Canea, another Turkish fortress. Tombazi then pushed into the interior, invested Selino, and endeavoured to unite with, and assist the native Candiotes, who were in arms.

The war in Candia had been carried on by the Turks, with that barbarity which so often marks Mahometan soldiery; but which, in this instance, was carried to excess. The villages were burned, and the fields devastated, and the women and children put to death;—all this was a matter of course. But, this was not the half; every day miserable Greeks who had been taken, were put to death with all the torments that cruelty could devise; dozens of them could be seen writhing on hooks, attached to the walls of the castles; many were crucified; and others were impaled alive, and roasted before slow fires.

It is true the Greeks sometimes retaliated dreadfully on their prisoners; but it was by a wild soldiery, urged on by the memory of their country's thousand wrongs, and stimulated to immediate revenge of the horrid barbarities continually committed by the Turks. In this, as in every other instance, a broad distinction is to be drawn between the two parties. The

outrages of the Greeks were committed on the impulse of the moment ; and contrary to the wish and exertions of their chiefs, and of every leading man. But with the Turks, it is a matter of course, a regular system of cruelty, pursued by every one, from Sultan Kassapi,* down to the lowest Janissary. The Kbran, in the Chapter of the Sword, says " When you are with the infidels, kill them, cut off their heads, tie them, put them in the fire, keep them as slaves, or make them pay a ransom, as you may judge best. Finally, give them no rest ; cease not to persecute them, until they shall be submitted to you."†

The insurgents got almost complete possession of the open country ; and the Turkish population was driven from it, and shut up in the various fortresses, of which Candia, or *ΜεγαλοΚασίον*, Canea, Sudo Retimos, and Gabrousi, are so strong, that the Greeks had no hopes of reducing them except by famine. They were built by the Venetians, in positions very strong by nature, and fortified according to the best rules of art. And the capture of one of them had cost the Turks twenty years' siege.

The Egyptian fleet under Ismael Gibraltar, the admiral of Mehemet Ali, had arrived in the spring, but was merely able to supply the fortresses with provisions. He returned again in the autumn, and besides the troops he had brought, he took up five thousand men at Candia, and landing them near Retymos, they united with the Turks of Canea, and sallying into the country, they burned thirty-five villages, massacred great numbers of the peasantry, and carried off many captives. Many women, children, and old men, (above a thousand in number,) had taken refuge in a large cavern near the top of a mountain ; they were found by the Turks, who immediately proceeded with hellish joy, to fill the entrance with straw and combustibles of every kind, to which they set fire, and the smoke rolling into the cavern, destroyed by a miserable death every wretch in it.

* This name, which signifies butcher, is applied by the Greeks to the present Sultan Mahmoud.

† Ventur, p. 1.

Tombazi hastened to meet this force, and succeeded in driving it back to the fortresses, where it was shut up. And the campaign in Candia ended by the Greeks getting possession of all the open country, but without any fortress of strength. But the affairs of the Greeks in Candia began to assume a more unfavourable appearance, from the moment the Egyptian Satrap undertook the conquest of that island.

Mehemet Ali Pashaw, commonly known as the Viceroy of Egypt, had entered into the views of the Sultan, and taken part against the Greeks; contrary to the prophecies made by all those politicians who knew, or thought they knew his interest. But the wily old satrap thought differently; and hailed with more than usual reverence, the firman which ordered him to reduce the rebellious Giaours of Candia, and conferred upon him the command of that most important island. He obeyed the order and the call of his own inclination and interest; and we have seen how soon his systematic and well directed efforts checked the progress of the insurrection in that island.

But this extraordinary man, who has shown himself superior in power to his great master, the Sublime Sultan, and whose interference has had such a powerful effect on the Greek cause, deserves a considerable share of our attention.

Mehemet (called abroad Mohammed) Ali, was born in Romelia, at a little town called Cavale, in the year 1769. His father was a captain in the Turkish Armatoli. Young Mehemet was fortunate enough at an early age, to be taken into the house of the Tchorbadgi, or governor of the district, as a companion, or rather instructor to his son; for Mehemet had early given proof of great capacity, both as a partisan soldier, and in some little mercantile transactions.

When the Porte was engaged in the war with the French in Egypt, the Tchorbadgi of Cavale, among others, was called upon to supply his contingent of troops; and he sent 300 Albanians, under the command of his son, who was accompanied by Mehemet. On his arrival in Egypt, the luxurious young Turk became disgusted with a camp life, and returned home, leaving the command of his men to Mehemet Ali, who thus became Bim Bashaw. He immediately distinguished himself by his bravery, and more by his management; and before the

war had closed, was dignified with the title of Pashaw of one tail. Other two tails were successively added, in consequence of his ability in the management of affairs in that stormy period, when Egypt was distracted by the struggle between the Porte and the Mamelukes. Mehemet by artful management between the Turks and Mamelukes, with his Albanians, on whom he could depend, soon made himself superior in power and reputation to all the commanders of the Sultan there; and was at last, rather by necessity, than any peculiar favour of the Porte, named Governor of Egypt.

Partly by art. partly by force, he reduced the fierce and unruly Mamelukes to the necessity of ceasing hostilities, and retiring to Upper Egypt. But when during their temporary difference with Turkey, the British landed an army in Egypt, in 1807, it was expected that the Mamelukes would join them. Mehemet however, by his intrigues prevented this union from taking place to any great extent. He fomented jealousies among the chiefs of the Mamelukes, and prevented union in their councils and actions. The British were defeated by the Turkish cavalry in several unimportant affairs; from their want of prudence, their ignorance of the country, and contempt of their enemies. The expedition failed; and Mehemet had nothing to oppose him but the Mamelukes, who still asserted their pretensions to the command of Egypt. Them he deceived so far, by the most sacred promises sworn upon the Koran, and backed by the more solemn protestations of the Sultan, that most of their chiefs, with about six hundred followers, were induced after making peace, to come to Cairo. Here in the most treacherous and cowardly manner, they were all put to death. Arrangements had been made for seizing upon them at the same time, in whatever part of Egypt they could be found; and in one day, that race of magnificent and warlike horsemen was exterminated. This bloody act must ever remain a blot on the character of Mehemet Ali, and refute his claim to be called free from the treachery and cruelty of most Turkish leaders. It is alike in vain to plead his necessities; or the imperative orders of the Sultan.

Mehemet Ali had long been preparing to obey the oft-repeated orders of the Sultan, to undertake an expedition against

the Wahabees. He had feared to leave the Mamelukes unsubdued behind him ; but now that they were forever at rest, he prepared for immediate action. The Wahabees, who may be considered the Protestants, or reformed among the Mahometans, were first noticed in the beginning of the eighteenth century, as the proselytes of the Turkish Luther—Mohammed Ebn Abdul Wabar.* The sect spread rapidly over Arabia, and at last bade defiance to the power of the Sultan.

Mehemet Ali's expedition was led by his son Toussoun Pashaw ; and the reduction of the Wahabees was effected by Ibrahim Pashaw, who succeeded his brother Toussoun in the command of the army. Mehemet Ali gained both power and reputation by reducing the Wahabees, who had defied so many Pashaws.

He then determined to push his arms through, and beyond Upper Egypt ; and an army marched under the command of his son Ishmael, and reduced Nubia, Sennaar, and Kerdosan ; large, and to him important provinces. The expedition was completely successful ; but cost Mehemet the loss of many soldiers, and the life of his son Ishmael, who was assassinated. His remarkable success, where all the efforts of the Sultan had been so often foiled was attributable to the introduction of system into his army. His arrangements for the supply of provisions, ammunition, and recruits, were in rude imitation of the European manner ; but so far superior to any thing Turkish, that it made him irresistible.

Thus having established his fame and his power abroad, Mehemet began the internal reform of Egypt ; and so managed

* He attempted to reform the abuses which had crept into Mahometanism. The principal points on which he insisted, were : Not to allow smoking, it being entirely useless. Not to build mosques, and to pull down those which were built ; they being idolatrous vanities, and the sight of them inspiring the ignorant with an idea that God is a being like themselves, dwelling in houses. Not to allow males to array themselves in silks, or ornament themselves with gold ; these things being proper only for women, to whose beauty they add. Not to drink spirituous liquors. To pray five times per day. To relinquish the severe fast during the Rhamazam ; to eat at noon on the days of that festival ; and not abstain all day, in order to eat and riot all night. To prohibit games of chance. To prohibit usury. To prohibit sodomy. To prohibit prostitution. To give to the poor the hundredth part of one's substance. To make at least one pilgrimage to Mecca. To prohibit magic, &c.—*Meningin*, p. 452, t. 2.

the resources of that most fertile country, that in a few years it became one of the most important provinces of Turkey. With great difficulty, but with the most consummate prudence and perseverance, he overcame the Turkish prejudices so far as to form an army, which he disciplined in the European manner. He procured French and Italian officers to drill his men; and to all who would apostatize, he gave commands. Gen. Boyer, a Frenchman, was of great use; but Col. Sevé, a man of more talent and less principle, embracing Mahometanism, was raised to high command under the title of Suliman Bey. Mehemet began by drilling the Nubians, and other slaves, who had been brought from the interior of Africa. This succeeding, he made a conscription among his own subjects; and his disciplined troops amounted in a short time to thirty thousand men.

At the same time he devoted himself to improvements of all kinds; he cut a canal, at immense expense and labour, connecting Alexandria with the Nile. This is fifty miles in length, ninety feet in breadth, and twelve in depth. None but a despot could have finished it as Mehemet Ali did, in one year, and at so low a price. He gave orders to the chiefs in the different provinces, who marched down their people like cattle; each chief had then a certain number of miles assigned to him, and he set his people to work at digging. They were miserably supplied with tools, were obliged to work in the mud from sunrise to sunset; often having nothing but their hands with which to scoop it up. In this unhealthy employment ten thousand of the peasantry perished; and more than two hundred thousand men were employed upon it. Now large vessels can enter it.

He carried the growth of cotton to a great extent, so that in 1823, he exported 180,000 bales, estimated at nearly five millions of dollars. Indigo, silk, sugar, &c., under his protection, began to be cultivated. Nor was this all; this extraordinary man, free from all Turkish prejudices, introduced improvements of all kinds; European artists, manufacturers, mechanists, engineers, armourers, &c. swarmed to Egypt, to live on his munificence, and establish works of all kinds. Not only is powder made, cannon bored, muskets manufactured, and nitre purified, in Egypt; but there, in the heart of the Turkish empire, where twenty years ago the sight of a wheelbarrow would have been a

wonderful phenomenon, and the turning of a grindstone crank, an inexplicable mystery ; now, in every part is heard the strokes of the saw mill, the labouring of steam engines, and the buzz of cotton-spindles. The power of one man is there erecting buildings of all kinds, establishing arsenals, and manufactories, digging canals, and introducing every improvement that the civilized world can boast of : vessels are carrying the produce of Egypt to every part of the Mediterranean, and returning loaded with the produce of every part of the globe ; while a fleet of proud frigates, built after the best models, in the different ports of Europe, is ready to carry the army of Egypt to any part that it should be directed to attack. Such is the country, and such is the man, who now undertook to assist his nominal master, though real inferior, the Sultan, to crush his unruly Greek subjects.

And whence is this power derived ? how sprang it up, mushroom like, in a day ? Whence is drawn the money to support these various institutions, which are yet too young to support themselves ? It is drawn from the toil and sweat of two millions of people ; from the oppression of his subjects, who get up early, labour hard, eat little, lie down late, curse the Pashaw, and yet get up again the next morning to renew the same drudgery. There is no country perhaps, where oppression comes so directly and severely upon the people, and where it is so impossible for an individual to prosper, as in Egypt. No man is allowed to be idle. The peasant after paying enormous taxes, sets aside a scanty portion of his produce, for the support of his family ; and must sell the rest to the Pashaw, who fixes his own price, and thus gets the profit of the grower. The merchant must buy of the Pashaw alone ; who thus gets the profit of the exporter. Goods brought into the country, are sold to the Pashaw, who thus gets the profit of the importer ; and the people, buying them of his agents, he gets the profit of the retailer. The Pashaw absorbs every thing ; the people work like slaves, and he gets the profit. They are plunged in the most profound ignorance. They are liable at any moment to conscription for the army, or for some public work. They are subject to impositions of all kinds, and enjoy none of the rights of man.

It is strange—it seems an inconsistency in the conduct of Mehemet Ali, that he, so clear-sighted, should not see that his sys-

tem is one which must bring its own ruin. It would seem that he calculates on nothing beyond his own life; he acts as a tenant who has a life-lease of a farm, and is determined not to bring it to the greatest perfection, but to force from it as much as he possibly can, even at the expense of ruining it. No country can long flourish, whose prosperity is not founded on the prosperity of the people. It is to be doubted whether any other man in Turkey could accomplish what Mehemet Ali has done in Egypt, or could continue his institutions a single year. And it is altogether probable, that the moment he dies, all his improvements will go to ruin, since his son and heir apparent, Ibrahim Pashaw, has neither the ability nor inclination to support them.

Mehemet Ali is in reality, independent of the Sultan; but he has too much wisdom to run the least risk of losing the substance, in grasping at the shadow. He is content to rule in his dominions with despotic power, and to pay a nominal tribute to the Porte. He undertook the war in Greece, not from necessity, but from inclination. He imagined he should conquer the Morea as easily as he had conquered Arabia, Nubia, and Sennaar; and thus acquire more extensive dominions. He calculated also upon having the Greeks under his control, ready to let loose upon the Sultan, if ever he should choose to defy his power. But he sadly mistook; and was to find in Greece the tomb of thousands and tens of thousands of his soldiers; the quicksand in which was to be swallowed the treasures which he had amassed for the security of his independence, and the improvement of Egypt;—but we are anticipating.

It has been seen that in the National Assembly, the military party completely triumphed over the one which had at least the appearance of being friendly to the establishment of order. Four out of five members of the New Executive were military chieftains; and hardly had government arrived at Tripolitzta, when it began to be perceived that a majority of the Senate was at variance in opinion with the Executive. Mavrocordato acted as chief Secretary to the latter; but probably only for the purpose of continuing connected with the government; for he was hostile to every measure of the Executive. The Senate dreading the violence of the Executive, yet unwilling to con-

less it, or yield the shadow of that supreme power, which by right and the constitution belonged to it; chose for its president, John Orlando, a man remarkable only for his having married the sister of Conduriottis, who was remarkable only for being the richest man in Greece.

Jealousies soon manifested themselves very plainly: the Senate accused the Executive of ambitious designs, and a wish to use unconstitutional means to raise money. While the Executive accused the Senate of cramping its exertions, by refusing it the power to levy taxes for the support of the war, and the defence of the country.

A kind of surly union between the two bodies being at last effected, Colocotroni, Vice President of the executive, (who knew no more about government than he did about the letters of the alphabet,) left Tripolitza for the army.

Scarcely was he gone than the other party began to take courage. Orlando was induced to resign his post as President of the Senate;* and Alexander Mavrocordato was chosen in his place. As soon as Colocotroni heard of this, he came furiously back to Tripolitza with a body of his soldiers, swearing vengeance against the Senate, for daring to elevate his enemy to this high post; and against Mavrocordato for daring to accept it. So outrageous was he, that Mavrocordato was obliged to fly, and took refuge in Hydra, where he had long been making friends, and where he tried to raise a party strong enough to oppose the military one.

This violent outrage on the part of the executive, was upon the plea that Mavrocordato was bound to serve as its chief secretary, and insisted that the Senate should choose another President. But this body remained firm, as it had reason and common sense on its side. The senators, however, left Tripolitza, and convened at the island of Salamis, where they were secure from the influence that the Executive might exercise over them, by means of the soldiery. A war of recrimination was now commenced between the Senate and the Executive; proclamations, protests, and declarations flew thickly and fast;

* It is probable that Orlando, who is an imbecile, was induced by Mavrocordato to resign and make way for him, upon the promise of being sent to London, a deputy for the projected loan.

and no other business was thought of. But the enemy was making progress; danger began to press upon the country, and the Senate, unwilling to break with the Executive, and cause a civil war, which it knew would follow, consented to come to Argos, eight miles from Napoli, where the Executive was. The latter, not content with this step, insisted that the Senate should enter the walls of Napoli, and hold its meetings there. But this would have been going into the den of the lion; for Napoli was commanded by Panos, eldest son of Colocotroni; many of whose soldiers would have mocked at any one, who should have talked to them of other, or higher authority, than that of the chief who paid and fed them. Colocotroni himself, had a short time before resigned his place in the Executive, allured by the expected plunder of Corinth; but he had influence in that body by means of his creature, Andreas Metaxas, a member of it.

Finding all attempts to bring a majority of the Senate over to their side, (the grand question being the sale of national lands, which the chiefs wished to effect,) the Executive sent Panos Colocotroni and Niketas to Argos, to argue the case with the Senate. And that their arguments might be prevailing ones, those chiefs were directed to take a body of armed men with them. They did so, and entering the chamber where the Senate was, they used violent and threatening language; the sitting was broken up, and the senators fled. The records were seized by the chiefs, which was the principal object; for with these, and the small minority of senators which was on its side, the Executive hoped to put a good appearance on the business. But in the evening, a Captain Zapherepoles contrived to get both soldiers and chiefs merry with wine; and while they were dancing, he carried off the records and archives, and restored them to the Senate.

The senators re-assembled at Cranidhi, in the southern part of the Argolis, and immediately proceeded to depose the Executive, after the members of it had been found guilty, by a commission of nine senators, on the following charges: 1. For having misapplied the funds of the land and sea forces. 2. For having allowed two members to carry on the functions of the Executive. 3. For promoting officers contrary to law. 4. For

having sold the cannon at Napoli without consulting the Senate. 5. For uniting the cantons of St. Pierre and Pratos, without consulting the Senate. 6. For selling Turkish slaves contrary to law. 7. For having proclaimed the sale of national property, without consulting the Senate. 8. For allowing the finance minister to establish a monopoly of salt. 9. For sending Mr. Metaxa, a member of the Executive, to Carilis, and leaving the supreme body of the state with only two persons; and from that period having avoided all correspondence with the Senate. 10. For allowing Metaxa to officiate as a member of the Executive, after he had been sentenced to a dismissal by a commission of the Senate. 11. For not allowing Mr. Colletti to officiate as a member of the Executive, after he had been chosen by the Senate. 12. For having allowed an armed body to molest the Senate while at Argos.*

The Senate immediately proceeded to elect a new Executive, of which George Conduriottis was President; Paniotti Botazis, John Coletti, and Nikolo Londos, were the members: the fifth was not named.

The minority of the Senate retired to Tripolitza, where Colocotroni himself held the power; and some attempts were made to keep up the pretension of being the lawful government, while preparations were carried on to make it a real one, by force. The different chiefs in their provinces, were called upon to resist enslavement by the islanders.

The new Executive and the Senate took active and energetic measures to put down those whom they justly and legally considered rebels, and to get possession of Napoli di Romania.

Mavrocordato, having been appointed governor of Western Greece, sailed with a detachment of Hydriote vessels with

* It would be uninteresting to the majority of readers, to have traced out the civil feuds, and the actual hostilities which were carried on in the Peloponnesus in 1823, between the leading men in the different provinces. The outrageous measures of the prince of intriguers, Dillyan—of the quarrel between Londos, backed by Zaimis, and Sisine of Gastouni, and many others, the course of which cannot be followed except by an intimate knowledge of the springs of action—the varying interests of the different chiefs or primates—their connexions, intermarriages, &c. For one of the commonest pledges of faith between them, is the affiancing of their children. Sometimes an arrangement is made, by which the son of one chief is betrothed to the first daughter of the other, who may be born.

supplies for Missilonghi ; and, as has been seen, arrived before it, just after the retiring of the Scodrian Mustapha's army from before Anatolica. Having driven away the blockading Turkish vessels, Mavrocordato entered Missilonghi, and recommenced his administration far from the feuds which were distracting the Morea.

If the Greeks during this campaign had gained no very great advantages, their cause at least was strengthened by the mere continuance of the struggle ; as every insurrection gains strength, each moment that it is left uncrushed. They had been occupied with internal dissensions, it is true ; but then they had repulsed all the efforts of their enemy, to regain possession of the country. They had driven him from Eastern and Western Greece.

The insurrection had continued three years ; the whole power of the vast Turkish empire had been turned upon one of its smallest provinces ; it had been foiled in three successive campaigns in its attempts to put down this revolt. How was this ? Had the Greeks suddenly become heroes ; or were their means inexhaustible ? Neither the one nor the other ; the secret was, the weakness and imbecility of the Turkish government, which had neither money nor credit. The really vast resources of the army were altogether beyond the control of the Porte. It could only command one of its Pashaws to invade a certain district ; and the order was obeyed with fidelity or not, as the interest of the Pashaw might seem to dictate. Then his movements perhaps would be impeded, his resources cut off, his operations rendered useless, by the open or concealed opposition of other Pashaws, from jealousy or opposing interest.

Then there was no system in any one department of the government ; no general combination of measures ; no confidence to be placed in any proposed arrangements, which depended at all upon union at any particular time and place ; hence the results of all expeditions were doubtful. Then there was no discipline, no subordination among the soldiers.

It was from all these causes, and not from the spirit and resolution of the Greeks alone, that the insurrection was gradually but surely gaining ground, and better deserving the name of a revolution.

BOOK FOURTH.



CHAPTER I.

Arrival of Lord Byron in Greece—His feelings—Opinions about Greece—Raises a corps of five hundred men—His difficulties with the mutinous Suliotes—Altercations with Col. Stanhope—Lord Byron's services to Greece—His expenses—Intentions—His death—Honours paid to his memory. [1824.]

THIS year was marked by an event, most important to Greece, and most interesting to the world; the arrival of Lord Byron. And as the motives which induced him to join his fortunes to those of the Greeks, as well as his conduct while among them, have been the subjects of various misrepresentations, it may be well to examine both of them.

Greece was to Byron a land of peculiar and thrilling interest. In his boyhood, he had imbibed that strong admiration of the genius and taste of her people, which every one must do, who *feels* the beauties of her classics. In his youth, he had made a pilgrimage to her venerable land; he gazed with all a poet's admiration on her wild and beautiful scenery; he trod with awe on the graves of her heroes; and was filled with pleasing melancholy, when

“Wandering slow by Delphi's sacred side,
Or gazing o'er the plain, where Greek and Persian died.”

Well may it be said of any one, as Byron said—

“Cold is the heart, fair Greece! that looks on thee,
Nor feels as lovers o'er the dust they loved;
Dull is the eye that will not weep, to see
Thy walls defaced, thy mouldering shrines removed.”

But where other, and common minds, are irresistibly carried away by feelings of deep, yet indescribably pleasing melancholy, what must have been the emotions of a mind like Byron's! Surely we may credit him when he says, he never was so happy elsewhere. And never were feelings of intense interest expressed in a more beautiful manner than that in which he speaks of Greece :

“ He who hath bent him o'er the dead,
Ere the first day of death has fled ;
Ere decay's effacing fingers
Have swept the lines where beauty lingers,
And marked the mild angelic air,
The rapture of repose that's there ;
The fixed yet tender traits that streak
The languor of the placid cheek,
And, but for that sad shrouded eye,
That weeps not, wins not, fires not, now,
And but for that chill changeless brow—
* * * * *

Yes, but for these, and these alone,
Some moments, ay, one treacherous hour,
He still might doubt the tyrant's power,
So fair, so calm, so softly seal'd,
The first, last look by death reveal'd.
Such is the aspect of this shore ;
'Tis Greece, but living Greece no more !
So coldly sweet, so deadly fair,
We start, for soul is wanting there,
Hers is the loveliness in death,
That parts not quite with parting breath ;
But beauty with that fearful bloom,
That hue which haunts it to the tomb,
Expression's last receding ray,
A gilded halo hovering round decay.”

All this he felt, and others too have felt, while standing among the ruins of the Parthenon, surrounded by temples which have stood the shock of more than two thousand years, and which still preserve a degree of grandeur, and beauty of proportion, which the proudest efforts of modern genius cannot equal. Gazing from the Acropolis of Athens, over a landscape, in itself most beautiful ; but connected as it is, with a thousand and a thousand endearing recollections, the most interesting ; a scene which the ignorant shepherd will bend o'er his crook,

and look upon for hours ; where the phlegmatic Mussulman will check his horse, and condescend to wonder ; where the scholar will involuntarily stretch out his arms, and hold his breath as though stifled with emotion ;—there did the mind of Byron revel in pleasures of its own creation ; and there was he inspired with that strong and glowing admiration of Greece, which never left him till the hour when he breathed his last, in her cause, on her shore, and with her name on his lips.

How did he then lament over the degradation of the Greeks, and sigh for the day of their regeneration ; nay, he almost foresaw, and prophesied it !

“ And many dream withal that hour is nigh,
That gives them back their fathers' heritage,” &c.

He heard with interest the thrilling news that Greece had started up from her bondage, and was trying to break her chains on the head of her oppressors ; he traced with anxiety the progress of events, and as soon as he was convinced that the struggle was general and permanent ; as soon as he had a rational conviction that he might be of use, he determined to join his fortunes to the cause. But this determination was not a rash, unpremeditated one ; Byron did not, as many have supposed, embark in this adventure with the wild enthusiasm of a poet alone. Far from it ; he had coolly examined the question ; he had sought for information on every side ; and he formed his plans of action with a degree of caution and judgment, which did honour to his head, as did the motives to his heart. And it will be found on examination, that while others, men of the world and business, who engaged in the cause, were often, in their novel and almost romantic situation, led into gross errors by their enthusiasm—Byron, the child of genius, the pupil of passion, displayed coolness and wisdom in almost every public act.

After making every necessary arrangement, he embarked from Leghorn for Greece, and landed at Cephalonia, one of the Ionian Islands, lying off the western coast of Greece. Here his prudence was displayed ; he knew that dissensions existed in the Morea ; that he should be claimed by all parties ; and he determined to do nothing rashly, but to wait at Cephalonia, until

he could ascertain the true state of things, and determine to what quarter his exertions ought to be directed.

Here too, he prepared to act in the way he found was most needed, viz. by a proper application of money. "I have written," he says, in a letter dated 13th October, 1823, "to our friend Douglas Kinnaird on my own matters, desiring him to send me out all the further credits he can command, (and I have a year's income and the sale of a manor besides, he tells me, before me;) for till the Greeks get their loan, it is probable I shall have to stand partly paymaster, as far as I am good upon 'Change, that is to say. I pray you to repeat as much to him; and say that I must, in the interim, draw on Messrs. R—— most formidably. To say the truth, I do not grudge it, now the fellows have begun to fight again; and still more welcome shall they be, if they will go on. But they have had, or are to have, four thousand pounds (besides some extraordinaries for widows, orphans, refugees, and rascals of all descriptions) of mine at one 'swoop,' and it is to be expected the next will be as much more: and how can I refuse it, if they will fight; and especially if I should happen to be in their company? I therefore request and require, that you should apprise my trusty and trustworthy trustee, and banker, and crown and sheet anchor, Douglas Kinnaird the honourable, that he prepare all moneys of mine, including the purchase money of Rochdale manor, and mine income for the year A. D. 1824, to answer and anticipate any orders, or drafts of mine, for the good cause, in good and lawful money of Great Britain, etc. etc. etc. May you live a thousand years! which is 999 longer than the Spanish Cortes' constitution."

While at Cephalonia,* applications poured in upon him from

* One circumstance which occurred should be noticed:—"While at Metaxata, the fall of a large mass of earth had buried some persons alive. He heard of the accident while at dinner, and starting up from the table, ran to the spot, accompanied by his physician, who took with him a supply of medicines. The labourers, who were engaged in digging out their companions, soon became alarmed for themselves, and refused to go on, saying, they believed they had dug out all the bodies which had been covered by the ruins. Lord Byron endeavoured to induce them to continue their exertions; but finding menaces in vain, he seized a spade and began to dig most zealously; at length the peasants joined him, and they succeeded in saving two more persons from certain death."—*Col. Medwin.*

every quarter, and from every faction. The noise had gone abroad that he was bringing immense sums of money, and each party was anxious to secure the largest share of it. On a cool examination he was convinced that Western Greece was the part which most needed his assistance ; and in this, he was undoubtedly correct. The Pashaw of Scutari was preparing to pour down his hordes through *Ætolia* and *Arcanania* ; there was only *Botzaris* to oppose him, and he without other means, than a small devoted band and his own heroic resolution. Should he be defeated, there was no hope but in defending *Missilonghi* ; this lost, all Western Greece would be so, and no barrier remain to the invasion of the *Morea* from the North. *Missilonghi* therefore was the spot for active and useful exertion, and to *Missilonghi* he prepared to go. But he had already begun to render most important assistance to Government, and among other acts was a loan to them of \$30,000, at a time when no one else would lend them, and when the probability of re-payment was small.

Having arranged every thing, he sailed from *Missilonghi*, with two small vessels, on board which he had embarked his whole equipage. He was in one with his *Suliot* attendants ; the other was directed by young *Pietro*, Count *Gamba*, his constant companion. On the passage he had a very narrow escape from a Turkish frigate,—running close past her ; *Gamba* was not so fortunate ; he was taken, and carried into *Patrass*. The circumstances of his escape with life were curious : the Turks had very little respect for the English Ionian flag, and when the vessel was boarded, the Captain, an Ionian Greek, terrified by the menaces of the Turks, confessed he was bound for *Missilonghi*. They were all ordered on board the frigate, and were about to be loaded with irons, when the Turkish commander discovered in the Captain of *Gamba's* vessel, the man who had saved his life many years before. This made their condition better, and on being brought before the Pashaw, *Gamba*, finding nothing but a bold stroke would save them, put on an insolent haughty look, and upbraiding the Pashaw in bitter terms for detaining an English nobleman on his travels, swore most roundly that he was bound to *Calamos*, on a voyage of pleasure ; that his Captain had told a lie out of fear ; and

threatened the Pashaw with the vengeance of the British Government, if he was not immediately released.

It succeeded completely ; the Pashaw was frightened, made a thousand apologies, loaded Gamba with compliments, and invited him to stay, and enjoy the pleasures of a hunt with him the next day. This was declined, and Gamba gladly got away, and crossed over to Missilonghi. Here he found Byron had been detained by his vessel getting aground, and having been somewhat endangered. His attendants, and his surgeon, expressed their admiration of the coolness with which Byron had conducted himself ; and the same day he arrived at Missilonghi without the loss of any thing. The reception of Byron at Missilonghi was such as must have been flattering to him ; the vessels and batteries all saluted him as he passed ; Mavrocordato received him on the shore, at the head of the civil authorities ; and all the wild soldiery of the country, by a most extraordinary effort at regularity, stood in a tolerably straight line along the street as he passed.

He saw at once on arrival at Missilonghi, the immense task that was before him ; there was a necessity of reducing every thing to order ; but as his feelings were all military, or to use his own words, as he was quite '*soldier-mad*,' he devoted the principal part of his time, attention and money, to the army. He was appointed by Government to the command of 3000 men ; and he agreed to raise, equip, and support at his own expense, 500 of them. He immediately occupied himself about this, and attended personally to every department.*

His selection of the Suliotes to form his corps, was the greatest mistake he made ; yet one into which almost every foreigner would have fallen, even without that preference

* "Two forge-carts were fitted up in the arsenal-yard, until the work-shops were ready ; a number of labourers, masons, and sailors, all of them, however, very rude workmen, were hired to assist. Charcoal was procured from the country, for the smith's and tinman's work, and every thing was driven forward with as much exertion as possible. The people of England, who have been amused by the records of some trifling peculiarities of Lord Byron, little know to what privations and sacrifices he submitted, to promote the cause of the Greeks. He cheered us on in all these operations ; and what is more, he advanced all the money necessary to execute them."—*Capt. Parry.*

which Byron felt for them, from the circumstance of his life having been once preserved by them, and he very hospitably treated in their mountains. The Suliotes were undoubtedly the bravest men in Greece, and they had enjoyed the reputation for bravery many years; they had never yielded to the Turks; neither they nor their fathers had paid the shameful *karatch*; they had been from time immemorial free, living in the fastnesses of their mountains, in proud defiance and eternal hostility to the Mussulmen. They were firm and faithful in the hour of danger, but would submit to no discipline; would not go where it did not suit them; nor follow any leader longer than he paid them. This Byron found to be their character; but obstacles only increased his ardour, and his military zeal was not in the least cooled: he was continually surrounded by military men of all nations, his rooms were filled with arms and every implement of war; and the scholar seemed to be lost in the warrior. One great object which he had at heart, was the mitigation of the horrors of the war, by better treatment of prisoners; and one of the very first acts, after his arrival, was his setting at liberty several Turkish prisoners, who had been treated by the Greeks as little better than slaves.* He mitigated also the sufferings of many others.

* The following anecdote related by Parry, will give an idea of Byron's whimsical way of doing good:—"On one occasion he had saved twenty-four Turkish women and children from slavery, and all its accompanying horrors. I was summoned to attend him, and receive his orders, that every thing should be done which might contribute to their comfort. He was seated on a cushion at the upper end of the room, the women and children were standing before him, with their eyes fixed steadily upon him; and on his right hand was his interpreter, who was extracting from the women a narrative of their sufferings. One of them, apparently about thirty years of age, possessing great vivacity, and whose manners and dress, though she was then dirty and disfigured, indicated she was superior in rank and condition to her companions, spoke for the whole.

"I admired the good order the others preserved, never interfering with the explanation or interrupting the single speaker. I also admired the rapid manner in which the interpreter explained every thing they said, so as to make it almost appear that there was but one speaker. After a short time, it was evident, that what Lord Byron was hearing, affected his feelings; his countenance changed, his colour went and came, and I thought he was ready to weep. But he had on all occasions a ready and peculiar knack, in turning conversation from any disagreeable or unplea-

The duties and cares which devolved upon Lord Byron were considerably augmented by the charge which he had, of acting as one of the agents of the London Greek Committee, for the application of the supplies which they sent out, and the expenditure of money. In this task he was associated with Colonel Leicester Stanhope of the British army. This excellent man, and devoted Philhellene, with the most ardent wishes for the good of Greece, and the greatest activity in the prosecution of them, seemed to be acting just the part which any one would have prophesied that Byron would have played—that of a visionary enthusiast. With him, the only means of saving Greece, were establishing free presses, Lancasterian schools, and posts. “It is false,” said he, “that gold and iron are the sinews of war; they are only the accessaries.”

Stanhope and Byron could never agree; the latter would not join him cordially in establishing free presses, and for it

“sant subject; and he had recourse to this expedient. He rose up suddenly, and turning round on his heel, as was his wont, he said something quickly to his interpreter, who immediately repeated it to the women. All eyes were instantly fixed on me, and one of the party, a young and beautiful woman, spoke very warmly. Lord Byron seemed satisfied, and said they might retire. The women all slipped off their shoes in an instant, and going up to his Lordship, each in succession, accompanied by their children, kissed his hand fervently, invoked, in the Turkish manner, a blessing both on his head and heart, and then quitted the room. This was too much for Lord Byron, and he turned his face away to conceal his emotion. When he had recovered a little, I reminded him of our conversation, and I told him I had caught him at last. Addressing me in the sort of sea-slang I sometimes talked to him, and which he liked to repeat, he replied, ‘You are right, old boy; you have got me in the *bunt*—‘I am an Englishman.’ I afterwards understood, that when Lord Byron had so suddenly changed the topic of conversation, he made the interpreter tell the females that I wanted to form a seraglio, and was looking out for pretty women. The young person I have mentioned, who seemed sensible that she was most concerned in this, inquired vehemently if I were a Greek; and protested if I were, she would suffer instant death rather than submit. Perhaps what Lord Byron said to these unfortunate persons may appear somewhat unfeeling to the reader. I shall however, beg leave to remind him of the Turkish mode of wooing; that the phrase ‘forming a seraglio,’ is merely tantamount ‘to taking a wife;’ and that under ordinary circumstances, a young Turkish female would probably hear it with the same sort of pleasure that one of our fair countrywomen would learn that a favourite swain was soliciting for the honour of her hand.”—*Capt. Parry.*

he has been much blamed abroad. But his reasons should be heard. "He would have had no objection," he said "if the Greeks themselves had chosen to do it ; but he thought that foreigners who come to Greece, should not begin by promoting discussion that must lead to discord. The press in Greece must be in the hands of foreign visionaries and enthusiasts. Practical men had other occupations ; and it was therefore placing the power in the hands of adventurers.

"Prince Mavrocordato had wished to establish one at the seat of Government, where it would have been more under control, and could be instrumental in promoting unity of views, and in contributing to general concord. But this was to be a power different from that of the Government, and would thwart its views, whenever they were opposed to its own ambition. It was not like the free press of Great Britain, where one journal was a check on another ; it was a single journal, established by foreign assistance, and destined only to promote the views of the theorists who established it. If the Greeks wished to have newspapers, they would establish them ; now, they would be looked on as the work of foreigners, and intended to promote their views. They must be a means of sowing jealousy and mistrust. They might attack private individuals, and might give umbrage to foreign powers. There was no practice to regulate the mode of conducting them, and laws could not be immediately formed to check all their excesses. He who was attacked, and could not wield the pen, would reply with his sword ; and bloodshed and anarchy would be the consequence of discussing theories of government, before independence was obtained."

This continual disagreement with Colonel Stanhope, gave rise to many bickerings which fretted Byron. Stanhope adopted Ulysses, (the man who subsequently proved false) for his hero, and seemed to wish to support him in every thing ; while Byron resolved to uphold the general Government, be it composed of whom it might. He saw the necessity of having but one head to direct, and one hand, and that a rigid one, to govern ; he did not look upon the people

the affections of all around him. Nothing will show the character of Byron in a better light than a critical examination of his conduct in Greece; nothing can so effectually remove the aspersions which have been cast upon his memory* since his death, by cowardly slanderers who would have quailed before him when alive.

Col. Stanhope was no admirer of Byron, and being a man of too much honour and spirit to flatter, his words may be quoted as good authority:—"Lord Byron was chivalrous even to Quixotism. This might have lowered him in the opinion of the wise, had he not given some extraordinary proofs of the noblest courage. For example, the moment he recovered from that alarming fit which took place in my room, he inquired again and again, with the utmost composure, whether he was in danger. If in danger, he desired the physician honestly to apprise him of it, for he feared not death. Soon after this dreadful paroxysm, when Lord Byron, faint with over-bleeding, was lying on his sick bed, with his whole nervous system completely shaken, the mutinous Suliotes, covered with dirt, and splendid attires, broke into his apartment, brandishing their costly arms, and loudly demanding their wild rights. Lord Byron, electrified by this unexpected act, seemed to recover from his sickness; and the more the Suliotes raged, the more his calm courage triumphed. The scene was truly sublime."—*Col. Stanhope*, p. 536.

The new and dignified station in which he was placed, seemed to call forth the higher and nobler faculties of his mind; and though not always free from light frivolity, his conduct was conformable to the principles he advocated. He had many difficulties to contend with, particularly from the turbulent Suliotes; but he was getting over them one after another, and was preparing to march and attack the fortress of Lepanto; when he was seized with the disease, which proved fatal to him in ten days.

The news of his death was a shock to all Greece; and no better proof is wanted of the high opinion in which he was held

* "Lord Byron's generosity is before the world; he promised to devote his large income to the cause of Greece, and he honestly acted up to his pledge."—*Stanhope*, p. 544.

by the Greeks, than the expression of their feelings during his sickness, and after his death. On this being known, Mavrocordato issued a proclamation,* directing the funeral ceremo-

* Ἀρ. 1185. ΠΡΟΣΩΡΙΝΗ ΔΙΟΙΚΗΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ.

Αἱ παρούσαι χαρμόσυται ἡμέραι γίνονται διὰ θεοῦ ἡμᾶς ἡμέραι πένθους.

Ὁ Ἄρθ' Νόελ Βυρῶν ἀπέβρασε σήμερον εἰς τὴν ἄλλην ζωὴν, παρὶ τὰς ἰνδικὰς ἡμέρας τὴν ἰσθμῶν, μετὰ μιαν ἀσθίνειαν φλογιστικοῦ ρευματικοῦ πυρετοῦ 10 ἡμερῶν.

Καὶ πρὶν ἀκόμη χωρισθῆ ἡ ψυχὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, ἡ κοινὴ κατῆφεια ἔλασεν ἐπὶ τὴν Φιλίπιν ἡσθάνετο ἡ καρδία θεῶν, καὶ ὅλοι μικροὶ καὶ μεγάλοι, ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες νικημένοι ἀπὸ τὴν Φιλίπιν, ἰλισμονήσατε τὸ Πάσχα.

Ἡ στέρσις αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λαμπροῦ ὑποκειμένου εἶναι βέβαια πολλὰ ἀσθνατικὴ δι' ἑλν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀλλὰ εἶναι πολὺ περισσοτέρως ἀξιοθρήνητος διὰ αὐτὴν τὴν Πόλιν, τὴν ὁποία ἠγάσασε διαφερόντως, καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν ἰπολιτογράφη, καὶ ἀσφάσειν σταθερῶν ἔχεν ἂν τὸ ἔφερον ἢ περισσασίς γὰ γενῆ κα προσωπικῶς συμμέτοχος τῶν κινδύνων τῆς.

Καθένας βλίπτει ἑμπαρὸς τοῦ τᾶς πλουσίας πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν εὐεργασίας το, κα μῆτε ἴπασαι μῆτε παῦει κῶσις μὲ εὐγνώμονα κα ἀλλοθινὴ φωνὴν γὰ τὸν ὀνομάζῃ εὐεργέτην.

Ἔως οὐ γὰ γνωσσοιθεὶ αἱ διαταγαὶ τῆς Ἐθικῆς Διοικήσεως περ αὐτο τοῦ πολυθρηνῆτος συμβάντος,

Δυνάμει τοῦ ὑπ' ἄρ. 314 κα ἡμ. 15 Ὀκτωβρίου Θεσπιδματος το Βουλευτικῆ καὶ Σάμματος,

Διατάσσεται,

α.) Ἀῦριον, μίλις ἀνατείλῃ ὁ ἥλιος, γὰ πῖσου ἀπὸ τὸ μεγάλο κανονισμῶν τοῦ τεύχους αὐτῆς τῆς Πόλιος 37 Κανονισμῶν (μία τὸ κῆθι λεπτάν), κατὰ τὸν ὀγαρθμ τῶν χρόνων τῆς ζωῆς το ἀσποθανόντος.

β.) Ὅλα τὰ κοινὰ ὑπουργεῖα, διὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας κατὰ συνέχμαν, γὰ κλισσοθῶν, ἑμπατριχομῆτων κα τῶν κριτηρίων.

γ.) Νὰ κλισσοθῶν δια τὰ ἔργαστήρια ἐκτός ἐκείνων, ὅπου παλοῦνται τροφα, κα' ἰατρικὰ κα γὰ λείψουν τὰ μουσικὸ παιγνῖδια, οἱ συνειθισμένοι εἰς αὐτὰς τὰς ἡμέρας χοροὶ, γὰ πύσου τὰ φαγοσώτια εἰς τὰ κρασοσώλια, κα κάθε ἄλλο εἶδος κεινο ξηφαντάματος.

δ.) Νὰ γενῆ 21 ἡμέρας Γενικὴ πινθηφορία.

ε.) Νὰ γίνου ἰατικῶδεις δέσεις εἰς ὅλας τὰς ἑκκελσίας.

Ἐν Μισολογγίῃ τὴν 7 Ἀπριλίου 1824.

Τ. Σ. Α. Μαυροκεφάλτος.

Ὁ Γραμματεὺς Γεώργιος Πραϊδῆς.

Ἐκ τῆς Τυπογραφίας Δ. Μισθογιάνου.

nies to be performed. But it was not alone the pomp and ceremonies, civil, military, and religious which were performed, but the general anxiety and grief expressed by all classes; every morning and every evening, during his sickness, crowds collected around his house to inquire for his health, and the ordinary salutation of the day seemed to be exchanged for the eager question, How is Lord Byron? A deep gloom pervaded Missolonghi, which was more remarkable as it happened during

(TRANSLATION.)

Art. 1185. *Provincial Government of Western Greece.*

The present day of festivity and rejoicing is turned into one of sorrow and mourning.

The Lord Noel Byron departed this life at eleven o'clock last night, after an illness of ten days; his death being caused by an inflammatory fever. Such was the effect of his Lordship's illness on the public mind, that all classes had forgotten their recreations of Easter, even before the afflicting end was known.

The loss of this illustrious individual is undoubtedly to be deplored by all Greece; but it must be more especially a subject of lamentation at Missolonghi, where his generosity has been so conspicuously displayed, and of which he had even become a citizen, with the ulterior determination of participating in all the dangers of the war.

Every body is acquainted with the beneficent acts of his Lordship, and none can cease to hail his name as that of a real benefactor.

Until, therefore, the final determination of the National Government be known, and by virtue of the powers with which it has been pleased to invest me: I hereby decree.

1st. To-morrow morning at daylight, 37 minute-guns shall be fired from the grand battery, being the number which corresponds with the age of the deceased.

2d. All the public offices, even to the tribunals, are to remain closed for three successive days.

3d. All the shops, except those in which provisions or medicines are sold, will also be shut: and it is strictly enjoined, that every species of public amusement, and other demonstrations of festivity at Easter, may be suspended.

4th. A general mourning will be observed for twenty-one days.

5th. Prayers and a funeral service are to be offered up in all the churches.

(Signed)

A. MAVROCORDATOS.

GIORGIUS PRAIDIS,

Secretary.

Given at Missolonghi,
this 19th day of April, 1824.

the celebration of the great Easter festivals, to which the Greeks are so much attached. His friend Count Gamba says—"At sunrise, on the 20th, seven and thirty minute guns were fired from the principal battery of the fortress; and one of the batteries of the corps under his orders also fired one gun every half hour, for the succeeding four and twenty hours. We were soon apprized that the Turks at Patrass, hearing our cannon, and learning the cause, testified their satisfaction, and insulted over our sorrows by discharges of musketry; this tribute alone was wanting to the memory of the benefactor of Greece; but the barbarians may have occasion to lament the loss of the friend of humanity, and the protector of the oppressed."

"April 21.—For the remainder of this day and the next, a silence, like that of the grave, prevailed over the whole city. We intended to have performed the funeral ceremony on the twenty-first, but the continued rain prevented us. The next day (22d), however, we acquitted ourselves of that sad duty, as far as our humble means would permit. In the midst of his own brigade, of the troops of the Government, and of the whole population, on the shoulders of the officers of his corps, relieved occasionally by other Greeks, the most precious portion of his honoured remains were carried to the church, where lie the bodies of Marco Botzaris, and of General Normann."

"There we laid them down: the coffin was a rude ill-constructed chest of wood; a black mantle served for a pall, and over it we placed a helmet, a sword, and a crown of laurel. But no funeral pomp could have left the impression nor spoken the feelings of this simple ceremony."

"The wretchedness and desolation of the place itself; the wild and half civilized warriors around us; their deep felt unaffected grief; the fond recollection; the disappointed hopes; the anxieties and sad presentiments, which might be read on every countenance; all contributed to form a scene more moving, more affecting, than perhaps was ever before witnessed round the grave of a great man."

An oration was pronounced over his body by Spedition Tricoupi, a Greek, of some oratorical talent, as the following

extracts will show, though robbed of half their beauty by translation.

“Unlooked for event! deplorable misfortune! But a short time has elapsed since the people of this deeply suffering country welcomed, with unfeigned joy and open arms, this celebrated individual to their bosoms; to-day, overwhelmed with grief and despair, they bathe his funeral-couch with tears of bitterness, and mourn over it with inconsolable affliction. On Easter Sunday, the happy salutation of the day, “Christ is risen,” remained but half pronounced on the lips of every Greek; and as they met, before even congratulating one another on the return of that joyous day, the universal demand was, “How is Lord Byron?” Thousands, assembled in the spacious plain outside of the city to commemorate the sacred day, appeared as if they had assembled for the sole purpose of imploring the Saviour of the world to health him who was a partaker with us in our present struggle for the deliverance of our native land.”

“And how is it possible that any heart should remain unmoved, and lip closed, upon the present occasion? Was ever Greece in greater want of assistance, than when the ever-to-be-lamented Lord Byron, at the peril of his life, crossed over to Missolonghi? Then, and ever since he has been with us, his liberal hand has ever been opened to our necessities; necessities which our own poverty would have otherwise rendered irremediable. How many and much greater benefits did we not expect from him! and to-day, alas! to-day, the unrelenting grave closes over him and our hopes!”

“Thus far, my friends, you have seen him liberal, generous, courageous—a true Philhellenist; and you have seen him as your benefactor. This is, indeed, a sufficient cause for your tears, but it is not sufficient for the greatness of the undertaking in which he had engaged. He whose death we are now so deeply deploring, was a man, who in one great branch of literature, gave his name to the age in which we live; the vastness of his genius, and the richness of his fancy, did not permit him to follow the splendid though beaten track of the literary fame of the ancients: he chose a new road—a road which ancient prejudice had endeavoured, and was still endeavouring,

to shut against the learned of Europe : but as long as his writings live, and they must live as long as the world exists, this road will remain always open ; for it is, as well as the other, a sure road to true knowledge. I will not detain you at the present time by expressing all the respect and enthusiasm with which the perusal of his writings has always inspired me, and which, indeed, I feel much more powerfully now, than at any other period. The learned men of all Europe celebrate him, and have celebrated him ; and all ages will celebrate the poet of our age, for he was born for all Europe, and for all ages."

"Although born in the great capital of England,* of noble descent on the side of both his father and his mother, what unfeigned joy did his Philhellenic heart feel, when our poor city, in token of our gratitude, inscribed his name among the number of her citizens ! In the agonies of death ; yes, at a moment when eternity appeared before him ; as he was lingering on the brink of mortal and immortal life ; when all the material world appeared but a speck in the great works of Divine Omnipotence ; in that awful hour, but two names dwelt upon the lips of this illustrious individual, leaving all the world besides—the names of his only, and much loved daughter, and of Greece : these two names, deeply engraven on his heart, even the moment of death could not efface. "My Daughter!" he said : "Greece!" he exclaimed, and his spirit passed away. What Grecian heart will not be deeply affected as often as it recalls this moment!"

"Oh Daughter ! most dearly beloved by him, your arms will receive him ; your tears will bathe the tomb which shall contain his body ; and the tears of the orphans of Greece will be shed over the urn containing his precious heart, and over all the land of Greece ; for all the land of Greece is his tomb. As in the last moment of his life, you and Greece were alone in his heart, and upon his lips, it was but just that she (Greece) should retain a share of his most precious remains. Missilonghi, his country, will ever watch over and protect with all her strength, the urn containing his venerated heart, as a symbol of his love towards us. All Greece, clothed in mourning, and inconsolable, accompanies the procession in which it is borne ; ecclesi-

* The orator appears to have had the idea that Byron was born in London.

astical, civil, and military honours attend it ; all his fellow-citizens of Missilonghi, and fellow-countrymen of Greece follow it, crowning it with their gratitude, and bedewing it with their tears ; it is blessed by the pious benedictions and prayers of our Archbishop, Bishop, and all our clergy. Learn, noble Lady, learn that Chieftains bore it on their shoulders, and carried it to the church ; thousands of Greek soldiers lined the way through which it passed, with the muzzles of their muskets which had destroyed so many tyrants, pointed towards the ground, as though they would war against that earth which was to deprive them for ever of the sight of their benefactor ;—all the crowd of soldiers, ready at a moment to march against the implacable enemy of Christ and man, surrounded the funeral couch, and swore never to forget the sacrifices made by your Father for us, and never to allow the spot where his heart is placed, to be trampled upon by barbarous and tyrannical feet. Thousands of Christian voices were at that moment heard, and the temple of the Almighty resounded with supplications and prayers, that his venerated remains might be safely conveyed to his native land,—that his soul might rest where alone the righteous find rest. ♣

This oration was published by order of the General Government, who testified in every possible way their gratitude for the services of Lord Byron, as well as respect for his memory. Nor was there any other sentiment throughout the country.

With the faults and foibles of Byron, Greece had nothing to do—she knew nothing of them ; to her he was only “ὁ Μεγάλος καὶ καλός.*” Greece knew him only as the man whose early admiration of her, expressed in the strong and glowing language of poetic genius had served to fix the attention of many upon her ; as the man who when she rose, and commenced her struggle for freedom, while her prospects were yet

* Crossing the Gulf Salamis one day in a boat with a rough mountain Captain and his men, I pulled out a volume of Byron's works, and was reading : the wind blowing open the leaves, the Captain caught a glimpse of the portrait, and recognised it. He begged to take the book, and looking for a moment with melancholy, at the face of the noble lord, he kissed it, and passed it to his men who did the same, saying *προν Μεγάλος καὶ καλός*.

uncertain and dark—left the enjoyments of those pleasures and luxuries, which wealth and exalted station could command, to share with her privations and danger ;—to expend in her cause, his fortune ; and to sacrifice in her service, and on her shore his life. If there was a man whose Philhellenism was ardent and unaffected ;—if there was a man whose wishes for the good of Greece, and whose exertions to promote it, were sincere, strong and untiring ;—if there was a man who merits her everlasting gratitude ;—that man was Byron, and Byron will have it.

CHAPTER II.

The Islanders gain the ascendancy ; and the Presidency of Condiotti becomes secure—Proceedings of the Greek Government—Act of the 8th of June—Notice taken of it by the British Government—Repeal—Operations of the Turkish Fleet—Destruction of Ipsara—Miaulis destroys the Turkish Flotilla—Miaulis' Division returns to Hydra—Turkish Fleet attempts the Destruction of Samos—Successfully opposed by Sacturis—Naval Battle.

THE course of events which marked the progress of the Greek revolution during this year, seems to have been dwelt upon with peculiar delight by its friends abroad ; and not without reason ; for, viewed from abroad, the condition of the country appeared extremely favourable.

A loan of £300,000* had been negotiated in London ; the Turkish armies had been completely foiled in their attempts upon the country ; the Turkish fleet had been met by the Greek vessels, successfully opposed, and its progress arrested ; the internal administration was in the hands of the men of the most knowledge, and apparently of the most honesty, in the country.

But those upon the spot were witness to much of that jealousy, division, and civil war, which must ever mark the progress

* At 59 per cent. making 478,000*l*.

of an ignorant people through a revolution. It will be remembered that in 1823, the military Chieftains had got the power into their hands ; that they exercised it in such an illegal and tyrannical manner, that a kind of internal revolution was effected ; they were deposed, and the Executive power devolved upon the party of which Mavrocordato was the soul ; but the Islanders, particularly the Hydriotes, were the head. Conduriotti was President. The Senate, composed of about forty members from every part of the country, was really respectable. The military Chiefs were not all inclined to yield obedience to this Government,* and blinded the people in some of the Provinces to the illegality of their own proceedings. During the winter, a series of measures was followed by both parties, which was *DE FACTO*, carrying on civil war ; but Government hardly dared to take firm steps, and the Chiefs feared to make an open opposition. Tripolitza, and Napoli di Romania, were held by the party opposed to Government.

When Mr. E. Blaquire arrived at Zante with the first instalment of the English loan, £40,000, it was the great object of each party to get possession of it, as it would ensure them success. But there could be no doubt that the nominal Government was the real and legal one, and to their hands it fell : notwithstanding the attempt of the Chieftains to prevent its being paid at all.

There was the greatest want of money at the time, and the delay which was experienced in delivering it into the hands of Government was very dangerous.†

During the summer, the civil dissensions in some measure ceased, as the danger from the enemy pressed upon them. But they were afterwards renewed ; the Government took more vigorous measures ; the Chieftains Colocotroni, Andreas Londos, Sisseni, Andreas Zaimi, Dillyani, Niketas, and some others were denounced as rebels and enemies to their country, and the sword of justice was unsheathed against them. Government,

* They pretended that the time of the election of the members of Government had expired, and a new set ought to be chosen.

† The death of Lord Byron, and the non-arrival of Col. Gordon, two of the Commissioners appointed to receive the loan, caused much delay and embarrassment in the disposal of the money.

knowing well how much the people and soldiery of the Morea were attached to these Chieftains and Primates, was obliged to depend upon the soldiery from the North, Roumeliotes, and others. A Bulgarian, Hadja Christo, a man of most daring courage, and considerable military talent, was appointed to lead their forces. Not much bloodshed took place however. The principal affair was near Tripolitza, in which Panos, the eldest son of Colocotroni, and about forty men were killed. That place soon fell into the hands of Government, as well as Napoli. John Colletti, Minister of War, was the person most active and efficacious in prosecuting the affair on the part of Government. He possessed considerable talent for war as well as for intrigue; and he had more influence than any other man in bringing over the Roumeliote soldiers.

Public opinion was against the rebels, and their resistance was very short. They had but small pecuniary resources; their soldiers quitted them, and they were soon solitary fugitives. But with one single exception (that of Ulysses) not a man of them joined or even treated with the enemy. Ulysses had been supplanted by Gourah, formerly his lieutenant; who was now in the interest of Government, and had got command of the fortress of Athens.

Government was secure in Napoli, and one by one, the rebellious Chiefs came in, and delivered themselves up as prisoners. They were sent to Hydra, and confined in a monastery, but not rigorously treated.

Government went on taking such steps as seemed to it most proper for securing the country against the Turks, against the rebels, and for keeping itself in power. Nothing seemed wanting but the presence of Mavrocordato, to allow it to pursue with success, a course of policy similar to that followed by all civilized governments, for he was acknowledged by all to be the ablest head for politics, and the best acquainted with the crooked policy of the different European Courts. The first place in the Government could not be given him for many reasons, but all knew the force of an observation he had made to the President, who said to him "Mavrocordato, you know I am ignorant of politics; how can I serve if I accept?" "Never mind,—

never mind," replied the shrewd manager, "you shall be the ship, and I will be the rudder."

Mavrocordato had been during the whole year employed at Missilonghi, in Western Greece; of which province he was Governor, and which as has been seen, with the assistance of Lord Byron, he had put into a respectable posture of defence.

The part which Government had to play was in reality a difficult one; and might have embarrassed older and abler politicians than those composing it.

Among the numerous acts of the Greek Government which have incurred the displeasure of the powers in Europe, there was none which called forth so many remonstrances, or excited so much indignation, as that of the 8th of June, authorizing their cruisers to attack and destroy all European vessels, that might be found carrying supplies to the Turkish fortresses or armies, from Turkish ports. Yet it will be found on examination, that, even setting aside the possible ignorance of the Greek Government of all the intricacies of the (as yet unsettled) question of international maritime rights, there was nothing more natural than the feeling which prompted that edict; nothing more just and equitable than the manner of enforcing it.

The Greeks had now reached the fourth year of their struggle, unassisted,—nay, discouraged by the Cabinets of Europe. They had, almost beyond hope, successfully opposed four invasions; and they now saw with feelings of indignation, that all their prospects might be blasted, by means of European assistance given to their enemies. They knew that a vast army was about to be embarked at Alexandria for the Peloponessus; that this army would be transported, and its supplies brought by the merchant vessels of Austria, France, and England. They could make some opposition to the huge but unwieldy ships of the Turks, but how could they act against this new enemy? They saw every day, ships loaded with provisions enter the Turkish fortresses, which they were besieging; they saw men and ammunition every day brought to reinforce their enemy's armies, under the cover of European flags.

And what were their feelings? "If these men," said they, "in the sordid spirit of gain, will enlist themselves in the ser-

vice of the Turks, they become our enemies, and as our enemies we will treat them."

Upon the reception of this news, or as soon as he could get orders from London, Sir Frederick Adam, Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, gave notice that every British vessel of war in the Mediterranean, would seize and detain such Greek cruisers as they might find upon the seas, until the edict of the 8th June should be recalled by the Greek Government. An alteration was then made by Government, in the edict, which exempted from violent treatment, all neutral vessels which might not have Turkish troops on board. But they were obliged farther to alter it, and give up all right to molest neutral vessels, unless they were accompanying the Turkish fleet, or entering Turkish ports, under a state of actual blockade by sea.

