

**"Founded on freedom and virtue" : documents illustrating the impact  
in the United States of the Greek War of Independence, 1821-1829  
/ edited by Constantine G. Hatzidimitriou.**

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DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING  
THE IMPACT IN THE UNITED STATES  
OF THE GREEK WAR OF INDEPENDENCE  
1821–1829

Edited by  
**Constantine G. Hatzidimitriou**

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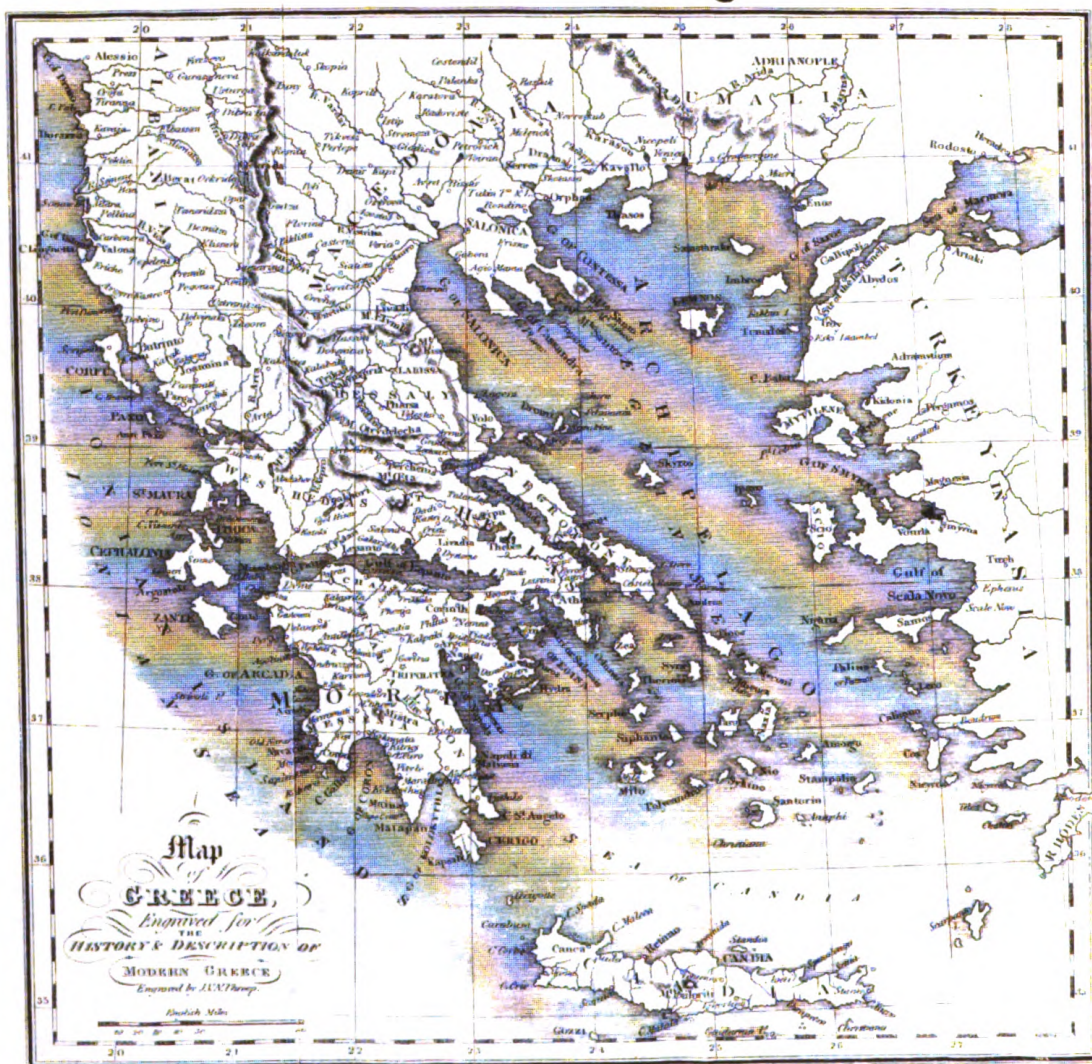




**"FOUNDED ON  
FREEDOM AND VIRTUE"**

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THE IMPACT IN THE UNITED STATES  
OF THE GREEK WAR OF INDEPENDENCE  
1821-1829**

*To Bonnie + Tom,  
to you... the newest  
generation of fighters for  
Greece and the ideals  
of freedom and virtue  
from,  
Kathren + Alex Spentzos*



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ΕΝΘΑ ΤΙΘΑΙΒΩΣΣΟΥΣΙ ΜΕΛΙΣΣΑΙ

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**"Founded on Freedom and Virtue"**  
Documents Illustrating the Impact in the United States  
of the Greek War of Independence, 1821-1829

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*Polemiko Mouseio* (War Museum), Athens

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## ABBREVIATIONS

*Source references in the text are given in the upper left hand corner of each entry.*

- |                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| Adams                    | Charles Francis Adams, (ed.) <i>Memoirs of John Quincy Adams Comprising Portions of his Diary from 1795 to 1848, Volume VI.</i> Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1875  |
| Booras                   | Harris J. Booras, <i>Hellenic Independence and America's Contribution to the Cause.</i><br>Rutland, Vermont: The Tuttle Company, 1934   |
| Howe                     | Laura E. Richards, (ed.) <i>Letters and Journals of Samuel Gridley Howe.</i> Boston: Dana Estes & Company, 1909   |
| Lazos                    | Chrestos D. Lazos, <i>E Amerike kai o Rolos tes sten Epanastase tou 1821.</i> Athens: Ekdoseis Papazese, 1984<br>2 Volumes  |
| Madison                  | James Madison, <i>Letters and Other Writings of James Madison.</i> Vol. III, 1816-1828; Vol. IV, 1829-1836.<br>New York: R. Worthington, 1884   |
| Madison, <i>Writings</i> | Gaillard Hunt, (ed.) <i>The Writings of James Madison.</i> Vol. IX.<br>New York, 1910.  |
| Miller, <i>Condition</i> | Col. Jonathan P. Miller, <i>The Condition of Greece in 1827 and 1828; Being an Exposition of the Poverty, Distress, and Misery, to Which the Inhabitants Have Been Reduced by the Destruction of Their Towns and Villages, and the Ravages of Their Country, by a Merciless Turkish Foe.</i> New-York: J. & J. Harper, 1828 |
| Miller, <i>Letters</i>   | Col. Jonathan P. Miller, <i>Letters From Greece.</i><br>Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1825,   |

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**T**HE IDEA FOR THIS BOOK was conceived over twenty years ago when Aristide Caratzas and I worked together at Columbia University, as part of an effort to establish a Modern Greek studies program at that institution. During the years 1978-79 I also had an opportunity to consult the unique collection at the Gennadeion Library, as a fellow of that distinguished institution. An exceptional bookseller's catalogue, titled "Greece and America during the Greek War of Independence 1821-1833," issued in the Summer, 1978 by our friend W. B. O'Neill, also provided direction to this project. With the advent of the one-hundred and seventy-fifth anniversary of the outbreak of the Greek Revolution, I suggested to Aristide that we revive our old project as a commemorative volume. It is only because of his steadfast support, editorial contribution and constant encouragement that it has been completed.

I must also thank my family, especially my wife Peggy and son George, who have always supported my passion for modern Greece; and my mother Elli, who has provided me with spacious office space and the resources to pursue my studies. A number of institutions also have provided me with crucial assistance over the years in addition to Columbia University and the Gennadeion. The librarians at Anatolia College, the American Center in Thessalonica, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the New Hampshire Historical Society, the National Historical Museum in Athens, the New York Historical Society and St. John's University Interlibrary Loan Services all have assisted me in locating rare publications and periodicals. I must also thank Victor Papacostas, Peter Topping and the late John Petropulos for helpful suggestions and encouragement, and Speros Vryonis, Jr. for his careful reading of parts of this manuscript and for his valuable suggestions. Recently, my friend and colleague Steve Frangos provided the Appendix article on the Hiram Powers statue of *The Greek Slave*, and William Kasuli obtained for us the photograph of this work from the Brooklyn Museum; and

Spyros Koutsoupakis, Gary DeFrancesco, Pyrrhus Ruches in New York and Christiane L. Caratzas in Athens also have aided me with publications and editorial advice at various times.

Of course, it must be stressed that the responsibility for any omissions or shortcomings are mine alone.

CONSTANTINE G. HATZIDIMITRIOU  
Astoria, New York



Γκαρδιακά χαροποιήθη  
καὶ τοῦ Βάσινγκτον ἡ γῆ,  
καὶ τὰ σίδερα ἐνθυμήθη  
ποῦ τὴν ἔδεσαν καὶ αὐτή.

[Heartfelt sympathy sprang forth  
also from Washington's land,  
remembering the shackles  
that once bound her.]

Dionysios Solomos, *Hymn to Liberty*  
(Greek National Anthem, Stanza 22)

Now Columbia feels a glow,  
Freemen shall to freemen show,  
Gallantly to aid the blow,  
On for Greece and victory.

J. M. D., in *The New-York Mirror and*  
*Ladies Gazette*, I, January 17, 1824

I have thus, dear Sir according to your request, given you some thoughts on the subject of national government. They are the result of the observations and reflections of an Octogenary, who has passed fifty years of trial and trouble in the various grades of his country's service. They are not but outlines which you will better fill up, and accommodate to the habits and circumstances of your countrymen. Should they furnish a single idea which may be useful to them, I shall fancy it a tribute rendered to the Muses of your Homer, your Demosthenes, and the splendid constellation of eagles and heroes, whose blood is still flowing in your veins & whose men to are still resting, as a heavy debt on the shoulders of the living, and <sup>the</sup> future races of men. While we offer to heaven the warmest supplications for the restoration of your countrymen to the freedom and science of their ancestors, permit me to assure yourself of the cordial esteem and high respect which I bear and cherish towards yourself personally.

Th Jefferson

Fragment of the letter by President Thomas Jefferson  
addressed to Adamantios Korais, dated October 23, 1823

# THE AMERICAN RESPONSE TO THE GREEK WAR OF INDEPENDENCE: AN HISTORICAL OUTLINE

*Constantine G. Hatzidimitriou*

**T**HE GREEK REVOLUTION WAS A COMPLEX AFFAIR that lasted almost a decade and had a devastating impact upon the lives and material well-being of the Greek people. It is difficult for us to imagine the sacrifices and the desperate situation that the fighters of 1821 faced. By 1826 it looked as if the war were lost, and that after five years of struggle the revolution would be over. It is difficult to see how without foreign intervention, the contest would have resulted in the formation of a Greek state.

There is much that remains little understood about the progress of the struggle, the intervention by foreign powers and the motives that contributed to their decisions, that ultimately resulted in the formation of an independent Greek state in 1830. However, it is not my purpose here to go into these details. In this brief overview I will attempt to provide some sense of the role that the United States played in that momentous struggle, and in particular the crucial contribution made by the American people in saving thousands of Greek lives. It is a story that has gone largely unnoticed, but one that deserves to be better known because in a broad sense it has many parallels to subsequent Greek-American relations.

There are three basic components to the American involvement in the Greek War of Independence. The first concerns the official and unofficial role of the American government; the second is the story of the reaction of the American public and its contributions to the war; and the third concerns those of the American philhellenes who actually went to Greece and participated in the struggle. Each of these components relates directly to specific documents in this collection, and it is to these primary sources that the reader should turn for additional information and documentation.

## THE OFFICIAL U.S. GOVERNMENT REACTION

Most of the attention in the literature has concentrated on the actions and statements of various U.S. government representatives concerning the struggle of the Greek people against Ottoman tyranny. It is important to recall that five American presidents: Jefferson, Monroe, John Adams, James Madison, and John Quincy Adams made very supportive statements concerning the struggle when in or out of office, and that these statements captured the imagination of their contemporaries. It is also significant that the most influential political leaders of early nineteenth century America, men such as Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, Sam Houston and Edward Everett, made strong public pronouncements concerning the official recognition of the revolutionaries and proposals for sending military aid. These federal pronouncements and activities also had their counterparts on the state level where governors and legislators made similar pronouncements and passed supportive resolutions.

The Messenian Senate, one of the earliest self-governing, local bodies set up by the revolutionary Greeks, had addressed an appeal for aid to the American people as early as late Spring, 1821. This was followed by an official request for recognition of the Greek government by Alexander Mavrokordatos in June 1823. The official American reaction was supportive but non-committal. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams counseled the President to be cautious since it was still unclear whether the insurgents would even succeed. Additionally, there were other considerations. The United States wished to avoid European entanglements that might have repercussions in its own hemisphere and had important commercial interests at stake in the Ottoman Empire. Thus, a general statement of support for the Greeks was coupled with the famous address of President Monroe on December 2, 1822 in which he declared what came to be known as the Monroe Doctrine, a policy of non-interference in European affairs with a reciprocal non-involvement of European powers in the Western hemisphere.

Despite the cautious stance of the Monroe administration, there were many in Congress, and even in the President's cabinet, who lobbied for an exception to be made on behalf of the Greeks. These lobbyists were informally known as the "Grecians." Their reaction was based on the widespread popularity of the Greek struggle throughout the country and their own set of personal values. Thus, led by Daniel Webster, they precipitated the great Greek debate in Congress in January 1824. The debate was over a resolution to send an official American agent or commissioner to Greece, and it lasted for several days. Despite eloquent speeches the resolution was defeated. However, the "Grecians" did not give up, and a secret American agent was finally dispatched to Greece in 1825. Despite a long fact-finding mission, the agent did not accomplish anything that had the slightest influence on American policy.

What was not known, except to a few insiders at the time, was that the United States had a secret agent in the Levant who was reporting to the President on the Greek war. He was in the region as early as 1820 and did not return to the United States until 1826. Similarly, the American Consul in Smyrna where Americans owned significant property and conducted a large volume of trade, also issued reports to the State Department concerning the Greek war. According to him, any action that compromised American neutrality would have severe consequences for U.S. ships and citizens in the region. Clearly, there were important commercial interests that would be threatened if the Ottoman government perceived any breach of American neutrality.

It was also a well kept secret that Commodore Rodgers, the commander of the American Squadron in the Aegean, had been charged by the Secretary of State to expedite the negotiation of a commercial treaty similar to those, which European powers had signed with the Ottoman government. Thus, while popular sympathy for the Greek cause was at its height throughout the United States, commercial interests drove the nation's foreign policy towards a course of action that, if it had become public, would have resulted in strong condemnation by the American people. No matter how popular the Greek cause was, or how much lobbying was done by influential citizens and politicians, secret diplomacy, based on the value of Turkish trade and strategic considerations, negated all official efforts to assist the Greeks.

Clearly, even the most ardent philhellenic legislators realized that the United States was not prepared to go to war with the Ottoman Empire on behalf of the Greeks. But all of the debates, resolutions and lobbying, with only one exception, did not even result in any official humanitarian aid throughout the 1820's. I will return to this little known exception in the appropriate place below. Let me now turn to the second component of my story, the reaction of the American people.

#### THE POPULAR AMERICAN REACTION

To a great degree, the pro-Greek politicians reacted to the unprecedented general outpouring of public support throughout the United States on behalf of the struggling Greeks. This phenomenon was called "Greek fever" or "Greek fire" by the press of the time. Between 1821 and 1830, hundreds of articles were written and reprinted in American newspapers, and thousands of ordinary citizens formed ad hoc local committees and participated in town meetings and fundraising events. Greek personalities such as Ypsilanti, Botzaris, Kolokotronis, Bouboulina and Mavrokordatos and place names such as Souli, Chios and Mesolongi, previously obscure, now became well-known to the American public. These political and philanthropic actions had their cultural counter-

parts. As is well known, many of the most significant poets, writers, artists, dramatists of early nineteenth century America produced works related to the Greek struggle. It is probably safe to say that Greek personalities did not enjoy the same level of mass recognition again in America until the early 1960's when motion pictures and the Onassis phenomenon captured the popular imagination.

Why did the Greek struggle capture the popular imagination? There were many reasons why America was fertile ground for such a movement. Ancient Greek language and literature were still very much part of its educational system and in both high and popular American culture it was still assumed that Western ideals owed a debt to Classical Greek civilization. Another factor was the fervent Christianity which dominated society. Most Americans perceived the struggle in Greece in religious terms as a battle between merciless Muslims and enslaved Christians who longed for religious freedom. Finally, we must also take into account the fact that most Americans viewed the Greek war as a struggle against tyranny, similar to their own recent national revolution. They considered the Greek revolt a republican struggle against absolutism with democratic goals based on classical models. The revolutionaries helped cultivate these impressions by writing appeals designed to flatter American sensibilities and reinforce their preconceptions. Additionally, a very successful national publicity campaign was orchestrated behind the scenes by well-connected philhellenes such as Edward Everett.

These factors resulted in a popular outpouring of support for the Greek struggle that was unprecedented and threatened the young nation's well established policy of avoiding foreign entanglements. Although "Greek fever" was a national phenomenon it became centered in the northeast, particularly in New York, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania. Greek Committees were established in many cities and towns, particularly in connection with educational institutions and churches. Many of these groups raised significant funds by holding balls, lectures, theatrical performances and special church sermons. All social classes and ethnic groups participated in these efforts and the newspaper accounts of the time record among others a fund-raising ball held by African-Americans in New York City on behalf of the Greeks. Elsewhere, a group of young ladies erected a huge white cross in Brooklyn Heights to call attention to their fund-raising efforts, while craftsmen donated a portion of their weekly earnings to the cause.

These funds were sent to Europe through relationships between American and European Greek Committees and up to 1825 were largely used to buy armaments and supplies for the Greek soldiers fighting for their freedom. Obviously, these actions did not comply with the official policy of United States neutrality. However, the government did not dare to interfere and the Ottoman authorities protested in vain at the actions of



Small mortar from the frigate *Hellas*. One of the few artifacts to survive the sinking of this once mighty vessel. *Polemiko Mouseio* (War Museum), Athens

private American citizens. There is no accurate way to gauge the volume or significance of this private American aid to Greece. It certainly amounted to millions of dollars in terms of present value, and had a very positive impact upon the opinion that the Greek government and public formed of America, judging from the documents that record the gratitude expressed at the time.

This popular outpouring of support also resulted in a brief but important relaxation of official American neutrality that resulted in an American-built warship, the *Hope*—renamed *Hellas*—being added to the Greek revolutionary navy. The American public was both inspired and outraged by the so-called “Frigate Affair.” The scandal over the building of two frigates in New York between 1824 and 1826 for the Greek revolutionary government symbolized many of the complexities of the United States involvement in the Greek war. The press eventually exposed the so-called “Frigate Affair” in which certain American commercial establishments had taken advantage of Greek inexperience and desperation to maximize their profits. Privately, even President James Madison acknowledged that their behavior had excited public indignation and involved lamentable abuse.

The scandal pitted those who placed commercial interest and American neutrality above lofty ideals such as freedom and virtue, against American philhellenes such as Everett, Clay and Webster, who would use any possible means to send aid to the struggling Greeks. Although it is clear that the Greek deputies in London who authorized the financing of the enterprise had overestimated their resources, while the conduct of the New York merchants and courts involved in the affair was shameful and embarrassed those Americans who had publicly supported and raised funds for the Greek Cause.

Yet, in the final analysis, despite many twists and turns the scandal brought together a coalition of bankers, merchants, lawyers, philanthropists, and prominent politicians including two American presidents, who helped the Greek government save one of the frigates by persuading Congress to pass legislation that enabled the U.S. Navy to purchase the other. During the summer of 1826, the *Hope* finally set sail for Greece commanded by an American naval lieutenant at the head of a large group of American volunteers. It was allowed to sail out of New York harbor despite American laws that could have prevented the building and releasing of a warship destined for a foreign nation engaged in a war in which the United States was officially neutral. In this instance the partisans of freedom and virtue were able to prevail over those who argued against antagonizing the corrupt Ottoman regime and on behalf of regional commercial interests.

Eventually, "Greek fever" cooled as news slowly reached America of the disunity and military disasters that took place in Greece by the end of 1826. The character and purpose of private American aid changed after 1826, based on new information about the war that arrived from eyewitnesses. A new wave of support for the Greeks was the result. However, instead of funds and supplies to support the Greek war effort Americans sent ship after ship full of relief supplies to save the women and children of Greece from starvation. It was the first and most extensive example of American philanthropy in United States nineteenth century history and resulted from the deliberate actions of a small number of Americans who knew the conditions in Greece from actual experience. It is now time to turn to the role of these heroic American volunteers.

#### THE AMERICAN PHILHELLENES IN GREECE

In many respects the story of the handful of Americans who participated in the Greek war as volunteers is the most dramatic and interesting component of United States involvement. Although there were many merchants, tourists and seamen who passed

through Greece during the war, we know for certain that approximately twenty Americans either fought in Greece or participated in philanthropic activities there. Very little is currently known of the activities of many of these brave men, although future research might bring more details to light. It is interesting to note, that among them was an African-American named James Williams of Baltimore, who although not quite free in his own country travelled to a far-away land to fight for the freedom of others.

Of these American heroes, three individuals stand out for their devotion to the Greek struggle and contribution to stimulating American interest in and aid to the Greek cause. The trio was largely responsible for securing the massive amount of philanthropic aid that was sent to Greece from America after 1826, and in most cases personally participated in its distribution. The first American volunteer to join the Greeks was young George Jarvis, a New Yorker who had grown up in Europe and travelled to the front with other European philhellenes in 1822. Among the westerners who went to Greece he "went native," to a greater degree than the others, a fact that shocked many of his foreign contemporaries. Jarvis not only took the trouble to learn the language well, but he soon abandoned his western mode of life, dress and warfare and became a Greek captain with a band of fighters of his own. He wore a *foustanella*, lived in the wild Greek mountains and participated in the fighting and factionalism of the Greek *klephts* (guerrilla fighters) as an equal. He became generally known as Kapetan Zervis to his Greek contemporaries who mention his heroism in their accounts of the war (where he was referred to as *to liontari*, the lion). Until his death in Argos in 1828, Jarvis served as the guide and authority on whom most of the other Americans in Greece relied. He has left us a remarkable journal written in Greek, English and German in which he describes his experiences, an account full of insights and information not found in any other source. Jarvis also contributed to the appeals for American aid that circulated among the Greek Committees back home and advised that what the combatants needed were funds and supplies not fighting men. The other two Americans of this trio considered him their leader, and if he had survived the war he no doubt would have played a role in subsequent Greek-American relations.

The second American philhellene that must be mentioned was Captain Jonathan Peckham Miller of Vermont, who arrived in Greece in 1824. He was known as the "Yankee Dare Devil" because of his fearlessness in battle. He too learned Greek and wore a *foustanella*, although he and his colleague, the learned and equally fearless Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, did not quite go as far as Jarvis in assimilating into Greek society. Howe is probably the best known of the American philhellenes because he continued to be active in Greek affairs after the revolution and became a noted philanthropist in the United States. Both of these volunteers also kept detailed diaries that describe

their experiences in Greece and are full of valuable insights and unique information. Both men survived the war and made return trips to the United States, during and after the war, to plead for aid on behalf of Greece. Howe in particular went on a national speaking tour in 1828 for this purpose.

We have several detailed accounts of some of the goods that were collected by these Philhellenes in collaboration with the Greek Relief Committees of New York, Boston and Philadelphia and the manner of their distribution in Greece. For example, Miller published a remarkable book based on his diaries in 1828 entitled: *The Condition of Greece in 1827 and 1828; Being an Exposition of the Poverty, Distress, and Misery to Which the Inhabitants Have Been Reduced by the Destruction of Their Towns and Villages, and the Ravages of Their Country, by a Merciless Turkish Foe*. We know that ten American ships loaded with food and clothing were sent to aid the starving populations of Greece in 1826 and 1827. Their cargoes had a value probably in excess of \$100,000 at the time. The number of Greeks saved from immediate starvation based on accounts similar to Miller's are estimated to have been over 400,000 people.

In one of his writings about the Greek struggle, Edward Everett, America's greatest philhellene, who was also a scholar, a congressman and president of Harvard University, sought to give an answer to the question of why America should send aid. His answer was that it did not matter that the struggling Greeks were the ancestors of the giants of classical civilization, but that Americans should care about them because of their common interest in Freedom and Virtue. Thousands of his countrymen apparently agreed with him and ignored commercial interests and official government neutrality, to send aid to a people yearning to be free.

## AN OVERVIEW OF THE DOCUMENTS IN THIS EDITION

*Aristide D. Caratzas  
Constantine G. Hatzidimitriou*

THE NEWS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE and of the uprising of the Greeks against the Ottoman Empire in 1821 reached the United States within weeks. Over the next decade the Greek Revolution captured both learned and popular imagination. That philhellenic sentiment, "Greek Fire" or "Greek fever," as it was popularly called, touched the many levels of political, social, religious even personal life, bespeaks of the importance of Greece in the formation of consciousness, identity and self-definition of the founders and the more educated citizens of the early American republic.

The fate of the Greeks became the subject of concern of a cross section of early nineteenth century America, as is outlined in the preceding chapter. Five American presidents took positions on the issue, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, James Madison, James Monroe and John Quincy Adams; others included participants in America's revolution such as the Marquis de Lafayette, who lobbied actively for support of the Greeks, and Albert Gallatin, formerly U.S. Senator and Secretary of the Treasury, U.S. Ambassador to France (1816–1823) and then to England. A number of prominent Americans fought on the side of the Greeks, including the prominent Bostonian Samuel Gridley Howe (who remained a devoted philhellene throughout his long, active life), George Jarvis, Jonathan Miller of Vermont and William Washington, a purported relative of the first president, who was killed in action in Palamede (near Nauplion, in the Peloponnese) in 1827.<sup>1</sup> Some of the most distinguished members of Congress of the time, including Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun and Sam Houston supported the Greek struggle for independence, as did state and city governments, churches and colleges. In many American cities, from Boston, New York and Philadelphia to Charleston, South Carolina and New Orleans, ordinary people in great numbers formed "Greek Committees" in order to raise funds, to collect clothing, foodstuffs, weapons and ammunition, and to lend their support to the Greek freedom-fighters.

The Greek War of Independence broke out forty-five years after the American Revolution and less than ten years after the War of 1812. To many Americans there was a direct parallel between their own and the Greek efforts to liberate themselves. The values of freedom and independence, and the principle of national sovereignty, therefore still had a vibrant and immediate resonance for Americans. As a result, even though Greece was far away and few Americans had met any living Greeks (there were virtually no Greeks living in the United States before the second decade of the century, according to available evidence),<sup>2</sup> the texts in this volume, which are representative of, and culled from various sources preserved from the period, reflect an intense sympathy borne of a perceived kinship between the two peoples.

This perception operated on a number of levels, perhaps the most important of which was the common commitment of both peoples to the constitutional, republican form of government. It was reinforced by the fact that the European states had reverted to a restoration of anti-democratic monarchies in the wake of the collapse of the French Revolution, Napoleon's defeat and the Congress of Vienna, the last of which defined the reactionary world order of its time. The early letters of Lafayette, hero of the American Revolution, to Albert Gallatin, then U.S. ambassador to France, reflect strong republican sentiments in their support of the Greeks, while his letter to U.S. Senator Rufus King (Federalist politician and early opponent of slavery) sketched out the tensions in the European balance of power system, and conveyed concern and measured optimism about Greece's fate (p. 195).\*

Americans naturally recoiled from the reactionary turn of events in Europe, which ran counter to the most fundamental ideas upon which were based the founding of their nation. They also saw the Greeks as defenders of Christianity. To their American supporters the Greeks defied not only the dominant monarchism of the time, but also the hypocrisy of the Holy Alliance, which sought legitimacy through its association with Christianity yet allowed the Muslim Ottoman Turks to exterminate and enslave (literally) entire Christian populations in the Balkans.

The common Christian religion thus also was related to a perception of American kinship with the Greeks. The oppression by the Ottomans of Christian peoples, the torture and execution of religious primates, including the Patriarch Gregorios V of Constantinople, bishops and priests, in places as disparate as Cyprus and Serbia, and of the killing or enslavement of the faithful in all parts of Greece and the Balkans, is a theme

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\**Editor's note:* henceforth references to documents in this volume are designated by the page number in parentheses.

constantly repeated in all the forms taken by American expressions of support: speeches, church sermons, newspaper articles, pamphlets and books.

Finally, still another aspect of the perceived kinship between the two peoples, one that operated both on the conscious and unconscious levels, was based on education. While there was a strong utilitarian current that opposed the teaching of the classical languages on grounds of practicality, many American grammar schools and colleges included the teaching of Latin and some Greek in their curriculum. Meyer Reinhold lists nine colleges that were operating in 1776: Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, New Jersey (later Princeton), Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania), King's (Columbia), Rhode Island (Brown), Queen's (Rutgers), and Dartmouth tended to have a passing to good knowledge of the Latin language, many even had some Greek. They also were taught Greek and Roman history and what we would call political philosophy, as part of their basic curriculum. With this education came direct access to the repository of the writings of the Greeks and Romans as well as the Old and New Testaments.<sup>3</sup>

The anti-classical current notwithstanding, virtually all of the Founding Fathers of the American Republic had some Latin, less Greek, and had read classical historical, literary, poetic and some philosophical texts, mostly in translation. George Washington, John Adams, Alexander Hamilton and James Madison, to name only some, had been deeply affected by classical ideas and values, such as virtue to give but one example. It becomes a theme that would preoccupy these men as they constructed the institutions of their young polity.<sup>4</sup> Thomas Jefferson's knowledge of the classics was much more extensive. A cursory perusal of his collected writings reveals an interest in Greek and extensive active reading of ancient authors in the original language. In his letter to Adamantios Korais, one of the intellectual fathers of the Greek Revolution, Jefferson regretted not being able to read modern Greek because of the lack of a good dictionary. This remark suggests that he knew the grammar and syntax of the language well, but was constrained by a limited knowledge of the vocabulary of modern Greek (p. 31).<sup>5</sup>

The study of the Greek and Latin languages, the reading of classical authors, and the study of ancient history bred familiarity and immediacy not only with the world of their ideas, but also with their physical environment. The many and often detailed historical and geographical references included in newspaper articles, letters and eyewitness accounts of events in the Balkans, continental Greece, the islands and Asia Minor presuppose an extensive knowledge base. One may be tempted to muse that this kind of knowledge about the region and its history probably was greater then, than that possessed by Americans of a comparable educational and social level today.

We have outlined the elements that contributed to the phenomenon of American philhellenism, though these alone do not fully explain the dimensions it assumed or the direction it took. For that we must look to the leadership of the philhellenes, especially to one of the most outstanding yet nearly forgotten personalities of American educational, political and public life, Edward "Grecian" Everett of Massachusetts.

Everett begun his adult life as the Elliot Professor of Greek at Harvard University. He left the academy, entered politics and had a stellar public career: he was elected to five terms of the House of Representatives (1825–1835); was elected governor of Massachusetts serving four terms (1835–1839); was appointed minister to the Court of St. James (1841–1845); served as president of Harvard (1846–1849); served for four months as Secretary of State (December 1852–March 1853); and, was elected to the U.S. Senate (1853–1859). He was known as a keen orator, one of America's most distinguished, during a period when this skill was highly prized.

It is perhaps ironic that during the American civil war, in one of his last public acts, Everett delivered the keynote speech at Gettysburg, on November 19, 1863. In it he prophesied the day of reconciliation that would follow a restored Union: "The bonds that unite us as one People,—a substantial community of origin, language, belief, and law (the four great ties that hold the societies of men together) . . ." President Lincoln followed with what were intended to be short remarks. His Periclean-style oration, delivered in a comparable context to that of the Athenian statesman (the burial of the fallen during the Peloponnesian war, the most important civil war in ancient Greek history) redefined the vision of the American republic for the next century, and eclipsed Everett's effort. The latter was not blind to the power of President Lincoln's speech, about which he wrote to the President the next day, "I should be glad, if I could flatter myself that I came as near the central idea of the occasion in two hours as you did in two minutes." Lincoln replied expressing his pleasure in knowing that the little he "did say was not entirely a failure," and praised Everett's performance.<sup>6</sup>

About one year before, in 1862, after the Greeks had exiled their Bavarian-born King Otto, Jonas King, the American missionary and acting consul general, wrote from Athens that in his opinion "[the Greeks] ought to choose Edward Everett as ruler for four or five years."<sup>7</sup> What was the connection of this distinguished American to Greece?

Basic biographical dictionaries are today the main works where one still may seek information on the life and works of Edward Everett; these mention practically nothing about the "first love" of his life, viz. Greek letters, and later his commitment to the fate of the Greek nation.<sup>8</sup> It was Everett who saw the creation of the United States as probably

the most noble political edifice built by man, and who, explicitly and repeatedly, suggested its ideological kinship with, and descent from Greece.