Thus the Sultan was furnished with means of supplying his armies, which he had not himself in his own dominions; his fleets could not divide themselves into small squadrons, and keep up the necessary communication; *his vessels of war never dared to cross the seas singly*; and he had no merchantmen that could or would do it. In this situation he found ready relief from his embarrassments in the cupidity of European merchants, who eagerly offered their vessels to transport his troops; to carry them supplies of provision and ammunition; to bring back the prisoners that might be taken, for him to glut his love of blood upon; or the heads and ears of the slain to adorn the walls of his seraglio.

These merchants risked nothing; even if they were captured by the Greeks transporting Turkish troops or ammunition, they could only have their cargoes taken from them, and they be allowed to go without having a hair of their heads injured; nay, the Greeks were *obliged often to pay them their freight, and always a certain sum for demurrage*,* even if they were

* Who can wonder at the indignation felt by the Greek Government at such conduct. Who would not have felt, when seeing a foreign vessel conveying supplies to an army which was ravaging his country, an inclination to fire into and sink her, without asking one question, or listening to the coward cry for quarter! Yet what an uproar has been made in Europe and America, because the Greeks have not in every instance treated these their European

condemned as lawful prizes. And they could return to Alexandria or Constantinople, and reload, sure of their pay at all events, and sure that their Government would protect them, in a course so completely in accordance with the first principle of the Holy Alliance,—“down with all attempts to better the condition of the people.”

France looked on with cold indifference. Russia at the very onset by proclamation disapproved the attempt at revolution, and styled it *unjustifiable rebellion*. Britain, by her actions, proclaimed her sentiments to be the same; while Austria pursued a course most unjust in itself, and most vexatious and injurious to the Greeks. They were arrayed against all ‘the powers that be;’ and the few words of sympathy and commiseration that dropped from the lips of our first Magistrate in one of his Messages were seized upon with delight, and made the base of many fond, but alas! vain and disappointed hopes.

The tyrants of Europe frowned upon this attempt of liberty to rally in her ancient home, and they would openly have helped the Turks to drive her from Europe: but there was a spirit abroad at which they trembled; the chained lion was half roused:—PUBLIC OPINION would not be repressed; they felt it dangerous to check its course; and like able drivers, they slacked the rein during the moment of excitement, and there arose from all parts of Europe a cry of sympathy and encouragement by the people, which went to the heart of every Greek, and cheered and animated him in his toils and sufferings.

But the Porte, undiscouraged by the calamitous result of three successive campaigns, prepared for another and greater exertion. Violent means were used to sustain the public credit; the hated and dreaded Mehemet Ali had been called in to assist; and every arsenal in the empire rang with the

ides with all the kindness and politeness that was wished. It is only strange that they have been so well treated. The vast majority have got off with nothing worse than the pilfering their private property; and there are many who have been forced to say, they were never ashamed of their service, until they had seen how well the Greeks behaved to them.

I never knew but one American vessel thus engaged: she was from Boston.

note of preparation. to equip the formidable fleet, which was to carry death and destruction among the islands of the Archipelago : while the hordes of Albanians were to pour down from the North, and uniting with the myrmidons of Egypt from the South, were to slay and burn, till not a *Giaour* should be left, who dared pronounce the word liberty.

Housesref, the Capitan Pashaw, made the most active exertions at Constantinople to get the fleet ready : great rewards were promised to the motley race of men, who styled themselves sailors ; while the troops to be taken on board, were reminded of Scio ; “ we will give you the spoil of a dozen Scios.” Flat bottomed gun-boats were prepared for the purpose of making debarkments ; and at last, all being ready, the proud fleet left the Sultan’s lair, and gliding down the Dardanelles, spread itself out upon the beautiful *Ægean*. Here they were met by two light Greek cruisers, appointed to watch them, and ascertain their numbers ; these, after sailing up and down, before, around, and among the huge frigates, and with their sails half furled up, as if in mockery of their sluggishness, spread their white wings, and darted away, like sea-gulls to their rocky homes to give the alarm.

The Turkish fleet then proceeded to Negropont, and after throwing in supplies there, passed close to the little island of Sciatthus, which has not more than 5000 inhabitants ; sent in a pompous message, saying that Continental Greece, and the rest of the islands had submitted ; that if they would do so, they might rest under the “ shadow of the Sublime Porte,” if not, to prepare immediately for a fate like that of Scio. The only answer, was a busy continuance of the preparations for defence ; and the Capitan Pashaw steered for Scopelos, to play the same farce with like success. From thence he went to Salonica, and took in a large body of Turkish Albanian soldiers. The rendezvous was then fixed at Mytelene, where the whole formidable armament arrived, without any other accident than the loss of sundry spars, and masts, from running foul of each other, and carrying away rigging, &c. which always happens in a Turkish fleet ; even if sailing in pleasant weather, from one little island to another.

The first object selected for destruction, was Psara, or Ipsara, a rocky islet, which appears like a speck on the surface of the Ægean ; but which was the focus of an extensive commerce, carried on by its active and enterprising inhabitants, to every part of the world. Ipsara contained about 25,000 inhabitants, and it presented the best opportunity for the stranger to study the character of the modern Greeks, and admire the great degree of similarity which it has preserved to that of their glorious ancestry.

“The Psarians are genuine Greeks, without any mixture of Turkish or Albanian blood. They have nothing in appearance or character which is not truly national. Ingenious, loquacious, lively to excess, active, enterprising, vapouring and disputatious. And I may add, I have never seen a population more abundant in beauty* and intelligence of countenance, than that of Psara.” It was the third place in point of commercial importance in Greece ; and its inhabitants were not inferior to those of Hydra and Spetzia in enterprise. In common with those islands, it had enjoyed peculiar privileges under the Turkish dominion ; no Turks lived upon it ; and it was subject only to the annual payment of a tribute, and the supplying a quota of sailors for the Turkish fleet. The Ipsariots pushed their commerce to every part of the Mediterranean, and their light *polacca* vessels were every where remarked for the grace of their models, their speed, and excellence in manœuvring. Many of the inhabitants had become rich ; all were flourishing ; and the well built houses, and continual bustle in its streets, gave signs of successful commerce. Ipsara had been one of the first islands to raise the standard of revolt, and it had always furnished a number of ships for the Greek fleet. Situated remotely from the centre of the revolution, and in the very track of the Turkish fleet, it had been considered as peculiarly in danger ; and preparations had been made to defend it. But for three successive campaigns, the Capitan Pashaw had swept by it, without making any attempt upon it and the inhabitants had relapsed into security ; their miserable batteries were in no order ; and they were listlessly

*I have never seen the Ipsariote women excelled in clearness and brilliancy of complexion.

smoking their pipes, or playing at cards in the Coffee-houses, when word was given from their telegraph, that the Turkish fleet was in sight, and steering for their island.

Instantly all was bustle and confusion ; some ran to the batteries to prop up the carriages, and load the rusty cannon ; others buckled on their belts, and stuck into them their yataghans and pistols ; others, fearful of the issue, began to prepare their vessels and boats for flight ; while the women clasped their children closer to their bosoms, and retired to the inner apartments, as if to escape the danger, by losing sight of it.

The next morning the Turkish frigates and line-of-battle ships approached the town, and began a furious cannonade, which was briskly returned from the batteries ; and the whole day was passed in cannonading, without much damage being suffered on either side. At night the Greeks began to feel at ease, sure that the Turks could never accomplish any thing in this way ; but during the night, Housref Pashaw had effected by means of his flotilla a disembarkment of all his Albanian soldiers on the back side of the island. These drove in the Greeks who were there, and mounted the hills which overhang the town ; and at daylight the Ipsariotes, to their astonishment and dismay, saw the heights above them covered by the Turkish standards ; around which gathered every moment thicker and thicker, the wild band of Turks who were preparing to rush down upon them.

But it was only an instant ; a single glance told every soul in that devoted place, that the only hope of safety was on board the vessels ; and immediately there was a wild rush of men, women, and children, towards the harbour. Every one in the lower town who could move, ran with the crowd, except perhaps some resolute men, who would risk a moment to save some valuables ; or mothers who ran shrieking about the streets, for their lost children.

When the crowd attained the beach, they immediately thronged the vessels that were nearest, rushing on board of them indiscriminately ; some would crowd into a little boat, push off, and soon swamp it ; others were forced into the sea by the press ; and the shouts of the men, the shrieks of the women, and yells and splashing of the drowning wretches, created a

scene of horrid confusion, which baffled every effort of the few cool and collected men, who endeavoured to establish order in the embarkation. Nothing was thought of but getting on board, and soon as on board, of cutting the cords and pushing off; for, already the Allah! shout of the Turks, told that they had started: and they were seen rushing down the hills, firing their muskets, and waving their scimitars.

The vessels pushed off, crowded full; some of the people hanging on the sides, others plunging in to follow them; while many helpless, old and young, were left behind, to await the Turks, who like a troop of hungry wolves, were already in the upper part of the town, fighting the desperate few who resisted; and cutting down, indiscriminately, all who yielded and begged for mercy. Some of the streets were obstinately—desperately defended, till not a man was left; and it cost the Turks great numbers of their best soldiers, ere they got possession of the place. Then began the search for those who had hidden themselves; they were dragged out, and all butchered; and their noses and ears cut off to be packed in salt, and sent to Constantinople. A considerable number of boys and young women, remarkable for their beauty, were preserved for worse purposes. All opposition was soon over, except on the part of about two hundred Greeks, who, after desperately disputing every inch of ground, shut themselves up in a tower or small castle, above the town. Here they held out for some time, against every assault that could be made, until unable longer to resist overwhelming numbers, they put fire to the magazine, and were blown with their assailers, into the air.

The Turks then proceeded to pillage the houses; two days were enough for this; and in that time they ransacked every thing, carrying off the moveable valuables, and destroying the rest.

The Capitan Pashaw then sailed with all his larger vessels for Salonica; leaving his flotilla and a few vessels of war, with about two thousand men. He meant to return in a week, and take them, and go on to Samos to renew the scene.

But the hour and the avenger were at hand; the Ipsariote vessels, which had escaped with the principal part of the population, the pursuit of the Turkish boats, had arrived at Hydra.

and told their sad tale. Instantly every thing changed at Hydra : there was no more delay, no obstacles started ; there was an end of the clamour for pay, and in a few days a squadron of about forty fire-brigs was ready. Miaulis took the command, and bore away for Ipsara.

As the Greek vessels came round point St. George, the Turkish flotilla began to fire upon them. Without noticing this, Miaulis made signal to land thirty men from each vessel, to attack the Turks on the island, who were about twelve hundred in number. Fifteen hundred sailors were landed, who drove the Turks to the shore, killing about three hundred. The rest embarked and put to sea, and were pursued by Miaulis. A brig of war was soon blown up ; a guillette and shallop taken, many gun boats sunk ; and the rest driven before a strong wind, were pursued to the coast of Scio, where they ran on shore, and were beat to pieces. The crews escaped, but the Turks lost more than one thousand men in this affair.

Miaulis then returned to Ipsara, and took on board the men whom he had debarked, as well as several hundred of the inhabitants who had contrived to escape to the hills.

After the cannon were taken from the batteries, with whatever else valuable the Turks had spared, the fleet sailed away, leaving the lately bustling and interesting islet, a blackened waste, with only a single monk for its inhabitant—and it remains so to this day.

There had been some uncertainty about the movements of the Capitan Pashaw. Miaulis therefore on sailing from Hydra, had sent Vice Admiral Sakturis to cover Samos with a division of the Greek fleet. He now found the Turkish fleet had gone to Salonica, and prepared to attack it there. He soon came in sight of them, but the Turks bore away for Mitylene ; and the wind coming on to blow strongly from the N. E., he was obliged to run for Scyrus, where he remained two days.

From Scyrus, Miaulis was obliged to return to Hydra—obliged by that want of order and system, which must ever render ineffectual any warlike expedition. The sailors had been got to sea under the strong excitement caused by the news of the destruction of Ipsara : no arrangements had been made about

their pay, or even about victualling the vessels for a sufficiently long time.

On arriving at Hydra, all the energies of the venerable Misulis, and the exertions of every patriot in the naval islands, were called into action, by the necessity of immediately getting the vessels again to sea, occasioned by the news of the sailing of the formidable armada, which had been so long preparing at Alexandria.

They were encouraged, however, in the hope of resisting it, by the cheering news received from Vice Admiral Sakturis.

That gallant sailor, on arriving with his division of the fleet off Samos, found that the island was in the most imminent danger; for large hordes of Asiatic Turks were collected upon the continent, at Scala Nova, waiting to be transported across the straits by the fleet of the Capitan Pashaw. Every necessary measure was then taken for defence; the Samiotes sent their women and children to the mountains, and fortified the passes that led to them, so as to defend themselves in case the enemy should be victorious on the sea, and effect a disembarkation upon the island.

Soon the proud fleet of the Capitan Pashaw was seen coming down toward Samos, and the Greek vessels advanced to meet it. And here one cannot but pause a moment to compare the two parties, and wonder at the contrast between them. On one side, bore down a long line of lofty ships, whose very size and weight seemed to give them a slow and stately motion; completely furnished at every point for war; their decks crowded with splendidly armed soldiers, and their sides chequered with double and triple rows of huge cannon, that it seemed could belch forth a mass of iron which nothing could resist. On the other side, came flying along the waves, a squadron of light brigs and schooners, beautifully modelled, with sails of snowy white; and with fancifully painted sides, showing but a single row of tiny cannon. There seemed no possibility of a contest; one fleet had only to sail upon the other, and by its very weight, bear the vessels under water without firing a gun.

But the feelings which animated them were very different. The Turks were clumsy sailors; they felt ill at ease, and as if

in a new element; but above all, they felt a dread of Greek fire-ships, which made them imagine every vessel that approached them to be one. The Greeks were at home on the waves; active and fearless mariners, they knew that they could run round a Turkish frigate, and not be injured; they knew the dread their enemies had of fire-ships, and they had their favourite, the daring Kanaris with them.

The fleets soon closed, and such an action commenced, as would have been expected from such forces; the Greeks hovering about their enemy, seeking a chance to attack their fire-ships, but not venturing too near the tremendous batteries of the large ships: this continued till night, the Greeks defending the channel.

The next morning the larger Turkish vessels attempted to force their way through the channel, and the fight became pretty close; when Kanaris, with his fire-ship, ran directly down on a frigate under full sail, grappled, and set fire to his train, saving himself in his boat. Both vessels were immediately in a blaze, and the fire communicating to the frigate's magazine, she blew up with a tremendous explosion. Almost at the same moment another Greek fire-ship, or *brulotta*, grappled a brig of war, and a third one with a corvette; the whole took fire, and were destroyed; and the panic struck Turks fled with their fleet, and were pursued by the Greeks, who captured several transports.

A subsequent attempt to draw off the Greek vessels, and pass the troops from Asia Minor to Samos, being defeated with the loss of many of their small craft, the Turks were obliged to give up all hope of ravaging that island; and the army at Scala Nova, seeing the entire failure of the fleet, immediately of itself, as if by common consent, disbanded, and each man went his way without waiting for an order.

The Capitan Pashaw then turned his whole attention to effecting a junction with the Egyptian fleet; and Sakturis, unable to oppose him in the open sea, now waited only for the arrival of Miaulis with the rest of the Greek fleet. Samos was saved, and they had only to think of their Egyptian enemy.

CHAPTER III.

Egyptian expedition sails for Greece—Opposed by the Greek fleet—Gallant and skilful operations of Miaulis—He beats the Egyptian fleet in several encounters—Successfully opposes its passage to Candia—Greek fleet returns home—Turkish operations by land successfully opposed by the Greeks.

WE have seen that Mehemet Ali, Pashaw of Egypt, prepared with alacrity to obey the order of the Sultan to conquer the Peloponessus. His son, Ibrahim, had been named Pashaw of that country, and he had only to vanquish the Greeks to secure himself the possession of it; this would still further strengthen Egypt, and make her more certain of becoming independent of the Porte.

More than one hundred and fifty European merchant vessels were hired to convey the troops; 20,000 of the newly disciplined infantry, and 2000 cavalry, were embarked on board them; vast supplies of provisions, ammunition, artillery, and warlike stores of all kinds, were also put on board, and every preparation was made that would have been done in any European expedition. Many of the European officers who had long been employed in disciplining the troops, accompanied them in the capacity of instructors; and the medical staff was filled up by young surgeons principally from Italy, whose cupidity had been excited by the munificent promises of the Pashaw.

The troops were tolerably well disciplined, perfectly well armed and equipped, and the whole expedition seemed to announce, that Egypt had recovered her long lost greatness and power.

Thirty frigates, many corvettes and smaller vessels of war, were prepared to guard the transports on their passage, and keep off the Greek vessels; the Sultan had sent an admiral, with three frigates, to accompany the Egyptians; (probably to act as a spy,) and there were two Tunisian frigates also.

This formidable expedition left Alexandria for Rhodes, but the wind not favouring, it put into Macri, on the coast of Asia Minor, where the troops were landed to continue their drilling, and the ships were put in repair; for, although they had had only a fortnight's cruise, and with no storms, still, in every

movement of the Turkish fleet, there were spars and rigging carried away by mismanagement, and running foul of one another.

Leaving Macri the fleet steered again for Stanchio, but put into Rhodes, where many of the frigates let go their anchors in one hundred and twenty, and others in one hundred and fifty fathoms of water; others where their cables could not reach the bottom, and, of course, they lost them.*

After lying at Rhodes five days it came on to blow, and the Pashaw, who had anchored in seventy fathoms water, finding his ship was drifting out to sea, (against his will,) hoisted signal for the fleet to follow him, although a gale was coming on. A tolerable idea may be had of the estimation in which an officer is held in the Turkish service, from the fact of the Pashaw's ordering the captain of his frigate to be publicly bastinadoed on the deck, for not being able to hoist his anchor, as he had let out too much cable.

After a rough passage, and the loss of several transports, the expedition arrived at Stanchio, where it joined the fleet of Constantinople under the Capitan Pashaw. Immediate preparations were now made to effect debarkments on the larger Greek islands, though the spirit of hostility between the Capitan Pashaw and the commander of the Egyptian fleet and army, Ibrahim Pashaw, rather retarded them. But all were put into confusion by the news that a squadron of Greek vessels was coming down to attack them. If they waited for this in the narrow gulf, crowded up with their transports, it would be certain destruction; therefore all the large vessels of war immediately put out to sea to meet their daring enemies. The Greeks had about seventy vessels, for Sakturis had joined Miaulis, and they drew up in a line opposite the gulf of Stanchio. The Turks met them, though few of their frigates ventured within gunshot. Ibrahim Pashaw himself however, in his frigate, followed by Captain Gibraltar, and another Egyptian frigate, really showed something like spirit, and advanced within point blank shot of the Greeks; though as the Turks fired their guns exactly in the position in which they had been lashed previous to sailing, they did not much harm. The Greeks detached two fire-vessels

* Turkish men-of-war (it is known) have often had their anchors dropped in 100, 180, 100 fathoms of water!

against Ibrahim, but they were burned ineffectually, and night coming on, the Turks anchored at the entrance of the gulf, and the Greeks just around the northern point of it, at Gironte.

After waiting several days to refit, it was resolved by the Turks to attack the Greeks as they lay at Gironte; but the Greeks, instantly forming their fleet into two lines, met and repelled the attack; and a skirmishing was kept up till night. Miaulis imagining the object of the Turks to be, to reach Samos, made signal to his vessels to work up that way, but being becalmed himself, he found in the morning that the Turkish fleet was off Calimno, to the windward of his squadron, the principal part of which was to the northward; while he himself, with only four vessels, and one fireship, was in an alarming position, being to the leeward of the enemy, with the Asiatic coast under his lee. Supposing that the Turks would come down upon him, Miaulis made signal for the rest of his fleet to work up as high to windward as possible, so as to gain it, and attack the enemy.

But the Turks divided their fleet into two parts; one acted against the main division of the Greeks, and the other attacking Miaulis, endangered him considerably; but at noon, a smart breeze springing up, he outmanœvered them and joined the rest of his fleet. The action then became general: two fire vessels were burned without effect by the Greeks; a third grappled an Egyptian brig of war, whose sails were burned, and a part of her crew jumped overboard, but the flames were extinguished as if by a miracle. Two Greek brigs were separated from the line by advancing too far, and being in danger of getting completely cut off, their crews set fire to them and gained the other vessels.

At four, P. M. a Greek *brulot* succeeded in grappling the Tunisian Admiral's frigate, and setting fire to her. Immense exertions were made to extinguish the flames, and they partly succeeded,—when Miaulis made signal for another *brulot* to advance; and she, running the frigate on board on the other side, the whole were in an instant enveloped in flames, and but few were saved of her equipage, which consisted of six hundred persons, besides two hundred and fifty soldiers. Encouraged by this, the Greeks exerted themselves still more; another fireship attacked and set fire to a brig of war; she was soon in a broad blaze, and the Greek vessels now bearing down, the whole

Turkish fleet retired in confusion. The Greeks then resumed their position at Giroute.

The Turks, foiled in their hopes of destroying or driving off the Greek vessels, now resolved to prosecute the original plan, and effect a debarkation of troops at Samos, and devastate the island. Accordingly, a large body were taken on board, and the fleet sailed for Samos; leaving the transports, and the main part of the Egyptian regulars, at Bodroomi. But the Greeks were on the alert, and no sooner had the first Turkish frigate got out of the gulf, when they were seen sailing away to cover Samos.

A violent tempest coming on, dispersed the two fleets; and it was several days before the Turks could re-assemble their vessels, when they bore down toward Samos; but were prevented from debarking their troops, by the sight of large numbers of armed Samiotes on the beach, and by the approach of the Greek fleet. A skirmish took place, in which the Turkish fleet being disordered, retired toward Mitylene, and was closely followed by the Greeks, who hovered around them, seeking an opportunity to attack their brulots. Rough weather separated them for a few days, and the Turks took refuge in the channel of Scio.

This being a favourable position for the Greeks to attack them in, Miaulis made all exertions to get at them before they should sail; but the Turks put out to sea, and the fleets meeting, an action commenced. At first the Greeks were driven back; but soon a fire-vessel running down upon a Turkish frigate, set fire to her; and though it was extinguished, it frightened the rest; and the Greeks re-advancing, a second fire-vessel grappled a Constantinople corvette, in spite of the fire of 350 muskets, set fire to her, and blew her up. The Turks now retreated, and the Greeks following, a third fire-ship ran her bowsprit into the cabin-window of a twenty-four gun corvette, set fire to her, and burned her, with every soul on board. This completed the confusion of the Turks, and they all fled, pursued by the Greeks, who forced a large corvette and four small brigs to run on the rocks, on the coast of Asia, where they were lost. Night finished the affair, and the Greeks came to anchor at Marathocampus, having not only prevented the intended descent upon Samos, but gained a brilliant, if not important victory, over their enemies.

The Turks were completely discouraged. The Capitan Pashaw retired with his division to Constantinople. He had in every affair displayed a shameful degree of ignorance and cowardice; while Ibrahim Pashaw, whose courage never failed him, could only curse God and man, and kill or bastinado his officers and men for their poltroonery. He was now left in full command, and doubtless his force was strengthened by the absence of the Constantinople division; the ships of which were worse manned, worse managed, and inferior in every respect to his own. He now only thought of getting back to Bodroum, taking his army all on board, and wintering at Candia.

He was not molested by the Greeks; and on reaching Bodroum proceeded to refit, to water and victual, and embark all his army.

He then sailed for Candia, and went on for three days with light winds, and no enemy in sight.

When very near the coast of Candia, a frigate ahead made signals that the Greeks were in sight; and in a few minutes five brigs were seen bearing down for the frigate, while the rest advanced upon the Turkish line. Signal was made for the transports to fall in the rear, and the vessels of war advanced to cover them. The five brigs furiously attacked the frigate, which fled with all studding sails set; the Greeks passing and repassing under her stern, and pouring in their broadsides in quick succession. Several corvettes advanced to her succour, when the Greeks sent a fire vessel to attach her; she grappled, and the frigate's sails were set on fire; many of her men jumped overboard, but the flames were at last extinguished.* The rest of the Greek vessels directed their attention to the transports; but the Turks succeeded in bringing their line of frigates in front, and covering them. The action then became pretty warm, the Greeks running very near the Turks, and pouring in a well directed fire; while the Turks would blaze away with their cannon pointed toward the sky or to the sea. Such was their confusion that often no balls were put into their guns; and both broadsides were fired by many vessels, from as well as toward the Greeks.

* This frigate was saved principally by the exertions of her sailing master, an Englishman, who bore testimony to the skill and courage of the Greeks during this affair.

The action continued until eight in the evening, when the Greeks despatched two brulets against a frigate; they were set on fire effectually, but the blaze was enough to complete the confusion of the Turks, and the whole armada retired, and left the Archipelago in disorder; the ships of war attended only to their own safety, and the transports fled every way. Several valuable prizes fell into the hands of the Greeks,* and others were lost; eight made for Alexandria, where the captains of four of them, who were Turks, were welcomed by Mehemet Ali, and nailed up by the ears; the rest reunited themselves to Ibrahim Pashaw, who had gone to Rhodes, and thence to Marmorice, having completely failed in his attempt to get to Candia, having had his fleet dispersed, many transports taken, and others driven on shore. Still, his resolution failed not; it was absolutely necessary that he should go to Candia, and he made new preparations for it.

Unfortunately, the Greek fleet which thus far had acquitted itself so gloriously, could no longer keep the sea; it retired to Hydra and Spetzia; and Ibrahim was left unopposed to make his way with an expedition destined to ruin and devastate the finest parts of Greece.

The exertions of the Porte to subdue continental Greece this campaign, were confined to ordering the reduction of Western Greece by Omer Pashaw; and the conquering of Eastern Greece, and the Morea, by the Seraskier Dervish Pashaw, who was to collect an army at Larissy, and march down through the Thermopylæ.

But Omer Pashaw, who had more than suspicion of the evil intentions of the Sultan towards him, did not feel inclined to weaken himself by over-exertions. He collected an army however, on the confines of the Ambracic gulf, and made preparation to march down and ravage the country again, as far as Missilonghi.

But Mayrocordato advanced with about 2,500 men, and took post in the strong passes of Lutraki, and presented a formidable barrier to the Turkish army. The whole summer

* One was a large Austrian ship, with fifty horses and two hundred regular soldiers, who were well treated.

was passed in unimportant skirmishes, the object of one party being to penetrate and pass the defiles that of the other to defend them. Mavrocordato, stronger with the pen than with the steel, stronger in intrigue and deception than either, defended the country as much by his wits as his arms. Omer, continually flattered with the hope, that upon the strength of the most solemn promises of safety and protection, he might get possession of the person of his adversary, calculated upon sending his head to Constantinople, as the most likely way to secure the good will of the Sultan; but the cunning and treacherous Albanian was completely outwitted by the wily Fanariote; the whole campaign was passed without his effecting any thing, and at the approach of winter, his Albanian soldiers began to break up into little parties, and unceremoniously take their leave.

In Eastern Greece, the Seraskier Dervish Pashaw, by great exertions, and promise of the plunder of the northern provinces, got together about 15,000 Turks in Thessaly, and uniting them at Zeituni, he marched down toward the Corinthian gulf, by the way of Salona. Had he completely succeeded, by this movement he would at once have effected a junction with the Turkish ships in the gulf, and would thus communicate with the garrisons which were invested by the Greeks at Patrae and Naupactus.

“The shortness of the distance from the head of the Crisean bay to the Maliac gulf, added to the facility of maritime intercourse which the latter affords with Thessalonica and the Hellespont, renders the route from Zeituni to Salona, the most important passage in Greece next to the isthmus of Corinth. Its military strength is equal to its importance; and hence, all the endeavours of the Turks to maintain the communication between the gulf of Corinth and Thessaly, by this route, have hitherto been frustrated. It traverses two of the most important passes in Greece; of these, the northern crosses a ridge which lies between the plain of the Spercheius and the Dorian valley, near the sources of the Cephissus, and connects mount Calidromus with the great summits of Cæta; the southern is a narrow

“ defile, separating Parnassus from the same mountains. Of
 “ the former of these two passes, the danger was very much
 “ diminished to the Turks, by their easy access into the val-
 “ ley of Doris, which, by its continuity with the lower valley
 “ of the Cephissus, and with the plains of Bœotia, extending
 “ to the barriers of the Isthmus, has generally been open to
 “ the Turkish troops; but the narrow rocky pass which leads
 “ from Gavriá, the ancient Lytinius, into the celebrated plain,
 “ which extends from the heights of Amphissa and Delphi, to
 “ the shore of the Crissean bay, can never be traversed by
 “ them without the greatest danger, while the enemy remains
 “ in possession of the mountains on either side of it.”*

From neglect, or rather, want of organization, these passes had no other defenders than such of the Capitani, and their followers, as might chance to be there, or who felt it for their interest to be there. The Pashaw therefore, succeeded in passing them, and was advancing rapidly towards the gulf. But the inhabitants began to muster strong at Salona; about 4000 Roumeliotes took their stand at Ampliani, and prepared to dispute the passage of the Turks: they built up their *tambouria*, or little breastworks, of stones and earth, lying down behind them, each one crossed himself devoutly and repeatedly, and waited for the enemy. The Pashaw soon attacked them briskly, but was hotly received, and repulsed with some loss; he fell back, and being followed and harassed by the Greeks, was obliged to retreat as far as Thessaly, without having effected any thing beyond the burning of a few villages, and the destruction of some olive groves.

He was to have been assisted by a division acting in Bœotia and Attica; Omer, a rich Turk of Negropont, had been elevated to the dignity of Pashaw of that island, and was ordered to retake Athens. He accordingly sallied from Negropont with a considerable force, and ravaged a part of Bœotia unopposed. He then attempted Attica, but he was met by Gourah just at the upper extremity of the celebrated plain of Marathon, and completely worsted in several pretty warm skirmishes.

* Col. Leake, p. 146.

He then retreated into Bœotia, and being followed closely, was obliged to take refuge in Negropont.

The Seraskier Dervish, after his retreat into Thessaly, hearing of the ill success of the Negropontian Omer, attempted to penetrate into Bœotia, to his relief. But he had the terrible defiles of Cnemis, below Thermopylæ, to pass; and they were occupied by the Greek peasantry, and some Roumeliote Palikaris. He made the attempt, however, to pass them: and was defeated with some loss: after which he fell back into Thessaly. Thus the Turkish campaign upon the land side, ended as uselessly, and ingloriously, as that upon the sea.

There was only one thing to cloud the prospects of the Greeks, at the close of this campaign. This was the arrival of the Egyptian expedition under Ibrahim Pashaw, at Candia. It has been seen how successfully he was opposed by the Greek fleet; that he had been detained by it for many months, and at last driven completely out of the Archipelago. But unfortunately, the Greek vessels could not, or would not, keep the sea any longer, and the Egyptian fleet arrived, unopposed, at Candia, where the disciplined myrmidons were debarked. All the strong fortresses in the island were still in the hands of the Turks, and the Greeks were soon put down, or were able to continue the war only in little guerilla bands among the mountains.

Ibrahim Pashaw prepared therefore, to follow up his plan, and cross over to the Morea; and this too in the depth of winter, which the Greeks, judging from the incapacity of the Turkish fleet, deemed impossible. But the Alexandrian fleet was as much superior to that of Constantinople, as is the Pashaw of Egypt in capacity to the Sultan.

BOOK FIFTH.

CHAPTER I.

Flourishing situation of Greece—Government well established—[1825. Education—Credit abroad—Character of Condurotti—His Administration—Character of Colletti—English Loan—Egyptian Troops land from Candia, under Ibrahim Pashaw—Enmity of Colletti to Mavrocordato.

THIS year opened under the most brilliant auspices, the prospects of Greece were bright and almost unclouded ; it was a scene upon which the Philanthropist, the Patriot, or the Christian, could gaze with unaffected delight. There was a prospect that Greece, the land of science and of song, was about to purge herself from the degrading stains, which ages of oppression had fixed upon her ; and begin with a firm and steady pace, her march through liberty and civilization, to attain that rank among the nations of the earth, which Providence seems to have intended her beautiful land to hold.

The Turks had been foiled at every point ; the rebellious Chiefs had been put down ; Government had full sway over the whole country ; and took such steps as made itself respected. A Senate was sitting at Napoli, which transacted its business with decorum and propriety ; and did not want its orators.* A judiciary system was organized over the whole country ; and in every town and island, Eparchs or Governors, accountable to the General Government, were appointed. Active measures were taken to raise an army, organized and

* Milliani and Tricoupi were really possessed of a vivacity of imagination, and a flow of beautiful language, that would have been admired in any Assembly.

disciplined upon the European plan ; and the stranger whose enthusiasm had brought him among them, was delighted every morning and every evening at the appearance of these young Greeks upon the parade ground, in a beautiful uniform, and well armed and equipped ; he heard the watch-cry of their sentinels during the night ; and as their bugles rang from the ramparts at dawn, he started up with the delightful sensation, that he was in the land where young freedom had just unfurled her banner, and was calling on the sons of her old votaries, to rally around it.

Not was education neglected ; means were used to turn that eagerness which all the Greeks manifest for learning, to a useful end. Schools were established in every part of the country ; and large ones, upon the Lancastrian plan, at Athens, Napoli, Tripolitza, Calamata, Hydra, and other places. Here were sources of satisfaction and encouragement to the Philhellene ; here he reaped in a genuine heart-felt delight, the fruits of that spirit, which the world styled Quixotism. The feelings of the man are not to be envied, who could have visited Athens at that time without emotion. It was no longer Athens sitting in the dust of ages ; he could wander indeed among the tottering columns of decayed temples ; he could stand where Socrates and Plato had taught, and gaze with wonder and admiration, on the still existing works of Phidias ; but he had a cure for the feelings of melancholy which came over him ; he had only to turn away and enter the school-house of modern Athens, and he would find himself surrounded by the young descendants of those men, on whose wisdom and virtue he had been meditating, and the works of whose genius he had been admiring. He could see in the lively, intelligent countenances, and the bright sparkling eyes of the restless urchins, that the fire and spirit of their ancestors was burning in their bosoms, and needed only the fostering of education to fan it into a flame.

Great numbers of those Greeks, who had been driven by the despotism of the Turks, to take refuge in Europe ; and who had been for years established there, as merchants, now began to feel their patriotism revive ; and as the prospects for

the establishment of order were fair, they returned to Greece, to participate in the struggle for liberty, or rather perhaps, to share in the good effects of the revolution.

But what was of far greater advantage, the public credit had increased abroad to such an extent, that a second loan had been negotiated by their Deputies in London, for the sum of two millions of pounds sterling.

The Members composing the Government were, George Conduriotti, President of the Executive; Botazi of Spetzia, Vice-President; A. Speliotaki, Constantine Mavromichalis, and J. Colletti, Members. Mavrocordato, Secretary of State; Coletti, Minister of War; G. Dikaios, (commonly called Papa Flesher), of Interior; and Theotoki of Justice. The Senate, composed of about sixty Members, of whom Panoutzos Notaros was President, acted in conjunction with the Executive.

Conduriotti the President, is a Hydriote, and the richest man in the island. To this circumstance he owed his election; for it was necessary after the overthrow of the Military Chiefs, that the Islands should have the lead in the Government. Conduriotti was extensively known as a merchant, and as extensively respected for his probity; and his name, (it was supposed) would give credit to the Government abroad. But he possessed no other earthly qualifications for the office, and did immense harm while he held it, from his ignorance and obstinacy. George Conduriotti is about fifty-five years of age, of middling stature, dark olive complexion, and a tame unexpressive countenance, which, if it indicates any thing, indicates the good nature of a mind, too cold and sluggish to feel any passion. He is exceedingly headstrong, yet can be led by any one who has skill to hide his influence. His policy was narrow and selfish; and though he would not accept any salary himself, he filled the offices in every part of the country with Hydriotes, his relations and friends. This gave great umbrage; nor can the effect upon the people be well conceived, by one ignorant of the very great degree of sectional prejudice which exists in Greece. Independent of their being Islanders, the Hydriotes and Spetziotes are the descendants of an Al-

banian colony ; they are still called Albanians by the rest of the Greeks, who though they unite with them for the great national work of independence, feel little union of sentiment, and look upon them as strangers, of the same religion. This arises in some measure from their language, * but not a little from the pertinacity with which the descendants of Albanians cling to the manners and ways of thinking of their ancestors : a Greek of the Peloponessus would feel more like a neighbour and countryman toward a Cypriote, whose native island is far distant, than he would toward an inhabitant of Hydra, which is only 12 miles from the Morea. This marked preference given to the islanders, was a gross and palpable injury done to the rest of the Greeks, and was a most unwise and impolitic measure, on the part of the Government ; for it gave a colouring of justice to the proceedings of the opposition party ; and such a party, there always will be.

Many other acts of Conduriotti's administration could be pointed out as objectionable ; although they originated in men such as Mavrocordato and Coletti. But how easy is it to find fault, and say what ought to have been done, after the crisis is past—"how easy!" cried every one, when they saw Columbus rest the egg up on end. In truth, justice has not been done the Greeks ; it has been too much the fashion to heap abuse upon them, for the faults they have been continually committing ; but is it taken into consideration what they were ; brought up under the rod of despotism, kept in ignorance, or taught only chicanery, how could they at once become enlightened and virtuous enough to perform the difficult task of good governors, or the more difficult one of good subjects ? Why will people find so much fault at errors into which they would themselves have fallen if placed in like circumstances. Why not take into consideration the comparative situation of the Greeks and themselves ; as well might the schoolmaster fall into a passion with his unruly boys because they could not see

* The descendants of the Albanians all speaks Albanian ; and though in Hydra and Spetzia, there is probably not a man who does not speak Greek perfectly well, and who learned it from his boyhood, yet they speak Albanian with one another. And very many of the women do not know a word of Greek,

the beauties of a mathematical demonstration ; or because they preferred their boisterous freedom, to the severity of school discipline. The Greeks are children in the art of Government ; but surely they are children of extraordinary promise.

But our business is to record their actions, not to apologize for them.

Previous to the arrival of Mavrocordato from Missilonghi, almost every thing had been managed by Coletti, Minister of War, who had complete sway over the President ; but this sway was irksome ; Conduriotti *felt* that he was in leading strings, and was conscious that he must be led in a great measure, by some one ; but then Coletti hurt his vanity ; his reins were not light enough ; and the old Gentleman longed for the gentle winning Mavrocordato, who would first put a good idea into his head in private, and afterwards draw it out from him in public, in such a way, as to make every one think it original. This was what he wished ; he did not like to have it known that he was led ; nay, he wished not to be reminded of it himself, but to be made to think he was acting independently. Mavrocordato was therefore solicited, again and again, to leave his provincial Government of Western Greece, and resume his post of Secretary of Foreign affairs.

There is a strong contrast between the character of Mavrocordato and that of Coletti in some points, though a strong resemblance in others. The character of Coletti would be known from his personal appearance, which is most striking ; the stranger who sees him in a crowd, turns to look upon him again, and marks him for an extraordinary man. His tall and nobly formed figure is full of dignity and strength ; his complexion is dark ; his forehead high and broad ; his nose and chin strongly marked ; his full black eyes have a haughty, determined, malignant expression ; and his whole air and manner are indicative of a mind daring and ambitious in forming its plans ; cautious, yet inflexible, in the pursuit of them ; and cold blooded, and unscrupulous in the selection of the means of executing them. Such is the personal appearance of Doctor John Coletti, and such is his character.

He is a Roumeliote by birth, and was brought up in the court

squadron from before Patrass. This was at last done, but after long delay; and on arriving at Modon, to intercept the Egyptians, the Greeks found that the Turkish fleet had been there, debarked 8000 men, and returning the day before to Candia, to bring the rest of the army.

The reception of this news at Napoli caused much uneasiness in the minds of those members of the Government, and of the community, who were capable of appreciating the importance of it. Mavrocordato had arrived from Missilonghi, and assumed his wonted ascendancy in the Government. A small corps of Artillery, commanded by young Emanuel Colletti was immediately prepared to march, and throw itself into Navarino; which it was foreseen would be the first point of attack by the Turks. In fact, news was received that Ibrahim Pashaw, with a body of cavalry, had sailed from Modon, and approached very near Navarino; but retired after merely reconnoitering the place. He was probably waiting for the rest of his troops.

Every exertion was used to hasten away the expedition from Napoli, under the President, that was first intended to act against Patrass.

Mavrocordato unwilling to confine himself to the sphere for which nature had fitted him, determined to strike for military glory; and easily persuaded the President, to take him as his military counsellor, and leave Colletti behind at Napoli. From that moment he had a new and mortal enemy; Colletti resolved to ruin the expedition for the sake of ruining him. But the preparations for it did not stop. Mavrocordato had money at command, and every thing moved at his beck. The vessels were ordered to cruise off Candia, to intercept the fleet that was to bring the rest of Ibrahim's troops.

The first panic caused by the landing of the Egyptians had subsided; public confidence began to rise, and the President's expedition was expected to re-establish it completely.

CHAPTER II.

President leaves Napoli with an Expedition destined to repel Ibrahim Pashaw—The latter blockades Navarino—Joannes Mavromichalis killed—Turks defeat Skurtis—Mavrocordato arrives at Skoris—Intrigues of Colletti and others, to detach the Roumeliotes from Mavrocordato—their success—Mavrocordato flies into the Interior for Reinforcements—Returns and throws himself into Palio Kastro—Attack on Sphacteria—Turks carry it—Escape of the Brig Mars—Palio Kastro surrenders—Navarino capitulates to the Turks—Miaulis attacks and burns Turkish Vessels at Modon.

THE 29th of March presented a scene that the friends of Greece might well be proud of ; it was one of those glorious days so common in her climate ; the sun rose and shone out through the clear atmosphere,

Not as in Northern climes obscurely bright,
But ' one unclouded blaze of living light.'

All Napoli was alive with the busy hum of preparation for the President's departure. At 9 o'clock he mounted his superb Arabian, and surrounded by the principal men in the country, finely mounted on steeds gaily and richly caparisoned, he started, and as he passed under the lofty arched gateway of the city, the cannon from the ramparts, and from the fortress above, pealed out their loud salutations ; and were answered by the batteries on the shore, and the shipping in the harbour.

Thousands of people were collected on the ramparts and outside of the walls, to see the pomp of departure ; and it really was a fine sight to witness the brilliant cavalcade, sweeping across the plains of Argos, preceded by a long string of soldiers, on foot ; another body running by the sides ; and a third bringing up the rear ; all firing with their muskets and

pistols, according to invariable custom upon setting out on an expedition.

On arrival at Tripolitza, such news awaited the President as obliged him completely to change the plan of campaign ; and instead of attacking Patrass, to go with every disposable man to defend Navarino. Considerable part of the forces destined for Patrass had been directed to repel the Egyptians if possible, and some hope had till now been nourished, that the original object might be pursued.

The situation of Navarino, in the immediate vicinity of Coron and Modon, and its fine spacious harbour, one of the best in the Mediterranean, made it an object of the first importance to Ibrahim Pashaw ; in fact, he could not with safety stretch along the rich open country - on the Western shore of the Morea, or penetrate into the interior, and leave so important a position behind him. Navarino therefore, he prepared to attack with his whole force ; and the moment his reinforcements arrived from Candia, he marched from Modon, the distance being only ten miles, and took up his position around it with 15000 men ; of whom 10000 were disciplined Arabians, 2000 irregular Albanians, the rest were cavalry and artillery. The Greeks threw 2000 men into the place under the command of Joannes, youngest son of Mavromichalis, and the Archbishop of Modon. The artillery of the place was put under the command of the Chevalier Collegno, a young Italian who had volunteered in the service with great enthusiasm, and who had done every thing that energy and courage, united to a complete knowledge of his profession could do, towards putting the fortifications in the best posture of defence.

On the 28th a general assault was made on the place by the whole Egyptian army, but they were repulsed by the Greeks with some loss ; and the latter made prize of about 150 English muskets, with bayonets ; which was by them considered a complete proof of the inferiority of those much talked of, and dreaded weapons. Their success however was

dearly bought, by the death of their young Chief Joannes Mavromichalis.*

Ibrahim now resolved to give up all thought of carrying the place by assault, and commenced a regular siege, which was directed by his French and Italian officers, upon the strict rules of the art. Meantime the Greeks began to cover the hills in the rear of Navariso, and he saw by the increasing numbers of their watchfires every night, that a considerable force was to operate against him. The Roumeliote Chiefs, Costa Botzaris, Javella, Karatazzo, and others, with a considerable body of Islanders and Maniotes, under Gen. Skurtis, took up positions around the place.

The President was detained in Tripolitza by sickness; but Mavrocordato, the soul of the expedition, was active; and troops were continually sent on by him to augment the forces without the place. Directions were given to endeavour to cut off Ibrahim's communication with Modon, and exertions were made to effect it, by extending the positions toward the sea-shore. This alarmed the Turks; every day had given rise to petty conflicts, which as often resulted in favour of the Greeks as against them: but Ibrahim now prepared for a decisive stroke to save his communication.

The Greek line was formed by three positions, upon heights distant considerably more than a mile from each other; the left (the post of supposed danger); was commanded by that brave and shrewd soldier, Hadja Christo: the right by Javella, C. Botzaris, and other Roumeliote Chiefs; while Skurtis, † a silly old Hydriote, who had suddenly been promoted

* The death of the brave and really meritorious young man, the son of old Petro Mavromichalis, and the pride of a noble house, gave a sad proof of the want of surgeons among the Greeks. He had a simple wound of the arm, which cut the artery. This bled for several days; the Greek surgeons with their rude means could not staunch the blood, knew not how to tie up the artery, and he gradually bled to death.

† Nothing can better show the stupidity and obstinacy of Conduriottis, than his insisting that the chief command should be given to a Hydriote; and worst of all, to such an Hydriote: Skurtis is an old sea-captain, stupid by nature, unimproved by education, without a knowledge of the world, and so ignorant of war by land, as not to know a breach from a battery. Besides, his appointment gave great offence to the Roumeliote Chiefs, bred to rude warfare, and

from the command of a brig to that of the army, occupied the central position. They all saw the disposition the Turks were making to attack, and prepared for it; but Skurtis made little progress in getting up his *tambours* or breastworks for the soldiers to fight behind; and being posted on a rising ground, accessible to the cavalry, began to consider, when he saw the columns of the enemy advancing against him, that he was not safe. He therefore sent for assistance, and Costa Botzaris set out with a select body of men, among whom were many Suliotes, to support him. He arrived at Skurtis's position at the moment when the attack commenced.

The disposition of the Turks was admirable: a few men with two or three pieces of artillery, were left to command the road by which Hadja Christo must have advanced, if he should attempt to follow them; a corps was sent forward to amuse the Roumeliotes at the other extremity, while the principal force was concentrated upon the weak position of Skurtis in the centre. They then attacked him in front with infantry and artillery, engaging his whole attention there; while the cavalry wheeling around his position, took him in the flank, and the horsemen coming up the hill at full gallop, dashed over the slight entrenchments, and were in an instant sword in hand among his men.

There was no resistance, no thought of it; the dreadful cry of '*cavalaria, cavalaria,*' announced to every Greek that flight only could save him; and the whole fled with precipitation, except the brave Roumeliotes and Suliotes, who had just come up under Costa Botzaris, and attempted to stem the torrent. But they were swept over, and only forty of them escaped with their leader. The mountains were near, and the Greeks soon reached them; but with the loss of 500 killed and wounded. The heads of the living as well as dead ones, were cut off; and horses were seen going off loaded with them to the Turkish head-quarters.

The Turks then fell upon Hadja Christo's position, but they had not a Skurtis to deal with; he had his men securely lying

justly considering themselves more capable of commanding than any sailor could be.

behind their little stone-walls, built in a circular form; and they, without even showing the tops of their heads, fired through the chinks of the wall with their muskets, at the attacking columns, with such continued rapidity, that it was impossible to advance. The cavalry wheeled round and round, galloped here and there, and examined every point to find a weak one; but the long bright barrels of the muskets, poking out at every crevice as they approached, warned them to keep at a respectful distance, though they could not see a man.

The whole force then drew off, and returned in triumph to head-quarters: they had completely beaten the Greeks, inasmuch as they had broken up their communications; but their own loss was about as severe as that of their enemies.

Next day, a new assault was made upon the town, but it was successfully resisted; the assailants were beaten back, and the Greeks sallying out, carried the battery established nearest the town, and spiked all the guns.

But the first defeat of the Greeks needed more than this temporary success to wipe out its impression; it had gone far to widen the breach existing between the Roumeliote soldiers and the Moriotes; the latter looked upon the former as almost strangers, as foreigners employed by the Government to fight their battles, and defend their land, which they thought themselves fully capable of doing unassisted. The Roumeliotes, on the other hand, regarded the Moriotes as merely a set of ignorant peasantry, unused to arms, and unable to defend their part of the country; but which must be defended for the general good. The defeat was ascribed entirely to their cowardice, and the loss was embittered by the death of so many brave Suliotes.

The President now hastened toward the scene of action with the main part of the expedition; but he did not like too near an approach in person; and committing the direction of the whole to Mavrocordato, he himself filed off toward Calamata, and took up his head-quarters at Almiro, on the borders of the Gulf of Calamata, in which he had some vessels, and on board of one of which he slept every night for security.

Mavrocordato pushed on to Skoris, where he halted, and

found himself surrounded with 3000 pretty efficient men; 3000 were in the fortress which was in sight; and several little parties were scattered about in the mountains around. The communication was still open with the besieged garrison, and accounts spoke favourably of the present state of things within the fortress: the object was to cut up, if possible, Ibrahim's army, which was now in the plain below, before he should get footing in the country. Mavrocordato had his enemy before him; but he had perhaps not a less formidable one behind him; Colletti at Napoli had set a thousand springs to work, to hamper him, and defeat his object; nor Colletti alone, but other of his political opponents.

The Roumeliote soldiers upon whom he principally depended, and who are as brave and hardy, as they are obstinate and ungovernable, were seduced from their duty, and determined to leave the camp; a thousand arts were used to bring them to this, and the report that their country was invaded by the Pasha of Yanina determined them. They marched off therefore, with every expression and mark of respect toward Mavrocordato, except that of obedience to his orders.

Mavrocordato flew into the country, roused up the peasantry by a representation of the pressing danger, and still more by representing the conduct of the Roumeliotes, their rivals; and in fifteen days returned to Skoris, with a considerable reinforcement. He arrived on the 6th at nine P. M. and immediately resolved to push on and enter the besieged castle, whose situation had become very critical.

The shape of the harbour of Navarino is something like a horseshoe, the town on the Main, and the land running out in a point into the sea on the opposite side. On this point is a castle, built on the ruins of ancient Pylos, (the seat of Nestor) which was defended by about 1000 Greeks. This castle was all important, not only as a position from which their vessels could be injured, but it supplied the garrison of the town with water, which was carried across in boats. The Turks had established themselves securely around the town, and erected their batteries; and Ibrahim was evidently making preparations

to attack the castle on the Point, or Palio Kastro, as it is called.

This was the point of danger then; and Mavrocordato, without losing a moment unnecessarily, left the camp of Skoris at midnight, three hours after his arrival, and threw himself into Palio Kastro, with 500 men. The very next morning at daylight, the enemy attacked the Castle; and though they were repulsed, they took up such positions as to effectually cut off all communication with the camp.

Palio Kastro, on which the safety of Navarino depended, was commanded by the highest point of the little islet called Sphacteria, which lies at the mouth of the harbour of Navarino, and the entrance of which it commands. Every thing depended then on Sphacteria; and to Sphacteria Mavrocordato turned his attention, for he saw Ibrahim preparing to attack it.

The Egyptian fleet had returned from Candia, and the Greek vessels immediately put to sea to be ready to oppose any movement, leaving only eight brigs within the harbour of Navarino.

Ibrahim embarked a considerable number of troops on board his fleet, and prepared to attack Sphacteria. His vessels left Modon on the 7th, and on the 8th at daylight, were gradually approaching the entrance to the harbour of Navarino, impelled by a slight breeze; while the Greek fleet lay ten miles off, perfectly becalmed. An attack was now made, with an appearance of fury by land, both upon Navarino and Neocastro, to draw off the attention of the Greeks; but Sphacteria was the real object.

It was a Sabbath morn, a clear delightful day, and at sunrise the Turkish land batteries opened upon the town, and six thousand infantry advanced under cover of the smoke toward the walls; from which roared the Greek artillery, and which were lined with soldiers with guns cocked, awaiting the approach: four thousand Turks also attacked Palio Kastro while the cavalry were galloping up and down the plain, to prevent any advance of the Greek soldiers, who were seen on every part of the mountain side, impatient spectators of the contest.

A slight breeze soon rippled the sea, and a part of the Turkish frigates moved slowly out, to meet the Greek vessels who

were trying to approach, and prevent the disembarkation at Sphacteria. They soon met, and were involved in a thick cloud of smoke, which completely hid them from sight; though its continuance, and the long uninterrupted roar of cannon, told how they were engaged.

The rest of the Turkish vessels approached Sphacteria, and soon boats were seen pushing off from every one of them, loaded with soldiers. The island is very small, and was defended by 300 men, with a few Hydriote sailors, under the command of the brave young Captain Psamadoff. Mavrocordato with his suite, had thrown himself into the island; and there was there also, that noble Philhellene, Count Santa Rosa.

There was but one place where the landing was easy, and this was defended by only three guns. The frigate began a brisk cannonade, and the boats approached, but were repulsed by the musketry; a few however effected a landing on the back side of the island, after a desperate resistance, and carried the batteries. Instantly all was confusion; fifteen hundred Arabs were on the island, and only the three hundred Greeks to oppose them. The Arabs rushed up to the high ground, and Mavrocordato losing courage and hope together, embarked on board a small boat, and gained the only vessel which was remaining in the harbour. Santa Rosa would not follow him; 'I came here to fight,' cried he, and 'not to run away;' and with a few more followers, he attempted to oppose some resistance to the Arabs, who with wild yells were sweeping over the island.*

* Count Santa Rosa was truly a noble spirit; to know him was to admire and love him: to his enthusiastic love of liberty, he sacrificed home, and friends, and fortune, and life. The head of a noble family in Piedmont, he had been most active in getting up the attempted revolution in that country, and acted with distinguished ability the part of Minister of War during the short struggle. Rashed and persecuted by the House of Austria, he took refuge in England, where he lived highly respected for his talents and virtues; and as happy as he could be, exiled from his country, his wife, and his children, whom he passionately loved. But he heard the cry of liberty in Greece, and nothing could restrain him from joining her cause. He came with that chivalrous spirit which animated the crusaders, and prepared for enduring with patience, those inevitable crosses and disagreements which disgusted others. Finding that he could not be of any use in command until he should learn the language, he determined to

But resistance was vain, there was no point to rest upon, and the Greeks were almost all cut to pieces; not fifty out of the three hundred escaped.

Nor were those who with Mavrocordato had got on board the brig, in a much better situation; the Turkish vessels began to close the entrance of the port; her Captain, Psamadoff, was still on shore, and his sailors would not start till he was found; but as soon as they were assured by a swimmer, that he had seen him hacked down and killed, after being shot in the leg, and fighting on his knees, they cut their cables, and the brig ran out with a very light breeze. And, what will appear incredible to those who do not know the stupidity of the Turks in management of their vessels, this little brig ran through their fleet of 34 ships of war, within pistol shot of a frigate, corvette, and three brigs; exposed for more than four hours to the fire of a dozen vessels; yet came off with only two men killed, and eight wounded. Her sails were riddled, and her rigging shot away; but very few shot struck her hull, perhaps from the very circumstance of her being so near.

But the Turks had gained the day, Sphacteria was their's; not a boat could enter the harbour to the relief of the town; the communication with the land side was cut off; and the place was poorly supplied with provisions, and as poorly watered.

Palio Kastro was in a worse condition if possible. The Turks the next morning made a furious attack upon it, but were driven from the walls. They made a lodgment very near them however, and cut off the spring which gave the principal supply of water to the garrison. This was almost ruinous in itself: and the Greeks merely in the spirit of desperation, continued to repel the furious assaults of the enemy.

make the best use of his time; and clothing himself in the costume of the country, he joined the army as a volunteer, with only one soldier for an attendant. His friends in vain tried to dissuade him, representing it as beneath his dignity; but he listened to nothing but his own feelings, which spurred him on to immediate action in the cause, to whose support he had sworn to dedicate every thing. His fate was melancholy, but glorious; he sealed the bond of his attachment with his blood, and Greece will pay the debt in the gratitude and admiration of her posterity:

A capitulation was now proposed by the French Officers who were with Ibrahim, and most of the Greeks eagerly embraced the proposal, as affording a slight hope of safety; whereas their present situation could not be made worse. But Hadja Christo would not accede to it; he wished the whole garrison to sally out, and try to cut their way through the enemies' lines; and not finding them of his mind, he prepared to do it alone. On the same night, followed by his Bulgarians, and some others, about two hundred in number, he sallied out, and fell sword in hand upon the sleeping Turks; he had nearly cut his way through their lines, and was making for the mountains, but unfortunately missed the way, got entangled in a swamp, and was taken. A few only of his men reached the mountains: the rest were taken prisoners, and slain. He himself being immediately recognized by his captors as the famous warrior so admired by the Greeks, and dreaded by themselves, was preserved as a valuable prize, and sent to Modon.

The next day the garrison formally capitulated, and marched out, giving up their arms and money; there were 1000 men under the command of different *Capitani* of lesser note, among them the Phihellene Jarvis, with 80 men.

They were conducted to Modon, and embarked on board of Austrian transports, and safely landed at Calamata, without the slightest infringement of the articles of the capitulation. This treatment of his prisoners, though arising from any thing but Turkish principle, or Turkish policy, reflects great credit upon Ibrahim; and was the first instance during the war, in which a Turkish commander had kept his pledged faith in like circumstances.

The fate of Navarino was now fixed: farther resistance would have been madness, even had the garrison been well supplied with water and provisions. New batteries were erected around the town, and the Turkish frigates entering the port, prepared to open a fire which would soon have demolished the walls. In fact, except the walls and a few miserable casemates, hardly any thing remained standing in the place. The immense number of balls and shells that had

fallen into the town, had demolished the houses, and filled the streets with rubbish; still, many of the soldiers (who never are so brave and obstinate as when defending a place,) wished to hold out to the last moment; but reason prevailed, and Collegno was sent out with authority to arrange the capitulation.

The terms were—surrender of every thing; a small number of officers only to retain their side arms; and embarkation in neutral vessels for some Greek port.

The troops, about 1200 in number, all marched out on the plain, and laid down their arms. The Pashaw offered a considerable advance of pay to any Greeks who might choose to join him; and double wages to any foreigners. There was only one man base enough to accept it, and he a man who had received nothing but kindnesses from the Greeks; who had been respected for his talents, and paid for his services; while others, less greedy or more modest, were neglected; he was an Englishman, —— Millingen by name, and a Surgeon by profession; who had been sent out under the auspices of the London Committee. Ibrahim Pashaw retained in open violation of the treaty, George Mavromichalis, who had succeeded his brother Joannes as Commander of the place; and the Archbishop of Modon, who had distinguished himself by his courage and activity, during the siege; working at the batteries like a common soldier, when danger pressed. All the rest were embarked on board Austrian vessels, and safely landed at Calamata.

The President with Mavrocordato, was at that place; and the latter received the news of the fall of Navarino, as one that would probably ruin his popularity; for he was certain the odium of it would be cast upon him. Already murmurs were heard from every part of the Morea, the feeling of enmity toward him and the President, which had of course been disguised during their prosperity, began to be manifested very openly. The news of the loss of the place gave a terrible shock through the country; the Greeks had done nothing but capture towns, and repulse armies, for four years; now a new enemy was allowed to take an important place immediately on

his arrival; and what might not he do if permitted to penetrate into the interior.

Mavrocordato returned with the President by sea to Napoli, to steer as well as he could through the political quicksands, among which he found himself.

On the night of the 12th, while the inhabitants of Calamata and all the towns about the South Western part of the Morea were lamenting over the loss of Palio Kastro, and predicting to one another the consequences that must follow, their attention was attracted by a vivid streak of light that shot up the skies in the direction of Modon. It grew broader and brighter, until the whole of that quarter of the heavens was illuminated, when suddenly a tremendous explosion seemed to shake the houses, and jar the ground like an earthquake: another, and another followed, and every man, woman, and child, was out of doors, gazing with mute astonishment at the extraordinary phenomenon. Suddenly some one cried out, "it is the Turkish fleet;" and in an instant, the multitude from silent breathless spectators, was changed to shouting—half delirious rejoicers—"the Turkish Fleet—the Turkish Fleet—Miaulis is burning the horned rascals," was the universal cry. And so sure, so certain were they about it, that they spent the night in festivity.

The next morning twenty brigs were seen coming up the bay, with the blue striped banner of the Cross flying triumphant at every mast; and the boats landing, confirmed the expectations of the people.

Miaulis finding it impossible to cope with the heavy Turkish frigates to any advantage at sea, merely hovered about them, to observe their motions. Seeing a detachment of two frigates, eight corvettes, and twenty-five transports, making for Modon, he immediately followed them, and resolved to attack them in the port. Accordingly the same evening, just before the subsiding of the regular sea-breeze, he entered the bay, accompanied by two fire-ships. They were soon discovered by the Turks, and the usual scene of confusion followed, as the fire-ships advanced close to them; the cables were cut, the vessels drove one upon another, the guns were fired from both of

their sides, while the *brulots* approached silently, but swiftly upon them. One of them struck a frigate, and the torch being applied, the flames burst up rapidly, including both vessels, and communicating with those next them. This completed the confusion and error of the Turks; nothing was heard but shoutings and cursings; no one thought of any thing but saving himself; and the soldiers in the town knowing they must do something, but not knowing what, fired off their artillery at friends and foes. The flames spread to nearly all the vessels; both frigates, four corvettes, and half the transports were entirely consumed; while the triumphant *brulottiers* rowed away in their boat, and were picked up by Miaulis, who sailed out of the bay without having lost a man.

The news of this daring, and highly creditable act, spread like wild fire through the country, with all those exaggerations usually attending such events; and it had the momentary effect of counteracting the depression produced by the loss of Navarino.

But nothing could completely do it away; the spirit of the people of the Morea was aroused; they attributed the misfortune to the present Executive, and the confinement of their Chiefs at Hydra; and it wanted but a few more disasters to make them demand their liberation.

CHAPTER III.

Turkish operations in the North—Kiutahi is named to the command—Dissensions at Napoli—Colocotroni is released—Prepares to oppose Ibrahim—Ibrahim takes Nisi and Calamata—Opposed by Flesher—Defeat and death of Flesher—Ibrahim seizes the passes Leondari—Confusion in Tripolitza—Populace flies—Town is burnt—Ibrahim advances and possesses himself of its ruins—Pushes on toward Napoli—Battle of the Mills—Ibrahim retires to Tripolitza, having burnt Argos. [1825.]

THE news from Northern or Continental Greece, was not much more encouraging. The Porte had removed Omer to the Pashalic of Salonica, and given the whole direction of the war to Mehemet Redschid, commonly called Kiutahi Pashaw; whose plan was, to collect all the disposable force in Epirus and Thessaly; march down and ravage the country; take Missilonghi, and cross over into the Morea; where he would unite with Ibrahim Pashaw, and together ruin that country. The character of Kiutahi Pashaw made him a fit object for the accomplishment of this plan, which to an ordinary mind would have seemed to present a thousand insurmountable difficulties. He is brave, enterprising, judicious in his plans, and obstinately persevering in the pursuit of them. He seems fully sensible of the importance of the modern improvements in the art of war, and makes use of them whenever he can, without alarming the jealousy of his soldiers for their rights. His artillery is well served; and the selection of spots which he makes for encampment, fortification, or attack, shows that he possesses an excellent military *coup d'œil*.

He began very early in the year to collect soldiers, paying them a small sum in advance, and promising a large share of plunder. A body was sent down from Epirus, which passed without difficulty the defiles of Makrinoros. This reflected

discredit upon the Greeks, and there must have been some intrigue, some political trickery practised, to induce the Roumeliote soldiers, who held those passes under Nota Botzaris and Izonga, to abandon their posts. But so it was; the country was left open; the unhappy peasantry again quitted the plains, and took refuge in the mountains, or fled to the desert island, near the coast; great numbers also crowded into Missilonghi. In their rear came the first straggling bands of the Turkish army, and took up their position in the plain before Missilonghi. Their numbers were soon augmented to six thousand; and though the Pashaw himself had not arrived, the blockade of Missilonghi by land was considered as commenced.

Meantime the storm of party feeling raged high at Napoli, and throughout the Morea. The friends and emissaries of Colocotroni, and the other military Chiefs who were imprisoned at Hydra, laboured hard to excite the people to demand their release, and that they should be restored to command. The multitude, unreasonable as usual, (when ignorant,) attributed the severe checks which the country had received, to the want of military knowledge in the present administration. All the battles which had for four years been gained, and the advantages obtained by their own enthusiasm, they had attributed to the skill of their Chiefs; and they now raised the common cry through the Morea, "give us Colocotroni, and our other military Chiefs, and we will fight, and drive out the invaders; but without them we will do nothing."

The Government was in a most awkward situation. The President, on his return from his defeated expedition, wished to turn Colletti out of the Executive, for his conduct in seducing away the Roumeliote soldiers; but he now saw that he must court his alliance, as he commanded the Roumeliote interest, in order to oppose his yet greater enemy, Colocotroni. But the situation of Mavrocordato was worse; Colletti hated him, and almost broke the tie which he had over the affection of the people of Western Greece: but Colocotroni and every one of the military Chiefs added to their hatred, envy; and were his sworn enemies. Still he managed like an able di-

plomatist. Something it was necessary to do, to pacify the people of the Morea, and to make head against the army of Ibrahim.

Proposals were therefore made to Colocotroni, and the confined Chiefs; and on their promising to forget all past difficulties, and swear future obedience to Government, they were released, and conducted to Napoli. Here they were received in triumph; and Government uniting with the current which they could not stem, bestowed all possible honours upon them. The union, as it was called, was celebrated by every demonstration of joy, and an oration pronounced by Tricoupi to commemorate it. But there was no need of this; for the loud and almost universal shout of joy which was raised throughout the Morea, showed how high the expectations of the people were raised. Colocotroni was made *Αρχι Στρατηγος*, or commander in chief of the Peloponessian forces. Great preparations were made to meet the exigencies of the moment. Proclamations were issued calling all the inhabitants to arms. The useful and peaceful occupations to which the people had begun to turn their attention, were all ordered to be abandoned, except those absolutely necessary for the public. The shops were all to be closed, and the men capable of bearing arms to flock around Colocotroni at Tripolitza. He repaired to that place, where he was received in triumph by the inhabitants.

His ridiculous pretensions, his pompous proclamations, in which he promised to retake Navarino in ten days, showed his ignorance of the enemy now opposed to him. He made active preparations however, and soon had six thousand men collected about him.

Others had pushed on in front to check the least advance of the Arabs; some by the orders of Government; others roused to active exertions by feeling the danger of the country, and going voluntarily to meet it. Flesher, the minister of the Interior, induced by both these causes, had roused himself from the luxurious and scandalous life which he had been living at Napoli, and collecting about six hundred men, he rushed to the post of danger. Finding that Ibrahim, after a short time spent in putting Navarino in a respectable posture of

defence, was in full advance upon the fruitful provinces of the south of the Morea, where the inhabitants were unprepared to resist him, Flesher resolved by a bold stand to try to stem the torrent.

He took post therefore at Aggia, covering Arcadia, and was immediately attacked by a whole division of the Egyptian army. His men resisted well for some time, cheered by his words and example; but seeing the enemy getting in their rear, nearly five hundred of them deserted him. Still his desperate resolution failed him not, and he prevailed on about a hundred and fifty to fight on, yet a little longer, until they were completely surrounded. The enemy then rushed in upon them, and after a desperate resistance, which cost the Turks nearly triple their number, the little band was all cut to pieces; Flesher falling one of the last, covered with wounds. Only three escaped of those who were with him.*

* Papa Flesher (as he is generally called) has been styled an extraordinary being, by all those foreigners who have known him, and with reason. He was brought up in the severities of monastic life; but neither the vain flummery of his religion, nor the walls of a cloister, could restrain the free workings of a mind like his. He felt the degradation of his country, and his bold and restless spirit soon perceived, that there was some hope, at least of personal distinction, in a revolt. He joined the society of the Hetaria, and became one of its most active members; he traversed several times on foot the vast extent of wild country between Russia and the Peloponessus, upon the secret business of the society, as he was employed by Ipsilanti and some of the Chiefs in maturing their plans. The moment the signal of rising was given, he threw off his sacerdotal robes, and girding on a sword, collected a band of men about him, and commenced hostilities. He was in the prime of life, handsome, brave, and active, and soon became a favourite of the soldiery. After a little security was attained, and people began to turn their thoughts to forming a Government, Flesher left the army, and made so good use of his talents for intrigue, that he was named Minister of Interior; and he lived at Napoli in all the luxury, and (as scandal whispered) in the indulgence of all the vices of a Turkish Chief.

The contrast between his situation, the first and last time I saw Fesher, was striking. The first time I dined with him at Napoli. It was in the Oriental style, with all its pomp and fatiguing ceremonies; but Flesher, by his graceful personal appearance and manners, threw an unusually attractive air about it. He lolled on his cushions, and received the services which his attendants offered him on their knees, with all the *nonchalance* of a thorough Moslem; and by his air, seemed to have been used from his boyhood to the luxuries about him.

The last time, was with a party of flying soldiers, after the fall of Navarino. It was midnight when we approached cautiously a hill, on the top of which a fire

There was now nothing to oppose the progress of Ibrahim, some few peasantry and soldiery excepted, who, uniting under brave but ignorant leaders, cut off those small parties which straggled from the main body of his army. But this had only the effect of making him more cautious, and keeping his army together. The country about him was level, his cavalry drove over every part of it, and cleared away the little resisting bands : and the fine village of Nisi first, and next the large and important town of Calamata, perhaps the most beautiful in the Morea, were laid waste and destroyed. The unprepared inhabitants fled in dismay ; many could only save the clothes upon their backs ; others left their beds, and flew half naked to the mountains ; while the old and young, the sick and feeble, either sunk down upon the road, or remained at home in utter helplessness, and were massacred or made slaves.

It is but justice however, to say that the conduct of Ibrahim was, for a Turk most humane, or rather politic. He published proclamations to induce the people to remain in their houses, promising them protection, and hoping to induce the country to submit ; and though most of those who fell into his hands were harshly treated, and made slaves, still he did not vent his fury upon the houses, crops, and trees, as afterwards. He seemed to wish to preserve the country, and induce the inhabitants to remain and cultivate it for him ; but not a solitary instance of voluntary submission occurred.

Ibrahim, after overrunning the whole province, and chasing

was burning brightly ; and the glowing embers of several others scattered about, showed that some soldiers were there : it was doubtful who they were, but we knew the Turks to be advancing behind us, and were obliged to go on. As soon as we fell in with the outposts, we learned it was a Greek Chief advancing to oppose Ibrahim. We were conducted up the hill, stepping over the soldiers, who wrapped in their capotes, were sleeping soundly on the rocks, with flat stones for their pillows. On reaching the top, we found the Chief fully armed sitting by the fire, on a bit of carpet spread on the ground, gazing at the embers ;—it was Flesher. He had heard of the alarming progress of Ibrahim, and quitting the luxuries of his house, he rushed forward to meet him ; and now was sitting in the open damp air, by his camp fire, at midnight, loaded with pistols and yataghan ; yet as much at ease and at home, as when lolling on his sofa.

the inhabitants from every village, prepared for an important movement with his whole disposable force upon Tripolitza. In this he expected a resistance in the important passes of Leondari, through which he would be obliged to march ; and he knew that it would be a most difficult, perhaps vain attempt, if they were defended with common skill and courage.

Colocotroni with much blustering, had been sending men forward to the passes, perhaps not so much with an idea of defending them, as of going on to take the Arabians alive. At any rate, when Ibrahim arrived at Leondari, hardly the slightest resistance was offered : the Greeks who were near them, fled with precipitation, and they were eagerly seized ; cannon were placed in the most difficult defiles, and the whole army passed through. There was now nothing to stop them ; the road was open to Tripolitza ; the distance was only twenty miles, and the inhabitants were unprepared for defence. Nothing but easy plunder was looked for, and every Arab burned to move forward. Nor did the Pashaw remain long inactive : as soon as the passes were secured in his rear, and every precaution taken which prudence and good military advice could suggest, he moved on with his whole army.

The situation of the inhabitants of Tripolitza was terrible ; that town, as has been described, is situated in the centre of a vast plain, and could not possibly sustain a siege, for it was not supplied with provisions. It had now, by a gradual influx of people from all parts, become the most important place in Greece, its inhabitants amounting to thirty thousand. The shops were filled with the richest goods of the East, and its markets afforded the produce of the surrounding country, and even of distant ones. Many of the inhabitants, it is true, listening more to their own prudent fears of a disciplined enemy, than to the loud boastings of Colocotroni, had began, several days before, to remove their valuable effects towards Napoli, and prepare themselves for flight ; but by far the greater part had no idea of their danger, and were, on Sunday, dressed in their gala dresses, and had, as usual, been spending the day in festivity ; when towards evening, the news fell upon them like a thunderbolt, *Ἐρχονται οἱ Τῦρκοι*, " the Turks are com-

ing." The cry was reverberated from every part of the city ; all supposed the Turks to be nearer than they really were, and the women and children, imagining they were already coming over the southern walls, fled from their houses, and rushed towards the gates in the opposite direction ; and the road to Napóli was soon thronged with people of all ages and conditions, half distracted with fear, and crying out to find their relatives or friends. The old and feeble were soon exhausted, and would beg for assistance of the young and strong who pressed by them ; children ran shrieking up and down among the crowd, clinging to the half distracted women, who would shake off the little innocents as soon as they found they were strangers, and go to seek their own children, more dear to them than life, after the first irresistible impulse of fear was over.

Many confessed afterwards, their surprise that they could have gone by, and disregarded the cry of their aged friends and relatives, who stretched out their hands to them from the road side, begging for God's sake to be helped up ; and many turned back with shame after a few minutes had restored them to reason. Yet, such is human nature ; every thing is disregarded for self-preservation, which is like a well-regulated spring ; strong moral checks make it subservient to moral good, yet its strength is only repressed, it is never broken.

But the danger was not so pressing as was imagined : the enemy was still four hours distant, and as he could not march in the night, there was ample time to prepare for flight, since the mountains were but a short distance to the north, and when once there, the inhabitants would be safe from the cavalry. The more cool and resolute therefore, exerted themselves to save their valuables and keep their families together ; the things they could not carry off, they buried or destroyed ; and the next morning, an order being given by the Junta ruling the town, that fire should be put to the principal buildings and shops, they all quitted the place, which was soon in a blaze behind them, just as the head columns of the Turks were approaching the entrance to the plain on the opposite side. The whole

population then took the road toward Napoli, though many turned off toward the sea-coast of the Argolic gulf.

In so large and populous a place as Tripolitza, the soldiers of Ibrahim found much plunder; some sick, feeble, and old, to butcher, and some young children to sell for slaves; but there was nothing to arrest the progress of the army for a long time. He made arrangements for a military depot there, and for its defence; but he had too good advisers about him to allow him to neglect taking advantage of the panic which now pervaded the country, to the very heart of which he had penetrated, and in the largest town of which he was quartered.

He prepared them to make a sudden dash upon Napoli, and attempt to take it by surprise, or a sudden *coup de main*; utterly disregarding the army of Colocotroni, which had withdrawn northward. Napoli was only eight hours distant; the roads were difficult and defensible, but he could hear of no preparations for it, and accordingly moved forward with 7000 infantry, and 1000 cavalry, and descended upon the plains of Argos without meeting a single obstacle. But on his way he had roused a lion, who, though now retreating before him, was preparing to make a bold stand.

Demetrius Ipselanti had for some time been living the retired life of a private gentleman, entirely unconnected with politics or war. He was obliged to flee with the rest from Tripolitza, but it was reluctantly; he was looking round at every step for a place to make a stand, and soldiers to make it with. Arrived upon the plain of Argos, instead of seeking safety within the walls of Napoli, or imitating the example of Colocotroni, who, from the mountain tops, was bellowing out to his countrymen to fight, and show a good example; Ipselanti resolved, if possible, to save the important position of the Mills, at whatever risk; but he could only find two hundred men daring enough to join him, though he promised to send immediately over to Napoli for more; with these, however, he prepared to defend the position. It is opposite Napoli across the gulf about twelve miles distant, where a little rill of beautifully clear water, issuing from a swamp, (the famous lake of Lerna,) gives a good

mill privilege ; here were some mills, just on the sea-shore, surrounded by a wall, and a garden with an outer wall. It is important, as it is the only place where corn and wheat can be made into flour for Napoli, and the nearest from which water can be got, provided the aqueduct should be cut off. Ipselanti immediately despatched a boat to Napoli for a reinforcement of men, and a supply of ammunition : none could be got ready that night, and the boat returned with only about twenty men, hardy enough to volunteer ; among these were three Swiss, and two Americans.

The main part of the Turkish army had passed by, without perceiving the importance of the Mills, or the danger of leaving such a position behind. But the Greeks ventured out, and daringly discharged their muskets in defiance. A division of two thousand men was then ordered to take possession of it, and the cavalry came galloping up a head without dreaming of much resistance ; but being hotly received they fell back, and the infantry advancing, commenced a desperate attack. But the Greeks, securely lodged in the mills, and behind the walls, poured forth such a shower of balls as staggered them, and it required all the efforts of their officers to keep them firm. At this moment, a party of Turks broke through the outer garden wall, on the extreme right of the Greek position, and were forming their line to charge, on the flank, when eleven men* who were posted behind the inner wall, finding their fire too small to check them, threw away their muskets, and jumping over the breastwork, rushed sword in hand upon the Turks, and by the suddenness and impetuosity of the onset, completely drove them from the garden, and saved the position : three of the little band were wounded.

The impetuosity of the first attack was now over, and the Turks could not be brought up again to face the close and well

* One of them was an American, who had, on other occasions, distinguished himself for daring courage, J. P. Miller, of Randolph, Vt. The untiring zeal with which this gentleman has served the cause of the Greeks, at home and abroad, and the courage with which he invited dangerous service when there, have gained for him the gratitude of those who know him, while the prudence of his deportment among the dissipated foreigners in Greece, served to give the natives a good idea of the moral character of the Americans.

directed fire of the Greeks, and they drew off with some loss, carrying their dead with them.

Foiled in this attempt, but not checked, Ibrahim pushed on, and entered the large town of Argos, which is only eight miles from Napoli, and in plain sight. This place had contained 12,000 inhabitants, but it was now completely deserted, and every soul had taken refuge in and about Napoli. The situation of that town was peculiarly critical, and unfit to stand the shortest siege; for the refugees had been crowding in from every part until it was full to embarrassment; every entry way, garret, and cellar, was filled with families; they were sitting on mats at the corners of streets, and under the porches of the churches; the town was crammed full of a mass of human beings whom fear made worse than useless. The gates were then shut, and the thousands that came pouring in from Tripolizza, Argos, &c. were obliged to encamp outside of the walls; they huddled as near to them as they could, and set themselves down under the cover of blankets hung upon poles, and made the best of their hard fate.

An immediate attack was expected and dreaded by the people; but the sensible men desired it, knowing that the height and strength of their walls, and the excellence of the fortifications, must render it a harmless one to themselves, but injurious to the Turks. All possible preparation was made however, that the confusion would admit. The regular troops amounted to only enough to defend the ramparts and serve the batteries; and to send out the undisciplined men, to meet and oppose the bayonets of the Egyptians, would have been madness. All the horses however were collected, and about a hundred young men mounted, and, in a sally, opposed with success the approach of a small party of Ibrahim's scouring horse.

The Pashaw himself, with his suite, approached within cannon shot to reconnoitre the place, but could find no weak point; nor was any one hardy enough to advise him, with his as yet new troops, to assault one of the best fortified places in the East. To remain and blockade it would have been fatal; he had already counted too much on the panic, or ignorance of

his enemy, in advancing so far; should the Greeks recover from it, and occupy the passes in his rear, the plain of Argos might prove as fatal to him as it had to Drami Ali; he resolved therefore, to fall back on Tripolitza. Accordingly, the next morning the flames of Argos showed that he had left it, and he marched towards Tripolitza, dividing his army into two parts, and arrived there unmolested, having traversed the whole extent of the Peloponessus.



CHAPTER IV.

Necessity of discipline in the Greek army—Ulysses—Cavern of Parnassus—Greek fleet sails in two divisions—Sakturis defeats a division of the Turkish fleet at Cavo D'Oro—Miaulis is obliged to steer toward Hydra—Returns to Candia—Attempt to burn the Turkish fleet at Suda—Massacre of Turkish prisoners at Hydra.

THE remittances of the English loan, which continued to arrive from time to time, and the partial revenue which the Government obtained, enabled it to keep up an appearance of active exertion, and the number of the regular troops continued increasing. Colonel Favier of the French army, was appointed to the command of them, and intrusted with the raising and disciplining more. But the strength of the confederation was broken, or rather, its weakness exposed. An army of 15,000 men had marched unopposed from one end of the Peloponessus to the other, and shown that all the enthusiasm of the Greek soldiery, and the knowledge of the difficult passes of the country possessed by their Capitani, would never put them on a footing with a regular army. People became more and more convinced, that the Turks had been beaten during the last four years, rather from their own stupidity, than the skill or courage of their opponents; and those foreigners were no longer

laughed at, who told the Greeks that 10,000 disciplined Europeans could beat the whole force of Greece.

Government too, felt its own slight hold on the affection of the people, from having been obliged to take from prison a man accused of treason, and put him at the head of the army of the Peloponessus. It had been obliged to compromise with Colocotroni; but, at the same time, news came that Ulysses, who had held out the longest of the rebels, was now a prisoner. It has been mentioned that he was dislodged from Athens, and after a show of resistance, retreated to the north, where he was more than suspected of correspondence with the Turks. He had left his celebrated cavern on Parnassus, which contained his family, and all his valuables, in the hands of faithful retainers.

Gourah was sent against him, and at the moment when he was preparing to attack his old master, who had yet considerable resources left, Ulysses suddenly appeared before him with only a few attendants, and said he had come to deliver himself up to the justice of his country, and looked for a full acquittal as soon as all the circumstances should be known. He was sent prisoner to Athens, and confined in a Venetian tower. In a few days he attempted to escape by letting himself down from a very high window by a rope; but it broke, and he was killed by the fall. Suspicions were had about the manner of his death, but there was no reasonable ground for them; the same suspicions would have been thrown out by the enemies of Government, if he had died of a fever.

The next object was to get possession of the grotto, or mountain retreat of Ulysses; and it was a most difficult one to accomplish, for force could not effect it; starvation could not, for it was well supplied with provisions; and as for fraud, it was not to be expected, for the cavern was held by an Englishman, Trelawney, who had so far ingratiated himself with Ulysses as to obtain the hand of his sister, and he now bid all Greece defiance. The capture of it was effected only after much lost time, and the occurrence of deeds within it, the relation of which would appear more like romance than histo-

ry. Trelawney, after having been desperately wounded,* and perhaps getting fatigued with his solitary situation, retired with his young bride, and passed to the Ionian Islands.

* This affair has been variously represented, and as the character of some Englishmen, and an American, as well as that of Mavrocordato, must depend something upon the explanation given of it; and as my acquaintance with the parties gave me an opportunity to know all the particulars, I am induced to give them. Ulysses had, in the opinion of many, been false to his country; he had, it was confidently asserted, tried to procure the assassination of Mavrocordato; at any rate, he was virtually setting the government at defiance, though keeping up the appearance of submission. His favourite resort and strong hold, and which he preferred to the Acropolis of Athens, was a remarkable cavern on Mount Parnassus, the entrance to which cannot be attained except by climbing up a precipice by the help of ladders; it is very spacious, and contains in one of the apartments a living spring, and the rocks so hang down over the mouth of it, that no shot or bomb can be thrown into it; it is divided by nature into different apartments, and art has formed store rooms, magazines, and every necessary for the reception of a supply of provisions for years. Trelawney was left by Ulysses in possession of this cavern.

Fenton was a Scot, a young man endowed with great personal advantages, but a cold blooded deliberate ruffian; he was admitted to the cavern by Trelawney, and became his pretended friend; he soon offered to go to Napoli and act as a spy upon the government; but he was, at the same time, in correspondence with government, through the agency of Mr. Jarvis, and had offered to procure the capture or death of Ulysses, and the delivery of the cavern into the hands of government, on the payment of a certain sum. Being informed by Jarvis that his plans would be listened to, Fenton started for Napoli. On arriving at Napoli he had several interviews with Mavrocordato; what plans were agreed upon is not known; this is known, that in some of his letters to Jarvis, Fenton had offered to kill Ulysses and Trelawney, if necessary. After making his arrangements with government through Mavrocordato, secretary of state, Fenton, in order the better to conceal from the inmates of the cavern, that he had been plotting treason against them, induced the government to issue a public order for him to quit Napoli in two hours, as being a suspicious person. He then went to the cave and told Trelawney every thing, and that he had persuaded government he was sincere in his offer to murder his friend and benefactor; of course Trelawney would discredit any accounts he might hear of it, as he could not conceive such baseness possible. Still Fenton went on hatching his plot, and the strangest part of the story is, that he chose for the instrument of his crime, a young Englishman of family and education, and that the arch villain should be able to persuade him to it. His victim (for I must call Whitcomb the victim) was about nineteen years of age, had been a midshipman in the British service, and had come to Greece burning with enthusiasm for her cause, and still more with a desire to distinguish himself by some daring act; he was full of vanity and ambition, daring and headstrong, indeed, but generous and proud; and I believe, would then have shuddered at the bare thought of what he was afterwards induced to commit. He left the party of soldiers with which

Government now turned its whole attention to getting the fleet out to sea to oppose that of the Turks, upon which eve-

we were, and in the more spirit of wandering, went to the cavern of Ulysses; he was met by Fenton, and carried up to the cavern. In one single day Whitcomb became the admirer of Fenton; thought him the noblest, the most romantic, the bravest of men; in one day more he thought him injured and abused by Trelawney, learned to hate Trelawney, believed that Trelawney despised him, and meditated injuring him; and on the third day he swore eternal friendship to Fenton, and that he would stand by him at all hazards, in any attempt to regain what he believed his right. Still, Fenton dared not propose his horrid plan; he had wound his coil about his victim, but feared that the spring of virtue might not yet be poisoned. Two days more were passed in riot and drinking, and Whitcomb was excited by wild plans of power, and of becoming prince of the surrounding province, if Fenton could become master of the cavern, and there was only Trelawney in the way. On the sixth day they were to meet Trelawney after dinner on the ledge, in front of the cavern, to practise pistol firing; this was the moment Fenton chose for the execution of his plan; he got Whitcomb intoxicated, and made him believe that he feared Trelawney had a plot to murder them both. Whitcomb swore to stand by his friend to the last, and promised to be ready on any signal. It was Trelawney's first fire, and after hitting the mark, he went a little forward, and in his usual cold, unsocial way, stood with his back to them; Fenton raised his carbine, (which was not loaded,) and pointing it at Trelawney, snapped—he looked with pretended dismay at Whitcomb, as begging him to second him, cocked and snapped again: "He turned upon me such a look—I knew not what I did—I raised my gun, pulled the trigger, and fell from my own emotions;" these were the words of the mad boy, who had become all but an assassin. Two balls with which his gun was loaded, had lodged in the back of Trelawney, and he was apparently dying.

The soldiers rushed in, and Whitcomb heard the voice of Fenton, who was supporting Trelawney, crying, "There is the young traitor; shoot him, cut him down, do not let him speak;" but Whitcomb ran, gained an inner apartment, and taking off his sash, fastened it, and threw himself over the precipice. By some strange means he got safely to the bottom; after running some time he was met by some soldiers of Ulysses', and carried back to the cavern half distracted. On entering, he asked, "Where is Fenton?" "At your feet;" and he looked down upon his bleeding corpse. There was a Swiss in the cavern who had seen this transaction; he had seen the emotion of Whitcomb before the affair, and could not believe he committed the act; and when he heard Fenton crying out to kill him, without letting him speak, he became convinced; he ordered a soldier to fire upon him; the ball just passed Fenton's head—he turned round quickly, and seeing the Swiss, whom he knew to be a dead shot, aiming another musket at him—without showing the least emotion, he turned fully in front of him, put his hand on his breast, and cried, "Fire again, I am ready;" received the ball through his heart, fell, rolled on his face, and expired without a groan. Whitcomb was put in irons, and kept in till Trelawney, against all human expectation, recovered a little. He ordered him to be brought before him, his irons taken

ry land operation depended; and as there was money to pay the sailors, no difficulty was experienced in getting ready for sea, fifty brigs and ten *brulots*, or fire vessels. One half this squadron was conducted by the chief Admiral Miaulia, to watch the Egyptians off Candia, and the result of his operations has been seen both at Navarino and Modon.

The other division, commanded by Sakturis, went to cruise off Mitylene, to intercept the Constantinople fleet. Sakturis kept beating about before the mouth of the Dardanelles, waiting for the Capitan Pashaw's fleet, until he was almost tired, and perhaps his vigilance was relaxed. At any rate, while he was lying off one of the islands too far to the south, the Turkish fleet passed out, and bore away toward the Peloponessus. Soon however, Sakturis got notice of the movement, and instantly following, he overtook them off the southern extremity of Negropont; and the moment he could come up, he engaged them with much spirit. The two fleets, as usual, kept up a most furious cannonade, at a harmless distance; and no injury was sustained on either side, though the threatening aspect and rapid movements of the Greeks frightened the Turks, who were every moment expecting a *brulot*; and one soon came. The wind blew a little fresher, and a fire-ship darting forward, grappled a fifty gun frigate, and instantly both were in flames. The Turkish vessels now began to show symptoms of confusion; and the Greeks becoming more bold, ran close to them, pouring in a well directed fire from their feeble broadsides: and at this instant another *brulot* running down a large corvette, set her on fire. This completed the confusion of the Turks; they squared away their yards, and ran before the wind, followed by the Greeks, who forced one corvette on shore at Syra, and captured five Austrian transport vessels, laden with ammunition, some shells and cannon, and many valuable stores, destined for Kiutahi at Missilonghi. The rest of the fleet pursued

off, and he set at liberty; nor did he seem to have the least idea that Whitcomb had fired upon him, and he continued to treat him kindly. Whitcomb said, "I could not stand this generosity; I confessed to him the whole; I even gave it him in writing, and he dismissed me." Trelawney recovered, and Whitcomb is ruined and desperate; he has blighted the hopes of his highly respectable mother, and wounded the pride of his brave brothers, who are officers of the British army.

its way in disorder toward Candia. The corvette which had been forced on shore at Syra, was followed by two brigs; but the Turks landed on the island, supposing it to be neutral, and set fire to their vessel. The Greeks of the island, however, coming down upon them, they were almost all killed.*

The other division of the fleet, commanded by Miaulis, remained off the southern coast of the Morea, watching for an opportunity of striking another blow; for though the affair at Modon was a striking proof of the skill and bravery of Greek sailors, the loss of vessels was not such as materially to injure the Turks. Miaulis therefore determined upon making one bold effort, to terminate the campaign, by destroying the Egyptian fleet then lying in Suda, a large, commodious, and well fortified port in the north of Candia. He prepared every thing with his usual prudence, and was about sailing for the place, when he was interrupted by an accident, which is best told in the words of an eye-witness. "It had been a superb day, but almost a perfect calm; and about noon I was sitting by Miaulis on his usual place, at the taff-rail. He was speaking of the prospect of affairs, and seemed well aware of the importance of the expedition on which he was bound: he mentioned his hopes of success with animation and enthusiasm. All at once, a caique (a large boat) rounded the point, and appeared labouring with all her oars to reach us. In a moment the old man's countenance fell: 'There,' said he, slapping his thigh, 'comes the intelligence which I fear will dash our hopes: I know by the appearance of that boat, that it is the bearer of bad news.' In the mean time the caique was slowly approaching: the sai-

* I have no positive knowledge of the circumstances of this affair, about which considerable has been said, and that little creditable to the Greeks. I hope Mr. Emerson's account may be the true one. "One corvette had been driven to Syra; here she was followed by two Greek brigs, and obliged to surrender, the captain having made a capitulation that she should be yielded up to the Greeks, as soon as the crew were landed in safety on the island: but the last man had scarcely left her, when a train which had been laid by the Turks exploded, and blew her to atoms. The Greeks, enraged at their disappointment, thronged on shore, and after a vast deal of confusion, succeeded in making prisoners of one hundred and fifty, who were afterwards sent to Hydra."

I fear this is rather as it should have been, than as it was.

lors who had caught the words of the Admiral, had given over all bustle on deck, and had crowded in silence to the side, to mark her approach, and hear the news. She came up, and her first words operated like a thunderbolt. 'The Turkish fleet had passed the Dardanelles, and, at the moment of her departure, was within thirty miles of Hydra.' Every consideration of national honour, or the safety of Greece, seemed to have passed away; and, like men awakening from a dream, the utmost hurry and preparation sounded through every part of the ship, as they hastened to get under way, and fly to the relief of their families, and the protection of their homes. Signals were immediately fired, and in a quarter of an hour every anchor was weighed, every yard-arm spread with canvass, and the whole fleet steering for Hydra."

A few days brought them near it; and on receiving the agreeable news of the attack on the Turkish fleet, and its dispersion by Sakturis, Miaulis immediately steered back again toward Candia, in hopes of falling in with the other division. He found Sakturis the next day; and uniting their squadrons, which now amounted to seventy sail, they all steered for Milo to revictual. From Milo the Admiral steered with his whole force for Suda, still determined on attacking the Egyptian fleet with his fire-ships. But on arriving there, a sad disappointment awaited him. The Turks had got information (probably from a French vessel) of his intention; and their fleet, instead of lying in security within the inner harbour, and as usual moored close to one another, were now well secured, and divided into four portions so that if any one should be set on fire, it should not communicate to the rest. The most effective part of the fleet, consisting of about forty vessels, frigates, corvettes, and brigs, was stationed in the outer harbour; and though almost despairing of success, Miaulis advanced to attack them. As soon as his foremost vessels got within range of the guns of the Turks, a furious cannonade commenced, during which the brulots advanced with a very light wind, and the Turkish vessels began to retire within the inner harbour. Two brulots however, ran on a large corvette at the same moment, set fire to the trains, and all three were instantly involved in flames;

the brulottiers saving themselves in their boats. They picked up three Turks who swam towards them, but these were the only ones of the crew of the corvette who were saved. The Turks now retired with some confusion, and the Greeks eagerly advanced; one brulot ran in close to the island, in an attempt to grapple a frigate; but the frigate avoiding her, she was left exposed to the fire of several ships and the batteries. Her crew were obliged to desert her, and take to their boats; they were followed, and once surrounded by barges sent out from the Turkish frigates, but fought their way through, and were picked up by Miaulis.

No other damage was done to the Turks, and the disappointed Miaulis was obliged to await a more favourable occasion.

The daring Canaris joined him the next day, with a fire-ship, which he had been constructing almost entirely at his own expense.

A violent storm arising, the Greek fleet was dispersed for some time, and many of the vessels returned home. About this time too, the brig of Capt. Athanasius Kriezis was blown up by a Turk, who had been taken prisoner, and kept as a servant on board; and only two men of her crew escaped. The reception of this news at Hydra, caused one of the most atrocious massacres which has disgraced the Greek revolution; and though there were some palliating circumstances; though it differs in many respects from the Turkish massacres, (*which are always encouraged by the government and leaders,*) still truth demands its record: and that it may not be said to be glossed over, it is given in the words of an eye-witness. It should be remembered however, that he is far from being an admirer of the Greeks; and that his object was, without perverting truth, to make a fine "picture."

* * * "The wretch immediately went below, and, in his thirst for vengeance, set fire to the powder magazine, and blew up himself, his captain, and shipmates. There is, perhaps, no spot in the world, where the ties of blood and clan-ship have more closely united the inhabitants than at Hydra: and the sensation produced by this event may be readily conceived, when it is considered that every individual thus de-

destroyed was connected intimately with almost the whole population, by birth, marriage, or the bonds of friendship; and that as the officers and crew of every ship are almost invariably related to each other in a nearer or more remote degree, a whole family, and that one of the most distinguished, was thus, at a blow, eradicated from the midst of the community.

The news spread instantly from end to end of the Marino, and seemed to produce an extraordinary sensation. In a few moments, from the balcony where I sat, my attention was attracted by the unusual commotion of the crowd below, which now consisted of four or five thousand; they kept rushing backward and forward, but always tending towards the door of a monastery close by me; one apartment of which served for the office of the Marino, and another for the prison, in which were confined a large number of Turkish captives. I asked a Hydriot who sat beside me, what was the meaning of the commotion in the crowd; he replied, with a little emotion, 'perhaps going to kill a Turk.' His words were scarcely uttered, when the door of the monastery, not twenty paces from me, was burst open, and a crowd rushed out, forcing before them a young Turk of extremely fine appearance, tall, athletic, and well formed; but I shall never forget the expression of his countenance at this awful moment; he was driven out, almost naked, with the exception of a pair of trowsers, his hands held behind his back, his head thrust forwards, and a hell of horror seemed depicted in his face: he made but one step over the threshold, when a hundred ataghans were planted in his body; he staggered forward and fell, a shapeless mass of blood and bowels, surrounded by a crowd of his enraged executioners, each eager to smear his knife with the blood of his victim. By this time another wretch was dragged forward, and shared the same fate; another and another followed, whilst I was obliged to remain a horrified spectator of the massacre, as the defenceless wretches were butchered almost at the foot of the stairs by which I must have descended in order to make my escape. Each was, in turn, driven beyond the

“ door, and got a short run through the crowd, and fell piece-
“ meal, till at length the carcass lost all form of humanity,
“ beneath the knives of his enemies. Some few died brave-
“ ly, never attempting to escape, but falling on the spot where
“ they received the first thrust of the ataghans ; other weaker
“ wretches made an effort to reach the sea through the crowd,
“ but sunk down beneath a thousand stabs, screaming for mer-
“ cy, and covering their faces with their gory hands. .

“ In the meantime I had got within the café, and closed the
“ door and windows ; within were a few of the young Pri-
“ mates, who were sinking with shame and horror for the ac-
“ tions of their countrymen ; and the noble Canaris was lying
“ on a bench, drowned in tears.”

This is a foul blot, and if on the historic page of an enlight-
ened nation, would require ages of good deeds to wash it out ;
but, independently of the fact of the Hydriotes, and all de-
scendants of Albanians, being more ferocious than the rest of
the Greeks, he who knows all the circumstances, will see
much to palliate it. He who has seen the effects of the cold-
blooded barbarity of the Turks, in the mutilation of Greeks
of every age and sex, from the tender infant to the hoary do-
tard ; he who has been with the Greek army, and had his eyes
every morning saluted with the sight of the heads of those
wretches who had fallen into the hands of the Turks, sticking
upon poles before the lines ; who has seen, in the same situa-
tion, Greeks suspended upright in the air upon stakes driven
through the whole length of their bodies, still alive perhaps,
and writhing with all the horrid pangs of impalement ; he
who has seen this, and known it to be done in cold blood,
with the approval of their officers, and in accordance with the
precepts of their religion, cannot but feel the darker passions
of human nature rise in his breast, and cease to wonder, that
an infuriated mob should commit such deeds as that at Hydra.

CHAPTER V.

Siege of Missolonghi—Scientific operations of Kiutahi Pashaw—Character of the Greeks of Missolonghi—Cannonade and bombardment—Conduct of the women—Various assaults repulsed—Karraskakis harasses the rear of the Turkish army—Offers of capitulation rejected by the Greeks—Letter of Lambro Veicos—General attack by the Turks—Gallant defence—Miaulis appears to the relief of the place—Driven off by the Turkish fleet—Intrigues of foreigners at Napoli—General Roche—Proceedings of Ibrahim Pashaw—Attempt to burn the Turkish fleet in Alexandria.

It has been mentioned, that about the first of May the troops of the Seraskier had descended as far as Missolonghi, and that taking up their positions around it, the blockade of the place was commenced.

Missolonghi, at the commencement of the revolt, was merely a fishing station, and contained about 3000 inhabitants; but as the war continued, it was found to be a place of the utmost importance to Western Greece, as a point of communication by sea with the rest of the confederation, a place of centralization for military operations, and of refuge for those inhabitants of the north, whom the events of the war might drive from their homes. Its fortifications were a mud wall, ten feet in height, and a ditch four feet in depth; and its artillery consisted of four pieces of cannon mounted on crazy carriages.

Yet in this situation Missolonghi opposed a successful resistance to the army of Omer Vrionis, who, in 1822, besieged it for three months. In 1823 it was again besieged by the Scodrian, and defended by the obstinate courage of its inhabitants. In 1824 no enemy appeared before it. It had been very much improved, new batteries erected, and put in a respectable posture of defence. The fortifications were further improved by Lord Byron. It now contained a population of about twelve

thousand souls, and had four thousand men capable of bearing arms. It had become the most important place in Western Greece ; schools were established there, a newspaper in the modern Greek was regularly published ; and a local junta, or governing commission, was appointed by the general government, consisting of three persons.*

The moment the Seraskier arrived with the remaining troops, which increased the besieging army to 14,000 men, the trenches were opened in a regular manner ; and Kiutahi showed, by his operations, that he was accompanied by European advisers perfectly skilled in the science of war, and that he was wise enough to take their advice. His troops proceeded to take up their respective positions, with a view to the establishment of a siege, and each troop fortified itself by building up a little wall in a circular shape, to defend itself from sallies of the Greeks.

The Pashaw had arranged his communications with Epirus and Thessaly, and had obtained some artillery from Yussuf Pashaw of Patras ; but his dependence for that, and for ammunition, was on the Capitan Pashaw, and he was eagerly looking for the Constantinople fleet.

He however commenced his operations against the town immediately, made his approaches regularly, and placed his cannon and mortars in battery. A great number of shells were thrown into the place daily, the cannons were directed against the walls, and his approaches to the place, continued. The Greeks were astonished and amused at this, to them, new and wonderful process, in which the besiegers approached close to them, digging in the trenches, and yet continually covered by the parapet. A line of contravallation was soon established at four hundred yards distance ; this served for the first parallel, and batteries were erected. The Pashaw knew that there were but few of his Albanian soldiers that could be made to stoop to manual labour ; he had therefore, in his passage through the country above, induced the Greek inhabitants of some villages, to rely upon his solemn promises of protection, and remain in their homes on his approach. But they paid dearly for their credulity ; two thousand of them were seized, and carried along

* Diamantopolos, Canavas, and Thumelis.

with the army, and were now forced to dig in the trenches, and labour for the accomplishment of works, intended for the destruction of their countrymen. The situation of these poor creatures was miserable; wretchedly clad, and scantily fed, worn out in body, and sick at heart, they were urged on to their cruel task, by lashes and prickings with swords; and when exhausted nature could do no more, and they sunk down unable to work, they were butchered, and their heads carried in by the Turkish soldiers to the officers to claim the reward for an enemy slain.

Meantime the Missionghiotes were far from being idle. There is no town in Greece whose inhabitants were more moral, intelligent, and patriotic; they had besides, something of the *vive la gloire* principle; they knew that the eyes of all their countrymen were fixed upon them; that the whole civilized world regarded the contest with interest; and they were determined to support the reputation their town had so deservedly gained by the former sieges it had sustained. Their batteries roared from morning to night in answer to the Turkish cannon; the soldiers continually watched upon the wall for an unlucky Turk to project his head or limbs a little over their works, where their muskets could reach him; and from time to time sallies were made with various success, but generally to their advantage, as they chose their time for them.

Towards the end of the month, Kiutahi having completed his works, and formed his third parallel within a short distance of the walls, made frequent attempts to carry the bastion, called the "Franklin* battery." But he was repulsed; and the increased shower of shot and shells which he poured into the town, seemed only to call forth an increased shower from within. Many soldiers were killed, it is true; the bursting shells tore the houses to pieces, and destroyed women and children. Yet the women were any thing but a burden to the men; they showed much patient courage, and even cheerfulness; though exposed during the day to balls and shot, and employed in the

* The Greeks admire the character of Franklin. His name is far more familiar to them than that of any other American, not excepting Washington. Many of the "sayings" of the philosopher, are in the mouths of their instructed men.

night avoiding the bursting of bombs, whose course they had learned to distinguish, by their fiery track through the sky.

The Greeks laboured hard to strengthen their walls; and built casemates in several exposed parts, to cover the soldiers as well as the families. Distress for provisions began to be felt; but they looked forward with confidence to their fleet for supplies. They heard also with joy, that the Roumeliote chiefs Kondoyani, Rankos, Costa Botzari, Zavella, and others who had left Navarino, were now united with Karraiskaki, and endeavouring to harass the rear of the Turks. In fact, the effect of it was soon seen; for Karraiskaki so interrupted the communication with Eastern Greece, that Kiutahi was obliged to give it up entirely; and the Greeks took possession of the country around Salona.

The Pashaw then made several attempts to effect a lodgement in some part of the town; but being uniformly repulsed with loss, and his ammunition nearly failing him, (so that instead of bullets, his men fired round stones from their cannon), he was obliged to relax his efforts, and wait patiently for the Constantinople fleet, which ought ere this time to have arrived. But the Greeks knew why it was delayed; they had heard of the advantage gained by Sakturis, and failed not to let the Turks know it. Miaulis had sent them a few small vessels with some supplies, conducted by captain Neuga; and had promised soon to bring effectual succour.

They had need of this consoling assurance; for on the 10th they discovered the Turkish division steering toward the place, consisting of twenty large vessels of war, and twenty smaller ones. This armament had brought to Kiutahi every thing that he wanted. Immediate preparations were made by the Turks, for taking advantage of the scarcity of provisions, which they knew prevailed in Missilonghi, and for pressing still harder the seige, at a moment when it would be most insupportable. Cannon in great numbers were landed from the fleet, with mortars and howitzers, and a proportionate quantity of ammunition to supply them. New batteries were erected; the wall began to crumble before them; and the fleet, continually cruising before the place, endeavoured to cut off all communication with Ana-

tolico and the Ionian Islands, and thus shut out all supplies of provisions. By land, the works were approached very near the walls; attempts were made by bringing immense quantities of earth, branches of olive trees, beams, &c. to fill up the ditch in front of the wall; and large rewards were offered by Kiu-tahi, to each Turkish soldier, who would succeed in throwing a bag filled with earth, into the fosse.

The continual cannonade kept up against the walls, and the shower of bullets from the nearer works, made it difficult for the Greeks to keep their stations. But they did so; and though their loss was considerable every day, they kept up a better directed, and more murderous fire upon the assailants. Their attention was now intensely occupied in erecting new works, within the outer ones, so that in case those were utterly destroyed, they might still have a defence.

Missilonghi has no walls upon the side next the sea; its defence there consists in flats, which extend four miles out, and are covered with only three or four feet of water. There are channels however, through this basin, by which boats deeply laden can approach the town; but they are so very narrow and crooked, that none but the fishermen who have passed years among them, can thread them. The entrance to this basin is defended by a little islet, on which was built a fort, called Vasiladi. This position is the key of the place, and can effectually prevent the passage of any boat within the basin.

In order to avoid Vasiladi, the Turks with much good sense transported flat bottomed boats across the neck of land, which projecting into the sea, forms the basin, and launched them into it. In these cannon were placed, and approaching the town, they began to cannonade it: and from that moment the inhabitants, assailed from both sides, and their provisions being entirely cut off, began to suffer severely. Three favourite captains fell within as many days;* and the positions on the land side were extremely difficult to retain. In this situation, there was seen coming towards their walls a small number of Turks, making signs for a conference; it was a deputation from

* Vinas, Lepeniotiki, and Gourronaras.

Kiutahi. Being introduced into the place, and carried before the assembled chiefs, the notorious Tahir Abas began to explain the situation of the Turkish army ; every thing, he said, was prepared for an assault ; mines were dug, which would overthrow the walls and batteries ; the soldiers, all burning with impatience, would rush through the breach, and the place would be given up to their fury. To avoid this, the Pashaw in his tender mercy implored the Greeks to accept his protection, and give up all into his hands ; their sins should be forgotten, and they should be cherished like his children. The younger captains, and their attendants, answered to this, by a cry of " Πολεμος ! Πολεμος !" war ! war ! but the older chiefs, more true to their nature, gave a denial positive enough to convey the idea that they were well provided for the siege ; yet with just enough of hesitation, to show that there was a possibility of effecting more by a longer negotiation.

Immediately the Turks recommenced the cannonade and bombardment by land and sea, with fresh fury ; and the soldiers began to move forward as if to give an assault. A mine was sprung near the bastion called Botzaris ; the shock, and the mass of earth thrown out, filled up the ditch, and partly ruined the wall ; and the Turks rushed forward to give the assault, and entered to the very breach. But the Greeks clung to their positions behind the ruins, and kept up such a murderous fire of musketry, that the Turks were driven back ; and though the fire was continued until night, no material impression was made upon the place : very few Greeks had been killed, while the Turks had suffered severely.

Nevertheless, much distress began to be felt by the inhabitants from want of provisions : the necessaries of life had become exceedingly scarce ; famine began to break down the spirits of many, whom dangers had not affected. The ammunition too was almost expended, and this made them look with some dread, upon the preparations of the Turks for a new assault. These were more extensive than before ; and again a deputation, headed by Tahir Abas, came to propose terms of capitulation.

Whatever may have been the real sentiments of the older

chiefs, who took into consideration the destitute situation of the place, that their ammunition was almost exhausted, that the walls presented several places where breaches had been effected, that the arrival of their fleet might be delayed, that famine must reduce them—some of them seemed inclined to listen to terms. But this exasperated the younger part of the council, who cried loudly for the immediate dismissal of the deputation. Nicolas Zervas, and Georgios Kitzos, particularly distinguished themselves, by the fiery indignation with which they repelled the least approach to terms.

The deputation retired; but Tahir Abas, determined to try every possible means to effect his object, wrote to his old friend and companion in arms, Lambro Veikos, a venerable Suliot chief, imploring him to use his influence to procure a capitulation. The answer of the old chief was as quaint as cunning, "We have been friends; difference of religion has made us fight; but still, let the stream of our friendship run on; you have twice proposed us capitulation * * * * *. Now, I put it to you as a friend, whether, if being in a castle completely fortified, well supplied with ammunition, with provisions of all kinds in great abundance, and plenty of water, with good soldiers, and numerous, should we surrender, what would be our fate? should we not be hated of God, and despised by brave men, and particularly by you? Where could we go to hide our heads, even if we were sure of keeping *them on our shoulders?*" &c.

"P. S. I send you a present of some rum, which I beg you to distribute among your soldiers, when they prepare for the assault." This letter was sent, together with the rum, which was perhaps every drop the old man could collect in the place.

Kiutahi, finding all attempts at arrangement with the garrison perfectly useless, prepared for immediate and desperate action. The whole army approached the walls; the boats were brought up to the attack, and every thing was prepared; and the Greeks, all at their posts, were in mute expectation of the assault. Suddenly, their two outer batteries were blown into the air, with a stunning noise and tremendous crash, by the explosion of a mine, which also brought down a considerable length of

the wall. Instantly the batteries all along the Turkish line opened their fire, and the soldiers rushing forward with loud cries, entered the breach, and climbing up the ruins amid clouds of dust and smoke, planted their standards upon the top. The Greeks were for a moment amazed; a cry ran through the town that the walls were all blown down, and the Turkish army had entered; but it was only for a moment; the men ran to help their comrades in the exposed parts, and soon collected a formidable number, who ranged themselves behind the inner ramparts, and opened a deadly fire upon the Turks. The latter held possession of the wall for two hours, and made frequent attempts to drive the Greeks from their inner rampart; but each moment gained, was every thing to the latter, while the Turks, in an exposed situation, and losing very fast the furious excitement by which they were urged on to a first attack, began to waver; and the Greeks rushing forward, cleared the breach and ramparts, which were covered with dead, and took several standards.

A furious attack was made at the same time, from the *flotilla* in the basin, with the same result. The Turks were completely repulsed at every point; the Pashaw was bitterly disappointed, and could hardly persuade his men to remain in the camp. The Greeks however, were in a situation hardly more enviable; they were victorious indeed, but their ramparts were extensively injured; their ammunition was reduced to a few barrels of powder; provisions were almost exhausted, and the Turkish fleet cruising in the gulf, cut off all hope of supply, and left no chance of escape but by abandoning their town, and trying to force their way through the enemy's lines.

In this moment of despondency, and almost of despair, they discovered a squadron of small vessels steering toward them; and the Turkish fleet going out to meet them. It was Miaulis with twenty-eight vessels. He engaged the Turks, at the same time that Sakturis, with five vessels, approached Missilonghi, and attacked the Turkish *flotilla*. Most of the Turks had fled from it; all the boats were burned, and two small vessel taken. Provisions and ammunition were then landed; and from despondency, the whole population was at once transported to the

most extravagant joy ; they wept, and danced, and sung ; the church bells were all ringing, and the shouting, with the report of musketry and cannon, announced their exultation to the Turks. To crown their joy, the Junta received a letter from Carraiskakis, stating that he had reached the rear of the Turkish army, and proposed that they should make a sortie, in conjunction with an attack from him. This was done the same night, and though the general attack was unsuccessful, the soldiers returned with considerable spoil.

A few of the Turkish vessels retired within the gulf of Corinth, the rest steered south, and were followed by the Greek fleet, who left the garrison of Missilonghi new strung with hope, to repair their fortifications, and wait for those attacks, which they knew their stubborn enemy would make.

Napoli, the capital, was now a scene of continual party quarrelling : government was in great embarrassment from many causes. The Hydriote and Spetziote sailors, having tasted of the loan, had become entirely selfish, and absolutely refused to sail without pay. This was perfectly natural and just ; but feeling the importance of their services, they demanded their wages in advance.

Colocotroni wrote, complaining loudly of the cowardice of the soldiers, who deserted the passes on the approach of the enemy, and refused to follow him in any attack. There might, perhaps, have been a better reason given, for their not following him in an attack, than that which he gave ; but there was doubtless a panic among them. The new mode of fighting which the Egyptians practised, and their scientific movements and precautions, rendered of no avail those circumstances which gave the Greeks so great an advantage over the other Turks, who were, like themselves, undisciplined.

Foreigners too, contributed very much to disturb the peace of the country, by seizing the moment of general gloom and discouragement, for the advancement of their own factions. Gen. Roche, a deputy of the French committee, was most blamed ; because, being the most simple and open hearted, he disclosed too readily his schemes ; and they were defeated by

others, who under the cover of a hue and cry which they raised against him, for promoting the interests of a foreign power, went on perfecting their own plans for the same object. Roche was a soldier of more experience than talent; honest and sincere in his exertions for the good of Greece; but, blindly attached to the Bourbons, he thought he could not more effectually promote the cause of the Greeks, than by ridding them of their republican predilections, and making them elect for their king, one of the family of the Duke of Orleans. But the Greeks were too keen for him; they tickled him with flattery, until they made him disclose all his schemes; received with smiles and thanks, the watches, medals, pistols, and other presents, which he made them, and then pursued their own course. Suddenly appeared a petition signed by many Greeks, demanding the protection and assistance of the English government.

This roused the ire of the General, and all who were in reality of the French faction; and he vented it in a furious protest, in which he pretends to represent the interests of France; and was weak enough to be imposed upon by an American adventurer, named Washington, who also subscribed the protest, signing himself "Deputy of the American Philhellenic Committees."

If the British government, by any agents, had any thing to do with this affair, they must have the credit of managing adroitly, and remaining concealed. Capt. Hamilton, commander of the British squadron then in the Archipelago, was loudly reproached. But it is certain, that that gentleman, be his political views what they may, has invariably acted nobly towards the Greeks, and gained the love of all who know him personally, as well as the respect of the whole nation.*

It would be as uninteresting as unavailing to try to develop the secret sources of these factions, by which foreign interests

* There is no doubt of the correctness of Mr. Swan's statement, who says: "by the Greeks Capt. Hamilton is regarded as a sort of guardian angel, whose benevolence is as unbounded as his power: yet he has never once favoured them at the expense of justice, or when it interfered with the course of duty."

were attempted to be advanced. Certain it is, however, that far too great importance has been attached to them abroad ; and the idea has been held up, that what could be effected in Napoli, would influence all Greece ; as France and England can be, by operations in Paris or London. It was easy enough to obtain to any paper, a long list of names with titles appended, as sounding and imposing abroad, as useless and insignificant at home ; colonels and generals, civil officers and ministers, bishops and archbishops, would sign by scores, for a *consideration* : but the feelings of the people were not expressed. The public mind, it is true, was for the moment depressed ; and the people, discouraged by the alarming progress of the enemy, would look round for something to grasp at. But a little success, or short delay, would revive public confidence, and the desire of independence would continue uppermost.

Ibrahim Pashaw, on retiring from Napoli and the Argolis, toward Tripolitza, was closely followed by Demetrius Ipselanti with a few soldiers. Niketas also had resumed his active partisan exploits ; and a force of one thousand men conducted by Coliopolo, was of some use. Ibrahim's first movement was toward Patrass ; but here he met a vigorous resistance. The roughness of the country favoured the operations of the Greeks : and they beat back his troops in several skirmishes, with considerable loss. One movement which looked like union and system between Colocotroni, Coliopolo, and some other capitani, resulted in the checking a large division of the Turkish army, headed by the Pashaw in person ; who after losing many men, was forced to fall back upon Tripolitza. But it was almost entirely a war of defence on the part of the Greeks ; and they had learned too well by bitter experience, the strength of their enemy, to venture down on the plain, to meet him hand to hand. Wherever the country presented those inequalities and difficult rocky passes, that rendered ineffectual the assistance of cavalry or heavy infantry, the light Greeks would oppose a successful resistance ; and excursions of this kind, cost Ibrahim many of his best troops. But wherever the openness of the country would allow his forces

to act, there was no attempt at resistance ; and the plains and fruitful valleys of the Peloponessus were overrun, and death and destruction scattered around, by his ruthless soldiery. He had commenced with a course, as laudable, as politic ; strictly observing his capitulations, and sometimes protecting those who fell into his hands. This showed his power over his men, and the perfection of their discipline. But when he found the measure unavailing, and that no Greeks came to submit to him, he gave free scope to his deadly hate of the name of Christian, by encouraging his soldiers to glut their thirst of blood, in the butchery of the males ; and to gratify their brutal and unnatural lusts, in the abuse of the women and children.

Wherever his army could penetrate, their fury was shown, not only in the butchery, or more horrid treatment of the unfortunate wretches who had not had time to escape ; but the smoke of the burning villages that went up around them,—the olive trees hewn down and withering, the vines torn up by the roots, and trampled under foot—and the wanton destruction of every thing that could be useful to man, showed the malignant intention of the invader.*

* A number of officers being sent by Captain Hamilton, to endeavour to effect an exchange of prisoners, Mr. Swan, his chaplain, accompanied them, and had the rare chance of an interview with the redoubtable Ibrahim ; he thus describes him : “ The Pashaw is a stout, broad, brown-faced, vulgar looking man, thirty-five or forty years of age ; strongly marked with the small pox ; his countenance possesses little to engage, but, when he speaks, which he does with considerable ease and fluency, it becomes animated, and rather striking. He frequently accompanies his words with a long drawling cry, which, to European ears, sounds ridiculously enough. His manner carries with it that sort of decision, which is the common appendage of despotism. Deprived of this, he would resemble an uneducated, hard-favoured seaman of our country. He was plainly clothed for a Turk, and his camp establishment, altogether, had none of that parade and luxury which we are accustomed to attach to eastern warfare.” “ Speaking of the Morea,” continues Mr. Swan, “ although he regretted the necessity of his present proceedings, yet it was his intention to pursue them to the utmost. He would burn and destroy the whole Morea, so that it would neither be profitable to the Greeks, nor to him, nor to any one. What should these infatuated men, the dupes of their own imbecile government, do for provisions in the winter ? He knew that his own soldiers would also suffer—that they too must perish ; but his father, Mehemet Ali, was training forty thousand men,

The effect of his being left to continue this destructive warfare was foreseen, and many plans were devised by government to check him : all the rational and good patriots inclined to the measure of combatting him with weapons like his own—disciplined troops ; and the corps training at Napoli was put under command of Colonel Favier, with limited means, however. It was soon augmented to two thousand men, and might have easily been increased to ten thousand ; but all the leading men could not be brought heartily to engage in it ; some from not being convinced of its utility, others from considering it opposed to their own private or party views.