It is not an exaggeration to suggest that Everett provided the spark which lit the "Greek Fire," that dominated the American conscience in the 1820s.<sup>9</sup> He studied Greek and Latin at Harvard, from which he graduated at the unusually young age of seventeen and then attended the University of Göttingen in Germany. Everett was the first American to be granted a doctorate by that distinguished institution, a scholar who was expected to import German scholarship to the United States. He was described as America's greatest Hellenist and classical scholar. Meyer Reinhold wryly added that he was, in fact, the only one.<sup>10</sup>

Everett traveled widely in Europe during his graduate student years. His first stop was in England, and while on a short visit to London he met Lord Byron three times. Byron spoke with him on Greece, urging him to visit the country as he had (and would again, to die there), not only because of its antiquities, but also because he noted that the modern inhabitants were characterized by a strong feeling for freedom and "by a certain directness." Everett and Byron also discussed the Parthenon marbles, a subject that was current at the time as Lord Elgin was in the process of selling these to the British Museum. Byron harshly condemned Elgin's project.<sup>11</sup>

While in Europe, Everett also sought to meet Greek intellectuals and to prepare for a visit to the lands occupied by the Ottoman Turks but which historically had been the cradle of Greek civilization, ancient and mediaeval. In Göttingen he studied, besides the ancient language, the modern Greek (Rhomaic) language and literature with the help of Georgios Glarakis, a Chian expatriate educator whom he befriended, and who influenced the young American's views regarding the need for the liberation of modern Greece.<sup>12</sup> The Chian educator's influence on Everett was such that, when the latter referred to the state of education in modern Greece, he wrote that "[i]t is well known that several of their high schools compare advantageously with those of Europe. That of Scio [= the island of Chios], before its late destruction [i.e. during the massacre of 1822; for more see below], was perhaps equal to any seminary of learning in the United States of America" (p. 10).

Everett traveled to Amsterdam in the company of Glarakis, meeting distinguished west European Hellenist scholars and members of the Greek expatriate community; then to Weimar in Germany, where he had a rather disappointing meeting with a cranky Goethe; to Paris, where he studied modern Greek under Theodoros Sypsomos, another Chian scholar and editor.<sup>13</sup> While in Paris he met Adamantios Korais, the most distinguished scholar-patriot of the Greek Diaspora at the time and father of modern Greek

republicanism. Everett met Korais often in the winter of 1817. The two men developed a lifelong friendship that helped determine much of the course of the young American's philhellenic career, as becomes evident by many of the documents included in this volume.<sup>14</sup> Everett visited continental Greece between April 1 until the end of May 1819, and then went to Constantinople.<sup>15</sup>

Everett returned to the United States in 1819, the first American with a German doctoral degree. Upon his arrival, and in addition to his academic duties teaching ancient Greek, he became the editor of the *North American Review*, a periodical that was to prove crucial in the development of American philhellenism. Everett used his editorial desk to provide information and ideological direction: He published a long unsigned review of Korais's edition of Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics*. To this he added an account of the Greek Revolution up to that date, his translations of the Provisional Constitution of the newly founded Greek state, published at Epidaurus (pp. 14–20), and of the address of the Messenian Senate "To the citizens of the United States of America." The text of the latter was sent to him by Korais on July 27, 1821; it is from its closing sentence that the present volume takes its title, "[o]ur interests are of a nature more and more to cement an alliance founded on freedom and virtue," (p. 22). This last document saw wide circulation in the American press. It was first published by Everett in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, October 5, 1821. It was reprinted in the *Columbian Sentinel* (Boston), October 17, 1821; *New York American* and *New York Commercial Advertiser*, both on October 17, 1821; *National Gazette* and *Union* (Philadelphia), both on October 19, 1821; *New York Evening Post*, October 20, 1821; *National Intelligencer* (Washington), October 20, 1821; *Niles' Weekly Register* (Baltimore), October 27, 1821; the (Albany) *Argus*, November 2, 1821, and in many other publications.<sup>16</sup>

These documents, which later were reproduced often in the American press, were aimed to highlight the ideological proximity of the Greeks with the Americans: The address by the Messenian Senate, written with a view to flatter American sensibilities, identifies the United States as "the land in which Liberty has fixed her abode, and by you [the Americans] she is prized as by our fathers." The last phrase underscores the common connection to republican values first expressed by the writers of Greek and Roman antiquity. Much of the force of this letter (which was drafted by Korais) derived from its focus on the commonality of values shared by the both nations and the suggestion of a parallelism of their struggles for independence.

The inclusion of the entire text of the provisional constitution drawn up at Epidaurus clearly aimed to reveal to American audiences foundational principles motivating the revolutionaries. As with the Americans, the Greeks were republican constitutionalists during the time of the restoration of monarchical absolutism. Theirs was a daring and

forward looking document, propounding such ideas as equality before the law, every citizen's eligibility for public office, and the protection of what we would call the citizen's basic rights. It also outlined the form of government, defining both the legislative and executive functions (with their implicit checks and balances), the independence of the judiciary etc.

Everett's Greeks were to be supported, but not just because of their august forebears and the connection to antiquity. As a scholar he realized that such an association may be real but presents complex problems relating to its demonstration. They were to be supported because they were republican constitutionalists and "Christians bowed beneath the yoke of barbarous infidels," human beings deprived of their dignity and their very humanity, "Christians as good as we, who have nerves to smart, minds to think, hearts to feel, like ourselves, are waging unaided, singlehanded, at perilous odds, a war of extermination against tyrants, who deny them not only the blessings of liberty, but the mercies of slavery."

This article, combining as it does references to ancient learning, republican values and a kinship borne of common faith, ideology and humanity can be said to form the ideological summary of the American response to the effort of the Greeks to liberate themselves (pp. 3–28). Everett, in a letter addressed to Samuel Gridley Howe, another devoted Bostonian philhellene, written nearly at the end of the Greek struggle in 1828, considered that it provided the "first effectual impulse to the efforts made in the cause of Greece in [the United States]" and that "this article suggested to Mr. Webster the idea of his movement in Congress which first gave importance and dignity to the proceedings" (p. 305).

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This volume outlines the course and describes the nature of the American response to the Greek War of Independence by documenting six interrelated aspects of this phenomenon. These are included in this volume in a relative chronological progression, both in terms of the themes explored and the documents each unity contains. A short outline of each of the unities will provide some of the underlying rationale of the material's organization.

### 1. ASPECTS OF AMERICAN PHILHELLENISM

The group of documents included in this chapter reflect the educational or ideological bases of philhellenism. The first, a letter by the scholar and linguist John Pickering to Korais, predates the outbreak of the revolution in Greece. It is included in order to

demonstrate that there existed significant respect and good will towards the (modern) Greeks, and interest in their language. Indeed Pickering went on to produce one of the great (Ancient) Greek-English dictionaries, the first edition of which was published in 1826.<sup>17</sup> The Everett review of "Coray's Aristotle," is a foundational work for an understanding of the American response to the Greek Revolution. We have outlined some of the important themes upon which it touches above.

The other documents contained in the chapter include the texts of the correspondence between Korais and President Thomas Jefferson, and refractions of philhellenism in the epistolography between Albert Gallatin and the Marquis de Lafayette.

Korais appears to have met Jefferson during the visits of the latter to Paris. Jefferson, who was an avid reader with a keen interest in the ancients, clearly knew about Korais's intellectual output. In his response to Korais, published in this volume, he refers to their meeting, which presumably was facilitated by John Paradise, Jefferson's Anglo-Greek friend and representative in Paris.<sup>18</sup> Jefferson's main concern expressed in his letter is with explaining the importance of a strong constitution, one that will work in the context of, what we would call, the particular circumstances and conditions of a country. Korais's letters to Jefferson are both courteous and understanding, from the point of view of patriot, scholar and book lover. With regard to the last, we have at least two references that he sent copies of his recently published books and pamphlets to the old American president, philhellene and bibliophile (pp. 31, 36).

This chapter also includes a letter from Everett to Korais dated September, 1825 (p. 38), in which the Bostonian philhellene briefs the Chian patriot on his activities on behalf of Greece and developments regarding this issue in the United States (presumably over the preceding years). He informs Korais about some of his specific activities and personalities he influenced, such as his relationship with Webster, "the most outstanding member of Congress," who led the congressional partisans of Greek recognition with a fiery speech (see pp. 209ff). The letter clearly reflects not only warmth in terms sentiment and depth of commitment, but also an eagerness for additional information. Everett opines that if the Greeks would perform well in the battlefield that year, and would send a(n English-speaking) representative to the United States, they would be more successful in achieving official recognition. Korais responded in a letter dated November 12, 1825, not reproduced here.<sup>19</sup>

Finally, the writings by Albert Gallatin and the Marquis de Lafayette shared an enthusiasm for what the latter called "a more intimate and active connection between the United States and the renew'd Grecian Confederation" (p. 39). Gallatin, who was at the time an active U.S. ambassador, was perforce more restrained in his expression, though

he praised the courage and persistence of the Greeks, in a speech he made in honor of Lafayette. When another ardent philhellene Henry Clay became secretary of state, after John Quincy Adams was elected president, Gallatin composed a report speculating on the form that could be assumed by a Greek state with limited sovereignty, that "would preserve [the Greeks] from extermination and give them protection and security against Turkey," but would not disrupt the European balance of power system (pp. 281-282).

## 2. INFORMATION ON THE GREEK UPRISING REACHES AMERICA

This chapter includes a sampling of some of the sources of information available to the American audiences about Greece and the revolutionary war there, as it developed. We have reproduced twenty eight daily and weekly newspaper articles, published between August 7, 1821 and November 22, 1825. Articles from newspapers past this date are incorporated into the following chapters largely because both the war and conditions in Greece changed radically for the worse, and the nature of the American philhellenic movement became more specific and practical, developing an extensive relief operation. The articles and other information distributed about Greece after 1824-25 included significant first hand reporting by Americans who were eyewitnesses of and participants in the Greek struggle.

Virtually all articles in this volume appeared in three publications, the *Connecticut Courant*, the *Connecticut Mirror* and the *Niles' Weekly Register*. There is little justification for this choice other than accessibility to the editor. It should be noted however that according to the practice of the day American (and European) publications recycled each other's articles freely, often without attribution, and that our sampling is quite representative of the universe of those extant. Thus though only articles from three newspapers are reproduced in this chapter, these often are reprinted verbatim from other newspapers, such as the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, presumably because of its proximity to Connecticut and the vibrant philhellenic public it addressed, and European publications such as the *Courrier Français* and the *Constitutionnel*.

Other sources for the press consisted of letters by various eyewitnesses, reports, governmental proclamations (we reproduce a number of Greek and one that purports to be "Ottoman"). The letters include, one from the "Greeks of Constantinople, to their brethren in London," dated May 25, 1822, reporting on the killings by the Turks of distinguished Christian hostages held in that city and in the island Chios as the first act in the general massacre that followed there (pp. 50-53).

A second "extract of a private letter by a Young Greek," dated May 15 (1822), published in the *Connecticut Courant* issue of August 20, 1822, is a much more personal

recounting of the sufferings endured by his family in Chios. The writer informs his brother that their father and two other brothers were among the hostages hanged or otherwise tortured to death by the Turks at the beginning of their assault on Chios. One of their sisters he knew was enslaved (as were tens of thousands of survivors of the massacre), though he was unable to find out to what Asian country she had been taken. The traces of their mother and three other sisters, as well as the wife of the brother being addressed in the letter, were all lost.

The writer of the letter also reports that "[e]very day women of the first families in the island" were being sold into slavery (he names the wife of a friend among others), while at the same time, sacred objects and vestments belonging to the Greek and Roman Catholic churches, all kinds of other loot was being stolen by the Turks. He also provides a more synoptic sense of the destruction, ". . . our academy, the library, the superb edifices [of certain churches], 86 churches, and upwards of 40 villages, have been consumed by flames" (pp. 53–55).

We dwell on these letters and the information they contain because the massacre of Chios was an event of momentous importance for the Greek struggle. Probably 10,000–20,000 of the civilian inhabitants of this wealthy island were murdered by Turkish troops, an equal or greater number sold into slavery,<sup>20</sup> and much property was destroyed. It consequently had an enormous impact on international public opinion, triggering an extensive philhellenic response in Europe and in America. A large number of articles reporting on the event and its aftermath appeared in the American press, as did ongoing references in pamphlets and books.

Besides those cited above, our sampling relating to the Chian massacre includes references to, "[t]housands of Greeks . . . exposed in the slave market at Constantinople, especially women and girls" (p. 50); the murder of 5,000 children by the Turks and the enslavement of 30,000 women and children (p. 55); the Greek *burlôto* (fire ship) reprisal attack by Konstantinos Kanaris, which resulted in the destruction of the Turkish flagship and the killing of the *kapudan pasha*, the commander of the Ottoman fleet and admiral in charge of the operation (p. 56); a "human interest" vignette about the dispute between an Arab and a Turk over a sixteen or seventeen year old Greek female slave resulting in her murder (p. 58); the pamphlet of the "Address of the Committee . . . for the Relief of the Greeks" (p. 91), with reference to the massacre (p. 96–97); and, as an appendix to the popularized account *An Affecting Narrative of the Unparalleled Suffering of Mrs. Sophia Mazro* . . . (p. 111ff, especially the part titled "The Exile of Scio," pp. 117–120). Writings such as these contributed to the development of a European (and by extension, American) consciousness about the nature of the political uses of violence

and terror by the Ottoman regimes throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and, naturally, to the formation of extremely negative stereotypes of the Turks.<sup>21</sup>

It is well known that the massacre in Chios is one of the main subjects of the Greek Revolution that provided the inspiration to artists in Europe and elsewhere. It is less known that in the United States, the sculptor Hiram Powers produced the statue he called *The Greek Slave* moved by the events in Chios, albeit almost two decades later (see the Appendix at the end of this volume). The work created a sensation when first exhibited, as it was the first nude sculpture by an American artist. Today there exist six versions of it, the earliest of which dates to 1843. We know, however, that Powers was studying in Carrara, Italy in 1822, when he learned about the massacres in Chios. He wrote, "I remembered reading of an account of the atrocities committed by the Turks on the Greeks during the Greek Revolution . . . During the struggle the Turks took many prisoners, male and female, and among the latter were beautiful girls, who were sold in the slave markets of Turkey and Egypt. These were Christian women, and it is not difficult to image the distress and even despair of the sufferers while exposed to be sold to the highest bidders."<sup>22</sup>

Other subjects carried by the newspaper articles include one in the *Connecticut Mirror* titled "The Women of Greece," dated October 27, 1823 (p. 61) and another on the death of Byron in *Niles' Weekly Register* dated July 3, 1824 (pp. 74–75). The first article provides short sketches of Manto Mavrogenous of Mykonos (rendered as Madalena Mavrojeni) and a certain Laconian lady, Constante Zacari (sic), who, dressed in male attire, raised troops and led them into battle (pp. 62–63). The sketches of these ladies in the article had certain Amazon-warrior women traits in common. It would be interesting to determine if enough material exists in European and American literature to study this theme pertaining to the Greek Revolution. The article on the death Lord Byron touches on his contributions to the Greek cause, including his financial commitments and the role he played in "keeping down differences between [the Greeks]."

Another interesting and problematic publication is the "Manifesto by the Sublime Porte," that appeared in the *Connecticut Mirror* (reprinted from the *Salem Gazette*) on February 9, 1824. The editors introduce the piece in the context of "the pros and cons of the Greek question, . . . the best article on the wrong side." The document (pp. 73–74) notes "that a certain portion of the inhabitants of the New World called the African race are held in the most degrading slavery and bondage by the Infidels who profess to have a government that permits freedom to all of its subjects equally; . . . while others 'raised' in the New World, called Indians, have been most cruelly wronged by the Infidels . . ." This declaration clearly has the weight of moral force, given the

facts it marshals. It is more likely an early abolitionist morality tale couched in Oriental garb, perhaps a proto-abolitionist piece. The Greek struggle for freedom, and the reports of wholesale enslavement of Christian populations by the Turks, probably contributed to the unleashing of domestic impulses against slavery and the persecution of the native Americans.

A piece titled "Sketch of the Revolutionary War in Greece, for the present year," was written by Everett, who signed it as "A Friend of Greece," and was published first in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, and was reprinted in the *Connecticut Mirror* on December 22, 1823 (pp. 63–69). In this article Everett outlines the events of the year in some detail, handling his sources critically. It must be assumed that he was writing for an audience of a fairly high general education level.