But the most bold and rational scheme (rational from its very boldness) was formed at Hydra, by some of the most patriotic Primates ; this was, to enter with two fire-ships disguised as Austrian merchantmen, into the harbour of Alexandria, where the whole Egyptian fleet was then lying, preparing to transport troops and supplies to Ibrahim ; and in the night, set fire to their fire-ships, and let them drive among the whole mass of vessels, with which the port was crowded. The practicability of the scheme was known, from the fact of one of the Greek vessels having the last year entered the port, and being unsuspectingly visited by a boat from the shore, the crew of which she carried off.

“ In Greece nothing is secret :” yet, this expedition was kept profoundly so ; two brigs, one belonging to Manoli Tom-bazi, the other to Antonio Kriezi, were fitting out, and two fire-vessels to accompany them ; this was known, but no more ; and the people went half crazy to find out their destination. The crews were selected with great care, taking only those men who spoke Italian fluently. After the vessels left the harbour, each commanded by its respective owner, and accompanied by a brulot, the crews were addressed by the captains, the desperate nature of the enterprise was explained, and full

and he was in daily expectation of a reinforcement of twelve thousand. If these were cut off he would have more, and he would persevere till the Greeks returned to their former state. One of the castles on the plain, he said, had just been carried by assault, and the garrison all put to the sword ; the other was expected to fall immediately. He repeated, ‘ I will not cease till the Moréa be a ruin.’ ”

liberty offered for any one to go back, who had no heart for the affair. But there was not a man bold enough to own himself afraid ; they answered with an approving shout, and the vessels went on. After many delays and obstructions, they arrived off Alexandria, and the two brulots entered the harbour unsuspected, in broad daylight. But all the hopes of the patriot were dashed by a misunderstanding and dispute between the captains of the fire-vessels, which caused such strange movements, that they were suspected, and fired upon ; not by the Turks alone, but by a French vessel of war also. One brulot however, ran on a little, struck a frigate, and set her on fire ; but it was extinguished ; the other burnt without doing any other harm, than putting into the greatest confusion the whole fleet, as well as every Turk in the place, who saw the Giaours come into their port, and set fire to their vessels under the very guns of their fortress.

The failure of this expedition does not in the least detract from the merit of those patriots who were hardy enough to conceive, and generous enough to make great exertions to execute such a plot. And as the merit of any action is enhanced by the motives of it being more or less disinterested ; it should be mentioned, that both Tombazi and Kriezi are men of great wealth ; that they left at Hydra the enjoyment of all those luxuries, which money can any where command ; they left friends who loved, and families who adored them, to go unsolicited, upon an expedition which could not possibly result in any other advantage to them, than that to be derived from their country's independence. But this was not the first time that these men had shown the noblest patriotism, which appeared brighter, compared with the selfishness of most of the Hydriotes.

CHAPTER VI.

Alarm of the Greek Government—Flourishing situation of Eastern Greece—Devastation of some of the provinces of the Peloponessus—Greek fleet—Egyptian fleet brings reinforcements to Ibrahim—Progress of the siege of Missolonghi—The efforts of Kutahi Pashaw defeated—He retires—Resolution of the Missolonghiotes—Turkish fleet arrives before Missolonghi—Vain efforts of Miaulis to throw provisions into Missolonghi—Ibrahim Pashaw commences his operations against Missolonghi—State of that town.

THE Greek Government at Napoli, had now in some measure, began to lose confidence in its ability to continue the struggle against internal difficulties, and external foes; and looked round for foreign aid; for the end of the loan was fast approaching, and what with the rapacity of the sailors, who would not (in fact many could not) go to sea without pay, and the necessity of augmenting the regular troops, no means could be found of squeezing from a people, whose commerce and agriculture had been for five years at a stand, money enough for the necessary expenses.

One of Miaulis' vessels, commanded by his son, was despatched to London, ostensibly to carry the petition which had been got up for British protection; but also, for the purpose of seeing what could be done in the way of getting assistance from that part of the loan, which had been reserved for fitting out an expedition, to be commanded by Lord Cochrane.

Tricoupi was also sent to the Ionian islands, to have an interview with the Lord High Commissioner; for what purpose is not exactly known, but undoubtedly something connected with the protection.

There was tranquillity however, in Eastern Greece, and the

plains of Bœotia ; the country about Athens, and all Attica, were covered with rich crops, which showed the great fertility of the soil, and the readiness of the people to cultivate it, when the least prospect of security was offered.

Gourah commanded in the Acropolis of Athens, and though he was little inclined to render into the hands of the central government, the revenues of the province, still they were not lost, for they went toward provisioning the fortress.*

But the Morea was in a different situation ; Ibrahim Pashaw had laid waste the southern parts of the province of Arcadia, and all Messenia. As for the attempts which were made to oppose him, they do not deserve the name of military operations ; and a recital of the petty conflicts which the peasantry, in volunteer parties, every day engaged the outskirts of his army with, would be tedious and uninteresting. These were the only sources of opposition or loss to him, if the brave, and often well-directed partisan efforts of the *Turcaphagos*, *Niketas*, and a few other *Capitani*, be excepted. But there was no military talent, no enterprise at the head ; *Colocotroni*, the General in Chief, sat upon the mountain side, and reconnoitered the enemy with his spy glass, day after day, and week after week ; while his soldiers were roasting the sheep, which they had stolen from

* This imitation of the customs of the Turkish empire which most of the Greek Chiefs practise, who get possession of a fortress or strong hold, which gives them command of the revenues of the surrounding country, deserves, and has met, severe reprobation. Yet, after talking with some of the Chiefs about it, I have become convinced, that almost all ignorant men in their situation would do the same. They say, " We do not know the persons composing the government ; they may be good men, but they *may be bad* ones ; if we give them up our revenues, they *may be* well applied, but they *may not be*. Now, we must have something expended for our own province, we know ourselves ; and that if we keep the money it will be thus applied ; why then, give up a certainty for an uncertainty ?" The fallacy of the argument is doubtless unperceived by some of them ; yet those who do see it, will not fail to make use of it to the people, who pay their tenths into the hands of him who they know has the power to take them if they refuse. Hence the extreme anxiety of the different chiefs to get hold of fortresses ; hence many of the civil disturbances ; hence the care of *Colocotroni* to keep the enemy out of his own province ; that his revenue may not be cut off ; that he may subsist upon the earnings of the poor peasant, and leave untouched the ill-gotten treasures which he has sent to the Ionian islands, to Trieste, and other places, for safe keeping.

the peasantry. But his imbecility, which had always been known to those acquainted with him, now began to be more apparent to all. He did nothing, either as a general, or personally as a brave partizan; nor was this altogether from want of ability; for any man, possessing the knowledge of the country, the high reputation, the influence over the soldiery and the peasantry, that Colocotroni did, might have destroyed in detail the army of Ibrahim, if it had persisted in its attempts to penetrate into the mountainous and rocky parts of the country. And why then did not Colocotroni do it? The answer is plain; there was no high incentive. His country?—it was contained in his own province. Glory?—he cared not a fig for fame. Plunder?—alas! there was the rub; from the Egyptians he could get only hard fighting, and simple muskets, enriched only with steel bayonets. Had there been another Tripolitza, or Napoli, to take, and millions of piasters to have gained, Colocotroni would not have had to complain that his soldiers would not follow him to the fight. The whole course of his conduct had been indicative of his motives; why had not Patrass been taken? why had that weak, but vastly more important fortress, resisted, when Tripolitza and Napoli had fallen? why had the general, who pressed with such vigour, and unceasing vigilance, the siege of those places, contented himself with an inefficient blockade of the fortress which commands the whole gulf of Corinth, and which blockade he often left on trivial business? Patrass had no riches; there was only a sturdy garrison to fight, and lead and iron for plunder.

But the summer had not passed without causing a considerable loss to Ibrahim of his troops, and he now found himself too weak to undertake any important operations, or to continue in the centre of the Morea with any safety; for he was too wise to count upon the continuance of that inactivity of his enemy, which had hitherto so much favoured him. Moving south, therefore, he left a garrison of 2000 men in Tripolitza, and remained with his army in the fertile country about Calamata, waiting till the arrival of the fleet from Alexandria should bring him those reinforcements, and supplies of ammunition and provision, which he so much needed.

Every day brought to him news of the vast preparations which were making at Alexandria, for the fitting out an expedition on a scale so extensive, as should enable him to complete the conquest of the country immediately. Ten thousand infantry, and twelve hundred horse, were to be embarked with stores, ammunition, and supplies of every kind. These accounts, so cheering to him, were alarming to the Greek Government; which now, with an exhausted treasury, and without credit, was more than ever called upon for exertion. The only effectual way of defending the country, was by getting out the fleet to oppose the Alexandrian expedition while on the passage. This expedition, if successful in reaching the country, it was feared would be ruinous to their cause, and all minds were at work to divine the intentions of the Turks; whether they meant to attack Hydra or Spetzia, and afterwards Napoli; none could tell.

Preparations for defence were made however, on every point. The Hydriotes and Spetziotes, independent of their own force, called in several thousand Roumeliotes to defend their islands, in case a debarkment should be attempted. But it was of most importance to get out the fleet, and after much difficulty, the sailors were induced to embark, and the vessels put to sea, and remained cruising off Cape Matapan. Here they continued some weeks, when an unlucky circumstance upset their patience and patriotism together. One of the vessels had gone to Hydra for repairs, and the crew being very importunate for their pay, the Primate contrived to get money enough to satisfy them. The vessel returned to the fleet, and the sailors spread the news among their comrades. Instantly every man began to cry out for home; they imagined their Government had got a fresh supply of money; and to use their own expression, were 'eating it at their ease;' and they determined to go, and get their share. Nothing could stop them: respectfully disobedient to their Admiral and Capitani, they insisted upon going immediately: and, as it were, carried Miaulis with them to Hydra.

The emergency was pressing; the Alexandrian expedition it was expected would sail immediately; perhaps it had already

done so ; contributions were made, the sailors were partly paid ; and the vessels got out to sea again, with all possible haste. They pressed sail for the Southern point of the Morea, weathered it, and saw the vast Egyptian expedition, consisting of nearly six hundred transports of all sizes, escorted by forty vessels of war, just entering the spacious, and secure port of Navarino. This was discouraging indeed ; and destroyed the fond hopes which had been built upon the exertions of the fleet. But still, it was possible that it might prevent the sailing of the Turks, by remaining before Navarino ; when the news was brought, that the Spetziole and the Ipsariote divisions had withdrawn and retired to their respective homes ; leaving the venerable Misulia with only twenty-five Hydriote brigs, and six brulots to watch the enemy. Every true Greek blushed to learn the cause of this :—there had been a quarrel about the prizes ! This shameful transaction convinced all, of the want of an organized national fleet, and showed them, at an awful crisis, the misery of their present system.

But this had been known before ; hardly a man or woman in the country, but had learned to think that a national fleet was necessary for the salvation of the country. They knew that Lord Cochrane had engaged to come ; they had long been expecting him ; and now, to hear the impatient, and oft repeated demand for him, one would have supposed that he was a promised Saviour. They saw themselves on the brink of an abyss from which he might save them ; they knew that a large part of their loan had been reserved to buy steam vessels for him ; they knew too that nearly ten millions of piastres, (to them an enormous sum) had been sent to the United States, for the building vessels of war ; and the first question asked of the stranger on his arrival, was, ‘ where is Lord Cochrane ; where are our American Ships ? ’ Alas ! while the inhabitants of Missolonghi were crying out to their Government,—‘ for the love of God ! send us but one ship, to break the blockade, send us but dry biscuit to eat, and we swear to defend our walls while one stone remains upon another ;’—those ships were lying half-finished in the docks of London, and New-York ; and harpy

merchants were rioting on the money, which should have sent them to Greece. But we are anticipating.

Ibrahim Pashaw landed his newly arrived troops at Navarino; embarked ten thousand of those who had become in some measure used to the war of the country; and dispatched them on board the ships of war for Missilonghi; while he himself at the head of 2000 cavalry, started off by land, along the level open country on the Western side of the Peloponessus.

Meantime let us look a little at the progress of the siege of Missilonghi. After the relief given to the place by Miaulis and Sakturis in August, and the successful sortie of the Greeks, the Seraskier continued obstinately to press the siege, but no longer by frequent assaults, to which he could not bring his men. He pushed up his works however, sprung several mines, destroyed many parts of the ramparts, and kept up a continual cannonade and bombardment of the place; which caused much suffering during the month of September. His troops once got possession of a bastion, but were driven from it with loss. Soon after, the Greeks in their turn, sprung a mine under his most advanced works, killed a considerable number of Turks; and sallying out, drove his men from several posts, and entirely destroyed them.

From that moment, the Pashaw thought of nothing but establishing and fortifying himself in the posts he had gained: but the Greeks were not content with this. Several sallies were made, and the Turks so much harassed, that the Pashaw was obliged to give up his advanced posts; and withdrawing his whole army to the extremity of the plain, fortified his camp, and waited for Ibrahim.

The Greeks had now a short breathing space; for seven months they had been living as it were in a storm of iron, which had killed many hundred, not only men, but women and children; their walls were shattered; their houses thrown down; and the rainy season was now approaching, when all their hardships must be doubled: they heard too, that a new and a more formidable enemy was about to join their old one, and there was every appearance of their determination to push the siege during the winter. Here was now an alternative offered to

them—to quit the place in safety while the Turks were withdrawn; or wait and continue to defend their town against new attacks, and sustain new sufferings, with lessened hopes of a successful termination. They adopted the latter, and the nobler one; and though doubtless there were many circumstances which made it for their interest to do so, still, due credit should be given them for patriotic motives, and laudable pride. Their little newspaper had been continued through all the vicissitudes of the siege; they contrived to get news from abroad, and nothing was so gratifying to them, as to see that they were taken notice of all over Greece, and Europe, and that their efforts were called heroic. The vanity inherent in their nation was highly gratified; and when they read the celebration which the Government at Napoli had ordered, on hearing of their gallant conduct, on the 2nd August, they were in raptures, and proudly regarded one another, as much as to say, “the world then, indeed, calls us brave men.” The resolution was taken to defend the town to the last extremity, and to trust to the exertion of their Government for supplying them with provisions. Many have blamed them for not sending off their families; but it is very much to be doubted whether its effect would have been good; it would have rid them it is true, of many useless mouths; but in what situation will man fight so proudly and so desperately, as when conscious of his wife, dear to him as life, are dependant upon his bravery? or with what heart could the soldiers have remained defending bare walls, and empty houses, when conscious that their wives and children were dependant on strangers, and perhaps suffering from want?

The walls therefore were patched up as well as they could be, and every preparation was made for long and obstinate resistance.

On the 16th they saw the Turkish fleet approaching; it passed up the Gulf of Patras, landed the Egyptian troops on the North side; and was preparing to land the supplies for Raschid, when the Greek fleet, consisting of thirty-three brigs, was seen approaching. The Turks fearing to be caught in a narrow Strait, where they could not escape the brulots, instantly stood out to meet the Greeks, with all their large vessels. A

skirmishing commenced, and continued all day, without the Greeks being able to injure the Turks, or approach and supply Missilonghi. The next day Miaulis made a fresh, but equally vain attempt. They were then separated three days by the violence of the wind, when Miaulis again advanced, and was again repulsed; he continued his brave but unavailing exertions for a week, and was then obliged to retire sorrowfully to Hydra, to seek a more efficient force.

Reschid Pashaw, now supplied with every necessary for his army, again opened his batteries upon Missilonghi; but desisted from any attempts at assault, until Ibrahim should arrive. The latter had left Navarino with 2000 horse, and a few foot. He destroyed all the villages along the Western shores of the Morea, and met with obstinate resistance, only at Gastouni, and Piergos. Near the latter place, about an hundred and sixty Greeks, who had attempted to oppose his passage, had taken refuge in a swampy spot, where they galled his cavalry excessively, in several assaults which were made upon them. The infantry were brought up, and got a similar reception, which drove them back; they came up again and again, and were as often repulsed; and the Turks were about abandoning the attempt, when suddenly a violent shower of rain coming on, the charge was renewed with fixed bayonets. The muskets of the Greeks were soon wet, and could not be discharged; and the Arabs rushing in among them, bayoneted every man.

Continuing his march, Ibrahim reached Lepanto, and embarking his cavalry, crossed the Gulf; joined his land forces which had been brought round by the fleet, and marched toward the devoted Missilonghi. He then sat down before its walls, and proceeded to take such steps as the rules of military art dictated, to secure the capture of the place by the sure, but certain operations of famine. He had ten thousand well disciplined Arabians; and the irregular troops of Kiutahi, amounting to twelve thousand, were by order of the Sultan placed under his direction. However, the orders of the Sultan, as in every case where they interfere with the interests of any Pashaw, were not much regarded; and the two armies encamped just near enough to each other, to secure the great

object of rigid blockade; but without any actual intercourse. The Greeks, who know well the jealousies that exist between Turkish Officers of all rank, and that they almost uniformly work for each other's destruction (unless some great national or religious point is at stake) built strong hopes upon it in this case. But they were exceedingly alarmed at the steps which they saw Ibrahim was taking against them: their only chance of safety, was in his adopting the plan of carrying the place by sudden and repeated assaults: these they felt confident they could repel, and hoped by a determined resistance, and spreading havoc among the assailants, to dishearten his troops, as they had done those of the Seraskier. They feared exceedingly a long and strict blockade, which by cutting off their supplies, must inevitably end in their ruin; the place was now but very poorly supplied with provisions; the enemy's fleet was cruising off the Gulf, and intercepting all boats from the Ionian Islands; and the unfortunate garrison was obliged to exercise that most difficult kind of courage,—the passive and unresisting. The fire from the enemies' cannon had almost entirely ceased since the arrival of Ibrahim, but he had placed in positions covered from the guns of Missilonghi, a number of mortars; and day and night, threw in bombs of different sizes, which bursting among the few remaining houses, injured or destroyed them one after another, and killed many of the inhabitants. Such was the state of Missilonghi at the close of 1825.

BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER I.

Prospects of the Greeks at the Opening of 1826—Em- [1826, barrasment of the Government—Call for a new Na- [Jan- tional Assembly—Progress of the Siege of Missolonghi— Relieved by Miaulis—Letter of Miaulis—Regular Troops under Col. Favier—Expedition of Negropont—Favier is defeated—Danger of his Troops—Relieved by Ipsariote and Hydriote vessels.

THE prospects and hopes of the Greeks at the commencement of this year, were far different from those which had presented themselves the last : then, all was bright and promising : the most timid no longer doubted that the contest would end in the entire expulsion of the Turks from their soil, while the more daring hoped to extend the insurrection through the Northern provinces ; and there were not wanting those, who in the fulness and pride of new-born success, talked proudly of marching to Constantinople, and again seeing the city of St. Sophia in the hands of the rightful owners. Now all had changed ; a single campaign had served to show them that enthusiasm and courage unaccompanied by union, are in vain opposed to an enemy, whose scientific and disciplined movements, are directed by a single energetic head. For four years they had defeated the armies of the Sultan ; they had scattered his fleets ; they had taken from him towns and castles, and learned to look with contempt upon his power ;—should they then fear the Satrap of Egypt, one of his vassals ? The resources of Egypt were not to be compared with those of Greece ; for her people were enslaved, ignorant, and degraded, to a much greater

degree than ever the Greeks were ; they had neither enthusiasm nor courage, nor any inducement to enter into the war ; and could not be expected to fight heartily. Yet it had proved otherwise ; the resources of Egypt in the hands of the able Mehemet Ali, had rendered him more powerful abroad than the Sultan himself ; and by making his soldiers, what the soldiers of tyrants ought to be, living machines who dare not even think for themselves, he had made his army an irresistible one, to those who knew no command but their own wills.

From excessive confidence, the Greeks had run into the opposite extreme, of diffidence in themselves ; and although far from despairing, they would gladly have made a compromise, and given up a large part of what they had called liberated Greece ; there were many even, who would have been glad of foreign protection. But they looked confidently for a change in the whole state of affairs, if the expected naval assistance should arrive ; the name of Cochrane was on every lip—Cochrane was to reduce their unruly sailors to order ; he was to blow the Turkish fleet out of water ; he was to quell the turbulent Chiefs, and put their strong holds into the hands of the Government ; in short, they looked to Cochrane, as the Jews do to their Messiah, for a political Saviour. Nor were their calculations altogether unfounded ; had Cochrane then been in Greece with his promised force, there is not a doubt but he could have made head against the Turkish fleet ; he could have supplied Missolonghi, and that brave and devoted garrison would have defended their crumbling walls, until the soldiers of Ibrahim might have grown grey before them. The spirits and resources of the Greeks were yet unexhausted ; much might have been expected from a fresh impulse given them ; at all events if communication with Egypt could have been cut off, Ibrahim would have been obliged to surrender himself to the Greeks, or march to Constantinople and give himself up to almost as great an enemy—the Sultan. The people had long been amused with stories about the terrible power and skill of Cochrane, this mighty man of war, until they believed them, and looked upon him as almost a demigod—*ὡς εἶναι ὁ Κοκκράν* ; —was the common question of the day, and was answered by

fresh stories about the progress of his London Steam Boat expedition, and the nearness of its approach.

All the remittances* of the English Loan had been expended, the Government had no other revenue than the scanty and uncertain one from the customs, and the islands ; and these were only received by the right hand of the Treasurer, to be instantly paid out by his left. The different Chiefs were calling aloud for pay and rations, for ten times the number of soldiers which they really had on foot ; and were put off with idle promises, and idler titles. The sailors also must be paid, or would not go to sea. The whole swarm of Agents, who are necessarily employed in the machinery of Government, were presenting their accounts, and neglecting their duties, till they should get money to support themselves ; nobody was paid ; yet no man went away with a refusal ; the eternal *ἀύριον*,—to-morrow—to-morrow, was used to parry all duns ; and it passed into a bye word, that the—to-morrow of the Government meant the next year ; and the ‘ day after,’ meant never.

It is only astonishing that any thing like order or subordination was preserved, even in appearance ; yet it was so ; every mark of respect and attention was paid to Government, and to its orders,—except that of implicit obedience ; the Chief who bullied them, said—“ may it please your illustrious Excellencies, *you must and shall pay me ;*” and he who disobeyed them, did it,—begging pardon of his “ most respected and lawful rulers.”

But the extreme facility with which all the forms and precautions of legislative business were adopted, and the regular and systematic course of it, showed a considerable ability in the people to govern themselves by Representatives ; though yet too ignorant to exercise all the rights of free electors. The presenting and passing of Bills by the Representative Body, their communication with the Executive Branch, and the decided talent which was evinced in the discussions, manifested

* The two loans amounted to thirteen millions of dollars (calculated at par,) yet only about two millions and a half were received by the Greek Government in cash.

a degree of natural sagacity, which more extended information might ripen into political wisdom.

No form of government could have been so advisable as their Representative one, either to conform to the country, cut up as it is into separate provinces by strong natural divisions, or to favour the decided inclination of the people for Republican institutions. A representative form of Government is the one by which Greece should be governed ; but it was not the one to raise her from bondage, and conduct her through a long and bloody revolution, to independence ; it was calculated to give rise to a thousand difficulties and delays ; the time for action was spent in deliberation ; cautious policy was used, where unhesitating measures should have been taken. A bold straightforward and uniform course through a swamp, will often more quickly and surely bring one to a given point, than a cautious winding round it, without a beaten track.

This was abundantly proved in the Greek Government ; sectional prejudices and interests, instead of acting as useful checks, only clogged the wheels ; the Representative Body was continually in fear of rendering the Executive too despotic ; and while every sensible man in it, owned that the most rational way of saving the country, was by disciplining a sufficient number of men to form a regular and efficient army, that might not only repel the enemy, but put down the wild Chieftains—garrison all the strong places in the country, and enforce the regular payment of the revenue :—while all acknowledged this, still they did not heartily co-operate to effect it. True, there were many difficulties to overcome, but those most strongly urged, were in reality so far from objections, that they called loudly for the measure ;—viz. the prejudices and jealousies of the wild Chieftains and soldiery, and the poverty of the Government ; but had this right arm of the Executive been strengthened, it would have been enabled to mock at those jealousies, and make for itself a revenue. *Pro bono publico* should have been the motto, and a choice given to the rich to contribute voluntarily, or have their money taken by force : two millions of people were on the point of extermination, why then

stand for the abstract rights of a few ?—There was still money in the country ; there were rich and extensive families, which made no other use of their fortunes, than to take advantage of surrounding distress, and increase their own income. Had the different branches of the family of Notaras, Dillyani, Colocotroni, Mavromichalis, Conduriotti, Botaza, and a few others, been properly taxed, more than five millions of dollars might have been emptied into the public chest ; and much of which, by right belonged there.

The time had now expired for which the Members of the Government had been chosen ; and as continual misfortunes had befallen the country during their administration, a strong desire was manifested by the people for a change ; and this desire made use of, and the discontent augmented, by those Primates who were out of power, and who wished for a change, as a chance for their getting in. Another National Assembly was therefore to be called, and something was hoped from the alterations which it might make ; preparations were actively made for it by all but the actual Government, which manifested an unreasonable desire to retard it as much as possible.

Meantime the crisis was an imminent one, and the accounts from Missolonghi, represented that place as closely besieged by the united force of Ibrahim and Kiutahi ; and again suffering extremely for want of provisions. Missolonghi was the bulwark of Greece, and something it was absolutely necessary to do to save it ; much individual exertion was therefore made ; the Members of the Representative Body contributed money, each as his feelings prompted him ; the example was followed at Hydra, and other places ; the Primates gave their vessels, and demanded only that the sailors' wages and provisions should be paid for ; and a small squadron was got to sea under the command of Miaulis. He had been preceded by a small division of Spetziote vessels, and steered directly for Missolonghi with his little fleet of twenty-four brigs ; a literal translation of a letter from the venerable admiral, will give the best idea of his proceeding, as well as of the degree of subordina-

tion that exists in the Greek fleet. Extract.*—"After our departure from thence, we learned with grief the return of the Spetzibte division to their homes, (εις τὰ ἴδια, to their own),

* Κύριε,

Μετὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναχώρησιν μας, ἔμαθομεν μὴ λύσαν, τὴν ἑπισκοπὴν τῆς Μείρας τῶν Σωβιδίων ἐς τὰ ἴδια, καὶ τὸν ισχυρὸν κινδύον τῆς Μεσολογίας ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰσπαντικῶν καθ' ἑδὴν ἦρα ἐξ' αὐτῆς ἑσπείρα, τῶν ἑσπεριῶν τῶν κασιδῶν Ἰσπανικῶν Τσοπῶν, καὶ τὰ δύο πυρπολικά τῶν καπορέων Ἀναρχῶν Λακωνίας, καὶ Ἀνδρονίου Χοτζα. ἐπροςκαλισάμεν τὰς Διοικήτας αὐτῶν νὰ μᾶς ἀκολουθήσουν· αὐτοὶ δὲ μετὰ προθυμίας δεχθέντες τὴν πρόκλησιν, συναρμύζονται κατὰ τὸ παρὸν μὴ μᾶς.

Τὴν 5. ἰσθιάσαμεν ἐξω τῆς Ζακύνθος τὴν νύκτα· σφοδρὸς ὄμως καὶ ἐπιπικρατῶν θυμὸς τοῦ κόλπου, μᾶς διακόπησεν. Τὸ πυρπολικὸν τοῦ Κ. Ἀδριῶν Πικίτου, τὸ ὅποιον πρότερον ἔταμεν νερὰ, ἐβόησεν· διασάθηναι ἡμᾶς οἱ ἄνθρωποι θλοι. Σύντοχθῆτες μετὰ ταῦτα ἔλοι κατὰ τὰς Ἐκπιδος, τῆ 8. ἤλθομεν εἰς τὸν κρημνὸν τοῦ Μεσολογίου διὰ νὰ ἀποβιβάζομεν τὰς κομιζόμενας παρ' ἡμῶν τροφὰς καὶ Πολυμορφίαν.

" Ποιὸς δύναται νὰ περιγραφῆ χωρὶς δάκρυα τὴν χαρὰν, μὲ τὴν ὅποιαν ἡ ἡρωικὴ ἐκείνη φρουρὰ καὶ ὁ λαὸς μᾶς ἐδέχθησαν, καὶ τὴν ἐλευθίαν καταστάσιν, εἰς τὴν ὅποιαν τοὺς ἤρουμεν; Ἐἶχον ἐπιτοχωρηθεὶ τῶσον ὅσῃς ἡρωισμοὶ τὴν διανομὴν τοῦ ἔργου ἀπο πνιχόντα δάκρυα; καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπὸ 30. εἰς τὴν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἄφ' οὗ ἔβγαζαν ὄνον καὶ Καμύχας κρίας, ἔκριναν, μόνον ὑπερσυσσώζομεν ἀπὸ τὴν φέμιν τῆς ταχέως. ἰαφαισῆσθαι μᾶς ὑπὸ τῆς σφοδρότητος τοῦ ἀέμου ἐπὶ κρόμα δύο ἡμέρας ἐκὶ προσωπομῆσι μὲ δύο ἀγκύρας, μὴ δύναμενοι νὰ τελευτήσωμεν τὸ ἔργον τῆς σπουδαίας, ὅταν τὴν 10 πρὸ τὴν 7 ὄραν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐβάνταν ἐρχόμενα ἀπὸ Πάτραν περίπου 15 μεγάλα ἰχθυῖα πλοῖα, ὄμοια μὲ ὄμοια ἀέμου καθ' ἡμῶν· μὴ ἀμειβάλλοντες ὅτι ἐξήντι ὁ ἰχθύς νὰ μᾶς ἐκβάλῃ ἀπὸ τὴν θεινικεῖσιν διὰ ν' ἀπείκησῃ τοὺς πολυμορφίαν, ἀπεφασίσαμεν νὰ μὴ σάλιψομεν, καὶ ἔτα ναυμαχίαν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀγκύρας, ὅπως εἰρήθην. Δύο φρεγάται ἀπροχώρησαν κατὰ τὴν κυμαρῖδα μᾶς ὡς βολὴν σχοδῶν πίσωλε, καὶ ἄφ' οὗ μᾶς ἔβιψαν κατὰ πρῶτον ἔλον τὸ κύριον, λυβούσαν ἀπὸ τὸν τακτικώτερον ἀντιπυρπολισμὸν μᾶς ἀρκτενὴν ζημίαν, ἀρχισαν νὰ ἐπισθοδρομήσουν· τοῦτο ἐλίποντες οἱ ναῦται μᾶς, καὶ διελόντες διὰ νὰ τὰς ἐλάβουν ἐπι μᾶλλον, ἔκοψαν ἀφινδῖος καὶ κρυφῶς ἀπ' ἐμὲ τὰς δύο γομῆτας μᾶς, καὶ ἀνοῖξαν τοὺς ἰσθῶς· τὸ δὲ κίνημα τοῦτο θεωρῶντα τὰ λοιπὰ πλοῖα, ὅλα τὰ ἡμερηθῆσαν, καὶ ἐξήλθομεν διὰ τοῦ πύρου τοῦ ἰχθυῖου.

" Πληροφωρηθέντες πρᾶχθῆς, ὅτι εἰς τὰ ἀσπῆ τοῦ Μεσολογίου νερὰ, κατὰ τὸ Πρακοπέισον, ἦτον πρὸ δύο ἡμερῶν καθισμένη μία ἰχθυῖα φρεγάτα, καὶ σπύσαντες πρὸς αὐτὴν, ἐφθάσαμεν ἐκὶ τὴν 9 ὄραν τῆς νυκτός, ὅπου ὁ γενναῖος πυρπολικὸς Γεωργίος Πολίτης κατ' αὐτῆς διευθυθεὶς ἐντὸς ὀλίγου ὄρας τὴν ἔκαμε πρὸς ἀνάγκη· αὐτὴ δὲν ἦτον, ὡς εἰδοποιήθημεν, φρεγάτα, ἀλλὰ μεγάλη κορβίτα 24 κανονίων, ταχύπλος καὶ μία τῶν καλύτερων τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Στό-

and the extreme danger of Missilonghi: meeting however on the route three of their vessels, one the fighting ship of Capt. John Troupee, and the two, the fire-ships of Capt. Anaguros Lempuce, and Andruikos Kotza, we besought them to follow us; they with joy received our call, and are struggling now with us. The 5th we arrived off Zante in the night. The violent and irresistible wind of the Gulf however dispersed us. The fire-ship of Captain Andrea Pepini, which was before leaky, sunk; but all the men were saved."

"Assembling afterwards all of us near Ekinados on the 8th, we came to the harbour of Missilonghi, that we might debark the provisions and ammunition brought by us."

"Who can describe without tears, the joy with which that heroic garrison and people received us, and the distressing situation in which we found them? They had been so much

λου· ἐπιβάται εἰς αὐτὴν ἦσαν περίπου 300, ἐξ ὧν οἱ 30 ἦσαν χριστιανοὶ αἰχμαλωτοί· οἱ περισσώτεροι ἐκίψασαν, ἢ ἐπήγησαν, καὶ ὀλίγου διασωσαν αἱ βάρκαι μας.

"Τὸ θέημα τῆς πυρκαϊᾶς ταύτης, καὶ ἡ ἄσροτὴ τῆς ἐκρηγῆς, τρομακτικώτατα εἰς τὸ σκότος καὶ εἰς τὴν σιωπὴν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐταπεινώσαν τόσοι τὴν ἰσχυρὴν τοῦ ἔχθρου, ὥστ' 20 περίπου ἔχθρικά κερβία, ἀριστάμινα κατὰ τὸ δευτέριον Πάσα, ἀντὶ τῆς ἀρμύσεως εἰς Σούθωσι τῆς κλεισμένης κορβίττας, ἐτρέψασαν εἰς αἰσχρὰν φυγὴν ἡμεῖς δὲ παρατηρήσαντες ὅτι ὁ γενναῖος πυρπολικὸς Ἀναργυρος Λεμπύσης μόνος του τὰ ἐδίωκε, διευθύναμεν κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ δύο πολεμικά, τὰ ὅποια τὰ κατεδίωξαν ὡς ὑπερσοὺν τῶν Πατρῶν.

"Χθὲς τὴν 16. τὸ πρῶτον ὄλος ὁ ἔχθρικός Στόλος συγκεντρωμένος ἀπὸ 60. περίπου Κερβία ἐξέπλευσαν ἀπὸ Πάτρας καὶ Κεϊστήρι, ἡμεῖς δὲ πλησιώσαντες εἰς τὸ Ἀντὶρριον Ἀεροτήριον (Κάβο Κρίον) ἀρμήσαμεν ἀμέσως κατὰ τοῦ ἔχθρου, Ἡρχισαν ἡ ναυμαχία περὶ τὴν 6. ὥραν, καὶ περὶ τὴν 8. δύο ἔχθρικά πυρπολικά ἄλθον μόλις πλησίον μας ὅταν ἡμεῖς διὰ συνθήματος διευθύναμεν κατ' αὐτῶν τὰς βάρκας μας, τότε τοῦ ἰνὸς ἔχθρικοῦ πυρπολικοῦ οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἠτρομοὶ φύγοντες, ἀμαχίᾳ τὸ παράτησαν εἰς χεῖράς μας ζῆσαν· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο προφθάσαν ἀπασύρθη, καὶ ὡς τὴν 10 ὥραν ἰσάρεται εἰς γενικὴν φυγὴν ὁ ἔχθρικός στόλος, τὴν ὁποίαν ἡμεῖς κινηθότες ὑπεβιάσαμεν πάλιν εἰς Πάτρας.

"Τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν καὶ σήμερον, ἐπιστρέψαντες εἰς τὸν λιμένα τοῦ Μεσολογίου, ἀναυτήσαμεν τὰς ἀγκύρας, τὰς ὁποίας τὴν 10 ἔχθρικῶν ὥρου ἐκάλυψαντες τὰς γουμένιας ταύτων δὲ τὴν ὥραν καταγινόμεθα νὰ ἐμβιβάζωμεν εἰς Μεσολόγιον τὰ ὅσα μᾶς ἀπέμειναν ἀπὸ τὰ αὐτῶν μετακομισθῆναι ἔφθικα, καὶ κοιλὰ περίπου ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας Καλαμποκίου, τὸ ὅποιον μὴ ἄλλα πλοία ἐνδεδῆθη ἀντικρὶ τοῦ Πεταλά."

straitened, as to limit the portion of bread to 500 drachms, and afterwards to 30 drachms per man (daily); and having eaten the meat of asses and camels, they last of all remained several days fasting; resting solely on the report of our soon appearing. From the violence of the wind, we remained moored with two anchors, not being able to finish the work of disembarkation; when on the 10th, at the 7th hour of the day, appeared coming from Patras, about fifteen large hostile ships impelled by a fair wind toward us. Not doubting that the enemy sought to drive us from our position, that he might discourage the blockaded, we resolved not to move, and to fight upon our anchors as we were. Two frigates approached to our flag ship (*ναυαρχίδα*,—admiral's ship) within pistol shot; and when they had discharged all their first fire, receiving considerable damage from our more regular return fire, began to make way back. Our sailors seeing this, and thirsting to injure them still more, inconsiderately, and unknown to me, cut our two cables, and opened the sails; observing this motion, all the rest of the vessels imitated it, and came out through the hostile fire."

"Being informed the day before yesterday, that in the lower waters of Missilonghi against Rocopanius, there was for two days a hostile frigate on shore, and hastening there, we arrived the 9th hour of the night (3 A. M.) when the brave *brulottier* (fire captain), George Polites, going against her, in a short time burnt her. She was not as we had heard, a frigate, but a large corvette of 24 guns, swift sailing, and one of the best of the Byzantine fleet. There were on board of her about 300 men, of whom 30 were Christian slaves; the most were burned or drowned; a few our boats saved."

"The sight of the combustion, and the noise of the explosion, more dreadful in the darkness and the silence of the night, so much humbled the fierceness of the enemy, that about twenty hostile ships then found at Cape Passa, instead of coming to the assistance of the grounded corvette, turned away in complete flight. We observing that the brave fire captain Anarguros Lempeses followed them alone, directed against

them also two armed vessels, which followed them as far as Patrass."

"Yesterday, the 16th, in the morning all the hostile fleet, composed of about 60 ships, sailed out from Patrass and Krieneri; we nearing the Antirrean Cape, bore down upon the enemy. The battle began about the 6th hour, and about the 8th two hostile fire-ships came alone near us; but when by signal we sent out our boats against them, then the men of one of them fled affrighted, and without fighting she fell into our hands alive, (undamaged,) the other accomplished her escape; and about the 9th hour, all the hostile fleet turned in general flight, and we chasing them, drove them again to Patrass."

"The same day, and to-day, (having returned to Missilonghi,) we recovered our anchors which we had left on the 10th, cutting our cables. At this time we are employed landing at Missilonghi what remained of the supplies we had brought with us, and about seven thousand *Kila* of corn, which with other vessels we happily effected off Petala."

The good old Admiral, in his simple but nervous manner, touches upon the suffering of the inhabitants of Missilonghi; yet it was not his province to dwell upon it, he thought perhaps it might look like going beyond the strict line of his duty. But those sufferings were now extreme; as he says, for several days they had remained without food, yet their resolution of defending their town "to the last of their blood and their breath," was unshaken; and after getting their supply of provisions and ammunition, they bade adieu to their brethren of the fleet; gazed upon their receding vessels without a sigh, or wish to accompany them, and returned to their ramparts, to watch and oppose the movements of the Turks. Ibrahim was pressing the siege closer, his bombs falling into the town, and bursting, had destroyed almost every house; the inhabitants were sheltered in part by digging holes in the ground, and covering them with something just sufficient to keep off the rain; but they could be but very imperfectly sheltered; for having now been shut up nearly a year, their clothes had become ragged and dirty, and very insufficient; their numbers too, were

considerably reduced, though this was made up, by little bands who would now and then forced their way in.

Nor were their distresses unknown, or unpitied by the rest of their countrymen. Missolonghi was continually talked of; the people saw it holding at bay the two armies of the Sultan, and felt that it was keeping them off from their own possessions, while good patriots wept at the thought of the nakedness and hunger of its defenders. Exertions were made every where to raise fresh contributions; to send them supplies, not only of provisions, but of clothing; for they would again be in want very soon, the fleet having supplied them for only about thirty days.

Many were of the opinion that the newly raised regular troops, now amounting to about 3000 men, should have been sent to relieve Missolonghi; but this did not meet the ideas of their Commander, Col. Favier, whose sway over them had become absolute, and who was filled with the idea, that as he had been trained from his youth in the French army, no one could possibly know any thing about the requisite military operations, but himself. He had obtained from Government at a moment of great depression, a sort of *carte blanche*, to do as he pleased with the regular troops; and he was now inclined not only to make the best use of it, but treated the Government with a degree of rudeness, that was neither gentlemanlike nor soldierlike.

Col. Favier is a native of France, about forty-five years of age; he was a soldier of Napoleon, and rose from the ranks to the grade of Colonel. He served at one time as an *Aid de camp* to Ney, and distinguished himself as a brave officer. Partaking fully of that enthusiastic attachment, and blind admiration which all the soldiers of Napoleon felt toward their great master, Favier engaged in a scheme to effect a movement in favour of young Napoleon, among the troops in Spain; but being completely unsuccessful, he was obliged to fly, and took refuge in England. The Greek revolution soon after breaking out, Favier in the spirit of adventure, went to Greece, but soon left the country, disgusted with that want of order and discipline, which seemed so intolerable to one train-

ed in the belief, that war could not be carried on except by men who could stand with "heads up, chin touching the upper edge of the stock, eyes striking the ground fifteen paces in front." He returned to Greece again in 1825, and arriving at the time when the alarming progress of Ibrahim Pashaw, had opened the eyes of Government to the necessity of immediately raising regular troops, and being the only foreigner of any military rank or experience at hand, he was appointed to the command of the regiment then raising, with power to increase it. He devoted himself with ardour to the task, learned the language, and soon had by far the largest and best corps of disciplined troops, of any one that had yet been raised in Greece; for the very good reason, that he had more extensive means put at his disposal.

Favier is an excellent soldier, a strict disciplinarian, perfectly acquainted with all the minutiae of military science, brave, and hardy; but he is no general; his mind is not strong and capacious enough to conceive original, or embrace comprehensive ideas; and he is so thoroughly satisfied of the infallibility of his own judgment, so full of contempt for the military abilities of any one but his own, and those of *Le Grand Napoleon*, that he will not take advice. If counsel was given him by any one whom he was obliged to respect, he would listen with an impatient and haughty air,—and be sure to reject the plan because proposed by another; but if a person not above him should suggest any thing that ought to be done, he would interrupt them with "*Bah! c'est une bêtise cela vous ne connaissez pas les Grecs.*" This conduct, and his marked partiality to French officers, disgusted many foreigners, and placed on a very unpleasant footing those German, Swiss, and other officers who were then in the service, and whose Philhellenism was (generally speaking) much more pure, than that of the Frenchmen, who had come to Greece.

Favier had removed his corps from Napoli to Athens, upon the fine plain around which place, he had a most eligible spot for training and manœuvring it. He had counted too much however upon the assistance of Gourah; that wily Chief held possession of the Acropolis, which towers above the town; and

did not hesitate to let Favier have footing in the latter, because he had not the least fear of his being able to get possession of his strong hold. He even pretended to be very much in favour of the system of disciplining men, and took a commission himself in the corps ; and while the Frenchmen laughed in their sleeves, at the idea of his adopting a system which would put an end to his power,—the Greek was secretly working to overthrow, while appearing to uphold it.

Favier had many foreign officers round him, who had served with honour in their own countries ; and many Greeks, who in subaltern capacities had learned the art of war in European armies ; his force was small, but well disciplined ; and he determined to undertake an expedition against the enemy. To this he was still more urged by the pressure of affairs, and the scarcity of provisions, which made it difficult to get supplies for his men.

Negropont was the place he pitched upon to make the *début* of his corps, and the attempt was looked upon with the utmost interest, by all who considered the subject in its proper light. It was all important that the regulars should be successful in their first affair, not only on their own account, but to remove the strong prejudice which existed in the minds of a considerable part of the community, and among all the wild soldiery, against the system. It was altogether probable that the first affair would decide the fate of the corps ; if victorious, at that moment when the Greeks were every where else beaten, it would establish their reputation ; if defeated, prejudice would triumph ; the rude undisciplined soldier would point the finger of scorn at the corps, which had consumed so much time and money, in learning to be beaten. It was absolutely necessary for the future success of his little army, that Favier should lead it for the first time against an enemy, that he would be sure of beating, if it were only a mob of old women.

Negropont had been in undisturbed possession of the Turks for two years ; the Pashaw was a man of courage and energy, he treated his Greek subjects with considerable moderation, that they might not be induced again to rebel ; and the Turks of the island, were considered as brave as any in the empire.

Still, Negropont had been pitched upon by Favier, and there he prepared to go. Gourah eagerly promoted the scheme, anxious to get rid of him; and promised solemnly, (what he never meant to perform) to send a regular supply of provisions.

He left Athens on the 22nd, with 1300 of his regular troops, accompanied by 600 irregulars; and went to Marathon, where he was obliged to remain more than a fortnight. Here, if any where, his men might have caught a spark of the fire of their ancestors, for

“ Standing on the Persians' graves
They could not deem that they were slaves.”

Favier had with him a small company of artillery, and one of cavalry; the latter commanded by Renárd de St. Jean d'Angely. All being ready and provisions taken for a *few days*, they embarked, and a fair wind took them in a few hours over to Negropont, and they landed at Stura. From hence he pushed down towards Caristo, a castle in the Southern extremity of the island; a slight skirmishing took place before it, but the Turks not choosing to fight for the surrounding country, retired before the Greeks, and prepared to defend the town.*

Favier determined to attack them, notwithstanding the advantage they had of the ground, and their being sheltered by the houses. He brought up his force therefore in a scientific manner, and the infantry marched to the attack in excellent order; they were supported by the fire of six light field-pieces, which were well managed, and made considerable havoc among the Turks, who received the attack of the infantry, with a hot fire of musketry. The Greeks advanced however with much firmness and spirit, and were just on the point of getting possession of some houses in the outskirts, which would have sheltered them, when the fire of their artillery, which for some minutes had been slackening, ceased entirely—the axletrees of the carriages had broken,† and the infantry was left expos-

* Favier had failed in his plan of carrying Karababa, by a *coup de main*.

† It was a great fault that these guns had not been sufficiently proved before going into action, but surely there was some excuse for Favier; they were part of a parc of artillery which had been provided by the *Philhellenes of London*, and for which a large sum had been paid by the Greeks; but they all proved upon trial, that they had been made merely to sell! This is only one out of an

ed to the whole Turkish fire, which was redoubled;—it was too much for raw troops; they retreated, and the day was lost. They were in reality beaten, although positions were taken under the fire of the castle, and the town held in siege; still the moral effect had taken place; the corps had come hand to hand with the enemy, and had not been successful.*

Favisr, who during the whole affair displayed the utmost *sang froid*, took measures to hold his ground, and renew the attack, or turn it into a siege. He remained several days occupied with preparations and blockading the place; when news came that Omer Pashaw, Governor of the island, was rapidly advancing with 1500 foot, and 400 horse to the relief of the garrison. The news had hardly arrived, when Count Gamba with a few of the cavalry, which had been out at a little distance, came galloping in with hot haste, pursued by a large party of Turkish horsemen. The whole of the enemies' force was coming up rapidly, and an immediate retreat was necessary, if they could not be stopped in the passes above. This proved

hundred instances, where shameful impositions have been practised upon the Greeks abroad; not where gifts were sent them,—for then they could not complain of the quality; but where they have paid, and paid enormous prices too. Let the American or the European, who makes such an outcry against the poor Greek, who drives to desperation by the cries of his starving children, turn pirate to feed them; let him consider, I say, the base frauds which have been practised upon the Greeks in Marseilles, London, and New-York, and he will put his hand on his mouth, and be silent. He will blush to think that his countrymen, to whom Greece in the hour of her agony, was stretching out her hands: to whose honor and honesty she was trusting, and opening wide her purse-strings, that they might take their own just pay;—these men, these Christians, were coldly speculating on her misery; they were eagerly grasping at her last dollar, and stopping their ears to the screams of thousands, to whom their frauds might bring captivity or death. For my part, I look with more respect, upon the ignorant but daring pirate, who roams the Archipelago “in full and free defiance” of law and justice, than upon the sanctimonious Christian merchant, who pirates within the bounds of the law; and whose very Bible is bought with the *legal*, but unjust spoil of the widow and orphan.

* Many foreign officers who served in this expedition, proved useful; it would require too much time to enumerate them, and their merits; but it would be wrong not to mention Reynard de St. Jean de Angely, commandant of the cavalry. The cavalry owed its establishment and its support to this noble spirited Frenchman, who not only paid a large part of its expenses from his own purse, but laboured incessantly in drilling the men.

impossible ; and Favier retreated in perfect order to the sea-shore, where his small vessels with his provisions were lying, and with which he had not established a firm communication by posts.

He immediately intrenched himself upon the sea-shore and took the necessary precautions, determined to wait until the arrival of reinforcements should allow him to resume the offensive. But his situation soon became very perilous : a squadron of Turkish vessels which had been lying at Egripo came down the Gulf, and attacking the little flotilla of Greek boats and *Misticoes*, which had transported the troops, and on which they depended for bringing them supplies of provision from Marathon, forced them to fly ; and blockaded the place by sea. The Turks then, with the garrison of Caristo, marched down, and taking positions around Favier, completely hemmed him in, and he was left with only a few days' provision. The boats however, which had escaped, carried the news to Marathon, from whence it went to Athens, and on its reaching Egina, where the Ipsariotes had their station, they immediately proceeded to fit out some vessels of war ; and being joined by a few Hydriotes, they steered around Cape Sunium, and came in sight of the blockading Turkish squadron. The situation of the regulars had become distressing indeed, their provisions were reduced to the last biscuit ; and they hailed with joy the appearance of the Greek vessels.

These immediately attacked the Turkish squadron, which, however, made but little resistance, and retired up the Gulf. The troops were then embarked aboard the vessels, though the Turks on the land-side, attacked, in order to prevent it ; this was repulsed, the embarkation effected with order, and Favier stepping on board the last man, they all sailed away for the friendly island of Tinos. The loss in all the different affairs, had not amounted to an hundred killed and wounded.

CHAPTER II.

Progress of the siege of Missolonghi—Assault—Turks repulsed—Garrison makes a sortie—Ibrahim prepares to attack the islands in the harbour of Missolonghi—Takes Vasiladi—Noultma—Anatalico—Gallant defence of Clissova—Distress of the garrison—Miaulis appears—Is unable to force the blockade—Resolution of the garrison—Last hours of Missolonghi—Steps taken by the Greek government—Attempt to revolutionize Candia—Greeks take the fortress of Grabousi—Result of the Candiot expedition.

MISSILOGHI had now held out a year against all the efforts of Turkey. The army of the north and the army of Egypt were both besieging it ; great numbers of Turks had fallen before it ; and such seemed the obstinacy and courage of the garrison, that the result was entirely doubtful, provided the besieged were supplied with provisions. The eyes of many in Europe were fixed upon them, and the relation of their sufferings from hunger and exposure, moved many benevolent persons to undertake something for their relief. The different committees devoted considerable sums, toward effecting a supply of the place with clothing and provisions : and the generous Eynard, to whom Greece owes eternal gratitude, was unceasing in his efforts. Money and provisions were sent to the Ionian Islands, and from thence various, and almost daily attempts were made to break the blockade, and run in small craft with provisions ; and it was in this way, that the garrison was principally supplied.

Soon after the successful attempt of Miaulis to succour the place on the 2d, Ibrahim determined upon a general assault ; and his Arabs were seen every day from the walls, practising all the evolutions and marches necessary in attacking places ; marching up to sham batteries, and fighting their battles ea-

gerly in prospective. On the 24th, all his batteries began at once, and more furiously than usual, to shower balls and bombs into the town; and a division of Arabs were marched up, apparently to assault the walls; but they halted a short distance from them, and took position in some of the abandoned advanced works of Kiutahi. The Greeks supposing this to be intended merely as a *point d'appui* for a more general attack, determined not to await it. They rushed out therefore in the night, and attacking the Arabs with fury, drove them from the position, killing about two hundred, and gathering some spoil; but that of which they were most proud, was a number of European muskets with bayonets, which weapon they had learned to hate, because they feared it. Their own loss was only twenty killed and wounded. The next day Ibrahim renewed the attempt, and was again repulsed; and from that moment, he confined his operations to bombardment, and strict blockade. He knew if he could effect the latter, the town must fall, for there were not thirty days' provisions in it.

This rational plan he proceeded to put into operation, by effecting a blockade by sea; for he had just seen the garrison snatched from destruction by a timely supply of ammunition and provisions thrown in by the Greek fleet; and it was essential to his plan, to prevent a recurrence of this. He therefore put every hammer and chisel that could be found, into active operation, making large flat-bottomed boats, in which his men might traverse the lagoons, and attack the islands, which defend the passage up to Missilonghi.

Vasiladi is a small islet just at the entrance of the harbour of Missilonghi, and so situated, that a battery upon it could command all the channels but one, by which boats can get up to the town. It was garrisoned by three hundred Greeks, and had the semblance of a battery upon it.

Ibrahim having prepared every thing, his floats and barges were towed round by his steam-boat,* filled with soldiers; also several gun-boats with heavy artillery, as well as bomb

* Two steam-boats had been built for his father, the Pashaw of Egypt, in London; one was employed on the Nile, and the other was with the fleet.

ketches, with mortars. The whole flotilla advanced up the lagoon, at the same time that a battery just erected on the shore, began to play upon Vasiladi; the barges were also soon within range, and opened a heavy fire of cannon and mortars, under cover of which boats filled with soldiers, advanced to the island, and rattled in their musket balls like hail. Still, not a Greek was seen; not a shot was heard; the garrison were all lying close behind their little stone breastworks, waiting for the near approach of the boats. These, encouraged by the non-resistance, advanced, the soldiers shouting with all their might, and firing their muskets most furiously, to where the Greeks ought to be. When they got within close shot however, a sudden and well directed volley from behind the wall, entirely overset their resolution, and the barges pulled back. The attack was renewed again and again, on different points during the day; the shells were falling and bursting in every part of the little islet, and it seemed that not a man could be left alive; nor could one be seen: it was only the rapid and dreadful fire, which flashed from every nook and corner of the ruined wall, as the Turks approached close to it, that told them their enemies were still alive. The day was wearing fast away: the Turks, discouraged by their frequent failures and their losses, were retiring; and the Greeks began to show their heads from behind the stones for an instant, to cry, "where are you going, you horned rascals?"—when a bomb falling into their magazine, it blew up with a tremendous explosion, throwing down the walls, and burying the soldiers in stones and rubbish. Instantly the Turks perceived the nature of the event, and returned with savage yells of joy to the attack. They rushed in from all sides, and landed. About half the Greeks were dead; some still resisted with their yataghans, and were cut to pieces by overpowering numbers; while others plunged into the water, and tried to escape to Missilonghi. A few of them effected it, traversing the flats to the distance of three miles; but the most were overtaken, and cut down by the soldiers in the boats, or shot.

The possession of Vasiladi was of immense importance to the Turks, as it would almost necessarily insure the posses-

sion of the other islands in the bay ; and this would effectually ruin the garrison, both by preventing the entrance of boats with provisions, and by making the fishing extremely dangerous. Batteries were therefore immediately erected, and the place put into a proper posture of defence.

The next day the Turks following up their advantage, attacked the little rock called Noultna. The handful of men who defended it, after a desperate resistance, fled across the flats to Poros, and from thence were driven to take refuge in Anatoliko. The whole force of the enemy was now directed against this island, which was in a terrible situation. It had no fortifications at all, and only a few days' provisions ; there were but four hundred fighting men upon it, and there were huddled there, upwards of three thousand women and children. The whole force of the Turks was coming against it ; and though its situation was so desperate, cut off completely from all aid ; still they did not choose to attack it, without first offering a capitulation. This was accepted, and life and liberty promised. The Turks then took possession ; put to death many of the men, *all the aged, the sick, and the wounded, and the infants* ; the rest were kept for the menial offices of slaves, or to be sent to the markets to be sold. During this affair a *sortie* was made from Missilonghi, and three hundred Turks killed.

The possession of these islands, gave the Turks almost complete command of the basin of Missilonghi ; and they were enabled to prevent the Greeks from fishing. This was a severe blow ; for on the large quantity of fish, which were daily taken in the lagoon, the inhabitants had of late depended principally for food.

Having thus all the western waters of the basin under his command, and the town shut upon that side, Ibrahim prepared to finish the blockade, by taking Clissova, on the eastern part of the basin. On the fifth, all his troops were seen in motion, and the boats preparing for a new attack ; but the Greeks knew not the destined point, until the next morning at daylight, when the whole were seen taking the direction of Clissova, which is separated from the main land by flats, which are co-

vered only one or two feet with water, and fordable. As soon as the Greeks were assured of the direction the enemy was taking, they hastened to attempt reinforcing the little garrison ; which consisted of only an hundred and twenty men. The brave Suliote chief, Kitzos Zavellas, jumped into a boat with only fifteen men, and rowed rapidly to try to reach the island, before the enemy should attack it. He succeeded, and his example exciting others, he was followed by an hundred and fifty men, who, joining themselves to the hundred and twenty already there, hastily prepared for a desperate defence. There were some slight walls and breastworks about the shore, and a chapel, which was the only building on the island, and which had been fortified. Taking their places in little parties of ten or twenty, behind the different coverings, the Greeks waited for the enemy, who advanced with order, in full force.

When their boats had almost completely encircled the island, the bombardment began from the land side, and from the ketches, and the barges all advancing, approached within musket shot ; when, at a signal given, all the soldiers leaped from them into the water, to wade to the island. This was the moment chosen by Zavellas to open his fire, and it was so hot and well directed, that the Turks fell back in confusion, entered their boats, and retired out of reach of shot, leaving the carcasses of many of their companions behind them. They were again brought up, and again repelled ; a third time it was attempted, but they would not come within range of the musketry, and contented themselves with yelling, and cursing the Greeks. Fresh troops were brought up, and the attack renewed upon fresh points, during the whole morning ; and the Greek muskets hardly had time to cool ; but the Turks would not advance closely to the assault, and the utmost efforts of their officers could only force them just within the reach of shot, which came so deadly, from an enemy whom they could not see, and whose numbers they did not know, that they fell back in disorder.

The bombardment however, continued, and it was from the bursting of the shells only that the Greeks suffered ; Ibrahim, however, still obstinately bent upon carrying his point, ad-

wanted a column of two thousand Arabs, and tried to make them ford the passage to the island. They entered the water, but a galling fire so harassed them while wading in the mud, that they broke their ranks, and retired with loss, nor could they be brought up again; and thus the little band triumphed, having, with a trifling loss on their own part, killed more than five hundred enemies, besides the wounded. The marsh and the flats were strewn with their corpses, and the Greeks picked up about a thousand muskets, which had been thrown away.