The question of the education and general knowledge of the literate audiences in America is interesting as we glean the documents in this volume. Everett's article, indeed many of the newspaper articles, presupposed that their readership had some detailed knowledge of Greece's geography, ethnography, economy, politics, to name but a few subjects. For this reason this chapter includes documents that testify to the kinds and quality of information that was available.

What we call factual knowledge was distributed through a variety of formats. A number of handbooks were available during the period, both of European provenance and some published locally. The handbook from which an extract is included in this chapter is *A Geographical View of Greece, and an Historical Sketch of the Recent Greek Revolution in That Country*, compiled by the geographer and mapmaker Stanley Morse and published in New York and New Haven in 1824 (pp. 101–111). It includes detailed information on a number of subjects, including geographical divisions, population figures and demographic distribution, climate and agricultural production, major cities etc. The quality of the information provided is uneven, suggesting often perfunctory pastiches from other works. Appended to the text is an essay updating the reader on the developments relating to the Greek Revolution, which was in its third year by the time the book was published.

Besides newspaper articles and geographical handbooks, other publications that were available included pamphlets and accounts by eyewitnesses, participants in and victims of the war. Reproduced in this chapter is the text of the pamphlet mentioned above, titled "Address of the Committee Appointed at a Public Meeting Held in Boston, December 19, 1823 for the Relief of the Greeks, to their Fellow Citizens," published in Boston by the Press of the *North American Review*, of which Everett was editor (pp. 91–101). Though the lecture memorialized in this document clearly aimed to touch the

emotions, it also provided some fundamental insight: it made the point that unlike other situations where one nation was subjected by another in Europe (it cites by way of example, the Irish under England, or the Poles who were victims of a tripartite partition), under the Ottoman "the Greeks are exposed to the grossest violation of personal right" (pp. 93–94). The writer develops the theme of the cultural differences between the despotic Muslim ruler and the civilized, Christian ruled, and describes an Ottoman administrative system based on arbitrariness, extortion, degradation, humiliation and violence.

The writer of the pamphlet then describes at length the response of an ossified Ottoman system to the Greek efforts at liberation. The execution of the Patriarch of Constantinople on Easter day provided it with opportunity to offer its ideological justification for its policy of inflicting terror on, and physically destroying the Greek people: The inscription pinned to the corpse of the executed hierarch read,

Instead of having prevented or punished the revolt, the Patriarch has, in all probability, taken an active part in it, so that it is almost impossible, that the whole Greek nation, although it may contain innocent individuals, should not be totally destroyed, and exposed to the wrath of God.

The writer of the pamphlet then catalogues the acts of terror, i.e. systematic torture and violence, mustered by the Ottoman regime in its effort to maintain control. After the execution of the Patriarch in Constantinople a pogrom followed. One hundred seventy six prominent leaders of the Greek community were murdered, often after terrible tortures. The violence and murder then spread against the entire Christian population in the capital and the provinces (p. 98).

The Ottoman regime's violent response then spread to other areas. Besides the events at Chios mentioned above, there were the massacres on the same scale in Cyprus. The island's archbishop was executed, the inhabitants of Larnaca (the main town) and of many villages were murdered, sixty two villages were destroyed, many churches were symbolically despoiled being turned into mosques or stables. Indeed, the writer notes, "[o]ne of the most shocking features of the present war, is the impious rage, which the Turkish soldiery has every where exhibited against the religion of their victims. The first objects of their fury are the monastery, the church, the altar, the volume of the Scriptures, and the ministers of religion" (p. 99).

These descriptions could have been ascribed to the not uncommon distortions of propagandists seeking justification for the actions of their side by accusing their opponents of atrocities. The philhellenic press and other reports from the Greek War of Independence were no exception. As is common in the press in our day, articles included incomplete information, exaggerations, conflated events or simply erroneous information. Still,

atrocities, enslavement of population, rape on a large scale, torture and mass murder, the destruction of what we call the cultural context of a people, all have been documented (more or less dependably) in these pages and in the literature. The atrocities, as plausibly described in the Boston pamphlet, were part of a deliberate policy of state-sponsored terror as instrument of political control, that has been the practice of a succession of Ottoman Turkish governments throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The reason these descriptions are important is because they attest to a consciousness of distant events by the American public, and to a sound understanding of some of the issues that underlay these. This becomes evident by the coverage given to some of the other elements of the policies of state-sponsored terror, viz. that of enslavement and sexual violation. Reference to it recurs in the accounts of the massacres committed by the Ottoman Turks in Chios, Cyprus and elsewhere. American observers understood that this policy not only produced economic advantage in the form of proceeds from the sale of slaves and from ransoms collected, it also operated on the symbolic level. For the Ottoman Turks it was as a way of degrading and reducing the personality of the Christian Greek subjects that presumed to revolt in order to gain their freedom and independence. Statements to the effect, "[t]here the monsters profane every thing to gratify their rage and their passions; and often the virgins, whom they have sullied by their embraces, receive from themselves the death they wish for" (p 55), "[i]t was indeed a sight too horrible to be endured, when men beheld their wives led into captivity, their chaste daughters shamefully dishonored on the highways, and in the streets, by the vilest of the multitude, . . . ." (p. 96), are not mere formulas aimed to the reader's emotional response. Much as with the destruction of churches discussed above, the violation and rape of women and children on a mass scale appears to have constituted a deliberate instrument of terror used by the Ottoman Turkish regimes with a view to reestablishing and maintaining their control. Indeed, the torture, executions and wholesale massacres committed by the Turks were noted by European and American observers, and had an enormous impact on political action in support of the Greeks. This reaction, however largely on the moral and sentimental level, showed little understanding of the functional uses of the violence and the terror it produced, particularly in Turkic political culture. Modern anthropological and historical scholarship has begun to explore this area over the last few decades.<sup>23</sup>

The chapter concludes with extracts from two publications purporting to give first hand accounts of survivors of Ottoman atrocities. The first, *Turkish Barbarity: An Affecting Narrative of the Unparalleled Sufferings of Mrs. Sophia Mazro, a Greek Lady of Missolonghi*, published in Providence, Rhode Island on March 28, 1828 (pp. 111–117) tells the story of a lady who suffered horrors such as the death of her husband in her presence at the

hands of the Turks. The account is augmented by another story of suffering, that of a lady of Chios, whose family was murdered and its land despoiled. Both these stories appear much as popular, fictionalized accounts that contained factual elements. The editor, a certain George C. Jennings, appends letters from Greece written by Howe and Jonathan Miller in an effort to reinforce the reality he has attempted to depict in the work.

The second account, titled *The Personal Narrative of the Sufferings of J. Stephanini, a Native of Arta in Greece*, was published in New York in 1829 (pp. 121–140). This work tells of the experiences and suffering of an actual person. The amount of detail Stephanini provided in this work is significantly greater than that given in the Mazro story, thus amplifying the same motifs. The additional element of interest is Stephanini's description of his welcome in the United States, for his was a work of gratitude: he thanks his American hosts and supporters throughout the country, from Boston to Charleston, South Carolina.

### 3. "GREEK FIRE."

This chapter provides evidence of the popular response in the United States to news about the Greek Revolution. A number of small items appearing in the press transmits the sense of the spontaneous and genuine dimension of American philhellenism of the time. One notice cites the ladies who contributed the funds and raised the twenty foot cross in Brooklyn Heights, another a subscription to collect donations "in cash or otherwise" (p. 141), both reflect expressions of commitment to and identification with the Greek cause on the personal level. The same can be said of the announcement of the placement of the portrait of General Andrew Jackson, the hero of the War of 1812, "in the dancing room on the eighth of January, when the profits of the ball are to be given to the 'Greek fund' . . ." (p. 167). The Jackson portrait represented a symbolic link between the American fight for freedom and that of the Greeks. The comments in the *Boston Recorder* by Nathaniel Rochester, a prominent American, after whom the city in New York state was named, also reflects the sentiments of the special kinship felt with Greece (p. 155).

The more organized forms of popular philhellenic expression during the early years of the Greek Revolution included appeals, speeches and public addresses, resolutions passed by city or state legislative bodies and citizen groups. These tended to highlight the points of perceived commonality of values and beliefs between the American and Greek peoples, i.e. the struggles for freedom, commitment to republican constitutionalism and Christian belief. An early resolution on "Grecian Emancipation," by the citizens of

Albany, New York, published in *Niles' Weekly Register* in December 7, 1822 (pp. 141–143), touched on the points that defined the American philhellenic movement: (a) it was deemed fitting that American people gather to support the emancipation of Greece, since "such an expression not only comports with the magnanimity and feelings of a Christian people, but is more particularly honorable to the character of a nation who were (sic) the first to declare and establish the principles of freedom;" (b) Greece was perceived as the foundation of our civilization, therefore "we cannot be indifferent to the relentless tyranny now exercised over [the Greeks] by their savage and ferocious masters;" (c) it condemned the non-intervention by the European powers to save the Greeks, "we view with extreme mortification and regret the policy of the potentates of Europe;" (d) it urged that a coordinated effort be undertaken with other philhellenic committees throughout the country to provide support for the Greeks.

Popular sentiment was translated into the political action, and that lead to the discussion and debate in Congress over the "Greek Question." A more coordinated series of votes and resolutions took place in December, 1823 and early January, 1824. They were timed to support the resolution presented by Daniel Webster to the House of Representatives calling for "the appointment of an Agent or Commissioner to Greece, whenever the President shall deem it expedient . . ." (see below, Chapter 4, especially pp. 209ff).

Other documents in this chapter include resolutions or letters from student groups (Columbia College, December 9 and Theological Seminary at Andover, Massachusetts December 13, 1823); citizen groups (Philadelphia, December 11; Boston, December 19; and, New York City, December 23, 1823; Poughkeepsie, January 1, 1824); speeches and resolutions of state legislative bodies (Maryland, December 16 and South Carolina, December 19, 1823; Kentucky, January 7, 1824; and, after the debate in House of Representatives, Louisiana, February 20, 1824).

The students of Columbia College resolved to "unite with their fellow citizens in the anxious wish that Greece may once more be free; and desire equally with them, to be of some assistance to her in her present glorious struggle." They resolved in addition, to raise monies for the Greek fund (p. 143). The students of the Theological Seminary in Andover composed a letter which was addressed to their fellow students in colleges and seminaries throughout the country. They wrote, "[t]he Greeks, to whom learning is a birthright, and freedom peculiarly an inheritance, have broken the fetter of their bondage, and in their struggle they have looked to America as the sanctuary for liberty and religion, and they have besought us by all the sympathies of freemen and fellow Christians, not to let them perish in so noble a conflict." They resolved to form a committee to coordinate with their faculty, and to link up with the students at other colleges

to raise monies to create a fund which would, after Greece's liberation, be devoted to the promotion of literature in that country, "so that it may become a permanent token of the respect and esteem with which the Greeks are regarded by the American youth devoted to study" (p. 149). Common to both declarations, *inter alia*, are references to the Greek foundations of the students' education. We have evidence that these declarations stimulated youth in other institutions of higher learning. As a direct response to the call sent out from Andover "officers and students of Transylvania University" in Lexington, Kentucky assembled on behalf of the Greeks on January 8, 1824. They formed the organization necessary to collect funds and resolved unanimously: "That we participate, both as freemen and as scholars, in the enthusiasm which pervades our country in behalf of the oppressed Greeks . . . That we will most cordially lend our feeble aid to the efforts so extensively making, in aid of this great cause, so peculiarly interesting to us, as Americans . . ." These sentiments were echoed in a similar resolution by the students of the Lexington Female Academy, which, according to the Kentucky Reporter, was the first instance of a female educational institution "coming forward in favour of the suffering Greeks."<sup>24</sup>

The "Address of the Committee Appointed at a General Meeting, Held in Philadelphia for the Relief of the Greeks" (pp. 143–147, and pp. 155–156) refers to the subject of the diplomatic recognition of Greece by the United States, citing "a proposition, having the same object, has been submitted to Congress by one of its members." The writer of the text is realistic regarding the possibilities of a change in U.S. policy, which "has been openly declared, and will not be altered, if such alteration should incur the danger of exhausting the national strength abroad, while the concentration of all its energies might be required in this hemisphere." This was the time when the Monroe Doctrine was enacted, hence the writer's reservation. The call thus was for a recognition of Greek independence in the context of American foreign policy, and not as a departure from it. In addition, it called for donations of money, food and clothing.

The appeal to Congress by the citizens of the city of Boston, composed on December 19, 1823 and sent to the U.S. House of Representatives on January 5, 1824 (pp. 152–154) has a sharper edge. It begins by lauding the statement President Monroe had made before Congress seventeen days before, "that there is good reason to believe that Greece will become again an independent nation" (p. 200). It proposes that "[n]o one who has duly reflected upon the consequences which have resulted from our own successful struggle in the cause of civil liberty, . . . as it has affected the whole world, can hesitate to admit that the question of the erection of a new independent Christian state is the most momentous that can occur in the program of human affairs, and especially deserving the attention of the representatives of a free people."

The writer of the appeal calls for the "extermination of Turkish despotism of the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean sea," as the legitimate object of a "coalition among civilized powers." In his view, "[t]he existence of that despotism has reduced to a state of desolation several of the most fertile countries of the globe . . . [i]t has been attended with the grossest insults and outrages on the dignity of States and the liberty of their citizens. The maintaining of a powerful marine force, expensive consular establishments, disgraceful tribute, slavery and war, have been the evils to which this lawless domination has subjected the civilized world . . ." The reference here is to the Barbary states, nominally subject to the Ottoman sultan, with which the United States had been involved in a military hostilities about a decade before, and on account of which it still maintained a naval presence in the Mediterranean.

The Boston citizens' appeal called for the support of the founding of a Greek state that would include southern Greece, the Aegean islands, Crete and Cyprus, as "a powerful check upon the barbarous dependencies of the Porte in those seas, and give facility to that commercial enterprise which now finds its way only to one port of European or Asiatic Turkey." This was a reference to U.S. government efforts to enter the Ottoman market. Up to that time the U.S. only could conduct business with Turkey via the port of Smyrna, while negotiations for an enlargement of the American presence and a lowering of import tariffs had stalled on account of the Greek Revolution.<sup>25</sup>

Finally, reference was made to the way in which "the Turkish Government is carrying on the war against Greece . . ." that was characterized by "barbarous and inhuman depravity." "The sale of forty thousand Christian women, and children (after the massacre of the husbands and fathers), in the open market, in the presence of Christian Europe, . . . is a circumstance discreditable to the age in which we live." America's representatives were called to consider the issue of the abolition of slave traffic, in light of these facts (pp. 153–154).

The "Address of the Committee of the Greek Fund of the City of New York" (pp. 156–160), emphasizes the fact that the Greeks approached the American people, as Christians who had been oppressed by the Muslims: "For ages, it has been the lot of the Greeks to mourn, to endure, and to hate, in silence; and the privilege of the Turks, to vex, to insult, to plunder and to destroy." At the same time it describes the Greeks as "descendants of a people the most illustrious of any who have gained a title to the admiration and gratitude of mankind; a people whose virtues and exploits have ennobled our common nature . . ." The twin themes that are developed, as with most of these documents, are of Turkish oppression of the (fellow Christian) Greeks and the accompanying atrocities, and the intellectual origins of the latter, which have given the rest of the

world ideas about freedom and humanism. Both themes are invoked to claim to kinship with America and to call for support and aid (of a very practical sort: money, clothing, arms and ammunition). The same themes also were developed in the "Resolution Passed by Citizens of Poughkeepsie," with the added point of unanimous thanks being offered to "Daniel Webster, Member of Congress from Massachusetts for the high and honorable stand he has taken in favor of the Greek Nation" (p. 161).

Resolutions on behalf of the Greeks voted by the various state legislatures tended to be restrained in their expression of support, albeit reflecting a characteristically American suspicion of the return of monarchy in Europe and support of the Greek fight against tyranny. Thus the "Resolution of the Senate of the State of Maryland," presented on December 16, 1823 (pp. 149–151) specifically addresses the issue of hostility to representative government by "a confederacy of the modern monarchs of Europe," and actions taken by them "to deny to the people any participation in government." The last point in this document is to "view with deep solicitude and anxious interest the noble and heroic struggle the Grecians are waging against their relentless and barbarous tyrant."

The "Resolution in Support of the Greeks," voted on December 19, 1823 by the Legislature of South Carolina (p. 151), "regards with deep interest the noble and patriotic struggle of the modern Greeks to rescue from the foot of the infidel and the barbarian the hallowed land of Leonidas and Socrates; and would hail with pleasure the recognition by the American Government, of the independence of Greece." This resolution then was communicated to the state's congressional delegation. The Kentucky General Assembly resolution passed on January 7, 1824, stated "[t]hat the sentiments expressed by the President of the United States, at the opening of Congress, in his message to that body, in relation to the struggle of the Greeks for the right of self government, and particularly the wish which he expresses, that the devotion of that people to the cause of freedom, may be crowned with ultimate success; . . . that Greece, once the admiration of the world, . . . may achieve her emancipation, . . ." (p. 162).<sup>26</sup>

Finally, a florid speech delivered on February 20, 1824 by A. Davezac in the Louisiana House of Representatives, titled "On Moving the Resolutions in Support of the Greeks" (pp. 162ff) seconded the sentiments expressed in the other legislatures, albeit after the Webster House Resolution had been voted down in Washington. The author also took the opportunity to exhibit his knowledge of ancient Greek literature and history by his numerous references to distinguished figures of antiquity. Interestingly, Davezac's speech (that was published bilingually, in English and in French) refers to the breath of the philhellenic movement of the time: "All the cities of the Union have called meetings to deliberate on the mode of aiding the Greeks. Pity has extended like a chain from Port-

land [Maine] to New Orleans, and humanity has sent through it an electric spark home to every American heart" (p. 164).

The last group of documents in this chapter date between 1825–1827 and refer to specific and practical actions in support of Greece (pp. 167–171). Edward Everett, who had in the meanwhile been elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, is ever present. These documents include a notice of meeting of the Greek Committee of Boston in September 7, 1825; a letter from Everett to Mathew Carey of Philadelphia, dated December 18, 1826, in which reference is made to a shipment of relief supplies being readied for Greece; an article in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, dated December 21, 1826, referring to a visit in Boston by the Vermont philhellene Jonathan Miller, who reported on the grave situation facing the population in Greece, and to the New York and Philadelphia Greek Committees preparation to ship aid to Greece (for more information on the relief supply shipments, see the last chapter); a letter sent to Everett by a certain Hezekiah Belden dated December 30, 1826, who enclosed a donation of \$10 to aid "the wants of the suffering Greeks;" a letter from Everett, after his election to the U.S. House of Representatives, to Theodoros Kolokotronis, dated March 3, 1827, accompanying a shipload of "provisions and clothing, the contribution of benevolent individuals, . . . the exclusive offering of the citizens of New York" and informing him of the impending arrival of more ships carrying additional aid; lastly, an article of the *New York Evening Post*, dated March, 1827, reporting that a joint state senate and assembly committee had voted to recommend sending 1,000 barrels of flour to Greece, stating that "the stake for which [that country] was fighting was also that for which the pioneers of American independence had fought."

The chapter closes with a sampling of American poetry inspired by Greek revolutionary characters, events and ideas. These were chosen from the seminal work on the subject by Marios Byron Raizis and Alexander Papas, *The Greek Revolution and the American Muse: A Collection of Philhellenic Poetry 1821–1828*. Orations and poems formed the centerpieces of functions and events that were held in support of the Greeks, thus this was a mode of expression that was major element of the American cultural context.

#### 4. THE "GREEK QUESTION" AS AN ISSUE IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY.

The documents in this chapter reflect how the U.S. government dealt with the domestic and foreign pressures created by the Greek Revolution. It is a kind of archetypal description of the dialectical relationship between the political and the foreign policy-making processes in the American setting. The first set of documents includes the letter from Lafayette to Rufus King, which besides expressing a serious concern regarding the

Greeks mentioned above, attempts to evaluate the situation as it related to the system of European relations, and the forces that acted upon it (p. 195).

The next group of documents consists of references to the Greek Question in the letters of President James Madison. The first letter was an address to President Monroe, dated October 30, 1823. In it Madison referred to a letter written by Monroe to President Thomas Jefferson. This is evidence that former presidents shared their experience with the incumbent. The substance of the letter dealt with potential moves by the reactionary Holy Alliance to quell the revolutions in the Americas. Madison expressed satisfaction about the course the British appeared to follow and suggested involving them in the process of opposing the French invasion of Spain and of protecting the newly independent American states from European efforts to return them to a colonial status. In that context he wrote that it be suggested to the British government to make some statement on behalf of the Greeks (p. 197). In letters sent to President Jefferson and to Richard Rush immediately after the one he addressed to Monroe, Madison again reiterated that it be suggested to the British government to make a statement on behalf of the Greeks (p. 198). Two letters written to Lafayette much later, in 1828–1829, reflect Madison's philhellenism: "We learn with much gratification that the Greeks are rescued from the actual atrocities suffered, and the horrible doom threatened from the successes of their savage enemy" (p. 199).

The extracts from the annual messages to Congress by President James Monroe between 1822–1824 constitute the second group of documents in this chapter. Monroe's messages reflect both a genuine philhellenism and an acknowledgment of the political impact it had in the country. His comments on the subject were positive but general in the remarks he made in December, 1822 and December, 1823 (pp. 199–200). In the wording of the latter though, Monroe stated that ". . . their enemy has lost for ever all dominion over them; that Greece will again become an independent nation. That she may obtain that rank, is the subject of our most ardent wishes." This statement indicated that the official U.S. position "nudged" symbolically towards Greece, in large part in recognition of the reality of the political heat generated by "Greek Fire."

In the letters exchanged between Alexander Mavrokordatos and John Quincy Adams (pp. 201–202), the latter declared the parameters of U.S. policy regarding intervention on behalf of, and recognition of Greece. Adams wrote that the U.S. was precluded from intervening by its neutrality, but that it would be among the first to recognize the "sister Republic" once Greece successfully achieved its independence.<sup>27</sup>

The extracts from the *Memoirs* of John Quincy Adams offer insight into the workings of the pragmatic (vs. ideological) dimension of U.S. foreign policy formation (pp. 202ff).

His entries on November 16 and 27, 1822, suggest some of the substance of his advice to President Monroe regarding the composition of the Annual Message to Congress: "a strong expression of sympathy" in favor of the Greeks, but no active interference on their behalf. There is also an interesting comment about the anti-Ottoman "invective," expressed in a cabinet meeting: Adams thought it unlikely that the Sublime Porte ever would hear about it, but he was told that there would be "those that would take care to make them see it." Presumably "those" would be the other powers that competed for political and especially economic advantage in the Ottoman empire (p. 202).

There are many questions of interest raised in the *Memoirs* of John Quincy Adams. In the entries dated August 15 and November 23-24, 1823 his comments regarding Albert Gallatin present a cynical view of the philhellenic sentiments of the latter. Gallatin had written proposing that a U.S. naval force be sent to support the Greeks and that a loan or a subsidy to them of two million dollars be considered. Adams opposed both of these initiatives (pp. 203-205). In the entry of January 4, 1824 Adams referred to a conversation with Poinsett regarding his concerns that Webster's House Resolution regarding the Greek issue would damage a mission under way to Constantinople. Poinsett told him that Webster "would be satisfied" if Edward Everett would be appointed commissioner to go to Greece. This was rejected as Everett was deemed too partisan. Throughout these writings Adams' efforts appear to be committed to maintaining U.S. neutrality, both in appearance and in substance (see for example his ironic account of how he deflected the fund-raising efforts on behalf of the Greeks by a Dr. Thorton, p. 207).

The second part of the chapter reproduces in their entirety or the relevant extracts of the key speeches delivered on the floor of the House of Representatives for or against Webster's resolution to appoint "an Agent or Commissioner to Greece" (pp. 209ff).

Webster rose first to introduce his resolution. He opened his argument with references to President Monroe's comments about Greece, made in his Annual Message to Congress, and to the debt of American freedoms to ancient Greece, the ideas developed there, especially with regard to education, politics and the arts. However he hastened to add that his proposition was not based on supporting the modern Greeks on account of their ancestors, but because theirs was a cause on behalf "of liberty and Christianity." Webster set this judgment off against the reality of the reactionary policies of the European states, and their general aim to suppress republican revolutions. He cited the reference to the Greek revolt by European powers at the Laybach conference as "criminal combinations," while at the Congress of Verona Greek resistance to Turkish power was called "rash and culpable." These characterizations were made, according to Webster, because the Greeks were rebels (p. 227). He then reviewed the history of the revolution, touching

on the events illustrating the intensity of the fighting, and referring to the resolution of the Greeks to become independent. Finally, he argued that the appointment of an agent or commissioner would be useful in information gathering about the situation in Greece and the Ottoman Empire, but would not constitute undue interference and would "make our protest against the doctrines of the Allied Powers; both as they are laid down in principle, and as they are applied in practice" (pp. 234-235). In short, Webster saw an opportunity to demonstrate an American principle at very low political cost.

The response to Webster was led by Joel Poinsett and John Randolph. Poinsett opened his argument with a warning against reaching decisions of state on the basis of sentiment. While "[i]t is impossible to contemplate the contest between the Greeks and the Turks, . . . without feeling the strongest indignation at the barbarous atrocities committed by the infidel oppressor . . . [a]s representatives of the people, we have no right to indulge our sympathies, however noble, or to give way to our feelings, however generous." He stated that it was the duty of the elected representatives to approach the issue coolly and deliberately.

Poinsett considered that there was risk of a violent Turkish reaction to the passage of the Webster resolution; he asked, that if "the barbarous and infuriated Janissaries of Smyrna were to assassinate our Consul and fellow citizens residing there, might not a war grow out of these acts?" (p. 236) Turkish anger carried with it, according to Poinsett, the risk of war. To reinforce his idea he added: "the Turks are more regardless of the laws of nations, more violent in character, and more reckless of the consequences than any power in Europe" (p. 237), and asked whether the United States would be willing to risk engaging the combined power of Turkey, Egypt and the Barbary states in an international environment that was averse to major changes in the European balance of power.

The European powers in any case were cautious because "agents of the Greek government have, most impudently, boasted of the effect which the liberties of Greece would be likely to produce on the neighboring states." Poinsett thus raised still another issue, i.e. the direct ideological threat which the successful founding of a Greek republic would pose on the autocratic regimes of the continent: "[T]he establishment of free institutions in Greece would have a powerful influence on the minds of the enthusiastic Italians and Germans" (p. 238). He implicitly suggested that if the United States recognized Greece, the risk of confrontation widened to include most of the reactionary powers of Europe. His arguments were echoed by Randolph, who used the colorful term "Quixotism" to describe the impulse motivating the political philhellenes (p. 242). George Cary, Representative from Georgia, supporting Poinsett and Randolph, added a Washington pre-

cept, "[l]et us, in our private capacity as men, as freemen, as Christians if you please, feel for them [i.e. the Greeks], cheer them, and aid them too; but as a nation, as a government, let us not mingle ourselves with the embroiled policy and the endless disputes of Europe" (p. 247).

Henry Clay, who later became secretary of state, responded to Poinsett and the others with some telling arguments (pp. 247ff). He began by questioning whether the issue was unduly magnified: "Gentlemen speak of the watchful jealousy of the Turk, and seem to think the slightest movement of this body [the U.S. House of Representatives] will be a matter of serious speculation in Constantinople." Clay stated that neither the Turks ultimately would be unduly distressed, nor would the European powers "be thrown into a state of consternation, because we appropriate some two or three thousand dollars to send an agent in Greece."

Indeed Clay rephrased the question to ask whether the Greeks would be exposed to "more shocking enormities" by the passage of the resolution; "as if the Turkish scimeter (sic) would be rendered still keener, and dyed deeper and yet deeper in Christian blood" (p. 249). He thought that the answer would be in the negative. If the Turks would have committed additional atrocities as a result of American statements, then President Monroe's two annual messages would have provided the stimulus. In fact, Clay believed the opposite would occur. Once the Ottoman government realized that "our entire political fabric, . . . rulers and people, with heart, soul, mind and strength, are all on the side of the gallant people whom he [i.e. the Turk] would crush, he will be more likely to restrain than to increase the atrocities upon suffering and bleeding Greece." In other words, firmness exhibited by the United States would be more likely to restrain the Ottoman Turks.

Clay raised another issue in response to Poinsett and the others. The United States had the absolute right to "exercise [the] uncontested attribute of sovereignty." As a sovereign nation therefore it had "the indisputable right of opening and maintaining diplomatic intercourse with any actual sovereignty." Furthermore, he found it against the nature of American freedom for the nation's foreign policy to be limited by "the thrones of . . . imperial and royal majesties" of Europe. In other words, on another level, the issue was larger than that of sending an agent to Greece; it touched on the nation's capacity to exercise full sovereignty, "[i]t is principally for America, for the credit and character of our common country, for our own unsullied name, that I hope to see it [the resolution] pass" (p. 253).

Sam Houston, later one of the founders of the state of Texas, in one of his earliest speeches in the House of Representatives also supported Webster's resolution (pp.

254–257). He touches on the theme of ideological kinship: “[t]he Greeks are struggling for their liberty . . . Let us, then, as far as we can, consistently with our relations with foreign nations, hail them as brethren and cheer them in their struggle.” Houston referred to President Monroe’s remarks and to popular philhellenism, “what sentiment has the President expressed upon this subject? Does he say that we should not interest ourselves for the Greeks? . . . Is there not a spontaneous feeling in their behalf among the people? And shall this House, which represents the people be silent on the subject? and for fear of offending the crowned heads of Europe, shall it not act?” As did Henry Clay, Houston touched on the issue of the exercise of American national sovereignty not limited by reactionary European politics.

The last group of documents in this chapter reflect a more direct hand by the U.S. government in its effort to deal with the Greek events. Ironically, after John Quincy Adams became president he and Henry Clay, his secretary of state, decided to take a more active hand in Greek affairs. The first of our documents in this section is a letter by Secretary of State Clay appointing William C. Sommerville (secret) agent to Greece (pp. 258–260).<sup>28</sup> Sommerville, a cosmopolitan and liberal, had fought in the South American independence struggles and had traveled widely in Europe. His mission was to go to Greece, establish contact with “the existing authorities,” and let them know that “people of the United States and their government, through the whole of the present struggle of Greece, have constantly felt an anxious desire that it might terminate in the reestablishment of Liberty and Independence of that country . . . sympathizing with Greece.” He also was instructed to emphasize nonetheless that the United States would remain neutral. The other part of his mission was to observe the situation and conditions, to collect information “to enable the government of the United States to form a correct judgement, in regard to the ability of Greece to prosecute the war, and to sustain an independent government.”

Sommerville also was charged with informing the Greeks regarding matters pertaining to the United States and if the times called for it, to “deal with any difficulties or soothe angry passions in the way that harmonious concert [is achieved] between the Grecian functionaries and commanders without which their cause cannot prosper” (p. 259). He was told that he was to verify information about “one or two American merchantmen having engaged in the Turkish service, to transport military men or means.” If these reports proved to be true, Sommerville was instructed to “acquaint the parties concerned with the displeasure of the President at conduct so unworthy of American citizens . . .” and that if they encountered any difficulties they could expect no “interposition of [the U.S.] government in their behalf” (p. 260).

A very professional U.S. government mission to Greece and the Ottoman Empire was that undertaken by Commodore John Rodgers, who headed the U.S. naval squadron in the Mediterranean. Rodgers, an experienced naval officer, was a veteran of the wars against the Barbary states and knew the area well. In August 1825 he arrived in the Aegean sea on board the U.S.S. *North Carolina*, the squadron's flagship accompanied by the ships *Constitution*, *Erie* and *Ontario*. He had been charged with a complicated and largely secret mission, which had as its primary goal to make contact with the Ottoman fleet commander, the *kapudan pasha*, in order to negotiate a commercial treaty. The *kapudan pasha* was deemed to be on very close terms with the sultan. It was judged by Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, who sponsored the mission, that making contact with him somewhere away from Constantinople or other highly visible location would not expose the American effort to vilification by competitor nations.<sup>29</sup>

Rodgers also was instructed to report on the general situation relating to the Greek revolt and to avoid any actions that would adversely affect the Greek cause, or that would risk impugning the strictly neutralist policy of the United States. In his efforts to track down and meet the *kapudan pasha*, Rodgers sailed to various ports in the Aegean islands, Smyrna, Nauplion, but had to postpone this part of the mission for the following year.<sup>30</sup> His reports, as reproduced in this volume, are taken from the Speliotakes article. They are replete with detailed information, careful judgments, and display a diplomat's sensitivity to the impact of perceptions of actions on the players in the Ottoman theater. In his letter from Smyrna, dated August 30, 1825, he noted that "almost every person of intelligence in the place seems to be acquainted with all that has been said in our public prints in abuse of their unrighteous war against the Greeks, yet they appear sensible of our disposition to act so far impartially, as not to compromise our neutrality." In this long letter addressed to Secretary of the Navy Samuel L. Southard, he described the players in the area, who were, besides the Turks, the British, French, Austrians, and their apparent policies. The British policy appeared to aim "to induce the Greek Government formally to solicit the protection of England," while the French policy aimed to weaken the Greeks with the apparent objective of hastening their defeat at the hands of Ibrahim Pasha, the son of the viceroy of Egypt. The geopolitical rationale of the French objective (with which the Austrians were in agreement), according to Rodgers, was to build up the strength of the Egyptians so as to use them to limit British access to India (p. 261).