It was a day of triumph and rejoicing to the garrison, and to all the inhabitants of Missilonghi, and it was doomed to be their last. Ibrahim, by his different batteries, had got complete command of the harbour, so that the numerous small vessels which were continually hovering round with provisions that had been sent by the Ionian Greeks, and the European committees, could not have a chance of running in. Their last rations were given out, and they were preparing to make a sortie, when the Greek fleet was discovered advancing toward the place, and preparing to attack the Turkish vessels. From the depth of despair they were raised to sanguine hope, which burst forth in one general cry of exultation: *δόξα ἔστω ὀ Θεός* "Glory to thee, O God!" shouted every man, woman, and child in the place, as they rushed with frantic joy to the shore, to gaze upon the approaching fight, which they had no doubt would result in the victory of their countrymen, and their own deliverance.

Miaulis, with only thirty light brigs, came up, and found the Turkish fleet anchored off the place, and covered in part by the batteries. He saw at once that their superiority in force and position, gave them every advantage; but he ran close to them, commencing a running fire, in hopes of frightening them from their position; in the mean time he sent a boat with letters to the garrison, and she succeeded in passing all the batteries, and getting safely to the town, where the letters were read to the crowd of emaciated, ragged beings, who thronged to hear the news. They were consoled somewhat by the promises of speedy succour, and their hopes, which had begun to flag, again revived; but the men had seen, at a glance, that

their fate was decided. Miaulis had not been able to make any impression upon the enemy's fleet; nor was there any rational hope that if he could do it, he would be able to pass batteries erected upon the islands.

They had just rejected the proposals of Ibrahim, and it was in vain that Sir Frederick Adam, Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, moved with compassion at the fate which seemed to await these devoted warriors, had repaired to the camp of the Turks, to try to effect a capitulation. The next day they saw the attempts of Miaulis renewed, and again frustrated; the third day it was the same;—there was no hope of succour left; and they resolved to cut their way through the enemy's ranks, or die in the attempt. A man was found bold enough to venture with letters to the Chiefs on the outside, beseeching them to come to their aid, and make a feint at least, to divert the attention of the enemy, at the moment of their sortie; and to give them notice by a volley from the mountains.

They then proceeded to the melancholy task of preparation for the sortie. It was found that the number of the soldiers was reduced to 3000, of whom from four to five hundred were sick or wounded; there were about a thousand men without arms, and five thousand women, children, and aged persons. It was resolved that the wounded and sick, the aged, feeble, and those women who would not consent to attempt the flight, should be shut up in a large mill, with a quantity of powder; that they should make resistance enough to bring the Turks around them, and then blow it up. An old wounded soldier agreed to take his seat in the mine, which had been dug under the bastion Botzaris, and put fire to thirty casks of powder which were there, when the enemy should enter the town.

The men then went round, destroying every thing that was valuable; the women sat with their heads bowed upon their knees; they spoke not to one another,—they looked not to one another,—all feeling seemed lost, the stillness of desperation, alone was there,—and they waited with dread, yet impatience, for the signal of sortie which was to determine their fate.

On the 22d at sunset, a volley was heard from the mountains; the chiefs knew that their countrymen were at hand to help them; and they sent round to warn all who were determined to sally, to meet at the Orange battery, and start at eight o'clock. Then the long suppressed feelings of human nature burst forth, then the wailings of those who were to be left,—the agonizing sobs of wives, mothers, and sisters, who were to part from husbands, children, and brothers, half changed the stern resolution; and many determined, that come what would come, they would stay and share the fate of their sick or feeble relatives; and others resolved to try to drag them with them, and lessen their own chance of escape, by sharing it with another. Many of the women assembled at the appointed place, clad in male attire, and armed, determined at least to die, if they could not escape. The last sacrament was administered by the Bishop and the Priests to the whole population, and each one prepared himself for death.

By eight o'clock they had almost all assembled, and four light bridges which had been prepared for the occasion, were thrown over the ditch. It had been agreed that they should go in two bodies; one composed of about three thousand five hundred persons, principally Greeks from other parts, with but few women: the other body, composed of about as many more, but principally Missilonghiotes, with their families, were to follow the first body. The enemy had become, by some means advised of the sortie, and had made preparations to destroy the garrison before they should reach the mountain. The Arab corps was posted on the left in entrenchments; the army of Kiutahi on the right; the cavalry was posted in the centre of the plain, ready to act wherever it might be necessary; and a body of Arabs was stationed at the foot of the mountain.

Almost all the Greeks had now sallied out, and were waiting in darkness and silence, to hear the musketry of their countrymen, whom they expected to attack the enemy in the rear. An hour was passed in the most impatient expectation; not a sound was heard but the voices of the enemy's sentinels, and the low wailing of women and children behind: all

were uneasy and restless, when a voice was heard among them crying, "*forward—fall upon the Turks.*" It was repeated by every voice; and the whole of the front body rising from the ground, where they had been crouching in order to be more screened, rushed eagerly forward, and forced their way past the first of the enemy's entrenchments with small loss; pushed across the plain, and rapidly approached the mountain. A body of cavalry here met them; but they dashed on with desperate speed, the pistol in one hand and the yataghan in the other; and the cavalry gave way before them. Uniting however again, the Turks hung upon their rear, and killed a great many of those who lagged. The sick and feeble, and many women, sunk down and were left; and some husbands stabbed their wives and children, who could no longer drag after them, and who were thus saved from torture. Arrived at the foot of the mountains, they were met by the corps of Arabs who were stationed there, and who tried to oppose them. But it was as easy to stop the mad bull, and they broke through every obstacle, heedless of the danger, and gained the mountains with the loss only of four hundred of their band.

The fate of the other body was far different. This had a great proportion of women and children in it; they were not prepared to start, when the signal "*forward*" was given by the first body; many of the men were still within the place, collecting their families; they started however, almost immediately after. But the Turks were now aroused; the cannon began to roar, and the musketry to rattle all along their line; and loud yells of the Albanian army on the right, were heard, as they rushed to assault the town on that side. At this moment of confusion, a cry was raised among the Greeks, "*backward, backward; to the ramparts, to the ramparts;*" and the whole crowd, without knowing why, eagerly turned, and ran towards the town. At the same moment that they entered, the Turks entered upon the other side, and they were all instantly mingled. The Greeks fought with the fury of desperate men; and the women ran shrieking towards the sea, where many plunged in, with their children. The old soldier seated

in the mine now touched the train ; and the tremendous explosion, which threw down the whole bastion, and destroyed many of the Turks, added to the horror of the scene. For a few moments all was still ; the Greeks began each to seek some place where he could longest defend himself, or where his friends were shut up ; and the Turks were uniting to make a general attack. The mills, where so many women, and all the sick and wounded were shut up, was from the size of the building supposed to contain something valuable ; and the Turks, eager for plunder, collected around it, and attempted to burst in ; when fire was put to the powder, and besiegers and defenders, were blown together into the air.

At daylight the whole Turkish army came trooping in from every part, eager to take possession of a place, which had cost them so much blood and toil :—and what did they find ? A wide extent of smouldering ruins ;—the walls were thrown down, or crumbling ; the streets choked up with the rubbish of fallen houses, and strewed with dead bodies ; a few buildings only were left standing, and over three of those, the flag of the cross was still flying, to tell that yet a desperate few were alive, to fight under it. These were immediately attacked, and after an obstinate resistance, destroyed, with all their defenders ; one of them, however, held out three days, and was then blown up—and thus ended Missolonghi.

About three thousand Greeks were slain within the place ; as many more, principally women and children, were taken and sold into captivity. The loss of the Turks was perhaps quite as severe, but difficult to ascertain.

The first corps, which had succeeded in making its way to the mountains, after having been joined by the garrison of Clisova, pushed on, and soon met the small party of their countrymen, who had fired the signal. They all made for Salona ; but the country through which they had to march, had been desolated by the Turks. Not a house was standing ; not a solitary peasant was to be met ; and their sufferings from hunger were extreme. Three hundred sunk down, and died upon the road, unable to accomplish the march of two days. At Salona they found some supplies, and pushed on to Corinth ;

and on arriving there, all that remained of the inhabitants of Missolonghi, were about twenty-five hundred emaciated beings, looking more like spectres than men.*

The attention of all Greece had for months been fixed with deep interest upon the siege of Missolonghi, not only on account of anxiety about their brethren, and sympathy for their

* There were thirteen foreigners in Missolonghi, principally Germans; only one, an Italian, escaped. Meyer was the most distinguished; he was a young Swiss surgeon, and had joined the Greek army as volunteer at the very commencement of the insurrection. He became attached to a beautiful Missionghiotte girl, married her, and became a Greek, in dress, language, and feelings. He gained the love and esteem of all about him, and was one of the most useful men in supporting the siege; he edited the Missionghi Chronicle, which he published until within a few days of the final catastrophe; and he was chosen one of the military commission governing the place. His duties were unceasing; he commanded one of the batteries, and was day and night either binding up the wounds of the soldiers, or working the cannon; and he often, it is said, would correct the proof sheets of his newspaper while commanding at the battery. When the final sortie was made, his wife was sick: he resolved to stay and die with her, and his little children, and was one of those blown up in the last house.

A few days before his death he wrote the following letter, which was brought away by one of the refugees:—"The labours which we have undergone, and a wound which I have received in the shoulder, while I am in expectation of one which will be my passport to eternity, have prevented me till now from bidding you my last adieu. We are reduced to feed upon the most disgusting animals—we are suffering horribly with hunger and thirst. Sickness adds much to the calamities which overwhelm us. Seventeen hundred and forty of our brothers are dead. More than a hundred thousand bombs and balls, thrown by the enemy, have destroyed our bastions and our houses. We have been terribly distressed by the cold, for we have suffered great want of wood.

"Notwithstanding so many privations, it is a great and noble spectacle, to witness the ardour and devotedness of the garrison. A few days more and these brave men will be angelic spirits, who will accuse before God, the indifference of Christendom, for a cause which is that of religion. All the Albanians who had deserted from the standard of Reschid Pashaw, have now rallied under that of Ibrahim. In the name of all our brave men, among whom are Notha Botzaris, Travellas, Papadia-mantopolas, and myself, whom the government has appointed general to a body of its troops, I announce to you the resolution, sworn to before Heaven, to defend, foot by foot, the land of Missolonghi, and to bury ourselves, without listening to any capitulation, under the ruins of this city. We are drawing near our final hour. History will render us justice—posterity will weep over our misfortunes. I am proud to think the blood of a Swiss, of a child of William Tell, is about to mingle with that of the heroes of Greece. May the relation of the siege of Missolonghi, which I have written, survive me. I have made several copies of it."

sufferings, but they felt the welfare of the whole country at stake upon the result; and when they heard that Mianlis had not been able to throw provisions into the place, a general gloom seemed to settle on every countenance, and the most sanguine were discouraged.

The National Assembly of deputies, or the selection of a new administration was then sitting at Epidaurus, and immediate measures were there taken to effect the relief of Missolonghi, if possible; and a council of the principal chiefs was called to advise upon the best plan of throwing in supplies by land. Alas! while they were deliberating, the catastrophe was accomplished. The news of the fall of Missolonghi, prepared as the people were for it, acted like a shock upon them; it was received during the celebration of a feast, and turned all their joy into a depression of spirits, almost amounting to despair: many looked upon the cause of Greece as lost.

The National Assembly, which had been deliberating since the sixth, upon less important topics, seemed struck with the necessity of abandoning all party schemes, as well as of substituting an administration which should be more active and efficient than the last had been; and deeming it necessary, in a time of pressing danger, that the power should be more concentrated, they agreed to appoint a commission of eleven persons, to be called the Governing Commission, which should have full power to regulate the affairs of the country until the approaching September, when the National Assembly should be again convened, and resume the power. The representative body was to be set aside for that period; but a most awkward substitute was made, viz. a commission of thirteen persons elected from among the Deputies of the National Assembly, called the Commission of the Assembly. The office of this body was to call together the National Assembly at the end of six months, and to attend to the foreign relations of the country.

The members of the Governing Commission were Peter Mavromichalis, (or Petrom Bey,) Andreas Zaimis, A. Dillyanis, T. Siseni, Spiridion Tricupi, Andreas Iskos, John Vlacos, Demetre Samedoff, Andreas Hatsee Anageros, Anagnosti Monahedee, and Paniotti Demetrakropulo.

The Commission of the Assembly was composed of Archbishop Germanos, Porphuris, the Bishop of Artas, P. Notaras, Anagnosti Kopanitna, Anastasius London, T. Dariotos, Spere-deon Kaloyeropolos, G. Enian, V. Boudouri, G. Boukouri, G. Velisarios, E. Xenos, and N. Rinieri. Having appointed these Commissions for the immediate government of the country, the National Assembly dissolved, or rather adjourned for six months, after issuing the following proclamation.

“The Representatives of the different provinces of Greece, assembled at Epidauras, and legally and regularly convened in the third National Assembly, having adopted plans tending to promote the interest of the people, and unanimously decided upon that which present circumstances demand, and upon the necessary mode of carrying their decisions into execution previous to the prorogation of their labours, as ordained by the decree No. 4, offer, in the first place, to the throne of the Most High, humbly and submissively, the tribute of the most sincere and heartfelt thanks of the Greek nation, which devoutly trusts in him, and which, although he, in his wisdom, has submitted to bitter trials, he has not for a moment forsaken during the course of a long and arduous struggle, but has looked down upon it from on high, and evinced to it his divine power, and the glory of his sacred name.

“Having, from the depth of their hearts, performed the duty of testifying their gratitude towards Omnipotent Providence, they proclaim, in the name of the Greek nation, its unanimous and undivided determination to live and die, amidst all the chances of war, in firm adherence to the holy precepts of the Christian religion, in defence of their country, and that they will unceasingly struggle to deliver Greece, which a long despotism has polluted and enslaved, and which barbarism has profaned. The Greek nation hopes that its heroic devotion, and its brilliant deeds, in the midst of the most depressing trials, which have proved to the potentates of Christendom that which, at the beginning of their contest, they, by discourse and invocations, failed not to express, namely, that the Greek nation did not take up arms to establish its political existence on revolutionary principles which monarchical Eu-

rope cannot admit of, or to appreciate to itself a foreign country, or to subject other nations, but to deliver itself from that which is by some wrongly denominated Turkish legitimacy, which the Greek nation never acknowledged, and which the Porte itself never imagined that it possessed.

“The Greek nation did not arm itself to violate its oaths, or to transgress its duty and obligations, for it never swore fealty to the Sultan as his captive slave, nor did the Sultan ever exact, as a master, those oaths by force or violence; nor do the Hellenians fight to subvert those institutions which have social order for their basis; for it is notorious that they had no institutions or laws, but the word of the Sultan. The Greek nation, in taking up, and retaining their arms, sought, and still seek, the glory of the Christian name, which was, together with its clergy, persecuted and condemned. It seeks the perfect independence of the land of its ancestors, of which violence and force alone deprived it. It seeks freedom, and a political existence, of which it has been despoiled; in a word, it wishes to avoid subjection to any nation whatever.

“These are the objects for which the Greek nation combats; for these alone it sees, placidly and without yielding, its cities and its villages deluged with blood, its country made a desert, thousands of its members dragged to slaughter, thousands into slavery and debasement; for these alone, with a firm determination, it has dared to prefer the loss of its most valued relations, to a relapse into the power of the Turkish tyranny.

“The representatives of the Greek nation consider it their duty to proclaim these things openly to those who are attached to the name of Christ, and whose hearts beat responsive to the generous sentiments and unchangeable resolution of the Greek people. They entertain a fervent hope that the monarchs of Europe, who exercise dominion, and Christ, convinced of the equity and justice of their contest, will in this appalling hour, cast an eye of pity on an unfortunate nation, whose sufferings arise from its professing, and maintaining a similar creed as themselves.

“The representatives of Greece proclaim aloud the above,

in the face of God and man ; and in relinquishing their labour as members of the National Assembly until September next, they offer up their supplication with confident hopes and humble prayers to the throne of the Almighty, and solicit his omnipotent benevolence to look with an eye of mercy on the dangers of his creatures, and to shed the rich effusions of his clemency on the Greek nation, which considers Him as its only hope, its sole refuge, and last resource.

“ The President of the Assembly,

“ PANUTZOS NOTARAS.

“ The Secretary General,

“ A. P. PADOPULOS.”

The newly appointed government then proceeded to Napoli, to commence its operations.

The bad news from Missolonghi did not come alone: the Candiote expedition, which was undertaken towards the end of the last year, had proved almost an entire failure; and instead of the promised assistance to be derived from diverting Ibrahim's attention to relieving Candia, the success of the expedition was confined to the capture of the strong fortress of Grabousi. This expedition was undertaken principally at the suggestion of the Candiote refugees, who were anxious to rouse their island again into insurrection; for since the failure of the first one, and the reduction of the island by the Turks, who held all the strong places, the Greek inhabitants who had escaped massacre and fled to the mountains, were obliged by hunger to descend to the plains; and the Turks finding that without them, the island must remain a waste, ceased the slaughter.

The Pashaw, a man of policy, treated them so well, that almost all who had fled, came back again, and were now pretty quietly bearing the yoke, lightened indeed, but still galling. To seize by a sudden *coup de main* some of the fortresses, and to excite a general rising among the inhabitants of the island, was the object of the expedition. It was composed of twelve hundred men principally Candiotes; and the first embarkation, of about three hundred, was led by Demetre Calli-

ergi, a Russian Greek of large fortune, who had been serving his country with zeal, for some time. He had the title of General, though a mere boy; but he was full of zealous patriotism; brave, enterprising, and not deficient in talent. He steered for Grabousi, a strong and almost impregnable fortress on the north-west extremity of the island, which had cost the Turks an eighteen years' siege to take from the Venetians; and was at last gained, it is said, by substituting sequins for cannon balls.

Yet Calliergi determined to attempt its capture, knowing well the careless way in which it was guarded: a description of this, will give an idea of the manner in which all Turkish fortresses are kept, when danger is supposed to be far off. Grabousi is a barren rock, about a mile and a half long, and half a mile broad; its sides rise precipitately out of the sea, to the height of from thirty to sixty feet, except on the side next the main island of Candia, where is a landing place; the distance across to Candia is not quite a mile, and here is a fort. The western end of this rock is separated from the rest by a sudden rising of two hundred feet, very steep, and forming a kind of natural fortress; the three sides next the sea being entirely inaccessible: a biscuit can be pitched from the top into the waves which dash at the bottom of cliffs, more than two hundred feet high. The Venetians had made a strong fortification of it, by building ramparts along the east side, where it is approached by a zigzag path up the rocks. It was furnished with a fine artillery, and had barracks for several thousand men; but the Turkish garrison had pulled them down for fuel, rather than go out and cut it; and if a bit of iron was wanting for any purpose, they would wrench it off a gun carriage. To make a respectable defence, it ought to have had a garrison of eight hundred men: but the Pashaw of Candia, whose object is to squeeze out of the inhabitants as much money as he can, and to spend as little as possible, had thought it good economy, while he sent his report to the Sultan of five hundred men to garrison Grabousi, to keep only fifty there; and the captain on his part, thought it good eco-

nomy, while he sent his report to the Pashaw of fifty men ; to keep only ten, and pocket the pay and rations of the rest.

Thus Grabousi was left with ten Turks to defend it, and only seven of these were fit for duty. Calliergi appears off the place with three small vessels, and the captain of Grabousi runs off to Candia, to tell the Pashaw he fears the *Giaours* may be coming, and to get money to raise men, and supply the place with provisions. Meantime Calliergi sent a boat on shore in the night, with eleven daring Cretans, all speaking the Turkish language. - These men landed on the main, and finding out from a poor fisherman, the signal that was used to call a boat from the fortress, they made it ; and in a few minutes a skiff, rowed by two soldiers of the fortress, approached them. Being hailed from the boat, the Greeks answered that they were Turks, sent by the Pashaw to reinforce the garrison. They were taken on board gladly, and while rowing across, they learned that there were only four men and two boys in the castle above. They then seized the two Turks, threatened them with death if they made a noise, and demanded the signal for opening the gates. The terrified Turks answered that they did not believe they would be shut ; for beside that they themselves were expected back in a few moments, the soldiers within would not take the trouble to close the gates, for they were hard to be moved, the hinges being broken. The Greeks then climbed up the hill, rushed through the open gate, seized two guards who were snoring on their posts, cut down a third, who resisted stoutly, and would not cry *Amaan*, and took possession of the place.

Thus eleven men, without firing a shot, or losing one of their number, carried one of the strongest places in the East. The next morning all the Greeks landed, and began to patch up the fortress ; to prop the gun carriages, which were dropping to pieces ; to cleanse the cistern, and make the gates moveable on their hinges. Soon they saw a vessel steering toward them from Candia, the principal fortress ; and supposing from her Austrian flag, that she was coming with supplies from the Pashaw, to the garrison, they hoisted the Turkish standard on the walls, and the Austrian came on unsuspectingly to-

ward the landing ; when an eighteen pound shot whizzing over his vessel, and the flag of the cross hoisted over the red banner of Turkey, told him he had fallen into the hands of Christians and enemies.

The rest of the expedition having landed, after the most precious moments, when the Turks were unprepared, had been wasted at Grabousi in idle discussions, and quarrels about precedence ; they marched into the interior of Candia, and called the Greek inhabitants to rise. The Turks were driven from the western part of the island, and some progress made, but the people generally had not much confidence in the expedition, and would not rise ; they feared, and with reason, that until a sufficient naval force should appear to keep off the Egyptian fleet, the Turkish fortresses would be relieved before they could take them ; fresh troops would be landed, and the insurrection be put down, and the penalty paid for it, in the blood or captivity of thousands of women and children. Besides, they looked to the Sphakiotes to set the example ; a brave and hardy race of mountaineers, in the south part of their island, who had always kept their soil free from the Turks, and lived in a surly understanding with the Turks, paying a nominal tribute, but with arms in their hands.

The leaders of the expedition, however, did not wish the Sphakiotes to partake in the insurrection, and thus deprived it of its most important support ; then they disgusted the inhabitants by the exactions and impositions which their soldiery continually practised ; nothing went right ; they misunderstood each other, disputed about power before they got it, and made no important military acquisitions.

Meantime, the Turkish commander was preparing to give them business ; he collected two thousand five hundred men, and a few horse, and falling upon the Greeks, forced them to retire, drove them from one position to another, until they arrived opposite Grabousi. Here, as if ashamed to give up every inch of ground in the main island, the Greeks made a stand ; and the old Turk, though above eighty years of age, came on with all speed to attack them. A battle was fought, and the Greeks being broken in upon by his cavalry, were driven to

the rocks, or made to plunge into the sea, to swim over to Grabousi ; they had lost four hundred men in the different affairs, and nothing then, or afterwards, was effected, of any consequence.

The Turks returned without attempting any thing against Grabousi, knowing its strength ; they committed the usual outrages upon the peasantry, though in a lesser degree ; a few strings of noses and ears, a few old men and children butchered, and a few women carried off for their slaves ; with the smoke of sundry villages, served as an atonement for suffering others to attempt an insurrection. Those parts which had engaged in it, however, were utterly desolated, and the inhabitants, knowing there would be no quarter for them, had taken refuge under the walls of Grabousi. Here were assembled several thousand families upon a barren rock, without the possibility of returning in safety to their homes, without provisions, and without houses : how were they to be supported ? It was only by marauding. Some of the men, therefore, formed parties, and pillaged the inhabitants of the main island, Greeks as well as Turks ; while others seized upon the coasting vessels that passed by ; and hence began those depredations upon the sea, which got for Grabousi the name of a den of pirates.

CHAPTER III.

National Assembly appoint a commission to regulate the affairs of the country—Character of the members of the new government—Of Zaimis—Of Petro Mavromichalis—Of Siseni—Of Dillyani—Of Triedepi—Movements of Ibrahim Pashaw—Operations of Kiutahi Pashaw—Commences the siege of Athens—Exertions at Napoli to raise money—Geunadio—Piracies—Observations on.

THE National Assembly having devolved its power upon the commission, dissolved itself, and the newly appointed government repaired to Napoli, where it commenced the exercise of

its function with considerable vigour. It might be called an amalgamation, in its party character; for though, on the whole, the Primates and Capitanis, by uniting, had put down the hitherto predominating influence of the naval islands, and extinguished the last spark of Fanariote influence, in the exclusion of its great head, Mavrocordato, from the government; still, the islands were represented in the persons of Samedoff and Monahedes, and the influence of Mavrocordato was still felt, though unseen. It was, however, merely that influence which a man of superior talents, and great acquired information, must always have in an unenlightened community.

The president of the governing commission was Andreas Zaimis; the most distinguished members were Mavromichalis, Dillyanis, Tricupi, and Siseoi.

Zaimis is a Primate of the Morea; that is, the head of one of those families which, in every province, exercise considerable sway over the inhabitants, and are regarded as a sort of feudal chiefs; their influence can be traced far back; and their hereditary influence, though derived from no known edict, and prescribed by no law, has always been tacitly acknowledged; the result, perhaps, of the necessity of the existence of an aristocracy of some kind or other, in the ruder state of society.

Zaimis is about forty years of age; his person full of vigour, his complexion florid, and the style of his features, though rather Roman than Grecian, is beautifully regular. There is much of a gentlemanly dignity about him; an innate pride, without haughtiness, which is very rare with the Greeks; he has the staid air, and dignified reserve of the Mussulman, without his appearance of self-complacency, and contempt for others.

There is no question about the patriotism of Zaimis; he sincerely loves his country, and as cordially hates the Turks; he has given that proof of it, which to a Greek, is the surest test, by the sacrifice of his property. He joined in the rebellion against the government, at one period, it is true; but it should be recollected, that it was a period, when supposing themselves free from fear of Turkey, the Greeks were eagerly engaged in laying the foundation of their own private or

party power, and it is very easy to suppose many of them, who had from their cradles been taught to look upon might as right, should consider any attempt to get it for themselves justifiable, provided it did not materially injure their common country.

Zaimis is a soldier as well as Primate, and had acquitted himself with honour in several affairs; his moral character is irreproachable; and those who have seen him in his domestic relations, cannot but give him credit for the affectionate kindness with which he discharges them. But his talents were not of that striking cast, which seem necessary to direct a revolution.

Mavromichalis has taken a most active and prominent part in the revolution, and his name, is well known abroad. It is a pity that Waddington, whose almost every word is valuable, should say of him; "Petro Bey is a fat, dull, well looking personage, who is addicted to no particular class of political opinions, and appears peculiarly unenlightened by any sort of foreign information. He is understood to have made great progress (for an Oriental) in the science of gastronomy, and is willing to embrace any form of government which will leave him riches, and give him peace, abundance, and security. It is then imagined he would introduce French cookery among the Maniotes, as an excellent substitute for the indifferent potations of their Spartan ancestors." Now, all this is very fine, and for the most part true; but it should not have been said, or more should have been added, to explain. Still more ungenerous is the flippant observation of Mr. Emerson, who, if he knew nothing of Mavromichalis, but that "he is a good humoured round-faced fellow, who seems remarkable for nothing more than his appetite and epicurism," should have said nothing. It is unfair, in speaking of a public character, to set forth merely his personal defects, or one of his foibles, and leave him to be judged by it. Mavromichalis, it is true, is fat, and a gourmand; he had rather send to Marathon for lamprey eels, and luxuriously eat them from a white plate, and with a knife and fork, than sit down on the ground with Colocotroni, and tear a lamb to pieces with his fingers, which had been

roasted whole on a wooden stake, by a dirty soldier, who bastarded it by rubbing in oil. But then he does not buy his eels with money unjustly wrung from the peasantry; and though he "waddles in his gait," he has been oftener seen waddling toward the enemy, than from them. True, he would infinitely prefer that the Turks should come to him and fight, for he dislikes locomotion; but he would not give way an inch; and he has shown, that when they would not come to him, he could go after them.

He had enjoyed, before the revolution, the place of Governor, or Bey of Maina; that mountainous province of the Morea which includes part of Lacedemon, was inhabited by such a turbulent, warlike set of men, that the Turks, unable to keep it in subjection, had made a kind of compromise, and appointed a Greek to govern it, who should collect the revenues and pay them over, without the province being troubled with the presence of Mussulmen. Petro Mavromichalis was in this post when the insurrection broke out, and possessed such an influence over the Maniotes, that, separated as their province is from the rest of the Morea, by strong natural divisions, he might have prevented them from joining so soon in the revolt, and kept his own lucrative situation. But the first shot was hardly fired in the Morea, the insurrection was yet in its infancy, and its result entirely uncertain, when he hastened to join it; and his subsequent exertions, the generous sacrifices of his family,* the daring courage and heroic death of his sons and nephews, certainly entitle him to respect. We should rather pity, than blame that ignorance and narrow policy, which have made him sometimes consider party interest to be preferred to general good.

* "In the morning we resumed our conference with Mavromichalis relative to the release of his son. Tears stood in his eyes when he told us the misfortunes of his family. One of his children fell at Carysto, another at Neo Castro, while a third was prisoner to the Turks at Modon, and his brother, at this time, was a member of the Senate at Napoli. These circumstances he enumerated to prove the vivacity of his patriotism, and to show the exertion his family had made. He had supported the revolution from the very commencement; and could we be the means of emancipating his son, nothing within the compass of his ability should be wanting to testify his gratitude, not though it were the last drop of his blood."—*Rev. Mr. Swan's Journal.*

George Siseni is a fine, hale old man, gentlemanly in his appearance, plays the part of a host with noble hospitality ; is fond of books, and, for a primate, wondrously versed in foreign literature ; but he thinks more of lording it over the plains of Gastouni, than of freeing the rest of his country.

Dillyani, the head of the most powerful family of the Morea, is rich, powerful by means of his extensive connexions, and dangerous for the subtlety and ability with which he forwards the plans for his own and his family aggrandizement, at the expense even of the common weal. He is the Metternich of Greece, the prince of intriguers ; and though his name is not known abroad, and seldom mentioned at home ; there is not a man who has been so actively engaged, or so influential in the various intrigues which have given rise to the civil dissensions and wars, which have disgraced the revolution. He is seldom seen in public ; men know not his person, and often talk of him, without mentioning his name ; he is a sort of spirit, whose unseen operations are continually felt ; “ὁ διάβολος ζῆναι” is a common expression about him.

Speridion Tricoupi, who was a *protégé* of Lord Guilford, received an excellent English education under that nobleman, is fluent in the language, as well as French and Italian ; possesses a large stock of acquired information ; considerable oratorical powers, and would be called an accomplished gentleman in any country. He had married the eldest sister of Mavrocordato, (an accomplished lady,) and of course felt an inclination to support his party ; but his patriotism is pure ; he looks upon the cause with the extended views of a statesman, and wishes for the general emancipation of the country. He is not gifted with decision of character enough for a leader ; nature meant him rather for a counsellor.

Such is the character of the leading men appointed by the National Assembly to govern the country, in place of the constitutional executive and representative bodies, for six months. On arriving at Napoli, energetic measures were used to put the machine of government into active operation, and give force to its decrees through every part of the country. There was

only one thing wanting to effect it ; but that was as necessary, as a moving power to an engine—money.

The judiciary department was more attended to, and the effects of it soon seen, in the bodies of two men swinging upon the trees without the town. They had been tried with as much formality and fairness, and had every advantage of the quirks and quibbles of counsellors, that they could have had in any country ; but were convicted, the one of murder and robbery, the other of treasonable communications with the enemy ; and were both executed publicly with all due ceremony, save only substituting a tree for a gallows, and dispensing with the cap.

Trials for petty offences were equally well managed ; and though a complete system of laws had not been devised, the *Code Napoleon* had been adopted for the present regulation of the country. A marine court had been established also, for the judgment of prizes ; and though a perfect acquaintance with the intricacies of international law was not always shown in its judgments, yet among its members were some men, whose European education and extensive knowledge, enabled them to fill the office with credit. Most of its decrees were respected by the English and French naval officers ; as for the Austrians, their policy had all along been so unfair and vexatious, that the Greeks ceased to look for any thing but insult and injustice from them.

The governing commission had thought it necessary to re-appoint Colocotroni, he being the head of their party, to the place of general in chief of the Peloponessus, though his insufficiency had been seen, and his popularity was on the wane.

The Commission was chiefly occupied, however, in attempts to replenish the exhausted treasury, to enable itself to oppose successfully the efforts which it saw the enemy was preparing to make.

Ibrahim had returned to the Morea after the fall of Missolonghi, with his army much reduced in numbers, it is true, but still formidable ; and a reinforcement of troops was daily expected from Egypt. He had re-entered Tripolitza, and after resting there a few days, attempted to pass by the nearest route

the Messenian gulf; but he was met by Niketas in the mountains, and all his attempts to get through were foiled. Returning to Tripolitza, he took more troops, and proceeded to Caritena, a large village, which he destroyed. He then sent forward a division, which burnt the populous village of Andritzena, and laid waste the country about.

Ibrahim then marched toward Mistra, but Colocotroni going to assist Niketas, and being followed by Coliopolu, and others, they mustered so strong, that he was obliged to return to Tripolitza without effecting any important object. From Tripolitza he marched with all his force (leaving only a garrison in that place) toward his fortresses on the southern coast of the Peloponessus. He was considerably harassed by the irregular soldiers and the peasantry, who picked off his men very often; and he lost several hundred before he arrived at the sea-coast.

But he had not effected these various marches without considerable injury to the Greeks, and utterly desolating the country. The inhabitants generally, in the districts that were exposed to invasion, were constantly upon their guard; they had sentries upon the mountains, and outposts established at some distance; these gave them notice of the approach of the enemy, and they would all fly to the mountains, where they had previously buried perhaps, most of their valuables. In some parts even, the inhabitants retired to the mountains every night, driving with them their flocks, and coming down the next day to continue their labours in security; or if the Turks were approaching, they would remain in their fastnesses, and watch for their retiring, and would come down the instant their last columns were seen to file off.

But many a beautiful village was surprised, and shared the usual fate—the butchering of its old men and women; the brutal usage, and unnatural abuse of the women and children; their mutilation and torments, and their being obliged to end by becoming the slaves of the soldiery, who would load them with the spoil of their own homes, and make them follow like beasts of burden. A crowd of these helpless wretches, emaciated, dirty, and heart-broken, were kept continually with the army, and were suffered to drag out a miserable existence

while any strength remained to them to make them useful, or any beauty to make them an object of sale. But the moment the man began to totter under his burden, or the female to pine away, and assume the look of a frightful spectre, the bullet or knife were their portion; and they were sometimes started, to run off like hares, and to be shot at by a troop of goggled eyed* Arab soldiers.

Ibrahim had found himself too weak to attempt any movement of importance, and therefore was now encamped in the fertile districts of Messenia, with his soldiers quartered in different positions, in order to get easier support, and was waiting until the arrival of the Egyptian fleet should bring him reinforcements.

Kiutahi Pashaw also had actively continued his operations, after a short relapse on taking Missilonghi. He had done what few Pashaws have been able to do,—kept his army together through the winter, and persuaded them to undertake a new campaign, without first returning to their homes.

He marched therefore, with 10,000 men towards Salona, and arrived there without any obstacle. From that place the Turks pushed on towards Athens, and were considerably harassed by the troops of Karraiskakis; that warrior had not the means of offering an effectual resistance; he had been so active however, and had caused such immense damage to the Turks by his partisan excursions, that he began to be looked upon as the most eminent of the Chiefs.

Kiutahi employed himself busily in preparing for the siege of Athens; establishing a line of communication with Egripo and Zeituni, and raising fresh troops. The latter end of this month his troops began to appear on the outskirts of the plain of Athens, and in a few days there were enough to take up defensive positions near the town, though not to act on the offensive.

The Greek Government had sufficient to occupy its atten-

* I hardly know a better word to express the appearance of the hideous eyes, so often seen among the Arabians of Ibrahim's army.* It is the frequency of ophthalmia alone in their climate, or combined with other causes, that make this distortion and overgrowth of the organs of vision, so common?

tion; the principal ground of apprehension however, was for the islands of Spetzia and Hydra, which it was supposed with much reason, would be the next object of attack by the Turks. There seemed no other way of finishing the war than by destroying these two islands, where the whole maritime strength of Greece existed, and then to blockade Napoli by land and sea.

Hydra it was determined should be defended, and it was confidently hoped by many, that it would be attacked, as it might ruin the Turkish expedition; being very rocky and steep on all sides, and with but few landing places; being well furnished with arms and ammunition, and filled with a population who would fight like she-tigers for their homes, it could make a more desperate resistance perhaps, than any place in Greece.

Spetzia, on the contrary, it was thought by many advisable to abandon, for it is flat, a debarkation can be effected on any part of it, and it has but few guns. Its inhabitants were therefore counselled to go to Hydra; and prepared to do so; and much was said about the love and concord of the Spetziotes and Hydriotes, but there was nothing in it. These two islands are situated within twenty miles of each other; they are both inhabited by people of Albanian descent, who have the same dress, manners, prejudices, and occupations; there is no other distinguishable difference between them, than that one is born in Spetzia, and wears a handkerchief tied around his cap; while the other is born in Hydra, and wears none. But there is so important a difference, that they dislike, and are jealous of one another; will not intermarry or associate together on free and friendly terms; they are forever Hydriotes and Spetziotes.

As it was suspected the whole force of Turkey would be turned against Hydra, it was resolved to send four thousand Roumeliote soldiers there, to assist in the defence; and as the Hydriotes produced the money, the soldiers were easily procured.

It was absolutely necessary also to get away the Roumeliote soldiery from Napoli, and to pay the troops which were to be sent against Kiutahi and Ibrahim; but the Government was

nearly pennyless, the crisis was imminent, the soldiers who had long been without pay, demanded not their arrears, but only a small allowance to buy shoes and bread. It was resolved to make an appeal to the feelings of the people, as no new tax could be levied; a public meeting was called therefore in the Square at Napoli, to take into consideration the affairs of the nation.

The Square was filled at the time appointed, and the people stood all eager expectation to know what was wanted of them; when one Genadios, a schoolmaster, and man of some learning, began to address them. He stated the course the revolution had taken; called to mind the enthusiasm and union of feeling which existed in its commencement; dwelt on the present depressed state of affairs, and lowering prospects of their beloved Greece; and called upon them by every thing dear, to come forth in the hour of common suffering and danger, and throw in their substance. Then suiting the action to the word, he threw down his purse, saying, "there is my all, I give it to my country as freely as I would to my child, and I promise to serve any one, in any occupation for a year, and pay the whole salary into the public chest." The effect of his patriotic speech was astonishing—the crowd were moved to tears, and seemed more awakened to a sense of their duty, than they had been by the numerous and urgent appeals and proclamations of the Government. Many voices were raised offering their money, and it was found necessary to appoint a Commission from the people, to receive the gifts; a Secretary was named to record them; and every man's name called out with the sum annexed to it.

Other speakers rose, and the feeling was kept up all day; there was a rush to see who should get in their offering first, and each one courted the shout of applause, which burst from the crowd, when the sum given, was supposed to be large, in proportion to the means of the donor. The public excitement forced the Chiefs and rich men to come forward, though unwillingly; and a scornful laugh was raised as their names were called out.

But a different shout, a burst of enthusiastic applause fol-

lowed the announcement of the message of Prince Demetrius Ipselanti; he had no money he said, but he sent the gold scabbard and trimmings of his sword, begging that they might be kept in deposit, till he should get a thousand piastres to redeem them with.

Toward evening, Genadios again came forward, and proposed that every able bodied man should arm, and march against the enemy; and that all the horses in the places should be taken for the public service—"and if any of the rich refuse," said he, "let us take them by force." His words seemed to be law to the people, for instantly the Captains and soldiery began to run off in every direction, and soon returned leading in the horses of all the principal men, who were obliged to give them up. Zaimis the President had anticipated them; for his house being near the Square, the words of Genadios had been heard, and three superb Arabian coursers were brought forward in the name of the President.

The next day the excitement continued, and contributions poured in; the soldiers gave their ornaments, the women sent jewels, and even the children were anxious to have their names called out among the contributors.

The third day Genadios collected the scholars from all the schools, and paraded them in the public square; he then addressed the people, appealed to their feelings as men, as fathers, if they could withhold their money when thousands and tens of thousands of children, such as those present, in every part of their country were about to fall into the hands of their enemies, for want of means to defend them. Then the children, who had been instructed to act their part, all cried out, "save—oh! save us from the Turks."

By such means did this modern Tyrtæus contrive to raise, and keep up an excitement, which spread to many towns, and produced a very considerable sum for the supply of public wants.

The Government was obliged to turn its attention also to another evil, which had increased to such an extent, as to be the cause of infinite vexation to their own people, and the source

of mere scandal and abuse from abroad, than all other causes put together—the piracies daily committed on the high sea.

There is scarcely a part of the world that holds out greater facilities and inducements to piracy than the Archipelago ; the islands are sprinkled about at a short distance from each other ; they present points from which the approach of vessels can be discovered at a long distance ; they abound with little bays and indentations of the coast, in which boats may be secured, and caverns where men may conceal themselves ; the calms which prevail so often, leave merchant vessels lying completely at the mercy of boats ; and the inhabitants of the islands, are as active expert sailors, as those of any nation. These causes, and the want of an efficient Government, always made this sea the resort of pirates, in a greater or less degree.

But since the breaking out of the insurrection, the entire removal of all police or governmental authority, and the increasing poverty of a large class of the inhabitants, had augmented the evil. Commerce was entirely at a stand ; their vessels lay motionless at their anchors, month after month, and year after year ; their rigging was dropping to pieces, their boats lay rotting on the beach ; and the sailors were prevented from going abroad, by the wants of their half naked, and hungry wives and children. Many of them began to plunder vessels, and were successful ; their companions saw their success, and imitated their example, till piracy became the only occupation of thousands. They found that they were nearly free from danger in the commission of it, for it was almost impossible to take them ; though the frigates and smaller vessels of war of France, England, and Austria, were continually on the look out, always pursuing, but seldom catching them. It was not uncommon for a frigate after a hard chase of a pirate, to cut her off from every chance of escape, and force her into a bay, from which there was no outlet ; the barges would then be manned, and sent in to bring out the pirate ; but not a vessel, nor boat, nor the least appearance of one, was to be seen ; there was no creek or outlet by which she could have escaped ; where was she, for she certainly had come in here ; had the Greeks lugged her off masts and all, into the mountains ? It was for a

long time a mystery ; they did not know that the Greeks would pull out the plugs of their little vessel, tumble overboard, and paddle on shore like water dogs, and let her sink to the bottom, which was not very deep. They would then watch in the caves, till they saw the astonished Europeans retire ; and the moment the frigate was well under weigh, they would plunge into the water, dive, one after another, till they had thrown all the ballast stones out of their sunken bark, and thus lighten her, until she would rise to the surface ; when they would right her, and row away to seek more spoil.

But they were sometimes taken by the Europeans, in spite of all their skill and cunning, and their capture served only to harden them in their course ; for instead of being strung up at the yard-arm as they expected, they were sent to Malta or other places to be tried, and were always acquitted ; for *murder could never be proved against them, and the courts would not condemn them to death for mere piracy ! Not one pirate was executed publicly in the Archipelago.* Instead of cruising among the islands, with the carcasses of half a dozen pirates swinging at their yard-arms in *terrorem* to the rest, the foreign ships of war merely burnt the pirate boats, and the men escaped. What was the burning of their boats to them ? They could steal another ; or, as every Greek sailor knows how to build a vessel, from her keel to her topmast,* they would get

* Almost every Greek sailor is capable of being a shipbuilder, and it is surprising to see the skill and ingenuity which they exhibit. I have been assured that some of their most beautiful vessels, that are known to all mariners as the finest specimens of graceful modelling and symmetrical construction, were built by men calling themselves master workmen, but who did not know the common principles of Mathematics. I was once going along the beach in the little retired island of Scopelus, and my attention was attracted to a long and beautifully shaped boat, nearly finished. I approached, and found only one man, squatting beside her on his heels, eating biscuit and olives. I asked him, where the builders were ? 'Εγώ ἴμαι,' replied he ; he was building her alone. I looked round for his tools, but not seeing them, asked him where his scale and compasses were. The man stared ; I found he did not know Gunter's scale, from a gridiron, and resolved to wait and see him resume his work. After he had finished his olives, wiped his moustachios, and crossed himself three times ; he got up, examined his little red cross, and piece of garlic, which he had nailed on the bow of his boat, to keep off the devil, and all other evil spirits, and finding all well, he resumed his tools. He had a rude axe ; a block of wood with a handle drove into

upon a woody coast, and with a rude axe, a saw, and their knives, in a few days complete a boat; force a *Papas* or Priest, to come and sprinkle her with holy water, and to pray for her success; and away they would go, in a boat so fleet, that few barges could overtake her.

From this security, from the ease with which foreign merchant vessels yielded themselves up, and the profit derived from it, the business became so common, that pirates swarmed upon every part of the Archipelago. It soon became notorious, and concealment was hardly necessary; there was no authority in the islands, even among the inhabitants who were well disposed, to punish the offenders; and their spoil was brought in, and sold in the markets. There is no question but if this had happened at first, the good among the community would have put down the freebooters;—but the evil had come on so insensibly, that it was incurable; the pirate lived known and secure, and had power and associates enough to make him dangerous.

After this, flocked in a crowd of outcast ragamuffins from all quarters; Ragusians, Sicilians, Maltese, &c. increasing the number, and adding outrages which the Greeks never had practised. But still, by far the greater number of pirates always have been Greeks.

They went generally in long narrow boats, called *Misticoes*; carrying a great spread of canvass, and pulling from twenty to thirty oars; hence they could move with speed with the wind, or in a calm. They have generally thirty or forty men on board, armed with muskets, pistols, and yataghans; some of the boats are larger, and carry a swivel or small cannon on

it, for a mallet; another instrument which he called a saw, but which to me seemed wondrously like a notched iron hoop; and his dividers were formed by a piece of oak wood, split half way up, with a wedge to push up and down, to open or shut the arms: one of the split ends he would dip into a composition of brick dust and spittle, to shew me how well it would describe a circle; but his principal instrument, and with which he could cut, plane, and mortise, and which he wore in his girdle, was a long, well tempered knife. I went off, thinking about *Dædalus* and *Archimedes*; and as I turned round to look again at the gracefully modelled boat, which the old man had shaped out, I wondered where he got his ideas of beauty and proportion, or if he had ever heard of *Phidias* or *Praxiteles*.

their bows, and a greater number of men. They wait until they see a vessel becalmed, and then approach, and frighten her crew into submission; or if any symptoms of resistance were shewn, they would call in other misticoes to overpower them. When they get on board, they commence plundering, and seldom finish, until nothing valuable is left. They often threaten, and sometimes abuse the crew, in order to make them tell where the money is hid; but they do not shed blood unless in fight; there can only two or three cases of murder be shewn satisfactorily, to have occurred,* and in all those cases, foreigners were among the pirates.

This kind of piracy had rendered communication between the islands difficult, and many sincere exertions were made by Government to put it down; and there wants no other fact to show that it was not a general system, than to say, that the Greeks as a people *suffered more directly from these piracies, than any other nation.* The coasting trade, and little intercourse which must constantly be kept up, was rendered uncertain and insecure; one could not cross from island to island, without being armed to the teeth; and many of the coasters were obliged to come to an understanding with the pirates, and pay for the privilege of going clear. They still preserve their clannish feelings: a Hydriote would plunder a Poriotie, but nothing would induce him to take any thing from a brother islander; he would as soon neglect to trim the lamp, which in every Greek vessel, pirate or not, continually burns before the picture of the holy virgin; or think of going to plunder a foreign vessel, without first devoutly crossing himself, and praying for success.

But it was not from this small fry, that foreign vessels suffered most; the greatest outcry was made against those larger vessels, brigs, and schooners, which sailing under the Greek

* Two English gentlemen of my acquaintance, coming down from the Gulf of Salamis, were attacked at noon-day by a boat, in plain sight of Hydra; they gave up every thing with a good grace. Finding no violence intended, Mr. R——n begged for his watch, it being valuable to him, as a family piece; they gave it to him, also his pistols to defend himself against robbers. Encouraged by this, he said it was hard to be left without a penny; and the pirates counted him out enough to pay his expenses to Napoli.

flag, and it was said with the Commission of the Government, plundered indiscriminately vessels of all nations, under pretence of looking for Turkish property. There is no doubt but many outrageous robberies were committed in this way, and that too, by vessels holding regular Commissions from Government; many of the Captains displayed a cupidity and a criminal neglect of their sacred duty as patriots; many an instance was there, of eight or ten vessels being ordered to sea to block a Turkish port, and not more than one or two of them ever appearing off it; the rest would go upon the more profitable business of making prizes. They found very many vessels, Austrian, French, and English, engaged by the Pashaw of Egypt and by the Sultan carrying supplies of provisions and ammunition to the Turkish fortresses and armies; others were bringing machines, warlike, and of all kinds, from London and Marseilles, to the Pashaw of Egypt; these latter the Greeks could not make prizes of, because the *Law of Nations* did not permit them; their flag, the Christian flag, covered the property of the Turk!

It was not always that they were allowed to retain the Austrian vessels, which they found steering directly from Constantinople or Alexandria, to Navarino, loaded with powder and ball: the papers could not always be found, the legal proof could not be obtained; and then some hectoring Captain of a frigate was often near, to "*damn the Greek rebels,*" and make them relinquish their prey.

After all, after we have given to many of the Greek captains and sailors the name that they deserve—greedy pirates, if the subject is examined, it will be found that the number of piracies actually committed, is infinitely smaller than is generally supposed; look critically at the accounts which are so carefully blazed abroad, and they will be found, many of them, to have their origin in the Gazettes of Vienna, or the *Oriental Spectator*. And of those outrages really committed, many were *just acts of retribution*; yes! the plunderings, abuses, and bastinadoes, suffered by many European sea Captains, were often the meet reward of the base spirited poltroon, who sold himself for gold to serve the Turks; and engaged indi-

rectly in the war of extermination, against a Christian people, struggling for their liberty, their religion, and their existence.

The Greek Government showed every disposition to assist the foreign vessels of war to suppress these piracies and abuses; and by enactment it put out of the pale of the law, all vessels which should be found at sea, armed, except they were furnished with proper papers authorising them to cruise, and countersigned by the Admiral; and it declared all such vessels pirates. Foreign vessels therefore would have no difficulty in discriminating, and all the licenced cruisers being registered, abuses might be detected.

In order further to prevent abuses, the following article was inserted in the same act of Government. "Art. 6. And whatever vessel under a neutral flag, carrying contraband warlike stores, shall be taken by a Greek cruiser, duly provided with a commission according to the 2d Article of this act, she shall be brought without delay before the Marine Court for trial, and judgment. But if the Captors before bringing her to the Court, or before the decision of the Court is pronounced, shall lay hands upon the cargo, steal or waste it, or injure the vessel, her sailors, or any one on board; not only shall they lose their commission, but be held as pirates, and subjected to the penalty in that case provided."

But notwithstanding the exertions of the Greek Government, and the presence of the fleets of every maritime country in the Archipelago, the piracies continued, continue, and will continue, until order and an efficient Government shall be established in Greece. Until commerce shall resume its natural channel, and employment be given to the sailors, the seas will be insecure. These men will not sit tamely still, and pine in want with their families, when a bold stroke at a Frank vessel, would put them in possession of plenty; they are too skilful not to devise plans of escaping pursuit, and too daring not to brave the necessary danger.

The Foreign Consuls established in the different ports (who are Greeks by descent,) might have contributed to suppress the growth of piracy; but unfortunately, these men are among the very meanest and worst of the Greeks. They are gene-

rally Catholics, (for many families embraced that religion during the rule of the Venetians over Greece,) and true to the spirit of their dogmas, they hate their brethren as members of the Greek Church, and prefer Mahometanism to it. Besides, these Consuls were generally selected from among the trading class of Greeks,—a cringing, double-dealing set, who disgrace their country by their frauds; and by being most known abroad, stamp their own character on that of the nation.

These Consuls so far from attempting to put down piracies, were often indirectly concerned in them; and many of them grew richer upon the spoil.

CHAPTER IV.

Proceedings of Ibrahim Pashaw—Attempts to penetrate the District of Maina—Is repulsed—Kiutahi continues the Siege of Athens—Battle of Gaidari—Col. Favier with the Regulars is beaten—Kiutahi takes the lower Town of Athens—Greeks shut themselves up in the Acropolis—Action between the Turkish and Greek Fleets—Events in the months of September and October.

THE united Egyptian and Turkish armies having accomplished the destruction of Missilonghi, had no longer any common object: Ibrahim therefore, with his shattered army prepared to return to the Peloponessus; and Kiutahi to prepare for finishing the conquest of Roumelia by taking Athens.

Ibrahim had arrived safely at Tripolitza, before Celocotroni, who was amusing himself in the mountains with a few followers, heard any thing about it. The Pashaw rested but very few days at Tripolitza, for there was nothing in the surrounding country for his army to subsist upon, and marched South intending to pass by the smaller defiles to Messenia. After passing some weeks there, he returned and again commenced

hostilities; but his success was confined to the burning several little villages and making some slaves; arriving at the mountains near Mistra, he was met by Niketas, and a severe skirmishing took place; enough to make Ibrahim conclude it was unsafe to penetrate farther. He returned therefore to Tripolitza, wreaking his vengeance upon the captives he had taken, torturing and putting them to death. At Tripolitza having made fresh preparations, he marched with a large force toward Mistra, but he found himself still more stoutly opposed here. The indefatigable Niketas had watched his motions, and threw himself in his way, sending off news to Colocotroni, who with Coliopolos, and about two thousand men, came running* to his assistance. No important affair took place; but Ibrahim suffered from the little bands who lurked in every place about the foot of the mountains that would afford them security.

Ibrahim Pashaw then marched to the Southern part of the Morea, where he remained some weeks recruiting his men after their fatigues, and preparing for new operations. All the Province of Messenia was his; he had laid waste and ruined the whole of the Southern part of Arcadia; and his possession of Tripolitza ensured him that Province; there was therefore only the Province of Maina for him to subdue, upon that depended Laconia; and these two his, all the Southern parts of the Morea were secure to him.

But how to possess himself of Maina was the difficulty; that Province is rough and unfit for the motions of a regular army; the entrance to it is defended by the lofty Southern ridge of Taygetus, and its inhabitants are the most warlike, and accustomed to arms, of any Province in the Morea; they had never, it is true, distinguished themselves *abroad* (as they say,) that is out of their own district, for they are too selfish, to care much about the struggle of the common country, unless it interfered with themselves particularly; but it was certain from their turbulent habits while formerly under the Turks,

* "Εβραμο—Ι ran."

that they would make a desperate resistance, if their country was invaded.

Ibrahim had about fourteen thousand effective soldiers left, including all his garrison, although he had not yet received all his expected supplies from Egypt. He prepared to march against Maina with eight thousand of his disciplined troops, and sent round some of his vessels into the Gulf of Messenia, to co-operate by water. He went in person from Calamata, to reconnoitre the country, and ridge of mountains which he had to pass; and the next day moved forward with his army. The fleet had been directed to sail up along the shore of Maina, and make demonstrations of landing men, in order to draw off the attention of the Greeks from the real point of attack.

The army pushed on East from Calamata, and arriving on the 4th at the foot of the mountains, found every position occupied by the Greeks, who had built up their little stone breastworks, and were lying down behind them, with their long guns sticking out from every crevice. Ibrahim however, determined to attack them, and his men advanced with considerable spirit, but were at once driven back when the fire began to flash from the little walls, for each shot was deliberately aimed, and took effect. The Arabs, however, were again brought up, but uselessly; they could not injure the Greeks, and were driven back every time with loss: new points of attack were sought, and the day spent in various attempts to dislodge the Greeks or turn their positions, but it was unavailing; the attack completely failed, with a loss of about four hundred men. The Greeks were under the direction of Anastasius Mavromichalis, and four or five Chiefs who had hastily gathered together about two thousand men; their loss was only about twenty.

Ibrahim, still resolutely bent on penetrating the Province, kept his positions in front of the Greeks; and on the 5th, embarked 1500 men to be landed a few miles below, and thence to penetrate into the interior, to turn up the country to the left, and endeavour to take the Greek position in the rear. This move was nearly fatal to the Greeks; the landing was made unopposed, because unexpected; and the troops penetrated to Tzimora, before they met any opposition.

But the news had spread like wild fire through the country, and all armed ; Constantine, the brother of Petro Mavromichalis, was there collecting soldiers, to reinforce the army which had repelled the attack at Armiro the day before. He ran therefore to the barriers with his few soldiers, and was followed by a crowd of peasantry. The whole country was aroused, and resembled a disturbed hornet's nest ; the Spartan blood seemed to be up, for hundreds of women came on with the men, lugging great muskets, and with a yataghan and pistols stuck in their girdles. An obstinate struggle took place at the foot of the barriers, and the Greeks drove back the Turks from them.

The next morning being still more numerous, they sallied forth, attacked the Turks, drove them from their positions, and forced them back toward their vessels. Another attack was here made, and the Turks were obliged to re-embark in haste after losing about five hundred men.

The same day Ibrahim made an attack upon Armiro, but was repulsed completely ; and finding that Colocotroni, to whom the Mainotes had written for help, had arrived with 2500 men under Iatrako, Meletopolo, and Petzimana, he retired to Calamata, and relinquished all hope of penetrating Maina upon that side.

From Calamata he moved slowly up, and passing the defiles entered again into Arcadia, and sent his cavalry into every part of the level country to destroy any village that might have escaped former ravaging, and to drive away the peasantry who might have come down from their mountain retreats during his absence.

He spent the month principally in this work of destruction ; he was often opposed by the different Capitans, and harassed considerably. Gennaios, the brave son of Colocotroni, covered himself with honour in several skirmishes. In one affair the only corps of cavalry which the Greeks had, consisting of 300 horse, was engaged with the enemy, and behaved well. Col. Almeida, a Portuguese officer, commanded the company of 100 which was disciplined, and with it charged a small body of Arabs, who threw themselves into a hollow square, but

were routed and cut up. Several weeks passed in such skirmishing.

Ibrahim then marched with eight thousand men from Tripolitza Eastward, and crossing the mountains entered Laconia, probably with a view of penetrating Maina from the North. He destroyed on the route Kastri, Agio Petro, Agio Ionni, and Kalara, and penetrated to Astros upon the sea-coast. Most of the flying villagers had taken refuge in this place, which is a little peninsula of high land, and upon which was a then unfinished fortification, building by one Zaphuropolos, who waxing rich from the suffering of those about him, resolved on building a castle, by which means he might exercise sway over the surrounding province.

Into this place, Niketas who had been following Ibrahim like his shadow, with about three hundred soldiers, threw himself with the determination to defend it.

Ibrahim, however, did not stop to attack him ; but dividing his army into three columns, he marched with the centre one upon Mistra, and sent one to the right, the other to the left along the sea-coast, directing them to burn and destroy every thing on their way. This they executed effectually, burning many villages, the principal of which were Vrachova, and Prasto. But the centre column meeting with considerable resistance in the mountains, the plan was defeated and the army reunited before Astros.

Niketas had in the mean time got sufficient reinforcements to defend the place ; and the attack of Ibrahim on the 16th, though well planned, was repulsed ; nor could he by any stratagem get possession of the place, which would have been a most important position for him. He then retraced his steps to the Province of Arcadia, and entered Tripolitza, having effected the destruction of most of the villages in the district of Laconia, and driven those inhabitants who escaped from his soldiery, to take refuge in the mountains, or upon the strong places on the sea-shore.

Let us now look a little to the proceedings of Kiutahi in the North ; we have seen that after the fall of Missilonghi he occupied himself solely with preparing for the siege of Athens,

the last and most important position which he would have to take to give him command of all Roumelia. He was detained by various difficulties in getting men, and clearing the routes by which his communication with Thessaly must be kept up, and which were defended by little bodies of soldiers, acting without much order however, as Karraiskakis was away.

The month of June passed entirely away before he was able to leave Thebes, and it was the middle of July before his army assembled in force upon the plains of Athens; his line of communication was by a chain of posts to Oropo, a little harbour in the Gulf of Egrisso, just above Marathon. From Oropo he communicated by water with Egrisso, and by the Gulf of Talanda with Zeituni, whence his principal stores were drawn, and with Volo; about twenty small vessels were employed in this service.

Modern Athens is built upon the same spot which Cecrops three thousand three hundred and eighty-four year since, pitched upon to found his colony, and where he built the city called first Cecropia, and afterwards Athena, which name it has retained to the present day. It is situated on a beautiful plain, at the sloping foot of Hymettus, about seven miles from the Piræus; a commodious port, formerly connected by two long walls with the city.

The Acropolis or Citadel of Athens* is a natural fortress, a vast mass of rock about the fourth of a mile in length, and an eighth in breadth; it rises so precipitately on the South side that it is inaccessible; the North is less so, it comes up more sloping, but still very steep, and leaves on the top, and at an

* The following extract from an intercepted letter of Kiutahi Pashaw, shows his ideas about Athens. "The Citadel of Athens as is known to you, was built of old on a high and inaccessible rock; not to be injured by a mine, nor accessible to assault.——It is most important because it is very old, and from it went out of yore many famous philosophers; it has works of art very old, which make the learned men of Europe wonder; and for this reason, all the Europeans and the other nations of unbelievers regard the citadel as their own house. And because they regard it as a place of pilgrimage and worship, all the Europeans and all the nations of infidels called Christians, labour to prevent its being taken from these apostate dogs. But we hope to beat them with the assistance of divine Providence, and the wonder-working prayers of our king, the Ruler of the surface of the world, &c. &c."

elevation of several hundred feet above the surrounding plain, a level area of 800 feet in length, and 400 in breadth. This area is surrounded by a slight wall in those places where the rocks are not precipitous enough, and this made it capable of repelling the assault of any enemy, previous to the invention of artillery. After that epoch, it was more regularly fortified by the Venetians, and has now higher walls, batteries, and a tower. The area on the top of the rock of the Acropolis, is filled with the stupendous ruins of those temples and buildings, which were the pride of Athens when she was acknowledged the Queen of Cities; but were this a proper place for describing that spot, (doubtless the most interesting in the world, to the lover of classic recollections) the numerous and copious works which have been published on the subject, would render it useless. The modern city is built around the foot of the rock of the Acropolis or Citadel, and the houses, about sixteen hundred in number, are surrounded by a slight wall.

The Acropolis of Athens was commanded by Gourah, a brave and determined man, who for more than a year had held the place, and controlled the lower city, and all the Province of Attica, the revenue of which he appropriated to himself; and with them, laid in a large stock of provisions for the Citadel, enough to last with care, a select garrison for two years. He had about 800 men in the Citadel, and there were 1000 in the lower town; most of the women and children and useless persons had been sent to Salamis, though too great a number remained behind.

On arriving before Athens the first care of Kiutahi was to establish himself in such a position that he might act on the offensive and defensive both. He stretched his lines in a way to accomplish this, if possible; and established several batteries, from which he threw balls and shells into the town. The principal battery was erected upon the Museum hill, now called more commonly Pilopappus. From this he could fire almost point blank into the Acropolis, and from there his mortars did considerable injury.

The Greeks, however, were not idle; they kept the cannon of the Acropolis in a continual roar, as long as there was a

possibility of their arresting the progress of the enemy's works; and the frequent sallies they made, the daily skirmishes which took place on the plain, and in the olive groves about the city, by their various issues showed that the possession of the country was still doubtful. Kiutahi, however, with his characteristic perseverance, went on with his operations, and difficulties seemed only to rouse him to greater exertion. But a more formidable enemy was gathering in his rear.

The Greek Government had been labouring very hard to establish a camp in the rear of Kiutahi, and prevent him pressing the siege of Athens. Karraiskakis, who had now risen into considerable notice, and seemed to bid fair by his talents and his powerful influence over the Roumeliote soldiery, to eclipse all his brother Chiefs, was appointed to command all the irregular troops which should be raised in Roumelia; and Colonel Favier with the regular troops was to co-operate with him in harassing Kiutahi.

The Pashaw had on the 17th in a furious attack, made himself master of the lower city, and driven the Greeks to shut themselves up in the Acropolis, when he heard that a force was advancing upon his rear: Colonel Favier with fifteen hundred regulars, accompanied by the brave band of Philhellenes, composed of sixty volunteer European officers, landed from Salamis. He was immediately joined by three thousand irregulars, commanded by various Chiefs under Karraiskakis, and all united, advanced to a little village called Gaidari, where they took their positions; the irregulars on each side, and Favier in the centre.

The next morning Kiutahi with six thousand infantry, and a few cavalry, advanced against them, and proceeded to attack them with great vigour; the Greeks resisting with as much resolution; their little corps of artillery doing great execution, and the corps of Philhellenes covering itself with honour, by daring bravery. The battle continued five hours, sometimes more furiously, then again slackening: but in the afternoon the Turkish soldiers retired with considerable loss.

But the indefatigable Kiutahi, knowing well that every thing depended on his defeating this corps, and being that very night

reinforced by the arrival of Omer Pashaw from Negropont, with eighteen hundred horse, he determined on a new attack.

He advanced therefore the next day with more troops, an overwhelming cavalry, and an efficient artillery; and recommenced the attack with fury. The Greeks resisted successfully for some time, and the regulars by their conduct in the hottest fire, showed to the irregulars, that it was possible to stand erect, and fight with their bodies exposed.

The Turkish cavalry galloped several times within pistol shot of the Greeks; and their infantry creeping along behind rocks, and in hollows, kept up a close fight; while their artillery effectually served with grenades, was very galling. But the Greeks stood their ground, notwithstanding that three of the four pieces of light artillery were thrown out of service;* nearly a thousand Turks had fallen; when a Greek Chief, Vassos, fled with his men, before a charge which the Turks made upon him; and his example spreading panic among the rest, they all quit their position and ran to the hills; leaving the regulars to be cut up, or stand the whole brunt of the battle.

A retreat was necessary, and credit is due to Colonel Favier, not only for his bravery during the day, but for the coolness with which he directed his retreat. It was, it is true, almost a flight; for they were so hard pressed by the cavalry, that passing through a village where they had deposited their wounded the day before, they were obliged to leave them; the horsemen galloping in one side of the village, as they left the opposite one, and in a few minutes they saw the heads of their wounded companions dripping at these dle bows of their pursuers.

Favier, however, effected his retreat in tolerable order to a secure position.†

* These were some of the famous London parc sent out with so much parade to Greece—their axletrees were of cast iron, and snapped off.

† A few days after this affair, the French Naval Commander was lying in the harbour, and the Turkish Pashaw came on board to pay him a complimentary visit; and while sitting in the cabin, in came Karraiskakis, with the same intention, and ignorant of his enemy being there. The meeting was a singular one—the Greek Chief, the only one perhaps, whom the Pashaw respected and feared—put his hand on his breast, and made the customary salute by bending

Kiutahi returned to Athens in triumph with the loss of only a very few men, and resumed the siege of the Acropolis with redoubled vigour; he fortified himself in several positions within the lower town, and his army occupied all the heights around that were of any importance. With his present force of cavalry he was secure in the possession and command of the plain which surrounds the city. Leaving him therefore to continue bombarding and cannonading the Acropolis, from which the cannon of the Greeks answered "fast and well," let us look at the maritime operations of the two belligerents.

Another great expedition was fitting out at Alexandria, though the extreme slowness with which it went on, seemed to augur that the purse of the Egyptian Satrap waxed low, and that his credit was injured. It was supposed, however, by the Greeks, that this armada, united with one fitting out from Constantinople, was to fall upon some vital part of Greece—Hydra most probably. The Government therefore, anxious to prevent this union, had with much difficulty got a small squadron to sea, under the command of Vice Admiral Sakturis, to go and oppose the Constantinople division, which was more advanced in its preparations than the Alexandrian.

Sakturis, after sailing up to the entrance of the Dardanelles, steered South to cover Samos, which he had reason to think was to be the object of attack. Hearing, however, that Topal Pashaw with two seventy-fours, twenty-seven frigates and corvettes, and seven brigs, had left the Dardanelles, he immediately sailed to meet him. Off Scio he discovered this fleet; and on the 28th, notwithstanding the immense disparity of force, he determined at least to try to frighten the Turks; and having Canaris with him in a fire-ship, he was certain of some bold attempt being made.

The wind being light, it was some time before the two the body, but the proud Turk would not return it. It was probably an involuntary act on the part of Karraiskakis, and not as afterwards said, a profession of homage due; for the Turk could not have more real pride of soul than had the wild Chief; and afterwards, to the exhortation of the Pashaw that he would persuade his brother rebels to submit, and accept his mercy and protection—"Protection!" said Karraiskakis, "you cannot protect your own head against the mandate of the Porte."

squadrons met, when they commenced a distant and violent, though rather harmless cannonade; but the wind shifting, gave to the Greeks the windward, and the Turks sheered off as they came down nearer; still they kept in good order, and a sharp firing was maintained for some time. Suddenly a vessel was seen to single out from the Greek line, and bear directly down among the Turkish frigates; it was *Canaris*—every Turk knew his fire-ship; the whole fire of the fleet was directed upon her alone, but she advanced rapidly through a shower of balls towards the large ships, when two shot struck her between wind and water, and she began to fill. Still the daring *Canaris* drove her on half sinking, in hope of grappling an enemy before she should go down; but barges from the frigates coming out to cut him off from returning, he was obliged to set fire to his vessel, and try to escape in his boat.

• He was pursued by the barges, and obliged to fight desperately for ten minutes, losing several of his men, and receiving a wound upon his head, and another upon his arm before he could reach the Greek vessels.

The Turkish fleet showed no inclination to continue the fight, though they had not suffered much; the smell of a burning brulot was an unpleasant odour to the nostrils of *Topal Pashaw*; it reminded him of the fate of two of his predecessors; he withdrew his fleet therefore, and steered for *Mitylene*.

After remaining here a few days, *Topal* sailed for *Constantinople*, probably recalled by an order of the Sultan, who was then in great trouble, putting down the *Janissaries*.

CHAPTER V.

Proceedings of Ibrahim Pashaw—Distresses of Greece—Operations of Kiutahi—Death of Gourah—Civil dissensions among the Greeks—Arrival of the Steam Corvette, Perseverance—Continuation of Siege of Athens—Relieved by Colonel Favier—Expedition of Talanda—Judicious Operations of Karraiskakis—Disputes about the place for the National Assembly.

THE months of September and October passed away without any important military action, yet the general tendency of the operations was to injure the cause of the Greeks, and their struggle seemed to be destined to end from gradual exhaustion.

Ibrahim Pashaw went about the Morea like a destroying spirit; and the smouldering villages, the blackened and scathed trunks of the olive-trees, the trampled vineyards, and the mutilated human bodies in all stages of putrefaction, marked the route he had taken from province to province; the inhabitants almost invariably fled before him, where the country was level, and from the mountains witnessed the destruction of their homes and hopes. But little resistance was made, and this little, was by the desperation of a few rude peasants; or those brave and indefatigable Capitani, who chose rather to fight for their country than for pay; of these Niketas, and Staikos (called a fool for his headlong courage) were the principal, but neither they nor the others, had means of supporting more than a handful of men.

An awful weight of responsibility rests upon Colocotroni for what he did do, yet a still greater one, for what he did not do. His place of Commander in Chief gave him great influence; and had he busied himself as much about opposing the enemy,

as attending to his private interests and party quarrels, an effectual opposition might have been made to the passage of Ibrahim into many parts, which he utterly desolated. He felt that he was incapable of organizing an army, upon the European plan, or of commanding one when organized; therefore he would not encourage discipline. But he was a general, and thought he must have an army, and instead of profiting by the experience he had had, of the insufficiency of his rude soldiers to stand in large bodies before the bayonets of the Egyptians, instead of dividing the Greeks into an hundred *guerrilla* bands, and harassing the enemy by desultory petty skirmishes, which would have worried regular troops to distraction, Colocotroni spent his time in unavailing efforts to collect large bodies of men, who might give the semblance at least of an army.

But there were not the means for it, the country was not in a situation to support a large army, the failing of rations for one day would disperse it. Colocotroni too, was not content with a ration per man; he wished triple and quadruple, that he might have wherewithal to line his purse. He it was, who by his example encouraged the Greek Capitani to go on in their shameful system of extortion; the Government was at this time daily giving out rations, and paying (in paper it is true) the wages for forty thousand men, to the different Capitani; and they, all united, could not have mustered ten thousand men. Colocotroni practised this more than any one, sending in his report of three or four times as many men as he really had, and demanding for them pay and rations.

Favier, after his repulse at Gaidari, had retired to Salamis, and from thence crossed over to Methina, a little peninsula which he had fortified, and made use of as head-quarters for the regular troops. Kiutahi Pashaw pressed the siege of Athens with vigour, bombarding the Acropolis every day. The Greeks returned his fire as constantly, and several sallies were made with various results. In the latter part of September a determined one was made; the Greeks fell upon the Turks in the lower town with fury, drove them from their position, killing several hundred. They succeeded in getting

some fuel which they most needed, and retired again within the Citadel.

On the 12th October, Gourah, the Commander of the Citadel, was killed upon the ramparts by a rifle ball ; and in him Athens lost more than could be restored to her ; a *single* determined Chief, whose courage was equalled only by his obstinacy ; hereafter she was to be governed by a dozen.

But the most melancholy scene presented to the spectator of this interesting struggle, was that of the civil disturbances which broke out in the Province of Corinth, and which went on increasing, till actual hostilities were commenced. It would be uninteresting to the public, to go through the details of this civil war ; it is immaterial to the world, whether Notaras, or Notaropolo, had the best claim to the revenue of the Province of Corinth ; they are both criminal, be the ground of the quarrel what it may ; and so are the different Chiefs and Primates who took one side or other, with hireling soldiers ; and ruined the crops, and desolated a large part of the Province of Corinth ; distressing the inhabitants to an excessive degree. Some blood was shed on both sides ; Dillyani, who, while he sat upon his bench with the Government, had been hatching and fomenting these quarrels, to advance his own interest as being connected with one of the parties, left Napoli to go and promote by artful management, his selfish schemes.

And the President Zaimis must follow him, forsooth, commissioned publicly, to put down the quarrellers, but in reality, to see that Dillyani should not effect his plans.

Colocotroni too, ran (as he says) with his soldiers to put down by force both parties ; but it was rather fox-like to see if while the lion and bear were lying exhausted by their efforts, he might not seize the prey—the fortress of Corinth. The end of the whole business was just as it should have been ; the Suliotes and other Roumeliotes who had been hired by the different parties, getting tired with waiting for their pay, seized upon the crop of currants, the object of dispute, and sold it for their own benefit.

Thus was another district of the Peloponessus ruined for this season, by the rapacity of the Chiefs and Primates.

On the 14th, the inhabitants of Napoli and of all Greece, were electrified by the news of the arrival of one of the long expected, but at last almost despaired of, armed Steam Ships. She was a fine strong vessel, as large as a common corvette, mounting eight sixty-eight pound cannon, and calculated for throwing hot shot, as well as shells, horizontally; she was strongly, but too heavily built; or rather her engine was too weak for her weight, being only eighty horse power, and that too so miserably constructed, that it was not to be depended upon. She was commanded by that unpretending, but long tried and generous Philhellene, Capt. Frank Abney Hastings, to whose prudent and unwearied exertions, to whose generous sacrifices of time and money, Greece owes the arrival of the first national vessel she ever owned.

Athens had now become to Eastern Greece, what Missolonghi had been to Western Greece; the last strong hold—the bulwark of the Province; if Athens should fall into the hands of the Turks, all Greece North of the Isthmus of Corinth would be theirs, there would be nothing left but the Peloponnesus and islands. Already indeed, had Roumelia submitted in reality to the Turks; hundreds of villages were now repopulated by the Greeks, who lived in acknowledged subjection to them; paying their tax, but keeping their arms by them, and not allowing any Turks among them. This was the most alarming symptom of all; when the peasantry could again resume their occupations, and submit to Turkish dominions, misery must have arrived at its acme; human nature could endure no longer.

The Greek who had fled from his burning dwelling, had supported his family in the mountains in the best way his ingenuity could devise, but mostly upon the productions of nature, hoping for the moment when peace and liberty should be established; but year after year passed away; there came no peace for him—his means for supporting his children were exhausted, he saw their dirty ragged clothes dropping from them piecemeal—he saw their countenances wan and emaciated; their bodies bloated by the unwholesome nature of their scanty food; and he said to them,—let us go to our village, the Turks

can only do that in one moment, which famine will do for us by degrees.

Thus many of the peasantry returned, and Kiutahi Pashaw was politic enough to encourage it, by restraining his soldiery from harming them.

The Greek Government, therefore, turned all its attention to Roumelia ; and Karraiskakis being made Commander in Chief there, he quickly raised such a force, by calling around him the Roumeliote soldiers who were scattered among the mountains, as made the Turks abandon all the country, but the strong holds ; and the people again took arms. His great object, however, was to cut off the supplies of Kiutahi, and force him to raise the siege of Athens.

Colonel Favier undertook to co-operate, and marched against Thebes, which was then held by the Turks, with twelve hundred of his regular troops, and half that number of irregulars. He arrived within six miles of Thebes in the evening of the 21st, and halted, meaning to make the attack as soon as the moon should rise ; but the irregulars, either from becoming intimidated, or from jealousy or dislike to the *Tacticos*, (as they called the regulars,) silently dropped off one by one, leaving their Captains alone. This had a most discouraging effect upon the regulars, and at the time appointed for the attack, Favier found his corps not only unsupported by light troops, but entirely spiritless. He therefore was obliged to return, without having effected any thing.

Meantime the siege of Athens went on with vigour, and many of the garrison had been killed ; others sickened, and there was great need of a reinforcement. But the blockade was rigid ; Kiutahi had drawn his lines almost entirely round the city, and the occupation of posts at the distance of musket shot from each other, rendered all communication of the besieged with their brethren outside, extremely difficult ; single persons only could pass, and that in the night, by crawling on the ground. It was a great object to throw a reinforcement into the Citadel, and the Turks were as anxious to prevent it : several attempts had been made and failed. On the night of the 23d, a Chief named Grigiotti, with about three hundred men, and the Ionian

corps of about one hundred and fifty, landed four miles below Athens, and succeeded in forcing his way through the enemy's lines, and entered the Acropolis with the loss of only a few men.

Thus Athens being relieved from all pressing danger, was left to be defended by its garrison against the continual cannonade and bombardment from the enemy's batteries ; and the attempts which the Turks made from time to time to assault or surprise it.

Government turned its attention to forwarding the plan of Karraiskakis, of sustaining the insurrection in Roumelia, and endangering the communications of Kiutahi with Thessaly. To effect this, Colletti was dispatched with two small vessels, and with means of assembling the soldiers, who were scattered about in the islands of Scopelos, Sciathus, Halonessus, &c. With these he was to make a landing somewhere below Zeituni, to take up his position, and endeavour to stop the supplies from passing to the army blockading Athens.

Government it seems, was not then aware that most of the supplies were brought down the Gulf from Zeituni in small vessels, and thence to Oropos near Marathon. However the plan of Colletti's expedition was good ; he was a man of great abilities, and as far as his means would go, something was to have been expected of him. Having after much delay and difficulty collected about two thousand men, acting however under their different Capitani, the expedition crossed from Scopelos, and entering the Gulf, approached the coast, and made a landing on the 10th, near Opus or Talanda.

Colletti immediately learnt from the Greek peasantry resident there, that the Turks had withdrawn almost all their forces from that section of the country ; and that in Talanda, which was but a few miles distant, there were only an hundred and fifty soldiers. A body of Greeks, in their usual way, without waiting for the rest of the forces to land, or even for any orders from their officers, immediately set off on a full trot for Talanda. On arriving they attacked the place, drove the Turks from the outskirts of the town, and were beginning to pillage, when a body of five hundred Turks, mostly cavalry, was seen

advancing to the relief of the place. Report said they were five thousand, and without waiting to examine the truth, the Greeks ran again toward their vessels, as fast and as disorderly as they had come. Three of the leaders or inferior Capitani, endeavouring to make a stand and call back the men, remained too long, and were killed with a few soldiers. The loss however, was trifling; it was only the moral effect upon the rest that was to be feared; a check at the beginning was worse than quadruple the loss afterwards.

The Chiefs then made preparations for a more systematic attack; and all the men being landed, it was resolved to march at daylight the next morning against Talanda. But the next morning was only to give them another sad proof of the miserable want of system, and organization; the three armed vessels which accompanied the expedition, were (as is the case with all the fleet) the property of private persons, and hired by the month by Government; their time had expired some days before, and their Captains resolved not to stay any longer without pay; they therefore got under way, and sailed off, leaving the soldiers in utter astonishment and dismay.

They were in the heart of the enemy's country, an overwhelming force might soon be brought against them; the Turkish cruisers, of which there were several in the Gulf, might come and blockade them by sea; and then destruction would be inevitable. The soldiers saw all this, and it was in vain to try to persuade them to stay, it would have been madness in them to do so; and taking themselves to the little boats in which they had come over, they recrossed to the islands from whence they came,—and thus ended the Talanda business.

Karraiskakis, on the other side, was harassing the enemy much more effectually; he had collected nearly five thousand men, which he divided into little parties about the country, in such a way as to keep it all in a state of insurrection, and exclude the Turks from most of it. He cut off many convoys destined for Kiutahi; and by continually destroying little bodies of the enemy, he weakened the blockading army, and forced Kiutahi to draw reinforcements. It would be tedious to detail all the affairs that took place; that of Rachova how-

ever the most important by far, and remarkable for the destruction of a great number of enemies, without any comparative loss on his part, deserves notice, and it can be had in Karraiskakis's own words, extracted from his dispatch.

"TO THE VENERABLE GOVERNING COMMISSION—" We send joyful intelligence of the brilliant victory which by the help of the Most High God, took place over the enemy at Rachova."—

"On the 18th (O. S.) of the present month, we arrived at Distimo, with all the forces of the Government; and the next day sent the Chiefs G. Vagias, M. Vagias, and Gardikiottis Grivas, to take position at Rachova, knowing that the enemy intended to seize that port; as Kehaiah Bey, Mustapha Bey, Kergisphil Bey, and Elmas Bey, were moving upon it with 2000 men. Ours, (viz. our soldiers) arrived first, and fortified themselves, and when the enemy arrived the fight begun. We arrived the same day, and the fight became hot; we drove the enemy from the town, and shut him up in a ravine near it. The 20th the Chief Makres came to our assistance; and on the 21st. Georgios Drakos, and Constantine Kalevas, &c. The enemy remained most closely blockaded for eight days, without water or bread. Twice and thrice came assistance for the enemy, but they were not able to effect their purpose, for they were met by our soldiers and driven back with loss. The enemy demanded that we should give them free passage, that they might return to their homes, and they would give into our hands as hostages, Kehaiah Bey, and Mustapha Bey. We however demanded their arms, and would grant them only their lives, and free passage to their homes; but they would not receive our proposition; and so, upon the 24th of the month, and at the 10th hour of the day, they resolved to save themselves by flight; but we perceiving their intention, had taken all the positions and remained ready for the meeting."

"The enemy rushed on at last, and the battle opened; the Greeks displayed great courage, striving to excel each other; the Epiro-Suliot, the Continentals, as well as the Peloponessians under Niketas. They slew thirteen hundred of the enemy, among whom were all the leaders. A few only

escaped, and these without arms. We made a number of prisoners, we took all their standards, their horses, and their baggage. We lost only eight killed, and as many more wounded. Let the nation then rejoice at this victory, and let them give thanks to the Most High. Camp at Rachova, Nov. 26. O. S. (N. S. Dec. 8.)” Signed.

Karraiskakis now drew nearer the outskirts of Kiutahi's army, whose communication he had nearly cut off with Western Greece by way of Salona, but who still had secure intercourse with Thessaly. He pressed perseveringly the siege of Athens, and got information that the garrison was almost without powder; he therefore played upon the citadel continually with his cannon and mortar, and made many sham assaults, to force the Greeks' fire as much as he could.

Government had received numerous and pressing letters from the Chiefs in the garrison, all urging the imminent danger of the Citadel from the want of powder; and attempts were immediately made to introduce it; but some of these letters had fallen into the hands of the Turks, and they kept a most strict watch to prevent it. The task of breaking through the enemy's line was a difficult and very dangerous one. It was attempted however by some of the Chiefs, and failed.

The danger was imminent—the cannon of the Acropolis hardly answered one shot in ten, thrown against them; and the soldiers were reserving their last cartridges, to repel any serious assault that might be made. In this crisis, Col. Favier offered his services, and they being accepted, he took six hundred of his regulars, and loading each man with a bag of twenty-eight pounds of powder—he crossed the Gulf of Salamis, and landed on the 12th, at two o'clock in the morning, about four miles from Athens.

His landing was so silent, that he was not discovered by the Turks till he had advanced to within half a mile from the Citadel, when he fell upon their line; his men could not fire their muskets, for fear of setting fire to the powder that they carried on their backs; they advanced therefore with fixed bayonets upon the enemy's posts, and the Turks thus rudely awakened, ran off discharging their guns and pistols; this roused the whole camp, and they began to fire in the dark and

at random. The band which accompanied the regulars now struck up, and the Greeks in the Acropolis, hearing the unaccustomed sound of drum, fife, and horn in the enemy's camp, at once understood the cause of the uproar; and opening their gates, made a sally, met their advancing countrymen, and returned with them in triumph and exultation to the Citadel. Athens was thus saved from the most pressing danger; but Col. Favier found it in a very bad situation: there were several Chiefs who ruled with equal sway; the soldiers were most uncomfortably situated, and ill provided with every thing; but what was worse than all, they were full of the conviction that the blockade could not be raised, and that the obstinate Kiu-tahi would remain before the place, until they should eat their last biscuit. They therefore positively refused to let Favier with his regulars quit the Citadel as he had intended, saying they would follow him if he did. He was therefore obliged to remain, although he had made no preparations for it; his plan was to have made his way out again the next night, and his boats were waiting for him; his men had even left their capotes, and all their thick clothes behind them in order to march more lightly, knowing they were to return the next day. It was the rainy season, the Citadel elevated and cold; no barracks for the men, and no comfort of any kind; still he was obliged to stay, though it was only adding so many useless mouths, for the former number was quite sufficient for the defence of the place. Favier had with him the Philhellenic Corps, composed of about 60 Europeans, commanded by the brave and virtuous Col. Pisa, a native of Italy.

Let us leave therefore the venerable Acropolis in the hands of its reinspired defenders, and turn our attention to the other parts of Greece.

Ibrahim Pashaw had for the last two months been almost entirely inactive in the Southern Provinces of the Morea; he ravaged indeed as much of the open country as he could get at, but his forces were too much reduced to undertake any distant or difficult expedition; he was waiting for reinforcements and supplies from his father in Egypt.

A division of the Greek fleet was at sea under Sakturis,

and had had several unimportant skirmishes with the Constantinople fleet. The Turks took on board eight thousand men, and attempted to land at Samos, but they were opposed successfully by water; and such ample preparations made by the Samiotes on land, that even if they had debarked, they would have been far from making another Scio business of it, as they wished. Sakturis continued off Samos, and was soon joined by Admiral Miaulis.

While the Greek Government was thus contending with its external enemies, it was also busily engaged in counteracting the designs of its internal ones. The civil disturbances at Corinth had ceased, but other causes of misunderstanding arose. Napoli was in the power of two different Chiefs, one of whom commanded the Palamede or upper Castle, the other commanded the lower one; they were independent of one another, and of the Government; and the latter finding they paid no attention to its decrees than a pretended obedience, removed itself to the little Castle in the harbour; both in order to be more independent, and for the purity of the air.

From this place, Government soon removed to Egina, as being nearer to Athens, the seat of war.

The time for the re-assembling of the Deputies to the National Assembly had arrived,—was passed,—still they met not; and those leading men out of office, began to clamour against the Government, for retaining its power beyond the time for which it had received it. At the head of these was Colocotroni, who was determined on such a change as should give to him and his friends more the control of affairs; perhaps too he was made a tool of by others, whose schemes were deeper;—at any rate, he never acted without the advice of his counsellor and creature, Andreas Metaxa. Government therefore issued a proclamation, calling the Deputies to meet in National Assembly at Egina. But this did not suit Colocotroni. Egina was an island, and his imprisonment at Hydra seemed to have made him quite *hydrophobic*, and given him a dread of all islands; for his soldiers could not cross the water; he could not therefore exercise any undue sway over an Assembly there, and he loudly insisted on its being convened

on terra firma. Many joined with him, and the year closed with the principal men in the country, engaged in loud and angry disputes, about the place for the meeting of the National Assembly.

About this time the *Hope*, a frigate built for the Greeks in New-York, and which had been long expected, arrived at Napoli.

The arrival of this superb ship caused the greatest joy throughout Greece. The people for a moment forgot the tedious weeks and months,—the year, that they had passed in expectation of the arrival of two frigates from America; and only felt, that just as they were beginning to despair of them, one arrived; and the banner of their country waved over a frigate, that for beauty, power, and speed, could compete with the finest foreign ships in the Mediterranean. The sailors were delighted. It was just what they wanted: they never had been able, with their light merchant brigs, to lay along side of an enemy's ship; but now, they could match with the heaviest of them. They were so content with the one, that they thought not to ask for the other, or why this one had been so long delayed. In fact, many of the common people knew nothing of the circumstances; many imagined that the *Hope* frigate, was a free offering of the American people; for they had heard much of American Philhellenism. They looked upon the United States as more assimilated to themselves, in situation and feeling, than any other people. They knew their history; that they like themselves had been under foreign dominion;* that they had by a desperate struggle thrown off the yoke of oppression, and were now enjoying what they themselves were fighting for. All talked about the republic of America, and wished to make it serve as a pattern for their own.

Those who know by experience, how cheering to the human heart in its hour of affliction, is the bare expression of sympathy, can conceive the feelings of the better informed

* The people generally have an idea, that the Colonies suffered from Great Britain the same kind of direct and personal oppression, that they themselves suffer from the Turks.

among the Greeks, when they heard of the manner in which the people of the United States regarded their struggle. "Reflect," said one of them in an address to the Senate, "reflect, gentlemen, on the feelings and language with which the people of Franklin, hail the dawn of our regeneration. Listen to that generous voice, which from the curule chair of their first magistrate,* expressed aloud, before earth and its monarchs, the prayers of humanity!" They heard indeed with joy, the murmurs of approbation which arose from every part of Europe. There, the people dared only murmur; but when the enthusiastic burst of admiration and applause, from across the Atlantic, reached them, far different were their feelings. In America, said they, are no despots to bind; there, the government is the servant of the people; and surely the cause that the sovereign people *approve and pray for*, the sovereign people will support. Alas! they had to learn that they lived in an age, when poor justice, and humanity were still going about the earth, knocking in vain at every Cabinet for admission; not one had opened to them.

We have said that the people of Greece were strongly prepossessed in favour of the American people, and had formed a high idea of their character; and this for no other reason, than that in America were republican institutions. And there can be no better proof of this preference, than the manner in which the news of the frigate business was received by the Greeks. One frigate had been retained; they never thought Americans had done it. The one that arrived, had cost them ten million five hundred thousand piastres.† They crossed themselves in utter astonishment, as they repeated the words, ten million piastres! Still, no blame was thrown upon the Americans: they did not think Americans would cheat them: and to this very day, many, to whom the true circumstances have been told, will not believe them; but are inclined to throw the whole guilt of the business, into the long list of abuses and peculations, attributed to their Deputies, who had been sent to London.

* Referring to a few words in one of President Monroe's Messages.

† Seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

But not so the better informed ; they were grieved, and astonished : and foreigners were careful to point the finger of scorn at the transaction, as a proof that their countries had not been alone in the work of spoliation. In this view, the transaction became of ten times the consequence, that it otherwise would have been. It was not that a fraud, or frauds, had been committed ; these are committed every where. But this was regarded as a public affair ; it was blazoned abroad ; and it had an effect upon the American character.

For this reason, however disagreeable it may be to the public, to have the veil torn away, which time has begun to draw over the affair, and have again forced upon their attention, a subject with which their ears have been drugged to satiety ; still, it is the duty of every American, (who regards with jealous care the honour of his country, as he would his own,) to let no means escape, of preventing the faults of individuals from attaching stigma to the national character. With this view only, and not with an idea of throwing any new light upon the subject, the affair of building the Greek frigates in New-York, is here related.

In 1824, the Greek Government sent an order to their Deputies in London, to procure, with all despatch, eight small frigates, of thirty guns each. The Deputies, from the difficulty thrown in the way of an armament being sent to Greece from any European port, turned their eyes to the United States, as the proper place to procure this assistance for their country, for which they had ample means to pay, from the proceeds of the English loan.

New-York was the commercial capital, and there existed a Greek committee, at the head of which stood the virtuous and respected William Bayard, Esq. To the eminent house of Le Roy, Bayard & Co. therefore, the Deputies addressed themselves for information, as to the practicability, legality, and expense of building one or more frigates in New-York. The house returned an answer, saying, the thing was practicable, that they had estimated the expense of a fifty gun ship at about

two hundred and fifty thousand dollars; and offering to undertake the business themselves.*

In subsequent letters, the house assured the Deputies, that there *would be no difficulty on the part of the Government of the United States*; and the Deputies, confiding in these assertions, and blindly and foolishly throwing themselves into the power of men whom they did not know, sent General Lallemand,† a cavalry officer, booted and spurred, to New-York, to superintend the building of two frigates, with letters to the house of Le Roy, Bayard & Co. and to G. G. & S. Howland; who were to undertake the business, and to each of whom the General delivered bills on London, to the amount of about 120,000 dollars. The houses accepted the task assigned them, and promised faithfulness and despatch; saying they should not be able to finish the vessels in less than six months, but could finish all the eight ordered by the Greek Government, in the same space of time.

In a few days the houses inform the deputies that they have

* *Estimate of a ship of 50 guns, 1500 tons, sent by Le Roy, Bayard & Co. to the Deputies.*

Frame, 20,000 feet of live-oak, at \$1 50 per foot	30,000
Other wooden materials	30,000
Labour	60,000
Smith's work	20,000
Copper bolts	8,000
Sheathing copper and nails	12,000
Joiner's bill	7,000
Carver's do.	1,200
Painter's do.	3,000
Blockmaker's do.	1,000
Plumber's do.	1,600
Turner's do.	700
Shipchandler's do. including pitch and oakum	4,000
Rigger's do.	1,500
Hull and spars complete	180,000
Rigging—one suit of sails, anchors, and cables,	42,000
Guns and carriages, and other expenses,	25,500
	<hr/>
1,500 tons, at \$165 per ton,	\$247,500

† General Lallemand is a brave, accomplished, and honourable man; but not fitted for the task to which he was appointed.

concluded, with the consent of General Lallemand, to deviate from the general custom, and build the vessels by day's work, and not by contract, upon the conviction, after a *scrupulous examination of the details*, that the frigates would be finished quicker, more faithfully, and *not be materially dearer*.

Their letters breathe sympathy for the cause of the suffering Greeks, and wishes for their welfare. The Deputies are satisfied; the work goes on rapidly and faithfully, under the inspection of an American naval officer of high standing. Meantime the Houses draw for 120,000 dollars more, which is paid; and the Deputies repeatedly urge them to send an estimate of what the whole expense of the frigates would be, when finished. These questions are parried by various pretences; the Deputies are assured that they may be at ease; every thing is going on well; and their cavalry officer agent, who did not know a transom from a trunnion, expresses his honest belief of the same.

But still the houses draw for enormous sums, and the Deputies allow themselves to be kept in ignorance of the extravagant waste, to which their funds were subjected; until they had gone so far, that they had no alternative but continuing, or sacrificing what they had advanced.

On the first of November, the two houses had drawn for the amount of seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars; a much greater sum than the Deputies had been led to think would be necessary to send the vessels to sea, and yet they were neither of them launched. The houses now, at the eleventh hour, comply with the reiterated demands for computation of costs; and inform the Deputies, that the frigates would probably cost, each of them, five hundred thousand dollars; but, for *prudence sake*, advise them to estimate it at five hundred and fifty thousand.

On the twenty-third of November, the houses write to the Deputies, announcing to them that they had each drawn for 15,000 pounds sterling more. One of the houses writes, that *one of the frigates had been launched five days previous, and the other one would be launched in a few days*; while the

other house, on the same day writes, that *both had been launched!*

The Deputies were alarmed, and had reason to be so, and still more by the spirit of the letters of the two houses, which hint at the uncertain state of Greek affairs, and insist that all the moneys due to them, should be put into the hands of bankers in London, and security given to them. The houses had drawn for money so rapidly, they had obtained such large sums under pretences of advances paid on contracts, that the Deputies, feeling certain there must be something wrong in the business, protested their last bills, and appointed an agent with powers superseding those of General Lallemand to repair immediately to New-York to examine the cause of the delays, and enormous charges, and hasten the sailing of one or both of the frigates for Greece, where they were most anxiously, and momentarily expected.

This agent, Alexander Contostavlos, a native of Scio, and a reputable merchant, arrived in New-York with power to negotiate a small loan, in order to finish the frigates for sea; and imagining that much could not be necessary, as the houses had already received the proceeds of drafts amounting to 155,000 pounds sterling. After some delay, the houses presented him their accounts, amounting to 440,000 dollars each; there was still due to them a large sum for advances; and yet 86,000 dollars was the least for which either of the frigates could be fitted for sea.*

Thus, it appeared, that 750,000 dollars had been expended; the houses demanded 280,000 dollars more in order to finish them, including claims for damages on bills protested in

* Estimated cost of a frigate of 50 guns, of live oak, sent by Le Roy, Bayard & Co. to the Greek Deputies, 7th December, 1824; 1,500 tons, estimate at 165 dollars per ton, make
\$247,500

Account rendered in by Le Roy, Bayard & Co., of the cost of the frigate Hope, 64 guns, white oak, June 10th, 1826, being yet unfinished.	
Expenses incurred,	\$396,851
G. G. & S. Howland's commission at 5 per cent.	19,842
Le Roy, Bayard & Co. commission at 5 per cent,	19,842
Total,	\$436,535
Still necessary to finish her,	86,870
Total cost,	\$522,905

London ; then about 170,000 dollars would be necessary to fit them, according to Chauncey's estimate ; and the two frigates would be delivered to Greece, at the moderate sum of one million two hundred thousand dollars !

The agent was in dismay ; a loan could not be procured ; the houses were pressing in their demands ; they threatened selling the vessels, and even hinted an intention of taking their commission on the sale. The agent, however, was not entirely disheartened, and he resolved to sacrifice one of the vessels in order to clear the other. He hastened to Washington, and through the active and powerful assistance of a few members of Congress, a bill was passed, authorising the President of the United States to purchase a frigate ready built. Information was then given to the department, that there were two in New-York, either of which might be bought very cheap.

Meantime, the agent and the houses had agreed to leave the disputed points to an arbitration ; and three persons* were appointed, into whose hands the two frigates were delivered, with all their tackle and appurtenances, to be disposed of as they might determine.

The arbitrators met, and after occupying themselves less than thirty days, came out with an award that gave to the houses, over and above what they had already received, the sum of one hundred and fifty-six thousand dollars ; and the public, if before filled with shame and disgust, at the extravagance and rapacity of the houses, now felt as much astonishment and indignation, at the unrighteous judgment of the arbitrators.

Was there no faith, no honour, no mercy left ? Must they hear on one side, the shrieks of suffering, bleeding, dying Greece ; and on the other, the greedy claims of rapacious bloodsuckers, who were drawing the last life-drops from her veins ? Alas ! even if the attempts to establish the justice of this award by technicalities, or quirks of the law, could be effected, it would not remove the foul stain which must attach to it ; it would not make it the less cruel, ungenerous, and unchristian.

* Jonas Platt, H. C. De Bham, and Abr. Ogden.

It would be tedious to go through the detail of this award ; a complete development of its absurdity and rapacity, may be had by examination of the various pamphlets published * at the time ; but some parts of it cannot be passed over. It allowed the enormous commission of *ten per cent.* to the two houses, on all their disbursements, amounting to 80,000 dollars. Each house had made the charge of five per cent. on the disbursements it made itself, and five per cent. also on the disbursements of the other house. This was so outrageous to all ideas of right, that the arbitrators could not allow it ; but in order to make up the sum to them, and save appearances, they allowed to each house ten per cent. It countenanced many of their charges which were unsubstantiated, and unreasonable. It allowed the enormous charge of 50,000 dollars for the services of two ship-carpenters, and use of two ship yards ; it allowed the charge of 11,500 dollars for the services of Wolcott Chauncey, Esq. for less than a year, because this gallant officer had had the rare disinterestedness to get a furlough, and relinquish his pay of 2000 dollars per annum, for one year.

Among other unjust charges of the houses, which were allowed by the arbitrators, was one for interest on sums charged, for articles bought on credit : for instance, the houses buy for the frigates, shot, or other articles, to the amount of 50,000 dollars, on a credit of ten or eighteen months, yet they charge to the Greeks, interest on that 50,000 dollars, from the moment the purchase is made ; and this, too, when they have

* "Narrative of Material Facts, in relation to the building of the two Greek Frigates."

"Examination of the Controversy between the Greek Deputies and Two Mercantile Houses in New-York. By G. Duer and R. Sedgwick."

"Report of the Evidence and Reasons of the Award between Johannis Orlando and Andreas Luriottis, of the one part, and Le Roy, Bayard & Co., and G. G. & S. Howland of the other part. By the Arbitrators."

"Refutation of the Reason assigned by the Arbitrators for their Award in the case of the Greek Frigates. By H. D. Sedgwick."

"An Exposition of the Conduct of the two houses of G. G. & S. Howland, and Le Roy, Bayard & Co., in Relation to the frigates Liberator and Hope, in answer to a narrative on that subject by Alexander Contostavlos. By Wm. Bayard," &c. &c.

Greek money in their hands. It was to avoid the discovery of this ungenerous and trickish conduct, that the bills of parcels were so long kept back.

And last, but not least, these arbitrators, these men elevated to the high and sacred task of judging between the interests of two millions of Christians, and the demands of their creditors, although they had deducted 120,000 dollars from the claims of the houses, (a very considerable sum, and which by no possible straining, could be warped into the semblance of legality,) decided, that they themselves, each and every one of them, should receive for their services of thirty days, as arbitrators, the sum of fifteen hundred dollars, with interest, till paid, *from the Greek fund!*

Against such an award, common sense, and common honesty, revolted; and the counsel of the Greek agents entered a protest, and filed a bill of equity to set it aside. This bill was filed on the ground, that the arbitrators had, in several particulars, exceeded their powers. And the injunction was granted just in time to prevent the sale of both the frigates, (under the hammer of the auctioneer,) which the arbitrators would have effected. There was then every prospect that a long and tedious process alone could restore to the Greeks their rights; but luckily a compromise was effected, the houses agreeing to relinquish 24,000 dollars, out of the sum allowed them by the arbitrators. The *Liberator* was then sold to the government of the United States, for the sum of 233,000 dollars; and out of this, the claims of the houses, of the arbitrators, and of the whole happy race, were paid; and the frigate *Hope*, afterwards called the *Hellas*, having cost 750,000 dollars, sailed for Greece; (eleven months after she ought to have sailed;) her clearance being effected principally, by the noble and indefatigable exertions of H. D. & R. Sedgwick, Esquires, who succeeded in procuring bonds to the amount of 600,000 dollars. Without this she could not have sailed, and for this act, as well as for the able and strenuous manner in which they, with Mr. J. Duer, defended the cause of poor Greece, they merit her lasting gratitude.

And it should be known in what way the sale of the Libe-

rator was effected to the government of the United States. The affair should not be kept so closely hushed up; for the act, though giving an indirect blow to Turkey, a neutral power, was one of the noblest ever passed by Congress; a rare violation of the cold-blooded policy generally pursued by all governments. The United States had no need of buying a frigate; least of all would they buy one built of white oak; or, if they wished to purchase, they had only to wait a day or two, as the Greek frigates would have been knocked down under the hammer of the auctioneer at half the price they gave for her: no! this act was passed solely with a view to help Greece, and remove the stain of wringing from her nearly a million of dollars, without any return; and the only subject of regret should be, not that the bill violating the neutrality was passed, but that it should not have passed openly and avowedly, for the end it was intended. It is only to be regretted, that its generous supporters were obliged to smuggle it through Congress.

BOOK SEVENTH.

CHAPTER I.

Condition of Greece at the opening of this year—Distress prevalent—Want of money—Examination of the management of the London Greek committee—Of the Greek Deputies—Abominable waste of the Greek loan—Speculations and peculations of British Philhellenes—Present state of Turkey. [1827, Jan.]

THE situation and prospects of the Greeks at the commencement of this year, were exceedingly dark and unpromising, though not desperate; the warmest supporters of the cause could not deny, that the final result of the struggle was at least doubtful; but then, they had so often been snatched from apparently worse situations; there were so many things within the range of probability, that might prevent Turkey from continuing the war, that they were by no means discouraged.

Roumelia had, in some parts, ceased from carrying on hostilities, and the peasantry had accepted the offer of the Turks, and returned to cultivate their lands. They had not given up their arms, however, and lived continually prepared to renew the struggle for independence on the least prospect being held out of its success; and it was hoped the exertions of Karraiskakis, whose influence over the Roumeliotes was very great, and who had been appointed by government, Commander-in-Chief in Roumelia, would be successful in reorganizing the insurrection there. Athens was closely besieged by Kiutahi Pashaw, but no fears were had of its immediate surrender.

The islands were free, and agriculture there flourished uninterrupted, except by the soldiery of Roumelia ; who, being out of employ, and having no way of getting a subsistence in the Morea, or Roumelia, had crossed to the islands, where there was plenty ; and, in many instances, committed excesses highly discreditable to themselves, and vexatious to their fellow-countrymen.

The Morea had been devastated by the troops of Ibrahim Pashaw in almost every direction. All Messenia, part of Arcadia, Elis, and Achaia, presented a scene of utter devastation ; it would seem as if the Siroc had blown over it for years, destroying every vestige of vegetation, and had been followed by pestilence in its train, which swept away every living thing that had once inhabited it. Those delightful plains, which poets in all ages have sung, but whose beauties have not been overrated ; which, two years ago, were chequered with pleasant little villages, surrounded by groves of lemon and olive, and filled with a busy and contented peasantry, were now barren wastes ; where the roofless and blackened walls of the houses, the scathed and leafless trunks of the olive trees, and here and there, the whitening bones of human beings, remained to tell that the fire and sword had passed over and blasted them.

This was the situation of at least one half of the Peloponessus ; of its inhabitants many had been slaughtered, others carried off into slavery in Egypt ; and the rest, where were they ? Oh, God ! it is an awful question to answer, but it is a question which must one day be answered to Thee, by this generation, who left thousands, and tens of thousands of their fellow-beings, to be hunted like wild beasts to the mountains ; to dwell in the caverns of the rocks ; to wander about, year after year, seeking for the roots of the earth ; giving to their ragged and emaciated children, sorrel and snails for food ; unable to get enough even of this, and pining and dying—ay ! absolutely perishing from want, while the rest of the earth was full of fatness.

There were about an hundred thousand persons in the Morea, in this destitute situation ; some suffering more, others

less ; all had fled from their burning houses and devastated fields ; but some had saved their effects, while others were utterly destitute. They took refuge in the recesses of the mountains, in caverns, in the centre of swamps ; in every situation which afforded them security from the enemy's cavalry, were seen collected crowds of old men, women, and children, suffering all that misery which the want of houses, or sufficient covering, or regular food, must bring : they lived in little wigwams or temporary huts, made by driving poles in the ground, and thatching them with reeds. In these hovels dwelt many a once prosperous family, without chair, or table, or bed ; they had no blankets, they had no clothes to change, and their own had become dirty and tattered ; they were obliged to wander about in quest of food, and their naked feet were lacerated by the rocks ; their faces, necks, and half exposed limbs, were sunburnt, and their hollow eyes, and emaciated countenances, gave evidence that their suffering had been long endured.

If there was any thing wanting to fill up the picture of human wretchedness, it was to see among them those whose former habits ill qualified them to endure want ; to see on their tattered and faded robes, the fur and embroidery that attested their former splendour ; to see the woman who had once had many servants at her beck, bending under the load of a fagot which she had cut with her own hands on the mountain, and was carrying to sell for a few cents ; to know, that in those wretched hovels, was concealed many an amiable female,* whose clothes were absolutely insufficient to cover her decently, and who concealed herself for shame from the passer.

* No better proof can be had of the virtuous habits of Greek females, than that amid all this distress, they preserved themselves pure ; instances of venal prostitution were very rare. But there is less necessity of dwelling on this high character of the females of Greece, since all travellers have given evidence of their virtue ; the most virulent detractors of the modern Greeks, have praised the rigid education, and excellent moral conduct of the females in most parts of Greece. To say that they swerve less often from the path of duty than the females of Italy, France, or Spain, would be paying them but a sorry compliment ; they would compare better with the females of our own country ; though far, very far below them, in that social education, and those accomplishments which make society here, a high and refined enjoyment, while there it is entirely wanting.

Yet, amid all this misery, strange as it may appear, the light and volatile Greek was not always depressed; the boy sang as he gathered snails on the mountains, and the girls danced around the pot, where their homely mess of sorrel and roots was boiling; the voice of mirth was often heard in those miserable habitations, and the smile of fond hope was often seen on those countenances, which mere want and exposure, and not care, had rendered so wan and emaciated. But there were others, from whose bosoms misery had banished mirth; there was the orphan who ran about bareheaded and barefooted, with only a ragged shirt to cover him; there was the houseless widow, to whose breasts clung the half famished orphan,—whose ragged children hung around her, begging for more food, after she had given them her last morsel, regardless of the hunger that was gnawing her own entrails; there was the wretch whom sickness had overtaken, and who had sunk down by the roadside, and lay parched with fever, without a blanket beneath him, or other covering than the shadow of an olive tree.

Such were the scenes of wo and misery, which presented themselves to the foreigner at every turn, and reminded him of the dreadful price Greece was paying for her liberty. And among them, too, were seen many who had escaped from captivity, and who bore about them marks of Turkish barbarity; their ears had been shaved off close to their heads; their noses* had been cut off, or their eyes had been put out, or their bodies mutilated, in some way or other.

Such were the scenes which attested the long struggle and

* I was once with a party of soldiers, three of whom got separated from the rest, and were surprised upon the plain, at daylight, by a few Turkish horsemen; they ran for the mountains, but the cavalry pursued them, and fired upon them with their carbines, just as they approached the position of their companions. Two of them fell dead, and the third, hearing the horsemen at his heels, fell also, but not wounded; the Turks came up, dismounted, cut off in haste, the noses and ears of all three, the living one having the fortitude to keep up a counterfeit of death: and the Turks strung their prizes on a string, with some others, and galloped off. The poor fellow then got up, and came to us covered with blood from head to foot. I soon cured him, and promised him a new *taliacotian*, nose and ears, at the expense of the first of his mutilators whom he should overtake.

great exhaustion of Greece. The number of these sufferers had been increasing every year, till it had now arrived to a frightful magnitude, and bore a large proportion to those who still had the means of livelihood.

Government still kept up the semblance of activity, and would have made itself respected, if it had not been utterly wanting the sinews of war, money. The country had become exhausted, and every thing was likely to be lost for want of it; almost every dollar that was expended, was derived from the benevolent in Europe; from the committees of Switzerland, from the different parts of Germany, and France. A detail cannot here be entered into of the noble exertions of the Philhellenes of Europe in favour of Greece. Feelings of admiration and sympathy for the Greeks, which broke out in this country by fits, and ended in short lived efforts, in many parts of Europe burned with a steady unwavering flame; and the peasantry in Switzerland and other parts, set aside a portion of their weekly earnings, to contribute for the support of the cause of liberty and humanity: and these feelings guided into a proper channel by the philanthropic Eynard, (the Lafayette of Greece,) and other noble spirits, were the means of sending to Greece, those supplies for the soldiery and navy, without which resistance could hardly have been kept up.

But if Greece was thus sinking from mere exhaustion, from want of the means of carrying on the war—where were the boasted English loans—where were the results of the labours of that self-constituted body, the London Greek Committee! More than twelve millions* of dollars had been contracted for; Greece was burdened with this enormous debt, one fifth part of which, well applied, would have made her independent. Government had been supplied with hardly two million of dollars, when it received the stunning news that the funds were exhausted!

Nothing could equal the astonishment of Greece, and a commissioner (Mr. Spaniolaki) was appointed by government

* The first loan, for 800,000*l.* was negotiated at 59 per cent.; the second, of 2,000,000*l.* at 55 and a half per cent.

to go to London, and see how this immense sum had been swallowed up, and if any thing could be saved from the wreck, to supply the present pressing wants of the country. About the time of his arrival in London, there was a quarrel between the London Greek Committee, the bond-holders, and the Greek Deputies, which produced accusations and recriminations in the newspapers; and ended in the disclosure of such shameful neglect of duty, such speculations and peculations, and downright robberies, as, committed on any fund, would have been disgraceful, but were more so, committed on that destined for the salvation of a whole nation; and by men whose mouths were continually full of the words liberty, and patriotism, and philanthropy, and Philhellenism.

The shameful waste of a large part of this loan, and the numerous peculations which were committed upon it, have not yet been fully exposed to the world; but enough has been exposed, to show that the London Greek Committee shamefully neglected its duty; that some of its members meanly speculated on the miseries of Greece; that others committed, what in men of lesser note would have been called fraud: and it is known too, that Orlando and Luriottis, the Greek Deputies, proved themselves fools and knaves.

The net proceeds of the two loans amounted to six millions six hundred thousand dollars; of this Greece had received only about two millions of dollars. Where was the enormous balance? It was known only that \$750,000 had been sent to the United States for the purchase of frigates, in return for which, one frigate worth \$300,000, was going to Greece; thus \$450,000 had been swallowed up, for the benefit of American citizens. \$800,000 had been appropriated to the building and arming six steam-boats, of which one lame one only had reached Greece.

This was all that could be accounted for. The Deputies were living in splendid style, and refused to give any account of their proceedings. The London Committee, some of whom had exercised a control over the application of the first loan, were disinclined to gratify the public. But the cry of the bond-holders, and all who had been engaged in the loan, was loud

for an examination of the accounts; and at last the following patched up document, bearing inconsistencies upon the very face of it, and without vouchers, was presented.

FIRST LOAN.

(The Greek Government in account with the Deputies for Loughman's Loan of £800,000.)

Dr.

Interest two years, - - - -	£80,000	0	0
Commission on loan and shipments to Greece; - - - -	25,746	9	2
Sinking Fund, - - - -	16,000	0	0
Specie sent to Greece, - - - -	298,726	11	9
Stores sent to Greece, - - - -	10,063	6	5
Bills drawn from Greece, - - - -	3,858	15	0
Expenses of Agents, &c. - - - -	1,027	15	10
Loan of Lord Byron and interest repaid, -	4,683	6	8
Freights and passages paid - - - -	1,624	15	11
Mr. Orlando, for £10,000 Bonds, - - - -	5,900	0	0
Individual Expenses of the Deputation, -	5,045	0	0
Advertisements and Solicitor's bills, -	140	0	0
Balance paid to Messrs. Ricardo and Rallis,	27,501	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£480,317	11	9

Here were many charges perfectly absurd; among them were, £5,900 stock charged to Orlando. He gave no other account of it, than that the Greek Government owed his wife!

The curious jumbling into one item of the commission, and shipments to Greece, deserves notice. It appears that of this commission, the Philanthropic Bowring received £11,000. No accounts of how or when these shipments of specie were made, or receipts of them from the Greek Government, were produced. The pretty little article of £5,045 for the individual expenses of the Deputies, deserves notice. These gentlemen, must live, forsooth, *en Grand Seigneur à Bond-street*, while thousands of their fellow-countrymen were starving on the mountains of Greece.

SECOND LOAN.

(The Greek Government in account with the Deputies for Ricardo's Loan, £2,000,000.)

Interest for two years, - - - -	£200,000	0	0
Commission, - - - -	64,000	0	0
Brokerage paid Mr. Bonfil, - - - -	4,800	0	0
Sinking Fund, - . - - -	20,000	0	0
Specie sent to Greece, - - - -	182,401	14	4
Bills drawn from Greece, - - - -	33,713	5	6
Stores sent to Greece, - - - -	59,732	19	6
Expenses of Agents, - - - -	2,297	16	6
Freights and passage, - - - -	339	9	8
Set aside for a projected expedition, -	160,000	0	0
Paid for frigates building in America, -	156,990	5	0
£250,000 bonds of first loan purchased,	113,182	0	0
Sent to Colonel Gordon, - - - -	15,108	1	6
Due by Mr. Orlando, as per his account,	5,039	9	11
Due by Mr. Luriottis, as per do. - -	4,552	11	0
Individual expenses of the deputation, -	6,716	19	8
Loss on Exchequer Bills, and on the money sent to Marseilles and returned,	411	12	0
Ditto by failure of Mavrogordato, - -	2,695	5	3
Penalty, to Mr. Contostavlos, for non-fulfilment of a contract for guns, - -	1,000	0	0
Paid to Mr. Graham for military stores, not sent on account of the proclamation,	2,000	0	0
Sent for the relief of Missilonghi, - -	3,350	0	0
Arms and clothing sent from Paris, - -	10,893	5	6
Paid to Capt. Miaulis and crew, - -	915	0	0
Advertisements and Solicitors, - -	110	10	0
Assistance and charity to poor Greeks, -	205	0	0
(£33,000 bought by Messrs. Ricardo.)			
£158,000 bonds of second loan bought for account of government by order of the deputies, - - - -	64,910	0	0
Carried over,	£1,115,365	5	4

	Brought over,	£1,115,365	5	4
£14,000	bonds of second loan bought for individual account of the deputies,	-	7,420	0 0
£13,000	paid for by an individual order of Mr. Luriottis, at the price of 53½ and 54, instead of 23 and 28,	- -	6,940	0 0
	(£33,000 bought by Mr. Ralli.)			
1825,	} £25,000 bonds bought for account of the government,	-	10,806	5 0
Oct. 21.		} £3,000 bonds taken up at 54,	4,320	0 0
Commission to Mr. Ralli,	- - -		203	18 3
Balance,	- - - - -	-	351	18 3
			<hr/>	
			£1,145,407	6 10

Deputies, to the Greek Government, Cr.

Loan of £2,000,000 at 55½,	- - -	£1,110,000	0	0
Received from Messrs Loughman,	-	28,132	7	3
Part interest on £250,000 bonds of first loan bought,	- - - - -	625	0	0
Interest to 1st January, 1826, on £185,000 bonds of second loan bought,	- -	4,625	0	0
Ditto on £33,000 bonds of second loan bought,	- - - - -	825	0	0
Subscription from Calcutta, received per Mr. Orlando,	- - - - -	1,200	0	0
			<hr/>	
			£1,145,407	7 3

With the distribution of this loan, the Greek Committee had nothing to do officially; the heavy weight of responsibility hangs upon the two Greek Deputies. All the falsities of the account cannot be here enumerated, but some of its most glaring ones may be noticed. First then, the commission: the Messrs. Ricardo were to receive £64,000, for their trouble and responsibility in negotiating the loan. This (considering the cause) was a high premium; but Messrs. Ricardo acted merely as merchants, and there is reason to suppose, they acted as upright and honourable merchants. It appears that they paid of this sum £10,000 to Mr. Easthope, and £6,500 to Messrs.

Lloyd & Co. ; and it is certain, that they relinquished in favour of the Greek government, £7,500 to buy up the depressed bonds at 14 per cent. But the worthy Deputies not only put the £7,500 in their own pockets, but they charge their government with the 14 per cent. bonds. The next article is brokerage paid to Bonfil ; it appears that this was utterly false ; and the parties were driven to say, that the money was paid for certain losses, sustained in speculations on the first loan.

In the vast sum of £113,000, appropriated for buying up the bonds of the first loan, it appears was covered up many peculations ; one was, that of buying up the bonds in the months of October and November, and charging them to government at 54 and 56 per cent. ; when, during the whole of those very months, the bonds were selling in the market at 22 per cent. : the difference they slyly fobbed.