Rodgers was very pessimistic about the Greek situation. He noted that Ibrahim Pasha had captured all of the Morea (Peloponnesus) except for Nauplion, and was besieging Mesolongi. He notes that the Egyptian forces were commanded by French officers and had been very effective in breaking Greek resistance. The Greek lack of funds and

equipment forced Rodgers to conclude that "their cause is so desperate, that nothing short of a miracle can sustain them much longer" (p. 262). In a letter to Secretary of State Henry Clay, dated August 31, Rodgers repeated his assessment of the Greek cause, which appeared to him "in a hopeless condition . . . unless they [the Greeks] should soon receive aid from some one or more European powers, but which is no means likely unless the British Government should take them under their protection, as it has the people of the Ionian Islands" (p. 264). In a later report to Clay, dated October 14, Rodgers added that he did not believe it likely that the British would undertake such a role, because this would be opposed by France and Austria, possibly even Russia (p. 269).

Another subject that concerned Rodgers was the activities of American philhellenes, especially those of William Washington. The latter had come under French influence and apparently had acted indiscreetly, "[t]his foolish young man . . . is permitting the French to make a tool of him" (pp. 262–263). The matter of Washington again was brought up in the same letter to Secretary of State Clay cited above. Washington it appears, represented himself as an agent of the U.S. government, joined up with the French, in opposing a Greek government effort to place the country under British protection. Rodgers reported that he was trying to undo the impression created by Washington: "I have frequently since my arrival been asked if he was not an Agent of our Government, and to which I have always replied that he positively was not either directly or indirectly" (p. 265).

An American who, at the urging of Daniel Webster sailed to Greece on the U.S.S. *North Carolina*, arriving there in something of an official capacity in August 1825, and perhaps looking for a vocation, was Estwick Evans, former member of the New Hampshire state legislature and unsuccessful candidate for Congress.<sup>31</sup> Though Evans left his home state motivated by the most philhellenic sentiments, he remained in Greece only for about one month, leaving disappointed because the Greeks did not appoint him their ambassador to the United States. As Larrabee notes, Evans' writings are characterized by an effort to understand the people, their culture and conditions in a way free from the classicizing filters through which many other foreigners approached the Greek reality. He also was quite critical of the motives and peculiarities of some of the other philhellenes.<sup>32</sup>

Upon his return to the America Evans wrote a series of seventeen articles under the general title of "Views of Greece," which were published over a six month period by the *New Hampshire Gazette*. The extracts in this volume include an effort to describe the Greeks and their way of fighting in terms that would be readily understandable to an American audience: he compared the Greeks to the American Indians, mused about a

common ancestry of these two peoples, and compared similar characteristics in their behavior and culture (p. 278). In another piece he commented on "the injurious effects of the loans and donations which had been sent to Greece" (pp. 277–278) and developed a perceptive discussion of what we would call the motivations of the revolutionaries, both the leaders and followers, and some of the reasons for their early success, "... plunder of the Turks . . . gave them impetus, and was one principle (sic) cause of their success." His observations were quite realistic, taking into account aspects that are constants in the human condition, such as the particularity of culture, as these came into conflict with the idealizations of literary philhellenism. In another article he touched on one of the basic themes of American philhellenism, "... the Greeks are all christians and all republicans. These circumstances render their cause doubly interesting to the people of the United States; . . . doubly important to the world. Until religion and liberty go hand in hand neither honor nor the happiness of man can be secure" (p. 279). This realization stumbles onto one of the basic ideas of Christian Orthodoxy, whatever the spiritual meanderings of some nominally Orthodox through the ages. Finally, Evans also left notes on some of the American philhellenes who fought in Greece (pp. 279–280).

The last, relatively short documents of this chapter include a letter from Albert Gallatin, then U.S. ambassador to Great Britain, to Secretary of State Henry Clay (pp. 281–282), which was an analysis of the situation between European powers as this related to the questions of Spain and Turkey. Gallatin noted that Great Britain and Russia had reached a relatively common position regarding Turkey, something which presented the possibility of a Greek settlement. Gallatin wrote, "the object is not the absolute independence of the Greeks, but to preserve them from extermination and to give them protection and security against Turkey, still however recognizing her sovereignty" (p. 266). This experienced diplomat and statesman touched on the theme of limits set by the great powers on Greece's independence, a motif that has haunted modern Greek history until our time. The last two letters in this chapter are expressions of gratitude by the Greek Third National Assembly and by Capodistria, respectively to the people and the president of the United States (pp. 283–284). The indirect American response to these letters is found in the extract of President John Quincy Adams' *Message to the Twentieth Congress* (p. 284).

## 5. THE FRIGATE AFFAIR

The background for this event is briefly described in the previous chapter. Basically two frigates, sister ships to the *Constitution*, were contracted to be built in New York at the cost of about \$250,000. The contract was written to favor the financiers and the yard on

a “cost plus” basis, so that the cost overruns were such that the Greeks were forced to sell the second vessel in order to pay for the first (which ended up costing a multiple of the above amount).<sup>33</sup> The one vessel that ultimately was delivered to the Greeks, was launched in New York as the *Hope*, and was renamed the *Hellas* when she entered Greek service. The *Hellas* was described in glowing terms by Samuel Gridley Howe in his *Journals and Letters*, after he visited her in the island of Aegina in January 1827. Howe describes her as astonishing in terms of size, with dimensions that allowed the vessel to carry sixty four guns (pp. 356–357).

The “Frigate Affair” represents one of the first major American weapons export projects, and as such it touches on aspects that would come to characterize this form of trade. One part of the debate regarding the construction of the war frigates in New York related to the issue of American neutrality. The writer of the article in *The New York Enquirer*, which opens this chapter, wrote that, with regard to the South American revolutions against Spain, “we were prudent and correct in maintaining our neutral position, which probably saved us from a European war” (p. 285). With regard to the Greeks, “[w]e have to fear the effect of surrendering a principle [*sc.* neutrality] intimately connected with our own safety and welfare.” He then asked how the United States could violate that principle and “come out openly in favor for the Greeks.” The popular and political pressure on behalf of the Greeks must have been such that the writer then went on to contradict himself and still came out in favor of giving even the second frigate to the Greeks, on a credit basis, even though “the act [was] manifestly a violation of our neutrality” (p. 286).

The second issue raised by the frigate sale to Greece was that of mismanagement and cost overruns by those contracted by the New York banking house which undertook to oversee the construction. The article relating to Sedgwick, a counsellor [=attorney] retained by the Greek government, describes the project as “[t]he reckless expenditure, the wild waste of these sacred funds, devoted to the cause of liberty and religion, . . .” (p. 287). Another article in the *American Quarterly* commented “the only instance in which we could render to the Greeks any substantial service, has manifestly been perverted by private cupidity to unwarantable emolument; a profit of 80,000 dollars made out of their distresses by their mercantile correspondents . . .” (p. 288); meanwhile President James Madison wrote to Lafayette, in a letter dated November 1826, “[i]t appears that the ample fund for two Frigates at an early day has procured but one which has recently sailed . . . a regular investigation of the lamentable abuse is going on. In the meantime, Greece is bleeding in consequence of it, as is every heart that sympathises with her noble cause” (p. 288).

The review of the pamphlets published by the *North American Review* in the wake of the Frigate Affair (pp. 288ff), while avoiding the imputation of fraud, analyzed in broad strokes the elements that contributed to mismanagement and cost overruns. The writer of the article commented, "[i]t seems difficult to resist the conclusion, that various persons employed by the [banking] houses to work or furnish supplies, were allowed by the houses an enormous pay and compensation, the commission on which, charged by the houses in their own favor, is certainly not reconcilable with the rules of a delicate morality." The matter became very acrimonious, with *ad hominem* attacks directed at the critics of the bankers/contractors and the representatives of the Greek government. At the end even the arbitrators, who were called to adjudicate the case, and who found for the Greeks, took advantage of the situation to award themselves fees for their twenty days of work equal to a years pay (p. 293).<sup>34</sup>

#### 6. TANGIBLE SUPPORT: PHILHELLENES, WARRIORS AND PHILANTHROPISTS

The first group of documents reproduced in this chapter represent early notices (dated between 1823–1824) of popular appeals aiming to interest the readers and motivate them to contribute funds (pp. 313–314). The letter by Rev. Jonas King, published in the *New York Commercial Advertiser* in January 1827 is an impassioned plea on behalf of the Greeks aiming to alter negative impressions that had been created because of civil strife and piratical activity in the Mediterranean (pp. 314–315). King established himself in Greece for the next three decades, and eventually became the U.S. consul general there.

Three letters of Edward Everett, dated between 1827–1828, constitute the second group of documents in this chapter. The first letter, dated February 4, 1827, is addressed to the Greek Committee of New York (pp. 316–319), in response to a communication likely to have asked about the kinds of supplies that were needed for Greece, presumably in preparation of the first relief supply shipment that was to be made to the country. Everett suggested that more of these supplies be food (about two-thirds), less clothing, given "the mildness of the climate in the Southern portions of Greece." He was quite specific and detailed as to the kinds of food that would be preferable (rice, dried fruit, salted meats) and commented on the Greek diet, remarking for example that the Greeks did not consume much meat. He also advised as to the port to which these supplies should have been delivered (Napoli di Romania = Nauplion) and urged that the Committee consider appointing an agent to represent its interests; he recommended Jonathan Miller of Vermont, who had already served two years in Greece under the auspices of the Boston Greek Committee, about whom more below.

Everett wrote the second letter, dated March 3, 1827, from the House of Representatives, and addressed it to the abovementioned Commodore John Rodgers, commander of the U.S. Navy's Mediterranean squadron. By this letter he asked for protection by the squadron of the vessel chartered by the New York Greek Committee and for her cargo (pp. 318–319).

The last of the Everett letters in this chapter, dated June 25, 1828, is addressed to Samuel Gridley Howe (p. 319), and refers to another shipment of supplies to Greece, coordinated by Matthew Carey of Philadelphia. It also refers to Everett's article "Coray's Aristotle," published in the *North American Review*, which was discussed above.

The second part of this chapter includes extracts from the accounts of American philhellenes who served in Greece. These record a massive amount of information regarding the local conditions—particularly the suffering by the civilian population, the progress of the war, personalities, customs and the American-sponsored relief activities.<sup>35</sup> Jonathan Miller's *Letters from Greece* largely cover the years 1824–1825 and record impressions on his travel from the United States to Greece, his first contacts with the Greeks and comments on some of their political attitudes. In an early meeting with Alexander Mavrokordatos, the Secretary of the Executive (acting as foreign minister), Miller told his interlocutor "that nothing further would be done by the Americans, if the Greeks should accept a foreign king. He [Mavrokordatos] replied that nothing but a foreign force would ever place them under a king" (p. 321).

Miller also records a letter from Mavrokordatos to Greek Committee of Boston, dated November 30/December 11, 1824, to thank it for its activities. His comments reveal that the United States served as a model for the Greeks, "You know Greece; but you know it is oppressed by the Turkish yoke. Every thing is now changed. We too, in imitation of the Americans, have resolved to recover our liberty and assume a place among civilized nations. God grant that we may be as fortunate as you" (p. 322).

The letters by Miller addressed to the Greek Committee of Boston (pp. 323–325), to his friend S. D. Harris (pp. 325–326) and the letter by Col. (George) Jarvis addressed to the Greek Committee of Boston, recorded by Miller (pp. 326–332), all describe the experiences of these men in Greece. They comment on the other philhellenes, often in unflattering terms, suggesting that many were misfits while others were unprepared when they came to Greece to help, and instead became a burden (see pp. 327–328, and *passim*); on the Greek fighting men and the way in which they conducted war, much like Estwick Evans, Miller and Jarvis also thought they resembled the American Indians (see also Howe's comments, p. 351). Jarvis wrote admiringly of the Greek fighting man's ability to survive on very little bread and often no pay (p. 329); the poverty affecting both

the war effort and the civilians (pp. 324, 329 and *passim*); the religiosity of the Greeks, "[they] are very devout, and do everything with a religious view. So they fight—and every one here regards the cause as a religious one." Jarvis' Protestant background causes him to disapprove of prayers addressed to the saints, his early nineteenth century optimism borne of a faith in the idea of progress assured the reader that "liberty and science will soon open [the Greeks'] minds" (pp. 330–331).

Jonathan Miller's *The Condition of Greece* represents another primary source by an American philhellene-participant. Among the extracts included in this chapter is a letter dated March 8, 1827, with instructions to Miller regarding the shipment of the supplies made by the New York Greek Committee on the cargo vessel *Chancellor* (pp. 333–334). Subsequent entries by Miller record the delivery of relief supplies from this shipment, and of others sent later, to the suffering population: ". . . I saw seven women and three children . . . escaping from Ibrahim Pacha at Gastouni, arrived in a state of wretchedness as cannot with modesty be described. . . . I hastened to my lodgings, and soon clothed them all from donations sent from Newark, in New Jersey . . ." (pp. 336–337); "[o]pened the box of clothing from Orange, New Jersey, and began distributing to those who were naked" (p. 337); "I delivered to the Superintendent of the Hospital at Methana two hundred shirts ready made, and one roll of sheeting from the cargo of the [vessel] *Tontine*, from Philadelphia; and one hundred and forty-one pair of men's shoes, from the boxes sent from Newark, New-Jersey, and from Fairhaven, by the *Chancellor*," (p. 339); "On leaving the [U.S.S.] *Warren*, the officers of the ward-room presented three barrels of flour, to be distributed . . . among the widows and orphans of Poros" (p. 340).

Another of Miller's entries records the arrival of another American vessel, the *Six Brothers*, carrying relief supplies sent by the New York Greek Committee. The cargo was accompanied by the committee's supercargo (e.g. agent) John R. Stuyvesant, scion of a distinguished family, descendant of one of the earliest Dutch settlers in New York. A summary of the supplies shipped was appended to the committee's instructions to Miller (p. 342). Miller records a report of the Executive Greek Committee of New York dated somewhat earlier which serves as a kind of summary of the relief activities undertaken by that committee. It includes some interesting details about the organization and coordination of the relief effort (pp. 343–345), and letters and other records of donations by a variety of individuals and institutions (pp. 345–350).

Larrabee's table of shipments of aid is useful to providing another view of the American relief to Greece. He lists eight shipments made between March 23, 1827 and September 13, 1828. The sponsoring committees included those of New York, Albany, Boston and

Philadelphia. The ships *Tontine*, *Chancellor*, *Six Brothers*, *Levant*, *Statesman*, *Jane*, *Herald* and *Suffolk* carried cargoes totaling about \$139,000 in value.<sup>36</sup> The value of the shipments, as well as the different types of cargo carried, reflect the extent of the American popular mobilization in support of the Greeks.

Some of the comments accompanying the donations reflected the feelings of sympathy and kinship felt for the Greeks at the popular level: A letter from the village of Cherry Valley, New York, ended with the thought, “[a]ccept the felicitations of the undersigned on the heart-cheering prospect that the sufferings of that gallant people [the Greeks] are fast approaching a close; and their prayers that the classic soil of Greece may soon cease to be stained by the bloody footsteps of infidel and relentless tyrants” (p. 348). Stephen Allen of the New York Greek Committee wrote in a letter thanking the students of the Union Hall Academy in Long Island, New York for their donation, “you have performed an act worthy of all praise, and associated yourselves with a cause of increasing interest and importance, not only to the Christian world in general, but to all friends of liberal principles in particular” (pp. 348–349). Finally, in another letter to a contributor, Allen closed with the reassuring statement that, “. . . the liberal donation they have intrusted them with shall be invested . . . in articles of food and raiment for the distressed wives and children, and the aged sires of the heroic Greeks, who are contending for civil and religious liberty, against a foe who is equally the enemy of God and man” (p. 350).

The young Bostonian Samuel Gridley Howe, was one of the most prominent philhellenes who served the Greek cause throughout his life. His was a commitment that extended past a love of classical antiquity, “I am an admirer of ancient, but a lover and friend of modern Greece” (p. 350). Howe’s *Journals and Letters* are another rich primary source not only for the study of American philhellenism, but also of the Greek Revolution more generally. The extracts included in this chapter contain evaluations of the military situation (pp. 350–351), the political and psychological situation after the fall of Mesolongi (pp. 354–355) and occasional emotional outburst: “Missolonghi has fallen! . . . their [the defenders’ and their families] scorched and mangled carcasses lie a damning proof of the selfish indifference of the Christian world” (p. 352).

The last group of personal accounts includes extracts of letters by Howe, Miller and young Perdikaes, that were appended to the abovementioned Mazro–Jennings account, in an effort to add to its credibility. Comments by Miller are quoted, “The Greeks are struggling as our [Founding] fathers did, for freedom and independence—though not from a Christian but a Mohometan (sic) power.” The association is made once again between the American and Greek Revolutions. However Miller then injected another

theme, two Turkish characteristics that explain the motives of the Greeks: "They cannot submit at discretion, without jeopardizing their lives, and exposing their wives and daughters to the lustful passions of a bestial soldiery. The history of former Turkish treaties teaches them what they may expect, if they submit or capitulate. What can they do? Tell me not of Turkish mercy or of Turkish faith. They are merciful only when there is fear of retaliation, and keep their promise only when it is not for their interest to break it" (p. 358). Howe's remarks then refer to the extreme application of cruelty and terror by the Turks.

Howe also remarked about the impact on the Greeks of relief supplies sent from the United States. He acknowledged that the Europeans sent much more aid, mostly to the Greek government. He noted though that the relief sent by Americans went directly to the population, which responded with warm feelings for the United States, "I would meet crowds trudging cheerily home with their bags of flour, and as they passed me they would cry out 'long live the Americans,' 'God bless the Americans,' and would often try to kiss my feet!" (p. 362).

The letter by Gregory Perdikari (Gregorios Perdikares) was circulated widely. Its importance lies in the fact that its author was one of a number of young Greek war survivors, including many orphans, that was brought to, and educated in the United States (pp. 363–364). Many of these youngsters upon reaching adulthood distinguished themselves in America and/or in Greece. The first recorded arrivals were of Photios Karavasiles and Anastasios Karavelas, ages fifteen and eleven respectively, in Salem, Massachusetts in 1823. They were followed in 1824 by eight young men, the most prominent of whom was become the seven year old Chian Georgios Calvocoresses. He became a distinguished officer in the U.S. Navy. Others followed: in 1825 four young men from Chios, the brothers Konstantinos and Pantias Ralles, ages sixteen and fourteen respectively, Nikolaos Petrokokkinos, aged sixteen, and Alexandros Paspates, aged twelve; all were educated at Amherst College and became professionals in a variety of fields. Petrokokkinos became a writer and journalist and returned to Chios in 1867 as U.S. consul. Paspates went to Italy, where he studied medicine and then settled in Constantinople, where he produced studies on a variety of fields. Later the same year the brothers Stephanos and Pantelis Galatis were sent to America by missionaries. They attended Yale College and returned to Greece after their graduation. The aforementioned Perdikares, Nikolaos Prassas and Nikolaos Vlasopoulos, arrived in the United States in June 1826 on the brig *Romulus*. Perdikares was educated at Amherst College, returning to Greece in 1838 to become U.S. consul in Athens when the first consulate was established there. In 1827 a twelve year old Psariot girl named Garyphalia Mochabey arrived in Boston with her two sisters. She had been sold into slavery after the massacre in Chios

and was purchased by an American philanthropist at a slave market in Smyrna. During the same year there arrived Christodoulos Evangelides, the first Greek to graduate from Columbia College in 1836, and who was the inspiration for William Cullen Bryant's poem "The Greek Boy;" Evangelides went on to become a distinguished member of New York society, and upon his return to Greece, founded the distinguished school *Hellenikon Lykeion* on the island of Syros. Jonathan Miller brought with him from Greece two orphans, a boy that he raised and a girl that was adopted by the family of Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts. The boy who came to be known as Loukas Miller, was born in Livadia, son of a Greek fighter who was killed in action. Loukas was educated, served in the U.S. Army, taking part in the Mexican War, and in 1853 was elected congressman from the state of Wisconsin, the first Greek-American to be so distinguished. Still another orphan who was to distinguish himself was Evangelos Apostolides Sophocles, who arrived in Boston in 1828, was educated there and became professor at Harvard College; Sophocles' academic career spanned over four decades and he produced the *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods, from 146 B.C. to 1100 A.D.*, which is still used by scholars today.<sup>37</sup>

The last two documents in this collection were drawn up in 1829, at the end of hostilities. The first is an article in the *Boston Recorder*, dated May of that year, referring to the departure of teachers and others who planned to go to Greece in the fall to staff a hospital and to set up schools and orphanages (p. 364). The other document was a pamphlet promoting a plan for the creation of a school system in Greece and was drawn up by the Greek School Committee of New York, headed by Albert Gallatin and with Rufus Anderson as a driving force. Its opening paragraph turns philhellenism in the direction of education: "It will be universally admitted, that the deep sympathy excited in these United States, in behalf of Greece, cannot expend itself better than in efforts to diffuse there our rich stock of common knowledge" (p. 366). From the money that was raised by Anderson and his associates that year schools were founded in Syros and in Athens. One of those, founded by the Rev. John Henry Hill and his wife Frances,<sup>38</sup> still exists and functions under its founders' name in the Plaka district of Athens. Reverend and Mrs. Hill arrived in Greece on December 7, 1830. They devoted their long lives to education, founding the school, overseeing the translation of religious and other edifying works, all in the context of respect for Greek sensibilities and Orthodoxy. After over fifty years of devoted service, Rev. Hill died in Athens in 1882; he was mourned by a grateful Greek nation and government, and was buried at public expense.<sup>39</sup> As it happens Americans proved influential in the development of modern Greek education, founding schools and inspiring the establishment of others. Perhaps this was a fitting legacy transmitted by the first republic of the modern era, to the world's oldest.

## NOTES

*On the editorial and typographical standards of this edition:* The texts included in this volume were reproduced as they appeared in the original publications, in terms of orthography, typographic conventions and characteristics (except for the size of the type, absolute or relative). Consequently no effort has been made to change the spelling of words, or standardize names, geographic and other technical terms, this being a subject for specific study. The exception to this principle relates to the texts written by the editor and the other contributors in the front and back matter, in which standard stylistic, typographic and transliteration conventions are followed.

1. Stephen A. Larrabee, *Hellas Observed: The American Experience in Greece, 1775–1865* (New York: New York University Press, 1957), p. 134. Also, Giannes A. Tozes "Ελληνο-Αμερικανικαὶ ἐπαφαὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἐπανάστασιν τοῦ 1821" (=Greek-American Contacts during the Revolution of 1821), *Hellenika* 14 (1956), p. 419.
2. John Pickering mentions a certain ship called *The Jerusalem*, which arrived in Boston in 1814; this is the only reference that could be found of a Greek vessel arriving in the north-eastern United States. The vessel's supercargo, a certain Nikolaos Tziklitas (Νικόλαος Τζικλιτήρας), a native of Pylos (Navarino) in southwestern Peloponnesus, settled in Boston around 1818; see John Pickering, "On the Pronunciation of the Greek Language," in *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, vol. 4 part 1 (1818), pp. 225.
3. Basic works in the subject of the impact of Classical education in early America include Meyer Reinhold, *The Classick Pages: Classical Reading of Eighteenth-Century Americans* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1975), and *Classica Americana: The Greek and Roman Heritage in the United States* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984), and Carl J. Richard, *The Founders and the Classics: Greece, Rome and the American Enlightenment* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), see especially pp. 12ff, and *passim*.
4. Reinhold, *Classica Americana*, pp. 142ff, esp. 145-146.
5. On Jefferson's philhellenism and interest in Greece and the Greek language, see Larrabee, pp. 3–4. Jefferson was interested in learning modern Greek and apparently had asked for instruction from his friend John Paradise, an Anglo-Greek who settled in Virginia, see Archibald Bolling Shepperson, *John Paradise and Lucy Ludwell of London and Williamsburg* (Richmond, Virginia: The Dietz Press, 1942), pp. 215–216. Shepperson cites a letter written by Jefferson to George Wythe in September 16, 1787, in which he writes, "I cannot help looking forward to the reestablishment of the Greeks as a people, and the language of Homer becoming again a living language, as among possible events. You have now with you Mr. Paradise, who can tell you how easily the modern may be improved into the antient Greek . . ." quoted in Shepperson, p. 216. Paradise apparently had offered to teach Jefferson the pronunciation of modern Greek (see Larrabee, p. 3).
6. *Dictionary of American Biography (DAB)*, Volume 6 (New York: Scribner's, 1931), p. 226.
7. Larrabee, p. 293.

8. Major biographical entries discuss Edward Everett's appointment to Harvard as professor of Greek and his studies in Göttingen and little else; see, *DAB*, pp. 223ff; also, Howard Haycraft and Stanley J. Kunitz, ed., *American Authors 1600-1900: A Biographical Dictionary of American Literature* (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1938), pp. 259ff. Perhaps the most detailed recent study of Everett's pioneering contributions to classical studies in the United States is to be found in Reinhold, *Classica Americana*, esp. pp. 204ff and *passim*.

9. Myrtle A. Cline, *American Attitude Toward the Greek War of Independence, 1821-1828* (Atlanta, Georgia, 1930), *passim*; George Ch. Soulis, "Adamantios Korais and Edward Everett" in *Mélanges offerts à Octave et Melpo Merlier*, Vol. 2 (Athens: Institut Français, 1953), p. 9 and *passim*; Antea Frantzi, ed., *Ἐντουάρντ Ἐβερρετ: Σελίδες ημερολογίου* (Athens: Trochalia, 1996), pp. 39ff.

10. *DAB*, p. 223, Haycraft and Kunitz, p. 260; a fuller account of Everett's early years is to be found in the introduction and notes accompanying the edition of his account of his voyage to Greece, Constantinople and the Balkans published recently in Athens; see, Frantzi, esp. pp. 27ff., and Reinhold, *Classica Americana*, p. 205.

11. Frantzi, pp. 27-29

12. Frantzi, p. 28; Frantzi quotes Everett musing in his Göttingen diary (entry of September 11, 1815) about the need for the Greeks either to continue forever as slaves to a foreign master, or to awaken their national spirit and to free themselves.

13. Frantzi, p. 30.

14. See esp. Soulis, p. 5ff, and *passim*; also Frantzi, pp. 30-31. Towards the end of his life Everett wrote of his encounter with Korais:

"[While in Paris in 1818] I availed myself of the opportunity thus afforded to visit a few friends, whose society I had enjoyed the winter before, and particularly the celebrated Coray, the most learned and sagacious, as it seems to me, of the scholars of Modern Greece, and second to none of her sons, in the services rendered by him in preparing the way for her liberation. Having in view a visit to Greece, I had eagerly sought his acquaintance on arriving at Paris in the Autumn of 1817, and had diligently cultivated it during the whole of the following winter. He was then seventy years, and of rather infirm health, but in full possession of his faculties. My conversation with him, in our frequent interviews, naturally dwelt most on the subjects uppermost in the minds of both of us,— the ancient literature of his country, the condition and prospects of Modern Greece, and the hopes for her regeneration;— but he had seen much of the world; he possessed the principal languages of Europe; had been a general reader, and had, from observation and books amassed a fund of various and useful knowledge, which I have rarely seen equalled. He was good enough to encourage the repetition of my visits,— a benignant smile ever welcomed me, even when he was suffering severe pain,— and I never left him without having heard something that was worth remembering, or learning something which I did not know before." Edward Everett, *The Mount Vernon Papers* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1860), pp. 262-263.

15. Frantzi, pp. 32-37; also the Greek translation of Everett's diary, pp. 51-205. In Constantinople Everett purchased five Greek manuscripts with the help of Cartwright, the British consul general there, and brought these to the Harvard library. These he thought were the first Greek manuscripts in the United States and he described them in "An account of some Greek Manuscripts,

procured in Constantinople in 1819, and now belonging to the Library of the University at Cambridge," *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, vol. 4, part 2 (1821), pp. 409ff.

16. Tozes, p. 425 fn. 1.

17. John Pickering was a classical scholar and linguist who had become interested in the pronunciation of classical Greek and its relation to that of modern Greek. The visit to Boston by *The Jerusalem*, a Greek ship in 1814, offered Pickering the opportunity to meet modern Greek speakers, including the ship's captain and supercargo and thus study the phonetics of their speech. He wrote a long article on the subject cited in Note 2, above; see Pickering, pp. 225–295. He also published *A Greek and English Lexicon* (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, Little and Wilkins, 1826; Second edition, 1829; Third edition, 1846), which was the first work of such magnitude in Greek lexicography published in the United States, and which Reinhold described as the best Greek-English dictionary before Liddell and Scott. See Reinhold, *Classica Americana*, p. 185.

18. John Paradise was Jefferson's close friend and later agent in Paris; they shared an interest in scholarship, including a love of the Greek language and history. He was born in Thessalonica of a British father and a Greek mother, and identified as a Greek. He espoused republican views, which was one reason he did not reside in England, where he had family connections. Paradise married Lucy Ludwell, heiress from a distinguished family of Williamsburg, Virginia and took U.S. citizenship; he established himself in the United States with Jefferson's assistance. See Shepperson, *passim*.

19. Soulis, p. 11. Soulis believed that there were other letters exchanged between Everett and Korais, though he was unable to find them.

20. Erdem, a Turkish scholar who has specialized in the subject of slavery in the Ottoman Empire, drawing from the Turkish archives comments, "It was said that thousands were enslaved in Chios after the rebellion was put down in April 1822, and that slaves were sold for as little as 50 kurus." See, Y. Hakam Erdem, *Slavery in the Ottoman Empire and its Demise, 1800–1909* (London: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 20–21.

21. The references to tortures and extensive massacres of non-combatants recur in the documents. See for example Jonathan Miller's eyewitness account: "There arrived . . . six females, who had just escaped from the Arabs. Early this morning they were brought into my quarters . . . what a sight was presented to my view!! A girl of eleven or twelve years of age stood before me, with her nose cut off close to her face, and her lips all cut off, so that the gums and jaws were left entirely naked. . . . Her refusal to yield to the embraces of an Arab was the cause of this horrid and shocking barbarity" (p. 324). Howe wrote along the same lines, "the Christian world has tamely looked on, and seen inflicted on a Christian people, by that nation which outrages the most sacred rights of man, and openly scoffs at our holy religion. The unprovoked butchery of the Patriarch and of all the Bishops at Constantinople; the wide spreading massacres at Scio, Ipsara, Candia, and Cyprus where more than fifty thousand were put to death in cold blood, were looked upon by Christian Europe and America, almost with indifference" (p. 345). See also the popularized account by the "Exile of Scio" (pp. 117–120) which recounted the first-hand experience of an ostensible victim/eyewitness of the Chian massacre. C. P. Castanis, a survivor of the massacre who emigrated to the United States, published an account of this event two decades

later (*The Greek Captive: A Narrative of the Captivity and Escape of Christophorus Plato Castanis During the Massacre on the Island of Scio by the Turks*, Worcester, Mass. 1845).

Such recountings of events contributed to the creation of extremely negative stereotypes of Turks which survived well into the twentieth century. For example, an article in the November 1912 issue of *National Geographic* by Edwin Pears was titled "Grass Never Grows Where the Turkish Hoof Has Trod." It explained that Turks were backward, incompetent and cruel. Leland James Gordon, writing in an early work attempting to restore the image of Turkey in the United States by focusing on the economic relations between the two countries, notes that (at the time he wrote the book), "the word 'Turkey' connoted massacres and mystery, . . . It is doubtful if there is a single American who has not read of the 'unspeakable Turk' and who has not been amazed and awestruck at the blood-curdling accounts of his cruelty;" see *American Relations with Turkey, 1830-1930: An Economic Interpretation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1932) pp. 6ff. Gordon was writing in the late 1920s, one hundred years after the Greek Revolution.

22. "Hiram Powers," *The Brooklyn Museum Handbook* (New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1967), p. 508; also see the Frangos article, reproduced in the Appendix of this volume.