Two thousand six hundred and ninety-five pounds, are charged as lost by the failure of Mr. Mavrogordato, a Greek merchant in London. Now, Mr. Mavrogordato's books credit the loan with only £500. They then fly to the excuse that the Greek government owed Mr. Mavrogordato ; but why had they not put their claim for adjustment, when the estate of that gentleman was given up, and divided among his creditors ?

The sum of £1,200 alone, is credited as received from the Calcutta subscription. But were the framers of this famous account so foolish as to suppose there were no persons interested enough in Greek affairs, to hunt up the accounts of the Calcutta Committee, and find that the sum actually remitted, was £2,200.*

Why was the sum of £11,260 paid for the purchase of £21,000 bonds, making about 53 per cent. at a time when those bonds were not worth 26 per cent. in the market ? This was a hard question ; its answer was drawn out with as much struggling and opposition, as a fowl beast from his hiding place ; for the credit of persons high in reputation was concerned. But this is no age for respecting persons, and it was at last

* The Deputies were Messrs. Orlando, Luriottis, and Zaimis ; but the latter gentleman (he may with truth be called a gentleman) is exonerated from any participation in these affairs ; he was absent.

known, that this was done for the benefit of Mr. Bowring and Mr. Hume. John Bowring, the poet, the philanthropist, the Philhellenist, had undertaken the secretaryship of the London Greek Committee, and in that office he really worked hard. He made a great parade, it is true, about disinterested benevolence; and duty to the cause of liberty and suffering humanity; but then he had a right to do all this, at least he should have the meed of public praise for his exertions, for he took no pay:—oh no! he would have the satisfaction of serving Greece voluntarily; his conscience should not be loaded with the thought of taking a single dollar from suffering Greece. Well, he had already made about \$50,000 by the Greek war, (legally enough)—he must now feather his nest still further, by speculating in the market on Greek bonds. He takes £25,000 Greek scrip, expecting it to rise. In a few days it falls—Bowring is alarmed—it goes lower;—he flies to the Deputies, and with entreaties and prayers, with protestations of his faithful services to Greece, of the cruelty of leaving him to be ruined, his family reduced to beggary from his attachment to Greece,—he insists on the Deputies taking back the bonds, which he had bought *solely with a view of keeping up the credit of the loan*. The Deputies are weak enough, criminal enough, to take the depressed stock off his hands, and charge it to the Greek government at par. Mr. Bowring breathes again; he is saved from ruin, and can continue his disinterested services to his beloved Greece.

But soon, the stock rises in the market; it goes up to par; Bowring begins to repent him of having given up his stock;—it goes *above par*: zounds! he would have made a glorious speculation had he held on; he hesitates a moment—and then, away he posts to the Deputies, to ask them to *give him back his stock*, as he had only given it to them *in pledge*! The Deputies deny this flatly, and in proof, produce a letter in Bowring's own hand writing—the poet is *non-plused*—but he recovers himself—the letter had been written at a “moment of distraction from domestic calamity”—he did not know what he was then about—in fine, he must have back his stock!

The Deputies, loth to lose a man whose services were so

important, whose name was so useful; afraid perhaps to break with one, who could disclose so much of their own iniquity, consent to give him back his stock, then worth \$10,000 more than when he bought it. So much for the disinterested and philanthropic Bowring.

Let us now look at the proceeding of that noted Scotch political economist, that friend of liberty and the rights of man, Joseph Hume, M. P.

This Philhellene had been loud and clamorous for promoting the interests of Greece, since the beginning of her struggle; he was rich, celebrated, and an active business man—the main stay of the Greek committee; about the purity of such a man's motives there could be no doubt. When the subscriptions for the Greek loan were opened, Mr. Hume put down his name for 10,000 pounds stock, at 59 per cent., declaring his intention of holding it, whether it fell or rose. Soon the stock fell. Mr. Hume began to calculate his loss; it would be considerable; stocks were rapidly falling; yet how to sell with decency, was his difficulty. Suddenly he pretends to have received an affront, from some sentence contained in a note of the Deputies, and declares his intention of selling out; the Deputies, alarmed, used every possible means to pacify him, and totally denied any intentional slight. Mr. Hume was implacable; his high sense of honour, touched to the quick by the daily report, "*Greek scrip falling*," urged him to sell out, and he did so at a loss of 1600 pounds, and much to the injury of the Greek credit in the market. But soon Greek scrip rose again, and went up *to par*; suddenly Mr. Hume's nice sense of honour was gone; he was quite appeased; and thought only of getting back his 1600 pounds. He proposed that the Deputies should pay him that sum; they were astonished; but afraid to lose such a man as Hume—the calculating, business man of the committee, who was supposed to be intimately acquainted with the real situation and prospects of the Greeks, and whose public separation from their cause would materially injure it; the Deputies thinking of all this, and how deeply they themselves were in the mire, repaid Mr. Hume, and

charged the loss he had incurred in speculations intended for his own profit, to the Greek fund ?

These inquiries might be pushed still farther ; a farther development might be made of similar scenes, practised, not in London alone, but wherever the Greeks applied for assistance ; but enough has been said to draw forth a sigh for poor Greece, and enough to make one almost blush to bear the name of Philhellene.*

Where are those men who deny their charities, and even their sympathies to Greece, because her sailors are pirates, her merchants are trickish, and her soldiers are cruel ? where are the men who try to suppress the spirit of charity, which has been going about this land, by saying, that the Greeks deserve to be slaves ? Let them come forward and examine the conduct of those *honourable* Philhellenes, of whom we have been speaking, and say whether, if they had been bred in ignorance, under the rod of a tyrant, their conduct would have been better than that of the Greeks ?

But let us turn to the situation of that unfortunate country, betrayed by her friends abroad, frowned on by the monarchs of the earth, exhausted by a long and unequal struggle, and with the scimitar of the Mussulman waving over her head.

The struggle of Greece for her independence had now continued for six years ; still its result was undecided, and the very clouds which lowered upon the prospects of the insurgents, were more in consequence of their own faults, and their poverty, than of any powerful efforts of the Sultan to suppress them ; the descendant of those Mahomets, Solymans and Amurats, who, within a few centuries, had carried their arms

* The disclosures which were made at the time, implicated many men, whose reputations were before unsullied. Almost every one of the Greek committee might be charged with neglect of duty, and with betrayal of profound ignorance of the real situation and wants of Greece. As for the articles they sent out to Greece, with the exception of the printing presses, they turned out to be of no use. Sir Frances Burdett, and Hobhouse, and Ellice, and other names of note, were implicated in the charges brought forward ; but Ellice did every thing he undertook to do ; and the worst that Burdett or Hobhouse can justly be charged with, is shamefully neglecting their duty. To make a flourishing speech, or give a toast, or enjoy a supper at the London tavern, for the benefit, and at the expense of the Greeks, was about all they ever did !

to the centre of Europe, and made Christian monarchs tremble on their thrones; had now been foiled for six years, in his attempts to reduce one of his smallest provinces. If thinking men had before doubted the reality or efficacy of Turkish power, such doubts were now removed.

Time will not allow us here to go into a minute examination of that miserable structure, the Turkish empire, which for years has been tottering on the brink of dissolution; but a few passing words can be spared to the subject, inasmuch, as with the fate of Turkey, the lot not only of Greece, but of many interesting countries, are intimately connected.

It is not yet four hundred years, since the Ottoman empire was the most powerful in the world; it is not two hundred years since, that its victorious Sultans had extended their dominion from the Euphrates to the Danube; it is but one hundred and fifty years ago, that the crescent was planted before the walls of Vienna; and it seemed doubtful whether that or the cross was destined to gain the ascendancy. Then the Ottoman empire had reached the summit of its greatness: "If we consider its beginning, its progress, and its uninterrupted success, there was nothing in the world more magnificent and glorious; if the greatness and lustre thereof, nothing more dreadful and dangerous; which, wondering at nothing but the beauty of itself, and drunk with the pleasant wine of perpetual felicity, holdeth all the rest of the world in scorn."* But since that event, the power of Turkey has declined more rapidly than it ever rose, till it is now reduced to an infirm dotage, and is only continued in existence by the nostrums of the political quacks of Europe. The causes of this decline were numerous, and most of them the natural results of the unsound principles upon which the empire was based.

That once powerful corps of Janissaries, who, directed by able and enterprising leaders, were the terror and the scourge of Christians, had lost all their military enthusiasm and religious zeal, and become rather a pest to the empire, than its stay. A succession of weak princes had allowed the soldiers of that corps to get such absolute control over the affairs of state, that nothing could resist their turbulent and mutinous

* Knolles.

spirit, and they set up, or threw down, and murdered the Sultans, at their own pleasure. The decline of the martial spirit of this once dreaded corps, as well as the insubordinate and turbulent disposition which have made it for many years a curse to Turkey, was first perceived after the conquests of the Turks had reached their maximum. From the latter end of the thirteenth century, when Othman began those conquests which have rolled on in an uninterrupted tide of success, till checked by Sobieski in 1683, the Turkish soldiers were continually employed. They depended for support upon the plunder of the countries they invaded, and not upon their pay; nor had they then leisure enough to think of mutinizing; they were led on to conquest and plunder by a race of enterprising and warlike Sultans, who found full employment for all their faculties. But after these conquests ceased, the army depended for support upon the government, which soon found itself unable to pay so large a number, and hence it decreased. The rest were idle, and soon mutinous; the soldier who has time or power to think for himself, is no longer the proper soldier to serve a despot; the Janissaries soon felt conscious of their power, and exercised it in ruling the Sultans, while they threw off all these qualities which had made them formidable to their enemies.

But even had not the Janissary lost his courage and enthusiasm, he could not have been the same powerful instrument in the hands of the Sultan as he once was; at least as far as Europe is regarded; for every thing there that relates to the art of war is changed, since they have measured swords with Turkey. The wild *hurra*, and irregular charge of the fiercest band of Sphahis, would not make a body of Prussian infantry waver an instant from the precise line of its front; and the cuirassiers of Napoleon would have rode over, and trampled the Delhis to the earth. And this will be seen, if a contest between European and Turkish troops should take place, before the newly organized army of the Sultan should be in state for action. Instances are quoted, of very modern date, to show that Turkish troops are still formidable, as those of Ismael and Acre; and it is granted, that give a Turk a wall to

shelter himself, and it is impossible to drive him away from it ; musketry may rattle, bombs may burst around him, cannon shot may crumble the wall to pieces, but as long as a heap of stones is left, he will defend it till he is hacked to pieces with the sabre. But mere defensive war will not win a campaign ; and a nation cannot exist, (except in mountainous districts, or insular situations,) whose troops cannot contend in the open country with those of her neighbours. The Turks may at first gain a few advantages from the rashness of commanders, who despise them too much ; but this will not last long.

The Sultans, for some time sensible of the inferiority of their troops, have made several attempts to introduce discipline among them, and after several failures, and spilling of much blood, this had been effected ; the corps of Janissaries has been suppressed, perhaps crushed completely. The present Sultan, Mahmoud, had long been bent upon this measure, notwithstanding the fate of his predecessor Selim, who lost his head in a similar attempt. All the troubles which had afflicted Constantinople, have originated with the Janissaries, and it is quite probable, and perfectly in character, to suppose, that Sultan Mahmoud encouraged these disturbances, in order to bring odium on the corps he was secretly working to overthrow. In 1822, during the massacre and outrages committed upon the Greeks in Constantinople, and while thousands of captive Sciotes were exposed for sale in the market, the Sultan published a hattisheriff, which, among other remarkable sentences, contained the following: " Myself, and
 " all the members of my court, profess to be Janissaries, according to the original institution of that corps : but if the
 " word Janissary is to be held synonymous with that of thief,
 " assassin, incendiary, I from that moment cease to be a
 " member of such an institution, and disavow its existence."

" If, then, the Janissary Aga, and his officers, will come
 " boldly forward to arrest the calamities which afflict the capital, I am content ; but if not, I am resolved to take up the
 " two boys, my sons, and embark for some other place, leaving Constantinople to be ruled by those ruffians, whose enormities make it a disgrace for me to continue on a throne

“ which has become the jest of villany and sedition, and the butt of foreign ridicule.”

This energetic language of the Sultan gives a good idea of the light in which he regarded the Janissaries ; he was preparing then for their overthrow, and all his energies being bent to a great reform in his army, will explain why he readily acquiesced in the demands of Russia, which were made just on the eve of his attack upon the Janissaries, which took place in 1826.

But it was by no means in the military department alone, that the Turkish empire needed thorough reform ; the power had gone out of the hands of the Sultans into those of the Pashaws, who were, many of them, almost independent in their own provinces. A few years ago, when the Sultan was displeased with a Pashaw, or wished to seize on his treasures, he had only to send a Capidgi with a firman for his head ; but now the Pashaws would not always bow to the sacred seal, and often sent back to the Sultan the head of the Capidgi, instead of their own. And the Sultan had learned to instruct his Capidgis, when they went on such messages, to treat the Pashaw with all possible respect, if they found that he could not be forced to give up his head. Several Pashaws had successfully rebelled, and the Sultan was obliged to compromise, and accept a nominal submission.

After the cessation of Turkish conquests, the immense power which is vested in the Sultans, became a source of evil instead of good to the country. They exercised despotic sway over every department of government, being alike head of church and state ; and this, perhaps, was an advantage, if the Sultan was a man of talents, and while the country was carrying on conquests. In fact, almost every Sultan, from Othman to Solyman, was a man of energy and talent ; they were born and nursed, as it were, in a camp, and accustomed from their boyhood, to dangerous and critical situations, which certainly have a tendency to draw forth and strengthen the faculties of men : under them, the Turkish empire soon attained to greatness. But after the conquests, the heirs to the throne were brought up in the slothful luxury of the seraglio, from

which they mounted, without any preparatory steps, into the seat of empire ; and the very magnitude of the power placed in their hands, was an embarrassment to them, and a source of infinite mischief to the country.

The revenues of the empire had fallen off prodigiously, for many reasons. The products of India once passed through the dominions of the Porte, and promised to be a great source of revenue ; But the discovery of the facility of navigation round the Cape, cut off this.*

The Pashaws of the different provinces sent in but a small part of the revenues to the Sultan, they keeping always a large proportion for themselves. The Sultan cared not how they administered their respective governments, provided they paid him their dues. Hence the real revenue of the provinces declined ; for a Pashaw, knowing that he had but little time to govern, would strive by every kind of oppression and imposition, to squeeze from the people every penny of their earnings.

The *rayah* who cultivated the earth, had no encouragement to raise more than just enough to pay the taxes, and eke out a scanty subsistence for his family. About the capital, and the large towns, this oppression was not so much seen, because the Pashaws were more immediately under the eye of the Porte. But in the more distant provinces, it was practised to a shocking extent ; there was no security for property, or even life : to be rich, was a sure way of bringing down the vengeance of the Pashaw, who would invent some accusation, put the person to death, and seize upon his property. Hence the decrease of population, and the consequent decrease of the revenue.

The empire is infested in many parts by robbers, who defy all law, and plunder all travellers indiscriminately. In other parts, Pashaws, little better than robbers, levy contributions on all passengers through their provinces. Hence the difficulty of communication between one part and another, and the immense expense of internal commerce.

The different sources of revenue, were sold out to whoever

* Walpole's Memoirs on Turkey. Anderson, xi. 3.

would bid highest for them; the same with almost every office at the disposal of the Sultan. The buyer had only to pay the stipulated price, and then by whatever device his ingenuity would suggest, and his power could enforce, he would wring from the people enough to repay himself abundantly; for he had no account to render any one. If the people, driven to desperation, threw in a complaint to the Porte against him, it was never attended to, unless backed by a large sum of money; and then the offending officer could always escape punishment, by bribing still higher. There was no security in the law, hence no faith in contracts among men of business. Twenty per cent. is not high interest in many parts, and twelve per cent. is common.

There is no kind of system in any one department of the Government. The Porte cannot possibly make an estimate of the number of its subjects; much less calculate the amount of revenue paid by them to their governors. It knows only, that it comes into the common treasury in a very diminished stream. It therefore has been obliged to seek an increase of revenue, in every possible way, not stopping at base treachery and cold-blooded, daily murders. It put not only its officers to death, that it might seize upon the treasure they had amassed; but also condemned to the bowstring many a rich *rayah*, merely to confiscate his goods.

Some one has well said of the Porte, that it used its Pashaws as sponges, to soak up the revenues of the provinces; to fill themselves with the life blood of the people's prosperity, when it would seize on them, and squeeze their contents into its own treasury.

How often has the Porte called in its coins, adulterated them, and sent them out again at their original value. How common is it, to buy up the coins of other countries, and strike them over, stamping them much higher than their real value; till at last there is hardly a particle of the original gold or silver in the Turkish coin.

The person who supplies any thing to the officers of the Porte, must practise fraud, or he will be ruined. He is obliged to take the coin at its nominal value; but he cannot

pass it for a third part as much, perhaps. Hence there is no honour or honesty left in transactions with the Government.

These are some of the causes which have reduced the power of the Porte to a mere shadow. Such was the situation of the Turkish empire when the present Sultan Mahmoud attained supreme dignity. How long he may be allowed to go on with his present vigorous measures, is uncertain. He stands on a dangerous mine, while so many of the Janissaries continue to exist. His new troops are probably rapidly perfecting themselves in discipline; but an army is not to be formed in a year, which shall stand before veterans. It is far from a rash assertion, that the Porte, at present, in the distracted state of the empire, the exhaustion of the treasury, and the utter want of credit, could not possibly support an hundred thousand men, upon any one point, for three months; and it is very doubtful whether it could support half that number. There is no want of soldiers; "in the East all arm;" but independent of the fact, that it would be a rabble with nothing but fanaticism and headlong courage, to oppose to deliberate bravery, discipline, and science,—whence are the supplies and the pay to be drawn? The spontaneous rising of a people, who would desperately defend their country with all the fury which religious zeal can inspire, is very different from the establishment of a defence, which must not rest upon a burst of passion, be that passion ever so strong.

The great power of the North has its eye fixed constantly upon the completion of that plan, which the masculine genius of a woman marked out for it. The mighty resources and power of Russia, cannot be fully developed until she becomes a commercial nation; and this cannot be while possessing only the outlet of the Baltic, which is closed to her by ice one third of the time. The vast and rich tracts of land in her southern dominions, must have some connexion with the rest of the globe, before their real value will be felt; and this cannot be, until Russia cuts for herself a passage to the head of the Archipelago, and has the Dardanelles in her hands. Then, and not till then, will the measure of her greatness be full. Then will she present the spectacle of a power superior to the greatest the ancients ever knew, and only to be

equalled by one which is slowly but surely, rising into rivalry, in a quarter of the globe that they knew nothing of.

And what is there to prevent Russia from accomplishing her destiny? Surely not Turkey. Russia could roll down upon her such a force as would crush all opposition; but there is another power, still mighty in the "greenness of old age," whose interests call strongly for Turkey to be supported in a struggle, which she cannot maintain alone.

But this is wandering from the subject, which was, the causes of the long continued struggle between the Porte and its former subjects, the Greeks. This was not caused alone, then, by the determined resistance of the latter, but by the weakness of the former. And we shall find that the slight examination which we have made of the strength and resources of the Porte, will have a great effect on the solution of the question of the final result of this most interesting struggle.

Not only was the Porte unable, by any direct efforts of its own to reduce Greece; not only had it been obliged to call in the assistance of its already too powerful vassal, the Satrap of Egypt, but the populace in its own dominions had become exceedingly tired of the continuance of the war. There were many who clung so much to the purer doctrines of the Koran, as to assert that the evils which then afflicted the faithful, were sent by Allah in his wrath, to punish the cruel and illegal oppressors of the *rayahs*. These considerations made it doubtful whether the Porte could long continue in its obstinate attempt to reduce the Greeks to their former state of bondage. They were almost exhausted, it is true, and could not much longer offer an organized resistance; but then the Porte itself was as much so, and had not the means of continuing the attack; and it ought to have been sensible, that Greece, free and prosperous, would more benefit Turkey in a commercial view, than she could do by paying triple her old tribute.

But there was no symptom of relaxation in the measures taken; Kiutahi Pashaw was ordered to do what he would have done without orders—to continue the siege of Athens; and the Satrap of Egypt was to direct his son Ibrahim to continue to ravage the Peloponessus, until there should be no vestige of human habitation left.

CHAPTER II.

Siege of Athens continued—Success of Karraiskakis—Plan for relieving Athens—Colonel Gordon takes position at Piræus—Defeat of the Greeks under Bourbaki—His capture and murder—Kiutahi Pashaw attacks Colonel Gordon—is repulsed—Heidegger's expedition to Onopos—Arrival of Lord Cochrane—National Assembly—Cochrane takes the duties of Admiral—General Church appointed Commander-in-Chief—Capo d'Istria chosen President—Character of Lord Cochrane—Steam-boat expedition.

THE situation of Athens now called for the undivided attention of the Greeks; it was closely blockaded; so much so, that no regular information from within the citadel had been transmitted to Government for some time. It was known however, that the garrison was suffering severely from want of fuel and proper clothing; that an epidemic of a malignant character prevailed, and that Colonel Favier was dangerously sick. Government, therefore, as in duty bound, tried every possible way of relieving the place, conscious, that upon the fate of the Acropolis, not only that of all Attica hung, but also of Eastern Greece, whose inhabitants could not be expected to continue in a state of revolt after the last strong hold in the country should be in the possession of the enemy.

Karraiskakis was pursuing with success his plan of rousing up all Roumelia to arms, and establishing posts about in different parts of the country, to secure the continuance of the revolt; he was pushing up his chain of positions far north, and gradually rendering the situation of Kiutahi Pashaw more precarious. But Government, unwilling to await this slow process, resolved to make a direct attack upon the Turkish army,

and try to force Kiutahi to raise the siege. For this purpose Colonel Gordon* was solicited to take command of an expedition. That gentleman had arrived in Greece, on his third visit, some months before, charged with the expenditure of several thousand pounds, the last of the loan, to which, it was expected, he would add something from his own purse. It is but justice to say, that he was opposed to the expedition now to be undertaken, as very irrational, and almost hopeless; however, Government was determined to attack the enemy in front. Makroyanni, a brave Chief, who had sallied from Athens, and represented the garrison, insisted on the Piraeus being seized. Gordon, therefore, proceeded to make every preparation for the expedition.

It was determined, in a council of war held at Salamis on the sixteenth, that Colonel Gordon, with 2500 men should cross over to the harbour of the Piraeus, seize upon the monastery, and the strong hill of Phalerum, distant six miles from the Citadel, and there fortify himself; while another corps, under command of Colonel Bourbaki,† and the Chiefs Vashos and Notaras should penetrate into the interior, and come down upon the flank of Kiutahi.

Colonel Gordon displayed the utmost prudence and activity in his operations, and by the first had collected about two thousand four hundred men at Salamis, whom he prepared to embark on board a small flotilla, at the head of which was the steam corvette *Perseverance*, and landed at the Piraeus. He had fifteen pieces of cannon, well supplied with ammunition, and took all possible pains, by establishing magazines at Sala-

* Of Cairness, Scotland; the same gentleman who had distinguished himself by his devoted Philhellenism since the commencement of the revolution. He devoted a considerable part of his large income to the cause, and by his prudent and judicious conduct, had, in many instances, rendered great assistance.

† Colonel Bourbaki was a Greek, who had entered very young the service of France, and arrived to the rank of colonel in her army. He had long aspired to the honour of assisting his country in some effective way; and at last, being supplied by the French Greek committee with funds to a considerable amount, he immediately repaired to Greece, and had been two months collecting a corps of about eight hundred men, whom he paid out of the resources supplied him, and was about pushing up to join Karraiskakis when called to assist in this attempt to relieve Athens.

mis, to insure a regular supply of provision for his troops after they should have landed in Attica.

Bourbakis, Vashos, and Notaras, now pushed forward by land to Eleusis, and from thence into the interior; and on the evening of the fifth, the flotilla, leaving Salamis, crossed the gulf, and approached the land south of the Piræus. Just after midnight the debarkation was commenced, and the soldiers, scrambling up the hill of Phalerum, drove off a small picquet of Turks stationed there, and immediately began to throw up their entrenchments, and before morning all the troops were on shore.

The same day they attacked the monastery, which was at the foot of the hill of Phalerum, and at the head of the port Piræus; it had but a small garrison of Turks, and the *Perseverance* sailing round into the port, threw into it such a number of shells, that the position became very hot for them, and they would have retired, but the Greeks on land making a show of cutting off their retreat, they defended the monastery with the obstinacy of desperation.

From the position of the Phalerum the Greeks had a full view of the Acropolis, only six miles from them, and the garrison were exceedingly rejoiced at finding their countrymen so near them. The next day the attack upon the monastery was resumed, and the *Perseverance* again entered the port to bombard it; but about noon a body of troops from the besieging army came down, and took their positions opposite the Phalerum, from whence they threw reinforcements into the monastery; and a piece of artillery being placed in a situation to gall the *Perseverance* exceedingly, she left the Piræus, unable to effect any more than she had already done; for the monastery was rendered assailable in several places by the breaches their guns had effected.

The camp fires seen at the foot of Mount Parness on the night of the sixth and seventh, assured Colonel Gordon that the division sent by land had reached the rear of the enemy, and he was led to hope for some immediate good effect; but on the night of the eighth these fires were not visible. The division had pushed on to near Menidi, where they had a skir-

mish with one of the Turkish outposts, and were successful in driving it in ; but here there arose a dispute between the chiefs about the necessary steps to be taken. Vashos, aware of the impossibility of resisting the Turks upon the plain, was for hanging on the skirts of the mountain, pushing into the interior, and cutting off the enemy's communication ; but Bourbaki, full of the enthusiastic courage of a Frenchman, resolved upon pushing forward toward Athens ; nothing but the taking of Kiutahi alive could satisfy him ; he had just arrived among his countrymen, and unfortunately judged them rather by the character of their ancestors, than that of the actual circumstances they were in.

His advice, or rather his determination, prevailed ; and it was soon seen that Kiutahi, alarmed at this force in his rear, was coming to attack it.

The main body of the Greeks rested upon the foot of the mountain, secure from the enemy's cavalry ; but Bourbaki, with more courage than prudence, pushed out to the distance of the third of a mile in front, where he took position, covered by a little chapel, in which he threw a few men.

Kiutahi advanced, and reconnoitering the position, immediately proceeded to attack it with vigour and skill ; he brought up some artillery to the front, with which he assailed the main position of the Greeks, while two thousand infantry rushed to attack the outer position. The church was abandoned ; and the infantry making a movement toward Vashos, that cowardly Chief fled, leaving Bourbaki unsupported. The whole attack was then directed upon the latter ; his men began to waver, and look toward the mountains from which they feared to be cut off ; and at this moment the cavalry of Kiutahi, six hundred in number, dashing forward, broke through the intrenchments, and the Greeks fled in confusion. Four hundred were cut down, and Bourbaki with a few men, after a gallant resistance, were taken prisoners.* The victory was

* Strong efforts were made to save the life of this brave and amiable officer, during the time he was captive ; the Greeks offering a large ransom. The French Admiral also made exertions, and sent an officer to Kiutahi to request he might be given up on any terms : but the moment Kiutahi received this message, which

complete on the part of Kiutahi, for the Greeks could not be re-assembled.

Flushed with this success, and delivered from a dangerous foe, Kiutahi now turned his whole attention to the position of Col. Gordon, upon the sea-coast, and prepared to attack it without delay; sending in the meantime notice of his victory at Kanatero to the garrison of the Acropolis, and offering them favourable terms of surrender, which were rejected without consideration.

The Pashaw then advanced with five thousand infantry, and fifteen hundred cavalry, to attack the high position of Phalerum, where were stationed above two thousand Greeks.

He arrived within cannon shot of them on the 10th at evening, and prepared to attack the next morning. The Greeks on their side prepared for a desperate resistance, and depended much on the excellence of their position, which had however the disadvantage of being too extensive, requiring four, instead of two thousand men to defend it; they had however fourteen pieces of cannon; and being on the sea-coast, Col. Gordon had ordered away all the boats, so that they were obliged to conquer or die: the steam-ship *Perseverance* also was to assist them by entering the harbour of the Piræus, whence her shot could reach the enemy's rear.

The next morning the whole of the Turkish infantry was put in motion, and preceded by some artillery, advanced to the attack; they drove the out-posts of the Greeks, and pushing by the head of the Port Piræus, assailed the left wing of the Greeks with fury; a vigorous resistance however was made, and at this moment the *Perseverance* entering the harbour in their rear, commenced a cannonade, which with the hot fire of musketry from the Greek lines, forced them to retire.

The left wing of the Turkish army then advanced, and fell upon the right of the Greeks, where the Athenians were posted; but the latter being securely entrenched, received them with a hot fire which repulsed them. Still Kiutahi resolved

he could not slight, he sent some soldiers to strangle the unfortunate Colonel; and then told the messenger he was very sorry to say his captive had died that morning.

not to quit the ground ; and collecting all his force in the centre with his cavalry, prepared to dash in at the least opening that should be made in the Greek lines, he encouraged his men to a fresh attack. They came up bravely, in spite of the grape and musketry which were poured out from the lines ; their standard-bearers rushed forward with shouts, and planted their standard within pistol shot of the Greeks ; the officers urged forward the men with their swords, the whole army raised the Allah shout, and rushed up to the Greek lines, and for a few minutes the issue seemed doubtful. But the Greeks remained steady in their breastworks, and kept up such a galling fire, that the Turks could not stand it ; and breaking, they fell back to a ravine in their rear, in which, and in the ruins of the old theatre, they maintained themselves until night, collecting their dead and wounded, which amounted to more than four hundred.

The Perseverance in the meantime, had been in an awkward position ; the Turks brought down several cannon to bear upon her, and one howitzer, from which shells were thrown ; and several of these striking, damaged her considerably ; and she was obliged to retire, being unable to render any more assistance. Her anchor was cut away, but the engine refused to act, and she drifted towards the shore ; and for a few minutes she was in imminent danger ; the Turks saw her situation, and came rushing toward the shore, where she for an instant grounded ; but by the skill and coolness of her commander, Captain Hastings, she was got under way, and escaped from the narrow port.

The result of the day was altogether in favour of the Greeks, but they had no means of improving the victory ; for deficient in cavalry, they could not descend upon the plain which lay between them and Athens, and which the Turkish horsemen were continually scouring.

Encouraged however, by the small distance of the position from the Acropolis, several men ventured out of the latter, stole through the Turkish lines in the night, and brought letters from the Chiefs of the garrison to Col. Gordon, and to the Government. These were the first news that had been received from the Citadel for some weeks, and they corroborated

the reports which had been spread about its distressed state. The epidemic was raging; there were no medical stores, no comforts for the sick, no blankets, but few houses, and the water being scarce, they were upon an allowance.

The principal difficulty however, was in the discontent of the men, who saw no hope of ultimate success or escape, so obstinately did Kiutahi press the siege. The fortress was commanded by a half a dozen Chiefs, who had not much union among themselves, and who were probably tired of their situation. Colonel Favier had no influence except immediately over the regulars he had brought in with him.

The garrison were encouraged, however, by the appearance of their countrymen so near them at the Phalerum; and cheered by the reports of the success of Karraiskakis, who was slowly but effectually sapping the positions of Kiutahi, by raising the country through which his line of communication passed.

Colonel Gordon was convinced, notwithstanding his advantage over the Turks, that he never could assist Athens by remaining on the heights of Phalerum, and looking at the Acropolis, for the plain between them was a great Gulf, which his men could never pass, while the enemy had a dozen score of horse. He therefore, after tarrying a few days, left command of the Phalerum to Makroyanni and Notaras, and repaired to Egina, to persuade the Government to undertake an expedition to Oropos, in the Gulf of Egripo, and cut off the enemies' supplies. He had urged them often to this, and now found to his just surprise, that the command of it had been given to Colonel Heidegger, (Heideck) a Bavarian Officer, and he retired for a time from service. The position was held at Phalerum, and a cannonade from time to time kept up, with unimportant skirmishes; but nothing of any consequence effected. Indeed the Turks, by taking up positions around them, cut off their water, and reduced them to the necessity of excavating for it; and the only use of the position was to keep the attention of the Turks diverted from Athens.

Preparations were now made to attack the position of Oropos above Marathon, which was the principal post in Kiutahi's line

of communication with Egripos; the *Perseverance* was ordered to cruise off the entrance of the Gulf, and prevent the ingress of any vessels. She waited till the 15th, when she was joined by the *Hellas* frigate, commanded by Miaulis, having on board Colonel Heideck, with about seven hundred soldiers, intended for taking Oropos. The two vessels with an Ipsariote brig, sailed up the Gulf, and coming in sight of Oropos, discovered two Turkish merchant vessels lying there. Immediately the frigate leaving the others far behind, approached the place, and casting anchor, swung around and opened her tremendous broadside upon the place.

In a few minutes the *Perseverance* came up, and running in within pistol shot of the Turkish vessels, they were deserted by their men, and taken possession of by the Greek boats. A brisk cannonade was then opened upon the place, which contained only a few magazines, defended by a battery on the sea-side, and breastwork with palisades on the land-side.

The Turks were in trepidation at this sudden attack; and just after dark, one of the shells from the *Perseverance* bursting in their battery, exploded some powder, and set fire to the works. This was the moment for Heideck to have disembarked his men, and he was urged to it by Miaulis and Hastings, but he acted very undecidedly, and let the favourable moment pass unimproved. The next morning he landed his men, but would not go on shore himself, and the result was what every one who knew the nature of the parties, had predicted. The Turks had recovered from their panic, they had mustered strongly in the little forts, where, secure behind their intrenchments, they mocked at all attempts of the Greeks to drive them out; and digging little trenches, they concealed themselves from the shower of cannon shot and shells thrown at them from the *Hellas* and *Perseverance*. At night the Greeks were taken on board again, and the vessels returned to Egina, leaving the Ipsariote to cruise off the place. Kiutuhi was injured by the affair, inasmuch as his water communication between Oropos and Egripos was broken up.

Meantime Kiutahi was hard pushed to hold his position about Athens; Karraiskakis, the man whom he most feared, had

been actively engaged in the North, stirring up the whole country to arms. He had now descended toward Athens, and passing Eleusina with three thousand men, he advanced to reconnoitre to the very edge of Kiutahi's camp. The Pashaw therefore, was obliged to march immediately, and attack him with a superior force; but he found not a Bourbaki to deal with; Karraiskakis gave him a warm reception, drew his cavalry into an ambuscade, and repulsed the attack completely. He had about 300 irregular cavalry (the greatest number the Greeks ever had together,) who distinguished themselves by charging the Turkish cavalry the moment a manœuvre of Karraiskakis had confused them, and doing considerable execution.

The loss of the Turks was about three hundred, and the Pashaw was forced to retire to his camp before Athens; and now that Karraiskakis was so near him, he was obliged to send pressing orders to Thessaly for more troops.

Karraiskakis now pushed down nearer to the Piræus, intending to fall upon the Turkish encampment.

Meantime, let us see what was going on in the other parts of Greece. Ibrahim Pashaw was tranquil in the Southern parts of the Morea; he had not much force, nor did he need it, as he was not molested; for Colocotroni, the Commander in Chief of the Morea, was again busy in civil broils. He, uniting by some strange manœuvres with Conduriottis, his old enemy, and some others of influence, was determined to have the National Assembly immediately convened at Hermione, where he could overaw it. The Government, in whom lay the legal right to fix the time and place of the meeting, summoned it at Egina; and thus the two parties were tugging together, and two National Assemblies about to be formed at two different places at the same time; the spirit of party ran high, when suddenly,—Lord Cochrane arrived!! and the two parties seemed much in the situation of a set of school-boys, caught quarrelling by a dreaded master.

There was no event within the range of possibility, (save the utter destruction of the Turkish armies and navy) that could have produced such an excitement among the Greeks as this

circumstance : high and low; rich and poor, were in extasies, and could hardly be made to believe it; the news were too good to be true. But we have already taken notice of the feverish impatience with which Cochrane was expected in Greece, and the extravagant hopes which had been built upon his prowess. He now arrived with only a single guiolette, without that formidable armament of Steam Boats and frigates which had been promised : still it was *Cochrane*, the mighty man of war : and though without force, from his brain was expected to spring plans, which should make Sultan Mahmoud tremble in his Seraglio.*

The first step † taken by Cochrane on his arrival, was a very judicious one, and probably of more utility to Greece, than any of his subsequent achievements; he gave notice that if within a certain number of days, the two parties did not unite, and pitch upon some Government to whom he could account, he would most certainly leave the country.

This was a poser to the two factions, who considered the loss of Cochrane would be the most serious one Greece could meet with; and they knew that it would raise such a storm of popular fury about their heads, for being the cause of it, as they could not resist. A hasty peace was therefore patched up, and the two factions agreed to advance each half way, and meet one another at Troezen or Damala.

At Troezen then, the Deputies met from all parts of the country in National Assembly; and the Governing Commission having resigned their power into its hands, immediate steps were taken for the regulation of affairs. Among the acts passed, the most important were: first, an act appointing Alexander Cochrane High Admiral, with full power to direct the naval force of Greece against the enemy, where and when he will; without obligation to divulge his plans to any one, and requiring him only to give an after account to Government.

2d. An act, by which "Count John Capo d'Istrias is appointed by this Assembly, in the name of the Greek nation,

* Vide Appendix, No. 4.

† Vide Appendix, No. 5.

Governor (Κυβερνήτης) of Greece, and is charged with the Executive power thereof."

"As such, he shall govern Greece according the established laws."

"The time for which the nation reposes its power in him, is confined to seven years, beginning from this date.

"He shall be notified in writing, signed by all the Deputies of the nation, inviting him to come and assume the reins of Government."

"A triple Commission is appointed, known by the name of Sub-Governing Commission, to govern the nation in his absence, which shall cease on the arrival of the Governor."

By an after act, this Commission was composed of G. Mavromichalis, Yannulis Nakos, and Yani M. Melanti, in whom was reposed the Executive power; and they were to govern the nation according to the established laws, until the arrival of the Governor.

"If John Capo d' Istrias do not come to Greece, and the Representative Body get information that he is not coming, it shall call (ὀφείλει να συγκαλεσῆ) the National Assembly, and in his place another Governor shall be elected."

By another act "Sir Richard Church was elected General in Chief, and Director of all the land-forces."

The principal recommendation to which this Englishman owed his appointment to this office, was the fact of his having commanded the corps of Greeks, raised by the British Government in the Ionian Islands. There by his private virtues, he had gained the affections of all the Greeks who knew him; and many a Chief, who now was a sort of petty prince in Greece, had once served under Church, had conceived a high idea of his military talents, and professed himself ready to submit himself entirely to his orders.

Another and perhaps more strong inducement, was the idea entertained that Church had fifty thousand pounds sterling at his command, which he would devote to the cause.

Then there was the necessity of having some one at the head; and they could not agree upon a native. Colocotroni was incapable, as all began to allow; but had he been ever so

much so, the Roumeliotes never would have obeyed him with good will; and for Karraiskakis, it was enough in the opinion of the Peloponessians to condemn him, that he was born in Roumelia: a foreigner therefore it was necessary to pitch upon, and Church presenting himself in Greece about this time, was called to the post. To what extent he was qualified for that task will be afterwards shown; it is but fair however to observe, that his presence had been for some time wished for, expected, and perhaps invited by many influential men among the military.

The Assembly then dissolved itself; and the newly appointed Governing Commission assumed the reins. The very character of the men showed what had been well understood in selecting them from the Assembly, that they were intended merely to act the part of King Log; the parties in the Assembly were so equally balanced, that both despaired of getting complete ascendancy, and they resolved to choose men who should do no harm at least while in power, and not lay any foundations for continuing it.

G. Mavromichalis, the first-named Commissioner, is son of Peter Mavromichalis; a young man fond of show and amusements, who has a slight smattering of literature, but in no way fitted for the high post to which he was called; although he had displayed that courage which seems to be inherent in every member of the family, and considerable resolution during the siege of Navarino, of which place he was commander. He was the shrewdest and most capable perhaps of the Governing Commission; this is however paying him but a sorry compliment; for Yanuli Nakos, a Livadiote, was a harmless, indolent man, who dreaded no earthly evil so much as being deprived of his *siesta*, except the scolding of his wife.* As for Melanti, nothing could be said against, or for him, except that he was better calculated to hold the rudder of his own vessel, than of the vessel of State. He is an honest Ipsariote

* It was thought that Colocotroni was thrown out of power by this choice of men, neither of whom were known to be under his influence: but he managed one of them at least; for he managed Metaxa, who managed the wife of Nakos, who managed her husband.

merchant and sea Captain, and could count his beads, or his interest, as well as any of them. But the inefficiency of this Government was in a great measure lessened by the character of the person appointed to be their Chief Secretary of State,—the able and patriotic George Glarakis; the same who had served as Secretary of State to the late Government. About the abilities and the acquired knowledge of Glarakis no one had any doubts; and there could be no stronger proof of the high rate at which they were valued, and his universally acknowledged patriotism, than his being re-chosen by a party directly opposed to the one under which he had been serving. With the late Government his influence had been greater than they were willing to acknowledge—with the present it soon became controlling. He is a native of Scio, was educated in Europe, and had espoused with all the enthusiasm of a generous mind, the cause of this country at the very commencement of the revolution, and his whole course has been with a single eye to her good; nor had this course been an unimportant one: for from the time of the destruction of his native island, he had been actively engaged in the management of state affairs; and under the name of Secretary to the Minister of Interior, he managed the whole business of the department, and gave an example of system and correctness in his office, that had more admirers than imitators.

But it was considered that the Government would have little to do; every thing was expected of Lord Cochrane on the sea, and that Church would clear the land of Turks; and as these men were to have such an important influence over the destinies of a nation, it may be well to look at their capacities for the several tasks assigned them.

Alexander (by courtesy) Lord Cochrane, is well known to the world; the brilliant services he performed, and the high rank he held in the British Navy; the disgraceful transaction in which he was engaged, which literally banished him from that navy; and the part he afterwards took in the achievement of South American independence, are familiar to all; but about such a man the public is apt to ask still more, to enquire the "length, breadth, and dimensions." He is tall,

so very tall, that an habitual and considerable stoop does not prevent his overtopping all about him ; his large, bony, though gaunt frame, exhibits signs of prodigious strength ; his face is long and narrow ; his sandy complexion looks more so, from a large pair of reddish whiskers ; and his eyes, which are quick and sparkling, indicate rather mildness than ferocity of temper. His manner is polite, and very gentle ; his susceptibilities the most acute, and there can be no one more kind-hearted, none more ready to pity or weep at the sight of distress in others. His passions are quick and violent, yet under the control of his reason ; and there is in his plans a strange mixture of daring and prudence. His talents are of an original, and extraordinary cast ; and every question or remark that drops from him, indicates an intelligent and inquisitive mind. To all those high qualities, he adds the most ardent love of enterprize, and a calm indifference to danger.

The mixture of such materials in nature's mould would have formed a hero, had she not in the composition, thrown in avarice to alloy them : to this he owed his tarnished fame in the British navy ; this withered on his brow, the laurels he had won in South America ; and this made him go to Greece rather for gain, than from that generous enthusiasm for her glorious cause, which should have led him to trust to her gratitude for his after-recompense, and to the applause of the world as his noblest reward.

Not that Cochrane should have neglected to stipulate for pay ; his talents and his reputation entitled him to the highest ; but surely, *one hundred and sixty thousand dollars*, independent of his expenses, to be set aside from the loan *in advance*, was depriving himself of all claim to disinterestedness ; for it was drawing hard upon the fund, upon which poor Greece depended for her salvation.

Seven hundred and sixty thousand dollars had been appropriated for the building, and sending out six steam-vessels ; they were to have left London in November 1825—month after month had rolled away, misfortunes were falling thick upon the Greeks ; they looked to this expedition for safety, but it came not ; report after report, promise after promise

reached them, but no steam-boats. It was now April 1827, only one, and that a miserable one, had arrived. What has become of the others?—cried they anxiously:—no one *would* tell them: will they ever come? Alas! no one could tell them. But this will not satisfy history; she will sternly ask in after days—upon whom does this awful weight of responsibility rest? how were those sacred funds misapplied or wasted, upon which the fate of two millions of Christians depended? And these questions must be answered.

Much, and well-merited reproach has been cast upon the Greek Deputies in London, for their stupidity, and cupidity, for their narrow, selfish, and vacillating policy; their country will one day prefer against them the charges not only of waste of their funds in foolish schemes, but for that vanity, (for it deserveth not the name of pride) which made them launch into lavish personal expenses, which they loaded upon her; aye, and the more heinous charge of embezzlement—let them prepare to answer it as they may.

But not to them can be attributable the endless delays, and the final failure of the steam-boat Expedition.

Nor can the London Committee be charged with it; they have enough to answer the well deserved accusations of wild and unreasonable scheming, and of neglect of a sacred task, which they voluntarily assumed, and to which they were bound to devote themselves, even to the injury of their own private affairs,—or,—to relinquish.

The responsibility is divided among many, perhaps there was not fraud any where; but Lord Cochrane must certainly come in for a large share of the blame. He insisted that Galloway, an engineer, whose only peculiar merit was his being a radical, should have the contract for building *all* the steam-engines; and he took this man's promise to build them all in two months. Did he not know, or ought he not have known that Galloway could not finish one in that time; and why did he not bind him in penalties, in case he failed in time or execution? Was it nothing that this man had a son employed by the Pashaw of Egypt as his head engineer?

Lord Cochrane insisted that the engines should be built upon

a new plan, an improvement of his own. Was it nothing that prudent men, intelligent men, and warm friends of Greece, said to him "for God's sake! do not try any experiments;—your talents are great, but you may fail; and if you do, Greece must perish." Cochrane was determined that they should be built on his plan, or none; he would drive them through the water at the rate of fourteen miles per hour;—nothing less would do; he disregarded the warnings of prudence, as the croakings of fear; yet those warnings were fearfully accomplished.

Did he, or did he not afterwards say, to those who represented to him that Greece was perishing through these delays, "never mind we shall have the more merit in saving her?" If to his former conduct, these cruel words were added—and if that conduct can be cleared from the imputation of crime, or fraud,—or even deceit, still it must be pronounced unwise, imprudent, and ungenerous.

We would that these were all, or even the worst charges brought against Lord Cochrane: they are not: he demanded besides the one hundred and sixty thousand dollars which were set aside in cash for his pay, fourteen thousand for the purchase of a schooner to go out to Greece in, though the steam-vessels had failed through his obstinacy; and having got this money, he demanded two thousand five hundred more for his table and wine! Others bring more shameful charges against him; but they may be the suggestions of malice or envy, and no conclusion should be drawn from the yet imperfect evidence before the world. He was now in Greece,—and all was forgotten; we shall see with what ability and success he managed the resources that were in his power; his will was law, and whatever the country could command was his.

CHAPTER III.

Attempts of Gen. Church and Lord Cochrane to relieve Athens—Monastery taken—Massacre of Turkish Prisoners—Death of Karraiskakis—Greeks defeated on the 6th of May—Bad result of that Defeat—Character of Gen. Church—First Cruize of Lord Cochrane.

THERE was nothing now to draw off the attention of the Greeks from Athens ; all civil discord had ceased ; the Assembly had terminated its functions, the Executive power was in the hands of three persons only ; efficient land and naval commanders were appointed ; foreigners were eagerly offering their services ; money alone seemed requisite, nor was this entirely wanting ; for Cochrane agreed to devote some of the scanty means which he had brought, to the salvation of Athens. Proclamations were issued by the Government, by the Commanders, and by the native Chiefs, calling upon the people to come forward and save the venerable Acropolis, now the bulwark of Greece. Nor was the call unanswered ; Siseni with twelve hundred Peloponnesians—Notaras, and Niketas, and Gennaios, the son of Colocptroni ; the Roumeliote and Suliote Chiefs ; the Candiotes, Hydriotes, and other islanders, all came pouring into the camp before Athens, and rapidly swelled its numbers. All seemed to be impressed with a lively sense of the necessity of saving Athens ; and Syra, and the other islands, sent in voluntary contributions of provisions, to support the army.

Karraiskakis, whose men now amounted to about four thousand, was in a cautious, yet persevering, determined manner, taking such measures, as would in all probability force the Pashaw to fight him under immense disadvantages, or retire from Athens. But this suited not the spirit of the day ; the enemy must be attacked, and driven from before Athens. The wild

(it would seem palpably absurd) scheme was adopted, of attacking the Turks in an open plain, with irregular soldiers, unprovided with cavalry; while three thousand Turkish horse scoured that plain, and would have routed twenty thousand Greeks: a scheme the more absurd too, since by a proper use of one third of the force in the rear of the enemy, that was now uselessly employed in his front, he would have been compelled to retire.

But this was no Greek scheme, Karraiskakis would not approve of it; but could a rude uneducated mountain Chief oppose the opinions—of my Lord Cochrane, than whom a better sailor existed not; of his Excellency, Sir Richard Church, whose skill at the toilet was indisputable;—of the Bavarian, Colonel Heideck; whose string of orders, and ribbons, and medals, proclaimed what he ought to have been; and who besides could draw horses to such perfection;—of the crowd of newly arrived foreigners from all nations, who in more tongues than were heard at Babel, spouted their own titles, the valour of their own countrymen, and breathed vengeance upon the Turks? Surely all these men must be better qualified to judge, than ignorant Greeks.

It was resolved therefore, that the Pashaw must be beaten openly, and by fair force.

The Greek camp increased rapidly in numbers, and soon amounted to twelve thousand men. But the Pashaw was not alarmed; he sent off for reinforcements, he augmented his forces as fast as his enemies; and as long as they came in front of him, and in the fine open country, he feared nothing, and still obstinately kept his position at the Piræus.

Lord Cochrane having arrived with the frigate, (Gen. Church having his head-quarters on board a schooner) all was enthusiasm in the camp; and on the 25th, some Hydriotes, anxious to distinguish themselves in the eyes of their countrymen, attacked some of the Turkish positions on Munichia, and carried them; this brought on a skirmishing, and a movement was made from the left by Karraiskakis, from the right, by the forces at Phalerum, while the frigate and some Ipsariote vessels entered the port, and began to cannonade the enemy's positions

in the rear ; and the Turks thus attacked on all sides, fled with precipitation, abandoning all the positions on the shore, except the Monastery ; in which three hundred shut themselves up. But the two wings of the Greek army united in front of it, and completely cut them off from any chance of escape. The result of this day was considered a victory, and confident assurance was made to Government that the Acropolis was saved—the Greeks would march the next day to Athens.

But that moment was the one to have marched to Athens ; then, *if ever*, while flushed with victory, and the enemy depressed with the defeat of one of his divisions, could the Greeks have crossed six miles of open country victoriously. But no—the precious moments must be lost in taking their petty Monastery, which with its miserable garrison of four hundred, as Gen. Church says in his dispatch, could not be left in his rear. With ten thousand disposable men under his command, he could not, forsooth, mask this position and leave these three hundred Turks in his rear ! The whole force of Greece must be delayed till it was taken, and give the Pashaw time to gather more troops.

But the taking of this Monastery was connected with a transaction which tarnished the Greek cause, and affected the reputation of all those engaged in it : it merits therefore particular notice. The three hundred Turks who were in the Monastery, were completely cut off from communication, or hope of communication with their main army ; they were completely surrounded by the Greeks, and they were without bread ; still they refused to surrender, unless allowed to retain their arms : they knew that in their strong position they could defy the whole undisciplined army of Greece, which cannot be brought to storm fortified places. The frigate and the small vessels therefore, entering into the port, commenced a furious cannonade upon the Monastery ; more than 1500 shot were fired, the walls were crumbled into ruins, and about an hundred Turks killed. Then in order to spare the rest, Lord Cochrane sent his boat with a flag of truce, to propose a surrender ; but the Turks fired upon her, killing one man and wounding another. The cannonade was then recommenced, the rubbish filled up the

cistern in the Monastery, and the Turks were without bread or water. Yet, (most strange to say), in this situation, without one spark of hope left, while gasping from thirst, and almost dying, Gen. Church offered these men terms, allowing them to pass through his army, and retire with their arms and all the honours of war! Cochrane would not agree to it; and every soldier in the Greek army, was filled with disappointment and rage, at seeing their promised prey escape them. It was generally believed that Kiutahi Pashaw himself was in the Monastery, and great booty was expected from taking it; some even whispered that their Chiefs had been bribed to grant this capitulation.

But the capitulation was agreed on. Gen. Church says he took all possible means to secure its observance. On the 28th, the Turks came out, formed in a body; Javella, a Suliote Chief, and several others, placed themselves in the centre of the Turkish column, as hostages; Karraiskakis surrounded them with some chosen men, and thus they began to move forward, to approach the nearest position of Kiutahi, to be delivered up

But the Greek army was gathering round them in disorder, and terribly enraged; though silent, they were murmuring and tumultuous;—but still, all might have gone on well, but for a soldier grasping at the rich ornaments of a Turkish officer, who imprudently fired his pistol at him: instantly it was returned by fifty Greeks; and the Turks all firing in their own defence, there was at once a dreadful uproar. The Greek officers threw themselves between their soldiers and the Turks, trying to save the latter;—one of them was killed and several wounded in the attempt; but all order was lost; the Turks rushed forward wildly, to gain the position of Kiutahi, were followed and fired upon by the Greeks, and more than an hundred shot down; the rest reached their positions in safety.

This horrible outrage disgusted many of the foreigners so much, that they left the army; yet it was almost the inevitable result of the circumstances of the case—"every precaution," said Gen. Church, "had been taken!" That is, except the

very simple and almost only effectual one, of waiting six hours more, until the Turks should have surrendered unconditionally, and putting them on board the frigate for security. But the affair was to be deplored only, it could not be remedied; and attention was again turned to pushing towards the Acropolis; the garrison of which was assisting in every possible way, by cannonading and by sorties, to embarrass the Turks.

Several days were passed in most active inactivity; preparations were making to force their way to Athens; but Karraiskakis would not heartily promote the measure he so much feared, and without him every thing dragged heavily. The soldiers already began to draw unfavourable comparisons between their wild Chief, and the newly appointed Commander, who sallied forth from his schooner every day before dinner, to oversee the operations, sprucely dressed for the occasion.

On the morning of the 4th, a skirmishing took place between some Greeks, and the defenders of a Turkish outpost; the firing brought considerable numbers to support their respective parties; and at last, a hot fight was brought on. Karraiskakis had sent several messengers to stop the fray; but finding it increasing, he threw himself on horseback, and galloped to the scene; from a wish to put an end to the affair, he began to feel his own ardour rise, and he determined to finish the skirmish by carrying the position. He clapped spurs to his horse therefore, and rode amid a shower of balls, followed by all his attendants, to within half a pistol-shot of the Turkish breastwork; when he was checked by a musquet shot striking him in the groin. He was observed to reel in his saddle, notwithstanding his exertions to support himself upright, and was seized by his attendants, and carried off, accompanied by all the Greeks, filled with alarm at seeing him wounded; and followed by the shouts of the Turks, who had recognized him. Niketas also was wounded near him, though slightly; and several officers, among whom was the gallant Capt. Whitcomb of the English East India Service.

But the repulse, the loss of men, of officers, every thing was forgotten by the army, in the intense interest excited to know the fate of Karraiskakis; and all waited with trembling anxiety

to hear the verdict of the surgeon. His wound had been slightly dressed on shore, and he was then carried on board one of the vessels of Cochrane; here he was examined, and found to be mortally wounded. This was concealed from him; but he felt it, and knew it, and seemed anxious to make the most of the few hours left him.

His desire to see Cochrane was extreme; and when his Lordship came on board, and began through his interpreter, to pay him some high compliments of his past actions,—the dying Chief waved his hand with an impatient air, to cut him short, and said, —ὄτι ἔκαμα—ἔκαμα : ὄτι ἔγινε,—ἔγινε :—Τώρα, δια τὸ μέλλον —“what I have done—I have done; what has happened, has happened;—now, for the future.” He then entered into an anxious and long conversation about the situation and prospects of the country, and earnestly insisted upon many things being attended to, trivial in the eyes of enlightened foreigners, but which he knew to be important in the opinion of the rude soldiery. He ended by solemnly charging Cochrane, to watch over the interests of Greece; and then attended to the arrangements for his family.

Towards night, as his moments were drawing to a close, he had many of the Chiefs assembled around him,—among others the General; and to all he conversed with calmness, though his feelings would sometimes burst out in warm expressions of anxiety about his country; —“my country imposed a heavy task on me;—for ten months I have struggled to accomplish it; there is only life left me—this I sacrifice to her: I am dying—but fellow-soldiers, finish my work—save me Athens! save—oh! save me Athens,” cried he, and died.*

* Karraiskakis was about forty years of age, rather above the common height, and slender; but without any thing very remarkable in his personal appearance. He was (probably) a natural son of the famous Chief Isko, and had distinguished himself before the war as a daring Kleft. He was unlettered, but had a great fund of natural shrewdness, and apparently intuitive perception of character. He had been once opposed to the Government; but was always sincere, though mistaken in his devotion to what he considered the good of Greece. His former faults were forgotten, and he was at last confided more; in than any other Chief; he never distressed the Government for money—never harassed the peasantry; seldom payed his men their regular wages, yet would keep them about him, and

His body was carried to Poros, where it was received by the Government, and buried with all possible pomp. The Greek army was left discouraged and dispirited; and if any tribute was yet wanting to his memory, it was paid by the Turks, in the *feu de joie* which ran along their lines, and the shouts which proclaimed their exultation at the death of one whom they had feared more than all the titled Philhellenes ranged against them.

The depression of spirits produced by this new public calamity, was somewhat lessened by the success just gained over the enemy at Volos, by the gallant Capt. Hastings in the *Perseverance*. Kiutahi, it was known, received most of his supplies from Thessaly, by shipping them at Volos, and sending them down in small vessels, through the Gulf of Talanda to Egripo; but no efficient steps had been taken to stop it; a partial blockade was useless. Hastings was ordered to attempt the destruction of these vessels; and repairing there immediately in the *Perseverance*, he took with him four Greek brigs that were cruising there, and steered directly up the Pelagic Gulf, at the head of which, and at the foot of Mount Pelion, is beautifully situated the fortified town of Volo. Finding that the Turkish vessels were in the port of Volo, Hastings ordered the brigs to lie off the entrance of the harbour, and cannonade a fort which protected it; while he himself ran directly

have a larger force on foot than any other Chief. He had a curious way of rewarding them, by which he kept them in continual expectations; if any one distinguished himself particularly, he would give him perhaps thousands of piastres, while the rest were without enough to buy shoes. Though it was known that he never had money enough to pay all his army, yet it was generally understood that he kept enough by him, to make the fortunes of any few who might recommend themselves.

A short time before his death, he planned and attempted a night attack upon Kiutahi's camp, similar to the one in which the immortal Marco Botzaris had fallen. He passed at midnight with about four hundred soldiers the outer Turkish posts; then advanced, all crawling upon their hands and knees; but the courage of his companions failed them, and it being very dark, they were not ashamed to drop off, or lag one by one, till Karraiskakis found himself with only about forty upon whom he could depend, and was forced to retire.

To his courage and skill in mountain warfare, he had added the greatest prudence; and was as able in deceiving, as fighting his enemy. At the particular crisis, his loss was an irreparable one to Greece.

into the port, let go his anchor, and immediately began to shell the town; while his boats, with some from the brigs, boarded and carried the vessels. There were seven of them; and five, laden with provisions and ammunition, were carried without much resistance, and cut out.* Meantime the bombs from the *Perseverance* continued to fall into the town, and her fire was returned by the battery which defended it; this however was soon silenced; the town was set on fire in several places, and the Turks so terrified, that all the families fled to the mountains. Hastings having burned the other two vessels, lay at anchor in the harbour during the night; and getting under weigh the next morning with his prizes, came down the Gulf as far as Trikkiri. Here was a large Turkish man of war, mounting twenty-four brass cannon, which he was determined to take, or destroy.

The Turks, however, had prepared to defend her desperately; and conscious of their incapacity to contend with the Greeks at sea, had drawn the vessel up close to the shore, in order to use their musketry from the rocks; an attempt therefore to carry her by boarding in the night failed. The next morning Hastings ran in, and began to fire upon her with hot shot, and was answered with spirit from the batteries on the shore; but one of his hot-shot took effect; the vessel soon was seen to smoke, and the Turks after an ineffectual attempt to extinguish the fire, abandoned her to the flames; and Hastings drawing off, watched her till she burnt to the water's edge. He then, after breaking up a shameful traffic, carried on between some of the islands and Cuma, a little port in Negropont in dependance on the Turks, returned to Poree.

Meantime active preparations were making at Phalere for a

* Men are the children of circumstances; place the English or American sailors in the same situation with the Greeks, without the fear or restraint of the law, and they will hardly be so merciful. I was witness in this affair, to cruelties committed by English sailors, that I have never seen exceeded by the Greeks; one of them pursued a wounded Turk, who was swimming for the shore, drew him into the boat, searched him for money, and finding he had none, shot him with a pistol, and pushed him over again. There was only one man on board our vessel that seemed to thirst for the blood of the prisoners, and he was an English sailor.

march upon Athens, notwithstanding the Greeks were so much discouraged by the loss of Karraiskakis. Kiutahi was seriously alarmed, and having drawn all the men he could from the North, his forces did not amount to fourteen thousand; the Greeks had nearly that number; he heard of the affair of Volos, and was obliged to have recourse to that step, which next to being beat by the Greeks, was the most disagreeable to him;—to send to Ibrahim Pashaw for assistance.

That Chief had lately pushed with the principal part of his army, through Arcadia and Elis, to Patrass: here he received fifteen hundred horses from Epirus; which he stood in great need of, to supply the losses he had sustained. He again ravaged Elis, and part of Achaia, and then pushed South.

Every preparation had now been made for an attempt to march directly upon Athens, to force a passage through the Turkish lines, and open a communication with the Acropolis. On the evening of the 5th, about three thousand men were embarked at the Piræus, and carried round to the 'Towers,' the point of the sea-coast at the smallest distance from the Acropolis; here they were landed; but so much time had been expended in the various preparations, that it was three o'clock in the morning before they were well on shore. They then pushed on toward the Acropolis, furnished with intrenching tools, and the whole arrived within hail of the Acropolis, when day broke.

Why they did not then push on, their leader must answer. Why they thought of remaining on the open plain the whole day;—how their situation could be improved by waiting till night, is not known; but it is known, that instead of rushing upon the Turkish posts, and carrying, or passing them, and entering the Citadel, the Greeks immediately commenced digging trenches in which to lie down, and throwing up the dirt on the outside, to form a breastwork. The Turks, who had at first been completely surprised to find the Greeks within musket shot of their lines, now began to recover themselves, and their soldiers to collect under the protection of the battery of the Philopappus; bodies of horse were seen galloping over the plain from every quarter, and forming under the hill:

a mass of cavalry, nearly three thousand in number, then began to show signs of an intention to fall upon the Greek lines.

Every one who knew the skill of the Turks in the management of the horse and sabre, and the innate dread which the Greeks have of a charge of cavalry, trembled when he saw three thousand of them exposed upon the open plain. They were however hard at work building up their breastworks; they had among them many of the bravest and best of the Chiefs, and half of the little remnant of the gallant Suliotes, whose numbers had been reduced by battles in every part of Greece, to about four hundred warriors. The commander in chief, Church, had come on shore, and would soon be bringing up supplies. About four hundred of the regular troops had taken their position in the front line of entrenchments, next to the Suliotes, and every thing was nearly ready to receive an attack. But it was now nine in the morning, the Turks were in full motion, and their cavalry began to gallop here and there, to seek a point of attack. Suddenly they brought forward some flying artillery, which began to play furiously on the right flank of the line of entrenchments; and after a few moments, the Delhis came on at full gallop, with their cry of "Allah!—Hoo!"—and charged up to the very breastworks; but they were driven back. They formed again, and varied the point of attack, with as little success.

A third time, and with as much speed, they came on to the first point, broke over the half-formed breastworks, and at one leap were among the Greeks, their scimeters hacking right and left, with such fury, and in such numbers, that resistance was vain; every man was hewn down, and trampled under foot by the horses; and the whole mass rushing on to the Greek line of reserve, crushed them to the earth, in spite of their first and only fire. The rest, seeing the fate of this position, were instantly panic struck, and fled from their breastworks without thinking that they should be ten times as much exposed; and the whole plain was instantly covered with men flying in all directions, the cavalry galloping after and among them, and cutting them down as they ran.

The little band of Suliotes, however, awaited the shock. They were overwhelmed by the rush of cavalry, but did not desert their post, and almost every one was cut down where he stood, desperately fighting to the last. Some of them, indeed, having slain the horsemen in the struggle, leaped into their saddles, and thus several escaped. The company of regulars too, was firm; but their square was broken, and they fought hand to hand with the horsemen, till almost all were cut down; and out of the four hundred, only thirty escaped. The rout was complete, and irreparable; and for two hours, the plain presented only a picture of detached fights, between bands of ten, or five, or three Greeks, and dozens of Turks; who soon cut them to pieces, though after desperate resistance. As long as a straggler was to be seen, a horseman would give chase; the soldier would run, till hopeless of escape, and then turn in desperation, and sell his life as dear as possible.

Meantime Gen. Church, who had been but a short time on shore, accompanied by Lord Cochrane, was approaching the scene of action, intending "to dine in the Acropolis"—when the whole mass of fugitives, who came rushing toward the beach, followed by the Turkish cavalry in full cry, waving their bloody sabres, and cutting down those who lagged behind, gave them warning of their danger. It was necessary to fly to the ships, and no hesitation or delay was manifested in embarking.*

Fifteen hundred Greeks strewed the plain, dead or dying, and the situation of those on the beach was dreadful; but luckily the cannonade from the vessels, which bore upon the cavalry as they came down, had the effect of arresting their progress, until the soldiers could be taken off in the boats.

The loss had been terrible; and until night, the Turks were seen going about stripping the dead, and cutting of the heads of all, dead or wounded, to carry in to the Pashaw. The ve-

* Cochrane, however, hung back, and cast a wistful look at the approaching Delhis, as though he would like to try a sabre bout with them; but he was forced to the beach by his attendants, and pushed into the water up to his middle, before he reached his boat. This was filled with Greeks, all eager to escape; nor is it at all certain that he would have got off easily, (for he seemed in no hurry himself,) had not his doughty surgeon drew his sword, and valiantly smote off the ear of one of the Greeks, who then made way for his lordship.

nerable Lambro Veicos, the most respected of the Suliotes, Javellas, Draco, Notara, Fotomaras, and other young chiefs, were among the slain; as well as Inglesi, the commander of the Tactics, with many Philhellenes, principally Germans.

Besides the slain, four hundred Greeks were taken, among whom was the young Demetre Calliergi, (the same who took Graboussi, but still a mere youth; he was severely wounded; but his splendid arms and dress, attracted the attention of some Albanians, who concealed him in the hope of getting a ransom for him. All the rest were confined that night, and brought out the next morning, and butchered before the eyes of the Pashaw.

The situation and feelings of the garrison of the Acropolis during the battle, may be easily imagined. They saw their hopes for succour, suddenly cut off; they looked from their walls down upon the plain, and saw the defeat and destruction of their countrymen, who had come to relieve them; they could almost hear their death shrieks, yet were unable to help them. It produced a depression of spirits amounting almost to hopelessness, that made the soldiery begin to think of some way of saving themselves from their situation.

Nor was the moral effect upon the troops about the Phalerum less; they had been witnesses of the defeat, and of the dreadful power of Turkish cavalry in an open plain; and the panic spread among them to such a degree,—such was the anxiety and trepidation in which they passed the succeeding night, that if the Turks had attacked the position, strong as it is, they would have driven all the Greeks into the sea.

Gen. Church endeavoured to maintain the position, however, and should have continued to do so; for though the taking possession of it was folly, in the first place, it had now become necessary to maintain it at all hazards: for the garrison of the citadel, as long as they had in view a place to which they could fly, would be induced to hold out till all their provisions were consumed, and then cut their way through the enemy, without capitulation. On the contrary, should they see their countrymen abandon a post which it had cost them so much to gain, they would be very much discouraged; and,

cut off from communication with the rest of the country, would imagine the cause to be lost. Then, having no place of refuge to fly to, even in case they should cut their way through the enemy's lines, they would begin to listen to such terms of capitulation as might be offered them.

But whether the position at Phalerum could have been held, (as every one thought,) or could not, as General Church is inclined to assert, certain it is, that the terrible battle of the sixth of May produced a depression in the spirits of the soldiery that it was difficult to remove; they gradually left the positions about the Phalerum, and went off with their Chiefs to their respective districts. About two thousand remained at Phalerum, and they were straitened for provisions; so much so, that Church determined to abandon it, without even building a tower or battery on the strong hill above the shore, which two hundred men might have defended, and on which a single flag-staff would have continually held out to the garrison on the Citadel, what they would have construed into hope. Nor was the manner of quitting it at all creditable; it was more like a flight than a deliberate abandonment; those fine large guns which Gordon had dragged up with so much toil, almost in the face of the enemy, were merely thrown into a well; camp equipage the Greeks have none, or they would have left it: for such was the hurry of the embarkation, that they, many of them, had like to have been drowned.

Thus ended the first expedition undertaken by the new commander-in-chief; and it was by far more calamitous than any undertaken by a foreigner in Greece, although most of them have failed in their undertakings. This leads us to speak of the character of the man, who, by accepting this conspicuous post, has made himself a fair subject of remark.

General Church richly merits the title, of which any man may be excused for being proud, that of a true English gentleman; but when this is said, all is said; partiality, friendship could go no further; all admire his suavity and gracefulness of manner, and respect him for his moral worth; but none are struck with him—none give him that homage which seems to be the intuitive and involuntary tribute of common minds,

to men of extraordinary powers.* Far different are the qualifications necessary to manœuvre regiments upon the parade ground with precision and despatch, or even to draught a good plan of campaign, from those which a leader must exercise every moment in actual service. The cadet who gets his well earned diploma, and believes the flattering assertion, that he is qualified to lead an army, would find himself sorely puzzled if placed in that situation, though with every thing at his command, and only the trouble of giving orders. And as much puzzled would the general be, who had been used to this situation, and accustomed to have all the machinery of an army move at the signal from head-quarters, if he were thrown into command in a new country, among people speaking a different language, having different habits of thinking and acting from his own, and without system or organization.

Such a situation is the fiery ordeal which proves the metal of the soul; the dross and alloy melt away, and the real quantity and quality of the ore is naked and apparent to all. A man must there stand or fall by his own power, for he is stript of those accidental advantages, which, in an artificial state of society, may have bolstered him up; there, neither the tinsel of dress, nor the display of orders, nor the glare of titles, avail him, unless he have "the head to plan, the heart to dare, and the hand to execute." And this remark may apply to most of the distinguished foreigners who have held commands in Greece; they come to the country with their heads filled with fantastic notions of the irresistible power of military art, and a proportionate contempt for the ignorance and inefficiency of the Greeks; yet the rude chiefs of the latter have beaten the Turks, while the names of Normann and Bourbaki, and Favjer, and Church, have been only associated with defeat.

Is it wonderful that the Greeks should doubt the omnipotence of discipline and tactics, or hurl back with the bitterness of reproach, the scorn with which they were treated? Gordon, to be sure, never was beaten, never brought a loss upon the country; but then Gordon is a plain, prudent, strong minded Scotsman, who knew the Greeks, and their language, long before the war; who has not one particle of prejudice or

vanity ; and who cared not whether his men stepped right foot first, or left foot first, so that the step was a prudent one, and sure of succeeding. But we have wandered from our subject, which was the qualifications of General Church. That officer would shine on a parade day, and still more at the succeeding board and ball room ; but he brought his talents and accomplishments to an unprofitable market, when he embarked in the tempestuous scenes of the Greek revolution.

After the abandonment of the Phalerum, General Church and the Government turned their attention to an expedition destined to act upon the rear of the enemy, cut off his supplies, and force him to break up his camp before Athens. This was the only reasonable or practicable plan, but it had now the slight objection of being too late ; it should have been tried first ; the *desperate effort** to save Athens, should have been reserved till other more rational attempts had failed ; but the *dernier resort* had been first practised ; it had failed, and the rest were useless.

Cochrane, having spent his money and his time worse than in vain before Athens, (for to fail was a blow to him ; but to fail where his duty did not lead him to meddle, was worse,) now prepared to put to sea ; the Constantinople fleet had passed, and it was all important to overtake it. But his troubles were now beginning ; he had the frigate, the *Sauveur*, a brig of war, (bought and sent out by the French committee,) and the *Perseverance*, all national vessels ; but many of the Greek captains refused to go to sea with him with their vessels, unless they were paid. They imagined that Cochrane had plenty of money, for they had seen him paying it away to support the Athenian expedition, and they insisted on having some also ; this was ungenerous and unpatriotic ; but pure—poor human nature. Miaulis, with his vessel, and about eight other patriots like him, were, however, ready to follow him.

Thus crippled at the outset, Cochrane sailed for Kloumoutzou, a little fortified place on the western coast of the Morea, which was besieged by Ibrahim Pashaw's army, and closely

* See General Church's report to Government, detailing the battle of the sixth of May.

blockaded by sea, so as to be in imminent danger of falling into the hands of the Turks, with all the families who had taken refuge there. To raise this blockade was the object of Cochrane's first cruise, and his own report to government will detail his success.

“ To the Sub-Governing Commission of Greece.

“ GENTLEMEN—As you expressed a wish that I should endeavour, as soon as possible, to break up the blockade of Kloumoutzou, I left Spetzia on the nineteenth, in the *Hellas*, for those parts ; on the twenty-second I chased a goelette and a brig, which had formed part of the blockading force. The same evening, arriving near cape Clarenza, I drove off three of the enemy's vessels ; one frigate, one corvette, and one brig, the largest of which must have suffered much, as she was fired upon within speaking distance.

“ Afterwards we took one Turkish merchant vessel laden with ammunition and provisions, and we chased five others like her. All the prisoners, among whom was Kioutzouk Aga-Patrinos, a commissary of Kiutahi, with his family, were sent away unharmed, with all their effects, upon the condition that they should free as many enslaved Christians.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ Gentlemen, your obd't servant,

“ COCHRANE.”

CHAPTER IV.

Progress of the siege of Athens—Terms of capitulation are proposed—Garrison accepts them, and surrenders the Acropolis into the hands of the Turks—Distresses of Greece—Civil disturbances—Colocotroni attacks Napoli by night—Sale of Corinth—Proceedings of Lord Cochrane—Naval battle in the gulf of Salona.

THE garrison of Athens was now left to defend the Acropolis, or to provide for their own safety in any way they could ; at least they knew nothing of what was going on without for their relief. After the melancholy sixth, the soldiers had been persuaded by the chiefs to agree to hold out three months longer, and they had absolutely refused to the proposals which Kiutahi had sent through Monsieur Leblanc, commandant of the French frigate *La Junon*, for capitulation. But when they saw that the positions at Phalerum were abandoned, many were discouraged, and wished for the interference of the commanders of the foreign ships of war, to guarantee any treaty that might be concluded.

Many of the chiefs, however, did not think of this, and were astonished at receiving a letter* from General Church, directing them to deliver up the fortress to the Turks, upon certain conditions proposed by Monsieur Leblanc ; and although this did not alter their determination to continue the resistance, it gave new strength to the party which was in favour of a capi-

* That General Church did take this most novel step, and direct the garrison of a citadel, of whose condition and capacity to resist he could not possibly judge, is granted by all. What were his motives he can best explain ; but it was strange to dictate to them any farther than to say, " Make for yourselves the best conditions you can." Surely they were most concerned, and could alone judge of all the circumstances ; and if they had still resources which they had concealed from others, or if they chose to peril their lives still a little longer in the defence of the citadel, they should have had the liberty to do so. Church, it appears, afterwards repented of this step.

tulation. Colonel Favier was among the latter, and this opportunity of accomplishing what he wished, and throwing the responsibility and blame upon an Englishman, and his own rival, was not to be neglected.

Dissentions and disputes arose between those who wished for a capitulation, and those opposed to it. Colonel Favier, it is true, had no immediate command in the fortress, except over the little body of regulars which he had brought in ; the other Chiefs were careful to exclude him from any thing more ; but his influence was considerable, and when it was known to those who had been wavering between the wish to get away, and the shame of deserting the citadel unnecessarily, that the colonel, whose courage they could not doubt, was inclined to the capitulation, they decided upon it also.

There are many among the Greeks of the garrison, and some of the Philhellenes, who accuse Favier of having, by intrigue in every possible shape, endeavoured to increase the number of those in favour of capitulation ; and he vented his rage against those Chiefs who were opposed to it, in curses, calling them fools and traitors ; and he was by all considered the head of the party for capitulation.*

This party at last prevailed, and word was sent the French Admiral de Rigny, that they were ready to treat with the Turks through his intervention. That officer, as well as the Austrian commander, had shown such an excessive and importunate zeal

* This strange conduct of Colonel Favier's, which blasted in the very bud, those honours which his gallant entrance into the Acropolis had gained for him, can only be accounted for by his ambition, and his prejudices. He expected to be one day commander-in-chief of the Greek troops : this was the grand object of his ambition, for it would give him *eclat* in France, and through Europe. He hated Englishmen with all the bitter hatred which national prejudice, added to the sting of defeat, can produce : to him, England was the Nazareth, from which no good thing can possibly come. He found that the National Assembly were about choosing a foreigner to the post of commander-in-chief ; and, to his regret at losing it himself, was added the more vexatious circumstance of having an Englishman put over him ; and an Englishman, too, who had done nothing for Greece. He was determined, therefore, to get out of the fortress, and oppose his election in every possible way ; or, if this was too late, to undermine his power and influence ; for, shut up in the citadel, he was cut off from the rest of Greece, and could do nothing.

to effect the capitulation of the citadel, that many Greeks were enraged at what certainly looked very like officious and unnecessary interference. Those officers not only told the garrison they were ready to interfere with the Pashaw, and guaranty any treaty that might be made, but they endeavoured, by constant discouraging accounts of the hopelessness of resistance, of the miserable prospects of Greece, and of the impossibility of succour, to depress the spirits of the men, and induce them to listen to terms; and at last they effected it.

But let us see what was the condition of the citadel, and what the hopes of its farther resistance could be grounded upon. The most decisive evidence is that given by Captain Rocavilla, the sworn friend and aid-de-camp of Colonel Favier; he had left the fortress in the night, at great hazard, on some mission for Favier; and in a letter detailing the circumstances of his escape, he makes the following statements:

“The condition of the Acropolis is very bad, the garrison being reduced to a very small allowance of barley bread, and water also in small quantities. The fuel is totally exhausted. All the houses are razed to the ground. The horses, asses, cats, and all other animals, have been sold at very exorbitant prices, and eaten; for instance, an oka (a two pounds and a half) of horse flesh, fourteen piastres, (about 4s. 6d) and every thing in proportion, will enable you to judge of the rest. There is no linen or medicine for the sick or wounded—no shelter to put them under, or prevent the effects of the explosion of shells, or of the changes of weather. Such is the critical situation in which two thousand and two hundred souls are placed. Of these, one thousand five hundred are soldiers; the remainder consists of women and children.

“Accept, &c.

“(Signed,)

ROCCAVILLA.

“P. S. There may be a sufficient stock of barley in the citadel to last for *eight months*. Water will be scarce, but there is *no fear of its failing*, as it proceeds from a well.”

Rocavilla has not stated the case in the strongest light, or

dwelt on many circumstances which made the situation of the garrison extremely irksome. There was no fuel in the place, and they were obliged to heat the ovens by burning barley and rye in them; yet such was the immense store of these articles, which Gourah had provided, that, even with this expenditure, there was sufficient stock for five months.

The rations were given to the soldiers in whole barley; this they were obliged to pound up with stones, or reduce to flour in any way they could devise, then mix it with water and bake it. This, with two quarts of water, was their daily allowance.

They had no houses, and were obliged to sleep about in the ruins of the Parthenon, and other temples; they were miserably clad; had no change of clothes or linen for many months; no blankets, and were ill supplied with capotes; many were sick and wounded; they had not sufficient medical assistance, and no surgeon, except Hassan Aga, a Turkish prisoner, but a man of extraordinary reputation among both Greeks and Turks.*

There were seven hundred women and children, Athenian families, in the Acropolis. These were only a burden. Shells were continually falling and bursting, and causing the wounds or death of several persons every day. All these circumstances naturally discouraged the garrison; but they had a sacred duty as patriots and soldiers to perform; the fate of their country hung upon their efforts;—and their own sufferings or lives should have been as the dust of the balance, when weighed against this consideration. Then they had the example of

* This said Hassan Aga Chirurgeon, deserved, in some measure, the high reputation which he enjoyed, and was a most portly and dignified personage; demanding and obtaining from the Greeks, his captors, extraordinary attentions and indulgences. No chief in the garrison fared better; the soldiers treated him, not as Hassan the Turk, but with all the respect due to a *Μεγάλος χειρουργός*—great surgeon. This Astley Cooper of Attica condemned all amputations and excisory operations, for the very best of reasons, that he did not know how to perform them, or any thing about them; he stuffed gun-shot wounds with *tampons*, and rolls of coarse cloth, to prevent them from closing the first days; he had also great faith in charms and incantations. But altogether, he was a much more respectable member of the profession than most of his Greek brethren, whose knowledge and skill may be placed on a par with that of our Indian doctors.

Missolonghi before them; the sufferings of the heroic inhabitants of that place had been tenfold greater than their own; and the recollection of their untiring resistance, their rejection of all terms, and their last and dreadful, but noble resolution, should have inspired the garrison of the Acropolis with different feelings.

But they resolved to hearken to terms, and the first obtained for them by Admiral de Rigny were these: that the garrison should give up their arms—that they should all go off free, and be embarked on board the foreign ships—but that the Athenians and their families should be left behind, to live in the town under the Turks, the Pashaw promising them protection.

In answer to these terms, the chiefs of the garrison replied:

“Admiral,

“The garrison in the Acropolis of Athens perceives, as you remark, that the conditions which you have presented for the capitulation, are more advantageous than those presented by Mr. Leblanc, notwithstanding that the circumstances are not the same; and it thereby learns the zeal you show in its behalf, and thanks you most sincerely for it.

“Our condition, however, Admiral, presents an obstacle which cannot be overcome. We cannot separate our fortune from that of the Athenians. We should, by doing so, be wanting in the duty of humanity and honour.

“If the Athenians, after having obtained their liberty, wish to return and to avail themselves of the advantages proffered them, they are of course free to do so, and the object will be better obtained in this manner.

“But that we should leave them behind against their will, is impossible.

“With respect to our arms, which are required from us, Admiral! *we will not give them up.* All of us, captains, soldiers, garrison, and inhabitants, will undergo the same fortune; and, perhaps it will be more advisable for the garrison to go

forth with their arms; in order that no accident may occur, against the will of the Seraskier, prejudicial to his honour.

“ We request that there may be given us, as hostages, together with the three Turkish officers, the Velico Giamjas, the Liuli Aga Chaparis, and Mustapha Aga Ghegas Scunge-rinis.

“ We also request, as we told you yesterday, that the positions through which we are to pass, may be evacuated.

“ *The Chiefs of the Fortress.*”

More favourable terms were afterwards obtained, and at last a capitulation was signed on the 5th, by which it was stipulated, that the garrison should retire with their arms and baggage; the Athenian families with baggage, but without arms; the Pashaw to furnish seventy horses, for the conveyance of the sick and wounded; six Turkish officers of distinction, with three French officers from the frigate, to be delivered to the Greeks as hostages; all the Greeks to be embarked on board the vessels before the hostages should be given up.

These terms being signed, the whole garrison came out, having in the centre of their column the hostages, and marched down to the shore, where they embarked on board the foreign vessels of war.

The Greek government, which had removed to Napoli, received the news of the fall of Athens with the deepest regret; and the opinion then formed of the manner of its loss, may be gathered from the words of the venerable and virtuous Rinieri, President of the Representative Body, which had recommenced its sittings:—“ Yes,” said he, “ the birthplace and nursery of the arts and sciences, the venerable Athens, has fallen into the hands of the barbarians;—Missilonghi too, fell, gentlemen, but she nobly fell;—true Greeks will rather die, than buy their lives at the price of their honour.”

The loss of the Acropolis of Athens was a most serious one to Greece, and materially lessened her before slender hopes of continuing the war on the continent. Every part of Greece north of the isthmus of Corinth, was now in the power of the Turks; and the army of Kiutahi Pashaw, unoccupied by the

siege, might spread itself over Roumelia. The Greek peasantry had emigrated in great numbers to the Morea and the islands; many were still in the mountains near their homes, and a few had returned to their villages. The soldiers, and almost all the men who could carry arms, had left the country, and by their presence in the Morea, contributed greatly to increase the distress and disorder which prevailed there.

The months of June, July, and August can be rapidly passed over. They presented merely melancholy proofs of the continued operation of those causes, which had brought Greece to her present low state; and which it seemed would soon deprive her of all hope of independence, except in the islands of the Archipelago.

One instance of insubordination was given by the person who had long been labouring to establish subordination in the country, and who had been continually crying out, that it was the only means of saving Greece; and that person was Colonel Favier. It now appeared, that his meaning had been, that others should be subordinate to him; but his rule would not apply to his own case. The government, in appointing Gen. Church commander-in-chief of the armies of Greece, of course put under his orders Col. Favier and his corps of regulars. Gen. Church, who knew well that the corps owed its improvement to Favier, did not wish him to quit it, nor to exercise over it himself any immediate control; but he wished that Favier should, in appearance at least, act under his orders. But this Favier would not do; he would be independent of every one, or he would resign; and when he tendered his resignation to government, he knew well that it would not be accepted, for the soldiers of the corps were blindly attached to him; and the commission of the French Philhellenic Committees would withdraw the support which they had given to the corps, if an Englishman were to have command. A surly dissatisfaction therefore, continued to exist between them.

General Church, entirely wanting the necessary resources (either financial or mental) to carry on the war to advantage, passed his time between his toilet, forming plans which there were no means of executing, and attempting to suppress the dis-

cords and jealousies which existed among the lawless chieftains. Colocotroni had still the title of General of the Peloponessus, and exercised the functions of that office in the manner which he found most advantageous to himself. He was occupied principally in disputes and open quarrels with the Dilyani, about the revenues of the province of Calavrita, which both wished to appropriate to themselves. Colocotroni, also, wished to get possession of some fortress; and while the peasantry of Arcadia, and all the centre and southern parts of the Morea, were continually writing him letters, praying him to come with a few soldiers even, and promising to join him in an attempt to drive the Turks from their provinces; protesting, at the same time, that human nature could no longer support the sufferings which themselves and their families were enduring in the mountains;—during all this time, Colocotroni was engaged in ripening a plan for getting possession of the Palamede, or citadel, which governs Napoli.

That citadel was commanded by Theodore Grivas, a Roumeliote; of course he was disliked by the Peloponessians; and his scandalous impositions and exactions from the inhabitants of Napoli, made him hateful to them. Still, Grivas was the rightful commander of the place, and acknowledged by the government.

But Colocotroni was determined that might should make right, and having bribed one of Grivas's soldiers to open the gates of the castle to him at midnight, he collected about 2500 men,* and on the night of the ninth, approached cautiously the Palamede, by climbing up the steep rocky ascent at the south side.

The soldier whom he had attempted to corrupt, had accepted a sum of money, and a pair of superb pistols, covered with dia-

* It was to support these men, that Colocotroni had been making such strenuous exertions to collect provisions. Among other unjustifiable acts he seized upon nearly a thousand barrels of the provisions which had been sent out from New-York for the starving population. Colocotroni stopped the distribution to the poor by force, and was preparing to divide the spoil with Grivas, and Fontoumaris, (they had not yet quarrelled,) when a spirited remonstrance from Captain Patterson, of the United States frigate Constitution, procured the restitution of the provisions to the agent of the committee.

monds, as part pay ; the rest was promised him as soon as the fortress should be in the hands of Colocotroni ; but having got all he ever expected to get, the soldier went to Grivas, his commander, and disclosed the whole plot.

Grivas instantly formed his plan, and directing the soldier to open the back gate of the castle wall, as he had agreed, he posted himself, with a chosen band, in such a situation as to command the entrance.

At midnight the soldiers of Colocotroni entered the gate in silence, and were approaching the first battery, to surprise the guard, who they supposed were sleeping, when suddenly, they heard a signal, and the flash of a hundred muskets instantly blazed in front of them ; thirty of them fell, killed or wounded, and the rest turned, and rushed precipitately out of the gate, and fled down the hill in confusion, pursued by the shouts of the garrison, and a shower of grape shot from the cannon on the walls.

Gennaïos, the son of old Colocotroni, had penetrated the lower town at the same time, with about three hundred men ; but his father, having failed in his attack on the fortress above, he found himself a prisoner within the walls of the tower, and at the mercy of Grivas, who could point the cannon of his batteries directly down upon it. But, contrary to all expectation, no fighting followed. Gennaïos was permitted to retire with his arms, being favoured by Fontoumaris, an old Suliot chief, who commanded the lower tower, and who was at variance with Grivas.

Thus foiled in his attempt to get possession of Napoli, Colocotroni proceeded towards Corinth, the citadel of which place was then *for sale* !

A short notice of the situation of that fortress, will give a tolerable idea of the miserable state to which the *capitani* system (as it is called) had reduced Greece. Only two years ago, twelve pleasant villages were to be seen in the neighbourhood of the fortress ; they were filled with a busy population, who were cultivating the land, and tasting the first sweet fruits of liberty ; now, hardly a house is standing ; not one vineyard is flourishing, and not a solitary field of wheat is to be seen ;

the peasantry have all abandoned it; the poor creatures could no longer endure the vexations, the impositions, and extortions practised upon them by the chief who commanded the castle, and who, surrounded by a set of lazy, hectoring, tyrannical soldiers, acted a part as bad as that of any Turkish Pashaw.

Notaras had received, for two years, the revenue of the province; he had involved the country in civil war to secure it; he had extorted unlawful taxes, and filled his coffers with gold. And how had he applied it? Had he supplied the fortress with provisions and ammunition to resist a long siege? No! not a stick of fuel, not a loaf of bread, not an ounce of powder, had he added to the stores.

Nor was this all: he had prevented the lawful government from putting regular troops into the place, that the abuses of the wild soldiery might be reformed; he cared not for abuses, he cared for nothing but his own interest; he would have repelled by force, any attempt of the government to take possession of the fortress; he would have blown Corinth into the air rather than have suffered it; for he then would have lost his strong hold, his den of iniquity, the possession of which enabled him to wring from the remnant of a once flourishing population, the last few dollars that the miseries of war had left them.

Nor was this the situation of Corinth alone; it was the fate of the neighbourhood of every castle that was held by any of the lawless chieftains, who had the soldiery completely under their command, and who began now to be looked upon by the people in their true light, that of brigands, who would exercise a sway over them, similar to that once exercised by the Turks. This was one proof of the improvement of the public mind. The inhabitants of Greece had made a more rapid advance in intellectual improvement, during the last six years, than they could have done under ordinary circumstances in thirty. Their whole mental faculties had been put upon the stretch; their brilliant hopes, depressing fears, extraordinary successes, and imminent dangers, had continually kept alive the public interest. People thought, and inquired, and reasoned, about liberty

and the rights of man ; subjects of which most of them had previously been entirely ignorant.

Critical and difficult situations, which call forth and invigorate the mental powers of the individual, act in the same way on the mass of the people. This had been the case in Greece ; and they who had at first blindly relied upon their Primates and Military Chiefs, for safety, now learned to curse them as the cause of all their misfortunes. There was hardly a woman, who did not feel that their own *Μεγάλοι* had done more harm to the country, than the Turks. But the evil was difficult to remove ; for all the soldiery, all the military power, was in the hands of these chiefs.

This was not the case in the beginning of the struggle ; for then all the people were in arms ; but during its progress, there were formed a considerable body of men, whose sole occupation was that of soldiers ; and who looking to their chiefs alone for pay, would receive orders from them alone.

But to return to Corinth ; Archondopulos, its commander, the son of Notaras, left the fortress, and went to join the army before Athens. He was taken prisoner on the fatal 6th of May, and soon after put to death. The garrison whom he had left in the citadel, refused to give it up to any one, who would not first pay them a certain sum of money, enough for all their arrears.

The government sent persons with authority to take command of the fortress ; but the garrison would not admit them without the cash. Colocotroni hastened to the market to bid, among the rest ; he offered one hundred and sixty thousand piastres, and this was the highest ; but he demanded credit.

This did not suit the garrison, who would not have trusted him with a single *para* ; so they accepted the offer of Gavella, a Suliote chief ; who, associated with some Roumeliote and other Greek capitani, paid down one hundred and thirty thousand piastres, and took possession of the proud citadel : “ thus was Corinth lost and won.”

But a more disgraceful scene, and a worse fate, attended Napoli di Romania, the capital of Greece. It has been observed in describing that place, that it is commanded by the

batteries of Palamede, or the upper castle ; the lower castle, called Hich Kaly, is also above the town, though below the Palamede.

Hich Kaly was commanded by Fontoumaris, and Palamede by Grivas. These two chiefs had for a long time been quarrelling about the quantity of rations which each had a right to draw from the inhabitants, to support their respective soldiers. Dilyanni, the hoary intriguer, who was always secretly fomenting quarrels, in order to compass some particular end of his own, had done much to set these chiefs at open war.

Grivas asserted his right to the jurisdiction over the lower town, and appointed his brother to administer it. This right was disputed by Fontoumaris ; and the soldiers of the two chiefs meeting in the streets, a fray commenced, in which several were killed. This was the signal for open hostilities ; the batteries from Palamede began to play upon Hich Kaly and the town ; a cannon ball entered the house where the government was, and killed one member of the Representative Body, and wounded another ; several shells fell in the town, and bursting, killed many persons. Government took refuge in the castle of the Bourgee, and afterward removed to Egina. The inhabitants of the town fled, and their houses were pillaged by the soldiery : Napoli was a scene of fighting and confusion for several weeks. Gen. Church was called there, and was followed by Col. Favier ; but nothing could be done, until Fontoumaris, having consumed all his provisions, left the lower town ; and it was put into the hands of a captain, faithful to the government.

But Grivas still held the Palamede ; the town had been utterly desolated, and the inhabitants driven off ; still he would not quit the citadel. Gen. Church was quite foiled in his attempts to make any arrangement, by which the troops of the government could get possession of the castle.

His own soldiers were without pay or rations ; and they began to pillage the vineyards and melon grounds, on the vast plain of Argos. The peasantry resisted, and several skirmishes took place, which ended in the loss of several lives.

After Gen. Church retired, the soldiers of Grivas attempted

to finish the business that his men had commenced ; and the plain of Argos became the scene of daily petty fights between the soldiery and the peasantry. Gradually the sectional feelings of the country were excited ; blood had been spilt on both sides ; and it became no longer a squabble for the melons and grapes of Argos, but a controversy between Moriotes and Roumeliotes. The whole plain was devastated, and the houses of many peasants destroyed.

This lasted several weeks ; and as many as fifty persons were killed, before the two parties reconciled themselves, and began to ask one another, what they had been fighting about ? Such was the melancholy situation of Greece, with respect to her internal affairs.

It seems to be absolutely necessary that a people in a state of revolution should be under the absolute control of one man, who has the genius to direct them aright ; otherwise, though the cause may be forwarded by the very best impulses of human nature,—without some master spirit at the helm, it goes on like a rudderless ship, in a vague and varying course, which may conduct to a port of safety, or to the rocks of destruction, as mere chance may dictate. Never was this principle of human nature more strongly exemplified, than in Greece at this time. The people were struggling for independence, and they saw clearly that the great barrier, was in the wickedness and selfishness of their chiefs ; yet they knew not how to get rid of them.

Once indeed, and but a few days previous to the period we are writing about, the populace of the capital, driven to desperation by the sight of the open conflict in their streets, between the soldiers of the two hostile chiefs, rushed, as by common impulse, to the house of the virtuous, patriotic, and brave Prince Demetrius Ipselanti, and bore him in triumph to the public square ; declaring he should be their leader, since all knew his genuine worth.

This was another of those glorious opportunities, which have been presented to Ipselanti, of becoming the saviour of his country, and the hero of his age. But alas ! genius and virtue are too seldom united ; and Ipselanti was soon found want-

ing in the energy and talent, which might have converted that burst of public indignation into a thunderbolt of destruction to the Chiefs; and which would have cleared the political horizon from those dark clouds which covered it, and almost shut out the light of hope.

How much may the fate of millions depend upon the genius of one man! if Greece had then had an Alfred, a Wallace, or a Washington, she might now have been the wonder and admiration of the world, instead of the byword and mockery of those who think the many are made for the service of the few.

But to return from this digression. The feeble government of Greece had retired from Napoli to Egina, where it continued to go through with all the forms of business, sending orders, and receiving despatches, with much ceremony. But the soul had fled from the body;—the treasury was empty. The proceedings, therefore, were very inefficient; the Turks, it is true, for the moment, were inactive; they seemed also entirely exhausted, and reasonable men saw in this alone, any hope for their country; for by land nothing could be done. This was the melancholy situation to which the ignorant, but virtuous and patriotic peasantry of Greece, had become reduced, by the selfishness and wickedness of the unprincipled military chieftains, and of the aristocracy or primates.

There was but little hope of preventing the Turks from completely mastering continental Greece, by any opposition on land. General Church had not the necessary means, nor the energy and talent to possess himself of those means; and the native chieftains had neither the necessary knowledge, nor honesty.

But it is as true now, as it was in the days of Themistocles, that the only safety of Greece is in wooden walls. If a naval superiority could once be obtained over the Turks, all might be well; for, in the present state of Turkey, it would be almost impossible for the Sultan to send an army from Constantinople to Greece; the Pashaws would not allow his troops to pass through their territories, without throwing a thousand obstructions in the way; then, it would be very difficult to keep up a line of communication, and transport the necessary supplies

and heavy ammunition through such a rough country. These could be brought by the fleet alone.

Ibrahim depended for every ounce of bread upon Egypt; if the sea were commanded by the Greeks, he must have evacuated the country in three months. Every thing depended, therefore, upon obtaining the mastery on the sea; the fate of Greece hung upon the exertions of Cochrane, and all eyes were turned upon him. We have seen how he failed in his land operations before Athens, and that after spending the little money that had been put into his hands by the European committee, he found himself without the means of fitting out a fleet.

In June, however, he departed for Alexandria with the *Helias* frigate, and the *Sauveur*, accompanied by *Miaulis* in his brig, and a few other captains, making a squadron of sixteen sail. His object was nothing less than the utter destruction of the whole Egyptian fleet, which then lay in Alexandria, and which was preparing to carry large supplies, and a reinforcing army to Ibrahim Pashaw.

Cochrane's plan was to send in fire-ships among the fleet; and two entered, with positive orders not to set fire to their vessels in the outer port, but to run in to the inner one, and there to fire them. But this was commanding them to sacrifice themselves; for, if they passed any vessels in the outer port, and left them behind, how were they to escape themselves in their boats? Neither of the captains had sufficient spirit of devotion, and on entering the outer port, and finding a large brig of war, they both of them ran their brulots afoul of her, set her on fire, and burnt her.

Immediately twenty-five Egyptian frigates and corvettes came out, and Cochrane was obliged to retire.

He seems to have learned enough of the character of Hydriote sailors, and of the difficulties of his situation, to relinquish some of his extravagant ideas. Instead of talking as formerly about the plunder of Smyrna and Asia Minor, he writes to the Greek government, that the only hope of Greece was in the exertions that might be made with fire-ships; or by blocking up the Turkish fleet in Alexandria, by sinking old vessels, loaded with stones, in the narrow entrance to the port.

He sailed with the *Hellas* afterwards, for the waters of *Misilonghi*, where he attacked two Turkish frigates, but effected nothing. His sailors behaved exactly in the way that any reasonable man ought to have expected they would have done; they were disobedient to orders, and quitted their quarters. *Cochrane* had never attempted to discipline them at all; they were just as disorderly as on board their own merchant vessels; and *Cochrane* found the evil of this, at a moment when the effect was most mortifying.

On the tenth he fell in with a squadron of small Turkish vessels, accompanied by a corvette, a brig, and two smaller vessels of war, coming along the coast from *Arta* to *Navarino*. He pursued them, and overtook the corvette and brig, and endeavoured to make them surrender without resistance. But the Turks would not, and he engaged the corvette; while the *Sauveur*, a large Greek brig, attacked the Turkish brig.

The corvette was a beautiful one, mounting twenty-eight brass cannon, and she fought the *Hellas*, a sixty-four, more than forty minutes; and only surrendered, after losing fifty-six men, and being entirely cut to pieces in spars and rigging. *Cochrane*, however, endeavoured to spare her hull, and this will account for the long resistance.

The Turkish brig was more easily taken. They were brought to *Poros*, and their crews sent to *Asia Minor*, and set at liberty.

Soon afterwards, *Captain Hastings*, in the steam-corvette *Perseverance*, accompanied by *Captain Thomas* in the *Sauveur*, with several gun-boats, passed the castles at the entrance to the gulf of *Corinth*, in spite of a heavy fire from them, and proceeded toward *Salona*. In that bay, *Hastings*, found one fourteen gun brig, three schooners of twelve guns, two armed transports, and two boves.

He ran in with the steam-vessel, and commenced the action by firing shells* and hot shot, and in less than ten minutes the

* The idea of throwing shells horizontally from cannon at sea, is not original with *Captain Hastings*; but he deserves great credit for his perseverance and skill in the trial of them. This is the third time in which he has used them successfully against hostile shipping; and this, surely, is enough to draw the at-

Turkish brig was in a blaze—one of the schooners was kindling—a transport brig sunk forward, and was on fire aft, and another transport deserted. The *Sauveur* had now come up, and the destruction of all the Turkish vessels in the place was soon effected.

This gallant and well conducted affair, showed how serviceable armed steam-vessels might be made, especially if armed in the way Captain Hastings had his.

But this was all that was effected; Cochrane was unable, with this small force, to oppose the vast armament of Constantinople or Alexandria. The latter brought fresh supplies to Ibrahim; the hope of seeing the rest of the steam-vessels that Greece had paid so dearly for, was fast vanishing; Cochrane, the last hope of Greece, had been months with her; he had not been able to make head against her enemy; and the fond dream of the patriot, the philanthropist, the Philhellene, seemed gradually growing fainter and fainter.

tion of inquiring naval men to the subject. The use of them is so simple, and their efficacy so much greater than that of cannon balls, that it seems they will some day become general; and the navy that first adopts them, will probably gain great advantage. A shell can be thrown horizontally from a cannon, with the same ease, the same accuracy, and almost as far, as a solid ball. When it strikes an enemy's ship, it does the same execution as a cannon ball, even if it does not explode; but if it does explode, it is easy to conceive how much greater mischief it does. If it buries itself in the side, it tears every thing to pieces in the explosion, and probably sets the wood on fire; if it explodes on the deck it commits ten times the havoc among the men, that a cannon ball sweeping across it would do. The objection to the fuses being thrown out, by the violence of the motion of the shell in issuing from the cannon, is to be remedied by an iron fuse screwed into the shell. Shells, with fuses properly prepared, may be fired in *ricochet* on the water, without the explosion being prevented by the fuse getting wet. And the use of the fuse can be carried to so great perfection and accuracy, as to obviate the necessity of the use of percussion powder, which must be dangerous to those handling the shells; for an accidental fall might explode them.

CHAPTER V.

Exhausted and almost hopeless situation of Greece—Sustained in a great measure by European charities—American Philhellenism—Treaty of the 6th July—Expedition to Scio—to Candia—Operations of Gen. Church—of Lord Cochrane—Battle of Navarino—Present situation and prospects of Greece.

WE have now arrived at the darkest period of modern Grecian story; to the period when the Greeks were literally, a people "scattered and peeled;" for seven years commerce had been at a stand, the vessels lay stript of their sails,—the rotting cordage was dropping upon their decks: the merchant was counting over the little that was left of his gains, to see if it would suffice him for flight; the sailor had turned pirate, and had his hand against every man; the soldier had become a freebooter, and thought only of getting a subsistence; the peasant had become a homeless wanderer in the mountains, from whence he saw the plains, and once fruitful vallies, a barren and blackened waste.

Ibrahim Pashaw, it is true, was inactive; for a year he had not struck a blow of any consequence; but then, this very inaction was ruining Greece. She was dying from exhaustion, more than from the direct blows inflicted by the Turk. On the Continent there was nothing produced; Continental Greece might be said to be lost, with the exception of three fortresses, and their surrounding Provinces; and there were no means of resuscitating her. The soldier was ready enough to fight, he demanded only bread and shoes; but these he must have or the army be broken up; a soldier could always find something to eat when wandering about the country, but the moment a few thousand were collected in one place to form an army, they consumed every thing about them, and were obliged to disperse.

There was no want of sailors; but had the Greek sailors

been more generous and disinterested than those of any other nation, still, it was not rational to suppose they would continue voluntarily to serve on board the vessels without pay, and leave their wives and children in a state of want.

Greece had continued her struggle for seven years; she had shewn enough of courage, of patriotism, of long suffering, and generous sacrifice, to make her attempt worthy of her high renown; but her strength was now broken; she would not succumb, but was about to perish; Greek and Turk could not live together again,—and the patriot shuddered when he thought that his nation, which had been preserved through a thousand vicissitudes for thirty centuries, was now about to be trampled out of existence. But we are anticipating.

It has been said that the resources of Greece were almost completely exhausted, and that her hope was only from a like exhaustion on the part of her enemy; and in the exertions which the friends of liberty and the rights of man, were making in every part of the world, to sustain her in her unequal struggle.

We would gladly enter now into a detail of those noble and generous efforts, by which the Philhellenes of Europe had been able to remit to Greece such effectual and continued assistance, as alone had supported the war for many months past; but our limits will allow only a slight allusion to them. Switzerland took the lead; in every mountain hamlet, the peasantry associated together to raise funds for the relief of the Greeks; they had regular times of meetings, they eagerly sought the news from Greece, they rejoiced in her successes, they deplored her losses, they shut their eyes upon, or kindly forgot her faults; and they set aside a portion of their weekly earning, to contribute to the general fund. Nor was this (as in the United States) a sudden and passing enthusiasm, and temporary exertion; it was a rational, systematic, and continued effort, and it extended throughout Germany and France; Committees were formed in every Province, who remitted the funds collected in their various circles, to the General Committees in the Capitals; and these last, having Agents of high respecta-

bility in Greece, sent to them the cash, to expend as they might find most necessary.

This spirit of Philhellenism extended through all ranks; and to the honour of the fair sex be it said, that females encouraged and kept it alive, not only by their approval, but by active exertion. High born dames went from door to door, asking contributions for the Greeks; and the spirit of Lafayette, descended to his children, was active in promoting the cause of liberty and humanity.

The result of all this was, that the Agents appointed by the Committees to reside in Greece, and apply the money to the wants of the Government, were enabled to afford very efficient aid; and most of the late warlike expeditions undertaken by the Greeks, were supported from the fund of the European charity.

Nor were the inhabitants of the United States all disregarding of the call, which as freemen and Christians was made to them. In the year 1824, there was a pretty general excitement throughout the northern and middle States, which resulted in contributions for the aid of the Greeks, to the amount of \$80,000, which was transmitted to the London Greek Committee. Nothing more was done, however, until the latter part of 1827, when the people who had resisted the appeal made to them as freemen, were moved by the voice of wailing which reached them from Greece; they heard that thousands of homeless, half naked wretches were pining in want,—and the hand of charity was opened. Committees were formed in every part of the country to raise contribution of provisions and clothing.

Seven cargoes were dispatched under the charge of faithful Agents, who were directed to apply them solely to the relief of the wants of the old men, women, and children; “to the suffering non-combatants of Greece.”

It is not our duty to enter into a detail of the proceedings, by which the Agents of the Committees succeeded in alleviating the miseries of thousands and tens of thousands of half starving Greeks; we have often alluded to the wretchedness which was prevalent in the country, and it will require but a moderate exertion of fancy, to conceive the joy communicated

to the refugees, who were living in caverns, and swamps, or wretched wigwams, upon the sight of the food, sent to them without money and without price.—Besides, those Agents are about giving to the public a detailed account of their proceedings; and we shall here merely remark, that charities never were raised from motives more honourable to the human heart, their application never was more faithful and effectual, and their reception never caused more joy and gratitude, than did those sent to the starving population of Greece.

The news of the arrival of those vessels, spread with astonishing rapidity through the country; it was heard in the hiding-places of the mountains, and their inhabitants came running to the sea-shore, with the eagerness which hunger alone could have given. They came from many leagues in the interior, they crowded round the vessels of our country; and those crowds presented pictures of human woe and wretchedness, which can never be exceeded.

They were not mere Lazzaroni; there stood a crowd of old men, women, and children, with dirty-ragged garments, bare and lacerated feet, their skins sunburnt, their countenances pale and emaciated, their eyes sunken and hollow; but there were no beggars—they had seen better days, and they stood in speechless misery. There was many an old man whose goodly sons had been cut down, and who was now demanding the charity he once dispensed; and he received his portion in silence,—he was choking with emotion,—and the tears that rolled down his cheeks, were the only sign of his thanks; the women sobbed out their gratitude, and the little children clapped their hands, and danced in the fulness of their joy.

The wants of thousands were supplied, though the supply was only momentary; thousands put up their prayers to God for their benefactors, and their children learned first to lisp the name of America, with a blessing. The news of the distributions extending all over the country, produced a still greater effect, by the encouragement it gave to the people, who saw that they were considered worthy of having an helping hand stretched out to them from across the Globe.

Permanent charity too, was administered from an Hospital,

established solely by the generosity of the American Public. But this relief, given to individual suffering, was not to achieve the independence of Greece. We have noticed the wants of the country ; Cochrane had been for a long time making exertions, but had effected nothing ; the confidence placed in his power was lost ; the patriot looked with some confidence to the arrival of the new chosen President, Capo D' Istria* ; but it was uncertain whether he would be allowed to come by the European Powers, and still more uncertain, whether he would be able to raise means sufficient to re-organise the affairs of State. The prospects were dreary indeed ; when news arrived of the signing of the treaty of the 6th July, between the ministers of Britain, France, and Russia, for the pacification and settlement of Greece.

We shall leave to others better versed in the labyrinth of European politics, to explain the motives of this strange paper, which demanded of Turkey the relinquishment of her acquisitions, after the Powers had so long pursued a policy, which virtually said, "the Greeks are the rebel subjects of the Porte, let it conquer them if it can."

The reception of this news caused the greatest joy among those who could be made to believe it ; Government was assured of it in such a way that there could be little doubt of it.

But preparations were made by the Government, and the leading men to make most of the situation of things ; and, as it was supposed that the base of any accommodation between the belligerents, to be effected by the European powers, would be the principle of *uti possidetis*, they made preparations for extending their possessions.

An expedition was immediately set on foot for the re-conquest of Scio ; this was principally effected by the exertions of the Secretary of State, G. Glarakis, who laboured most indefatigably until he accomplished his object. He was ably se-

* Capo D'Istria is a Greek of Corfu, aged about fifty-five. He entered early into the service of Russia, and soon distinguished himself as an able diplomatist. He maintained for some years his post as confidential Minister to Alexander, and resigned it voluntarily.

conded by all the Sciotes who had escaped the destruction of their island, and who by industry in commerce were again amassing money in Europe. Large contributions were made, and sufficient funds were raised to get provision, ammunition, and every necessary for 1500 men, besides a body of 1000 of the disciplined troops. The whole were put under the command of Col. Favier, and sailed for Scio on the 22d Oct.

General Church was feebly exerting his feeble force, to sustain the inhabitants of the northern part of the Peloponnesus, and the southern parts of Roumelia, in the revolt; but they were flagging fast.

Cochrane, crippled for want of money, was unable to effect any thing: a second steam-vessel had arrived, but with an engine so weak and miserably constructed, that no dependence could be placed upon her; she would not make four miles per hour, with every advantage; and more frequently was quite unmanageable.

An expedition to Candia was preparing by the Candiotes, in the hope of including their island in the parts to be separated from Turkey by the European Powers; Greece was making a last and desperate effort, the only hope of which, was founded on the weakness of the Porte.

But all hearts were now aroused from despondency, by the news of the battle of Navarino; Greece was electrified by this sudden stroke of good fortune: the news of it came like a thunderclap upon the Divan, filling it with terror and rage, at an occurrence as unexpected there, as in the Cabinets of Europe.

In order to enforce the observation of that part of the treaty of the 6th July which provides for a cessation of hostilities, the British, French, and Russian fleets in the Archipelago, received orders from their respective Governments, to prevent the Turks from making any hostile movement by sea. The admirals signified their intentions to the different Turkish Commanders, and to Ibrahim Pashaw; the Alexandrian and Constantinople fleets were then in the spacious port of Navarino; and Codrington accepted the word of honour of Ibrahim Pashaw, that no movement should be made.

This was violated however, the moment an opportunity presented itself to the Turks ; and the European Admirals came to the resolution, that they could only effectually stop hostilities " by taking position with their squadrons in Navarino, in order to renew to Ibrahim propositions, which entering into the spirit of the Treaty, were evidently to the advantage of the Porte itself."*

They came to the conclusion then of entering the harbour of Navarino, not with the intention or thought of destroying the Turkish fleet, but on the supposition that this procedure " would, without effusion of blood, and without hostilities, but simply by the imposing presence of the squadron, produce a determination leading to the desired object."†

On the 20th Oct., the combined British, French, and Russian squadrons, led by Admiral Codrington, Commander of the British squadron, entered the harbour of Navarino, their force consisting of 29 vessels, viz. 10 line-of-battle ships, 10 frigates, 4 brigs, the rest schooners.

The Turko-Egyptian fleet consisted of about 70 vessels of war, viz. 3 line-of-battle ships, 5 fifty-four gun ships, 15 frigates, 25 corvettes, and 12 brigs ; the rest smaller vessels ; besides 40 transports. They were moored in form of a crescent, with springs on their cables, and having six brulots anchored to windward ; and the whole lying under cover of the batteries of the town of Navarino.

On the entrance of the European fleet, the Turks evidently supposed they had come to engage them, and prepared for battle in their confused way ; without other order than the example of the Capitana Bey ; the Egyptian Admiral Moharem Bey, in fact, declaring that he would not fight. But before all the European vessels had come to anchor, a boat sent by one of them to a Turkish fireship, requesting her to move, was fired upon, and some of her men killed ; this was answered by a return fire of musketry ; an Egyptian corvette then imprudently fired a cannon shot into the Dartmouth, which of course brought on a return fire ; and the Turks madly answering it from several vessels, part of the line began an action.

* Codrington's despatch.

† Codrington's despatch.

Meantime Admiral Codrington in the *Asia*, desirous of preventing a general action, fired only upon the ships of the line of the Constantinople Admiral, who had fired first; the Egyptian Admiral lying upon his other bow was not molested, until Codrington sending his pilot (a Greek) to the Egyptian Admiral, to signify his intention of not fighting, if he could avoid it, the boat was fired upon, the pilot and some men were killed, and the Egyptian fired upon the *Asia*. Then Codrington opening his tremendous broadside upon the Egyptian on one side, and the Turks on the other, poured forth such a terrible fire as in a few moments reduced them both to mere wrecks, and they swung utterly destroyed to leeward; thus uncovering the second Turkish line of vessels which lay behind them, and which opened their whole fire upon Codrington.

The action now became general; the vessels of each nation striving to outdo the other, the Turks firing with the blind fury of desperation. They were more than double in number, and warmly seconded by the whole line of land batteries, poured forth such a tremendous volley of shot, as well directed; must have utterly destroyed the Europeans in a few minutes; but the latter sent back as rapidly, a smaller but much more dreadful fire; for every gun was well pointed, every shot told, and in a few minutes it was seen which way the scale would turn.

Burning with generous emulation, each European Commander strove to distinguish himself; boats were sent out, and the men boarding the Turkish brulots, cut them away, set them on fire, and let them drive in among their fleet. In a few minutes the scene became more terrible by the flames which began to rise from several vessels, and their successively blowing up:—the two long lines of ships, from which roared two thousand cannon—the blazing fireships driving too and fro among the huge Turkish vessels, whose falling masts, shattered hulls, and gory decks, began to show how the battle went; the sea covered with spars and half burned masses of wood, to which clung thousands of Turks escaped from their exploded vessels—the line of batteries on the shore, which blazed away all the time, and which, as well as the battlements of the town, were covered with the anxious soldiers of Ibrahim;—the noise—the explo-

sions—the flames—the smoke—the hurraa, of the European sailors—the curses, and the Allah shouts of the Turks, presented one of the most impressive scenes ever witnessed.

The battle raged from three o'clock P. M. until seven; and ended as every contest must end, where one side opposes only superior force directed by blind fury, to cool courage, discipline, and science. The Turkish fleet was almost utterly destroyed, many ships had been blown up, sunk, or burned; the rest were pierced through and through, shattered, dismantled, or driven on shore; not more than fifteen vessels had escaped undamaged; and more than five thousand Turks had been killed. The rest were overwhelmed with confusion and rage, but not with fear; and they continued during the night madly to set fire to, and blow up their vessels which were on shore or disabled; regardless of the word sent by Codrington, that he had finished.

Thus an action, commenced by accident, ended in the almost complete destruction of the naval power of Turkey. The news reached the Cabinets of Europe, exciting surprise and regret; it reached the Sultan, stunning and overwhelming him; but his first impulse to deluge his empire in the blood of infidels, was checked by a feeling of impotency; the day had gone by, when Turkey would oppose a single European power, much less the greatest united; but to Greece, to poor Greece, the news was the reprieve of her death-warrant; joy and exultation were in every heart, rejoicing was on every tongue, hope beamed on every countenance; and from Arta to Thermopylæ, from Pindus to Taygetus, Ellas felt that her chains were broken; she was freed for ever from the yoke of Mussulman bondage.

The right arm of Turkey was broken and withered; Greece was now put more on a par with her, and felt that, though European interference should be from that moment at an end, she could continue the conflict to a successful termination.

The Treaty, signed at London on the 6th July, 1827, was sealed in blood at Navarino, on the 20th of October, and relieved the world of any anxiety about the contest between Greece and Turkey; for, from the moment the first cannon

was fired on that day, the European Powers seem pledged to keep back the invader. But the same interest continues to be felt by a generous public, who begin to see that the hope of Grecian Independence is not alone a dream of the enthusiast; and the same anxiety exists about the progress of events, in that interesting section of the world.

The result of the battle of Navarino convinced every Greek, that the freedom of his country from Turkish thraldom was rendered a matter of the strongest probability; and the general and most ardent wish of the people, was immediately to return to their occupations, to their cultivation, and commerce; they were not only impoverished by the long struggle, but completely exhausted; and wished only for a cessation of external and internal troubles; confident, however, that their strong inclination for republican institutions would be gratified, and looking with the most sanguine hope, for the coming of Capo d'Istria, whom all, without exception, regarded as the only man capable of reconciling the different factions; or rather, of putting them all down by the strong arm of an Executive power.

The subsequent military events have been of little consequence. Favier failed entirely in his undertaking against Scio: the revolt in Candia continued with varying success; Church appears to have effected nothing; Cochrané vanished from the scene, after having performed an ineffectual part. It is to be hoped, however, that he is attempting to get out the Steam-vessels, which through his obstinacy, have been lying useless in the Thames; if he succeeds, he will in some measure discharge the debt of service which he owes; and Greece will have at once, a national naval force, which (there is not the least doubt) will enable her to keep the mastery of the seas.

Capo d'Istria, on his arrival at Napoli on the 19th January, was received with enthusiastic joy; and immediately proceeded to adopt vigorous and salutary measures. The Constitution was re-modelled; greater power given to the Executive; and Capo D'Istria was inaugurated President of Greece, and took the oath of office. He appointed Speredion Tricupi, Secretary of State; Petrom Bey, or Mavromichalis, Secreta-