23. The role of the use of terror in the form of violence and torture as a means of exercising political control by the Ottomans and other Turkic cultures is a subject only beginning to be studied. A pioneering work in this regard is the massive though still unpublished "Folter und Gewalt in dem Osmanischen Reich" (=Torture and Violence in the Ottoman Empire) by the Turkish scholar Taner Akçam. Careful study of this phenomenon will lead to a more detailed comprehension of the propensity for the use of state-imposed terror by a succession of Ottoman and Turkish regimes.

24. *Kentucky Reporter*, January 12, and January 19, 1824 respectively, quoted from Huntley Dupre, "Kentucky and the Greek War of Independence, 1821-1828" *The Filson Club History Quarterly* (Louisville, Kentucky, April, 1939), pp. 104, 106. Dupre notes that John Everett, brother of Edward Everett, was tutor of Greek in Transylvania University in Lexington, then a distinguished institution of higher learning. This detail provides a glimpse into the philhellenic networks that operated throughout the country. It should be noted also that Lexington, Kentucky was known at the time as the "Athens of the West." See, Dupre, p. 103.

25. In fact the lack of any action by the United States related to the Ottoman Empire, on account of the Greek Revolution, resulted in the cessation of efforts to sign a commercial treaty with the Porte. In December 20, 1820 Luther Bradish, whom Myrtle Cline described as on a secret mission for the U.S. government, reported that a treaty was desirable from a commercial standpoint, since American traders paid higher duties than the English and other Europeans. He recommended however that negotiations leading to the signing of such a document be postponed because of the political situation arising from the Greek Revolution and of the English opposition to a Turco-American accord. In 1825 Commodore John Rodgers was authorized to negotiate secretly with the *kapudan pasha* in order to secure the right to trade in all Turkish ports, to be able to appoint consuls and to enter the Black Sea (see his letters pp. 260-276, in this volume). In February 7, 1828 the *kapudan pasha* wrote that the Sublime Porte was prepared to negotiate; there was no one authorized on the part of the United States and so the treaty was ratified later still. See Cline, p. 132; C.O. Paullin, *Diplomatic Negotiations of American Naval Officers* (Balti-

more: Johns Hopkins Press, 1912), pp. 132ff; Georgios T. Kolias, *Ai 'Hnōménei Politeīai tēs 'Amerikēs eīs tēn Mesōgyion, 1775-1830* (= The United States of America in the Mediterranean), (Athens, 1960), *passim*; Paul Constantine Pappas, *The United States and the Greek War for Independence, 1821-1828* (Boulder, Colorado: East European Monographs, 1985), p. 56; and for a more general account, Gordon, pp. 6ff.

26. Dupre describes the process of the philhellenic mobilization at the state and local level in Kentucky. The first information of the outbreak of the Greek Revolution was noted in the *Lexington Public Advertiser* on June 9, 1821. Articles in this and other newspapers followed during the next few months. The student mobilization described above followed. The resolutions passed by the state General Assembly coincided with meetings to organize support for the Greeks held during the same month in Louisville and Frankfort. See Dupre, pp. 106-107 and *passim*.

27. John Quincy Adams argued for non-intervention in foreign conflicts not only on the basis of pragmatic considerations, but also on moral grounds. In an early article in *Niles' Weekly Register* (July 21, 1821), reacting to news of the Greek uprising, he warned the young American democracy, "[w]herever the standard of freedom and independence has been or shall be unfurled, there will her heart, her benedictions, and her prayers be. But she goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy. She is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all. But she is the champion and vindicator only of her own. She well knows that by once enlisting under other banners than her own, were they even the banners of foreign independence, she would involve herself beyond the power of extrication, in all the wars of interest and intrigue, of individual avarice, envy, and ambition, which assume the colors and usurp the standard of freedom." This admonition has continuing relevance, especially now, and over the last decade, when the United States, as the most powerful nation on earth, has been tempted into the kinds of intervention against which Adams warned.

28. John Quincy Adams as president felt that the United States had a confused picture of events in Greece. The appointment of Sommerville as (secret) agent there was meant to provide a more dependable flow of information. It was also hoped that his presence would provide subtle support to the Greeks. See, Pappas, pp. 85-87.

29. Konstantinos K. Speliotakes, "Αμερικανικαὶ ἐκθέσεις ἐκ τοῦ Αἰγαίου" (=American Reports from the Aegean), *Hellenika* 25 (1972), pp. 153-154; Paullin, p. 130; Kolias, pp. 39-59, esp. pp. 41-42. Rodgers suspected that his inability to meet with the *kapudan pasha* may have been due in part to anti-American lobbying in Constantinople by competing national interests, which pointed to support for the Greeks originating in the United States. He wrote in a letter dated February 14, 1827 "I have taken pains to counteract as far as possible the injurious effect which such reports are calculated to have on our commercial interests, . . ." and "[o]ther nations, and particularly England, I find, is becoming jealous of our increasing commerce in the [Aegean] Archipelago, and her agents will leave nothing undone that lying and discrimination can effect to prevent our participating in the trade of a section of the Globe of which she had not long since almost the exclusive monopoly" (p. 275).

30. Commodore Rodgers met the *kapudan pasha* in the island of Tenedos on July 6, 1826 and in two more encounters during the next few days. The *kapudan pasha* promised to communicate the

commodore's observations to the Sultan and to revert. In fact the Ottoman response was delayed and Rodgers sailed for the United States in July 1827. Paullin, pp. 137-140.

31. Larrabee, pp. 135ff.

32. Larrabee, p. 138.

33. See Pappas, pp. 96-116; the tortuous details of this case were documented in a series of pamphlets most of which are referred to in the *North American Review* article and in John Duer and Robert Sedgwick, *An Examination of the Controversy Between the Greek Deputies and Two Mercantile Houses of New York together with A Review of the Publications on the Subject by the Arbitrators, Messrs. Emmet and Ogden, and Mr. William Bayard* (New York: Printed by J. Seymour, 1826).

34. A by-product of the Frigate Affair was a subsequent Ottoman effort to order warships built in the United States. The draft of the first commercial treaty between the United States and the Ottoman Empire was signed by the Turks on May 7, 1830. It contained nine public articles, which effectively gave the United States government the rights it had sought, and one secret article as a concession to the Porte. That article provided that, when the Ottoman government "shall order the building and construction in the dominion of America of whatever quantity of war vessels, such as two-deckers, frigates, corvettes and brigs . . . there shall be drawn up a contractual document stating in which way it has been negotiated and agreed upon with regard to the building expenses, the time of construction . . ." Quoted from J. C. Hurewitz, *The Middle East and North Africa in World Politics: A Documentary Record*, Vol. 1 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1975) p. 247. On December 15, 1830, President Andrew Jackson transmitted the treaty to the Senate for its consideration. It ratified the public articles by a vote of 42 to 1 on February 2, 1831. The secret article engendered much opposition, resulting in a vote of 18 for and 27 against, and thus was not ratified. Those opposing the article argued that, (a) it violated the policy of neutrality, (b) it might embroil the United States with foreign nations, (c) a secret article was at variance with a frank and open policy, and (d) in dealing with a foreign nation the United States neither asked for nor granted a boon. The Turks objected to the rejection of the secret article but the treaty was mutually ratified without the article on October 3, 1831 and was proclaimed by the president of the United States on February 4, 1832. See Paullin, pp. 147-153.

35. The extracts in this book derive from the works of Jonathan Miller and Samuel Gridley Howe. Henry A. V. Post, another philhellene who was sent by the Greek Committees of New York and Albany as supercargo on the vessel *Jane* (sailed September 12, 1827), left a detailed account of his sojourn. The work, titled *A Visit to Greece and Constantinople in the Years 1827-28* was published in New York (by the printers Sleight & Robinson) in 1830. We have not included extracts from it in this work as we plan to use it in a forthcoming monograph on the nature of American relief missions in Greece during the revolution.

36. Larrabee, p. 149.

37. For Karavasiles and Karavelas, see *Boston Recorder*, March 8, 1823; Chrestos D. Lazos, *H Αμερική και ο Ρόλος της στην Επανάσταση του 1821* (Athens: Papazeses, 1984), Vol. 2, pp. 559-561; for Calvocoresses, see Lazos, Vol. 2 pp. 562ff.; also, Eva Catafygiotu Topping, "George M. Colvocoresses USN: From Sea to Shing Sea," *New Directions in Greek American Studies* (New York: Pella, 1991), pp. 17ff.; for the Ralles brothers, Petrokokkinos and Paspates,

see *New York Evening Post*, May 25, 1824; also, Lazos, Vol. 2 pp. 582ff.; for Mochabey, see *Boston Recorder*, November 4, 1827; also, Lazos, Vol. 2 pp. 618ff.; regarding Perdikaes, Prasas and Vlasopoulos, see Larrabee p. 179; also, Lazos, Vol. 2 pp. 589ff.;. For a survey of the Greek orphans arriving in the United States, see Lazos, *passim*, and Harris J. Booras, *Hellenic Independence and America's Contribution to the Cause* (Rutland, Vermont: The Tuttle Company, 1934), pp. 193–196.

38. Booras, pp. 233–234; Larrabee, p. 200.

39. *Service Commemorative of the Life and Work of the Rev. John Henry Hill, D.D., LL.D., for Fifty Years Missionary in Greece, Who Died in Athens July 1st, 1882.* (New York: Published by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America), pp. 11–12 and *passim*.

I

ASPECTS OF AMERICAN PHILHELLENISM:  
EDWARD EVERETT, THOMAS JEFFERSON  
AND ADAMANTIOS KORAIIS;  
ALBERT GALLATIN AND  
THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE

A. Letter of John Pickering to Adamantios Korais

*[Editor's note: Even before the revolution of 1821, the reputation of Adamantios Korais as a Greek scholar, patriot and writer was known to American academics. The following letter from John Pickering, a linguist from Boston, to Korais, written in February, 1819, demonstrates the high regard and great respect which Korais enjoyed among the academic circles in the United States. The original manuscript in the French language is located in the Korais Library of Chios.]*

(Stratakis, pp. 164–65) February 22, 1819

Dear Sir,

Although I do not have the pleasure of knowing you, I am not unaware of your reputation, which is not limited to the old continent, and I take the liberty of introducing myself to you as a passionate admirer of your language, as well as of everything that concerns your interesting country, in order to offer you a Memoir for Modern Greek Pronunciation, which I would like to make known to my compatriots.

Although convinced that the infinite number of faults which have escaped me will not fail to be apparent to the eyes of a Greek scholar, I flatter myself, however, that this small work will find the welcome which it can only hope to find from a truly erudite person, who will amuse himself by seeking therein some merit rather than stopping with criticizing its faults. I dare to hope, Sir, that you will deign to advise me of the major faults which instead of assisting might harm the cause of Greek literature which I cherish with so much zeal. I do not doubt either that you will note that everything that I know concerning modern Greek pronunciation has been communicated to me solely by Peloponnesian Greeks, whose pronunciation may be somewhat different from that of other parts of Greece; and you will permit me to point out, in particular, the sound of the lambda



*Edward Everett*  
Unfinished portrait painted in 1820 by Gilbert Stuart (1755–1828)

and of the nu when they are followed by the eta, iota, etc., which these Greeks have assured me are pronounced by everyone in Greece like the gl of the Italians; which pronunciation (as I find) has not been indicated either by the writers of the past centuries nor by the travelers of our day whom I have been able to consult in this country.

Desiring to perfect myself in the Greek language, both ancient and modern, I take the liberty of asking you, Sir, to do me a great favor, namely to indicate to me where I could find a collection of the works which you have published for the use of your compatriots, and to have the kindness of sending a catalogue thereof to my friends Messrs. Welles and Williams, bankers of Paris, who will procure them for me.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

John Pickering

in Salem, near Boston, United States

February 22, 1819

### B. Edward Everett, "Coray's Aristotle."

*North American Review*. Vol. xvii, pp. 389-424. October, 1823

ART. XX. — 'Αριστοτέλους Ἠθικὰ Νικομάχεια, ἐκδίδοντος καὶ διορθοῦντος  
Α.Κ. Δαπάνη τῶν δυσπραγησάντων Χίων. Ἐν Παρίσις. ΑΩΚΒ.

*The Ethics of Aristotle to Nicomachus, revised and edited by A. Coray, at the expense of the injured and oppressed Sciotes*. Paris, 8vo. 1822.

SCHOLARS are too well acquainted with the reputation of Coray, to need, on our part, any prolix remarks upon his character. This venerable Greek, if now living, is in his seventy-sixth year, and must have published the work before us when passed the age of seventy-five. The preface, of which we shall presently give an account, is written with a vigor not too common at any age, and truly remarkable at the advanced period of life, which Dr. Coray has attained; while the ample notes in ancient Greek, are as conspicuous for the rare learning which they display, as for the command which they exhibit of the pure dialect of the old classical writers. We are not acquainted with a specimen of ancient Greek, from the pen of any European scholar of the present day, that can compare with the writings in the ancient dialect of Mr Coray, writing which, instead of being confined to short occasional productions, amount to several volumes of annotations on ancient authors. The course of education, which has been pursued in Greece since the revival of letters, notwithstanding the unavoidable imperfection of their schools,

has been more favorable to the acquisition of fluency in the use of the ancient tongue, than the methods of studying adopted in the several European nations. The Grammar of Gaza, written in ancient Greek, has been long the first book put into the hands of learners; and the greater part of this grammar is committed to memory. Besides this, it does not appear that the traditionary acquaintance with Greek, as a living tongue, has ever ceased among persons of education in Greece. The fugitives from Greece, in the fifteenth century, certainly brought with them to Italy this traditionary acquaintance with the language of their country; and the ritual of their worship alone and the use of the Greek Testament must have kept it up in the church.

The volume before us is dedicated to "newly constituted government of all the Greeks." [Τῇ νεοσυντάκτῳ Πανελλήνων πολιτείᾳ τὰ Ἀριστοτέλους Ἠθικά, ὁ Ἐκδότης.] It forms the fourteenth volume of the Ἑλληνικὴ βιβλιοθήκη, which Mr. Coray has edited. The ten first volumes were published at the expense of the brothers Zosimades, whose name and munificence are known to all acquainted with the literature of the modern Greeks. Of these ten volumes, two contained the works of Isocrates, six the works of Plutarch, and two the Various Histories of Ælian, the Fables of Æsop, the Stratagems of Polyænus, and some smaller works. From the tenth volume onward the work has been continued, at the expense of the funds of the school at Scio. They contain tracts of Galen and Xenocrates, the Thoughts of Marcus Aurelius, the first volume of Strabo, and the Politics and the Ethics of Aristotle. Most of the latter volumes, besides the critical and explanatory notes in ancient Greek, contain prefaces or introductions in the modern dialect, which Dr Coray has made the vehicle of various prudential and hortatory addresses to his countrymen. We propose, at the present time, to call the attention of our readers to the introduction of this work; and as few opportunities present themselves to most scholars in this country of comparing the present dialect of the Greeks with their ancient tongue; and as Dr Coray is allowed to write a purer dialect than any of his learned countrymen (though, as one party among them alleges, a dialect, for this very reason, less genuine), we shall accompany most of our extracts with the original in a parallel column.

In the edition of the Ethics, I have ventured some correction of the text, as I did also in the edition of the Politics of Aristotle, which I published last year. I hope that they will not all be condemned by those competent to judge of these matters. I wished to write longer notes, on account of the difficulty of the original. But the heaviness of age, rendered still more grievous by the unlooked for disasters of Scio, has not permitted me such efforts. I find but one consolation, which is this, that I see those of my countrymen, who have escaped the sword of the lawless tyrant, cheered by the hope of the entire deliverance of Greece, and with the noble purpose of rendering the land of their birth more glorious than before.

The *Grecian Library* has of late been printed and is so now at the expense of the Sciotes. Their

name was omitted at the head of *Politics* of Aristotle, through fear of the stern tyrant. But now, that there is nothing left for them to fear from him, their name resumes its place, and they themselves, with all their Grecian brethren, may scornfully cry in the ears of the tyrant, what, twenty two years ago, incensed at the calamities of Greece, I denounced against him, "although thou gnawest my roots, O goat, I shall yet bear fruit, that shall yield a libation for thy sacrifice."

It is not just, nevertheless, that I should conceal the liberal contribution toward the publication of *the Politics* of one of our countrymen, (whose name it grieves me that circumstances permit me not to disclose). This excellent citizen took 150 copies of the *Politics*, and sent them to Greece, in order to lighten the burden of the Sciotes, then charged with the daily support of those who were soon to repay the costs of their support, with the destruction of Scio.

We have made this extract to satisfy our readers, if any needed the information, as to the character of the two parties in the murderous conflict, which is waging in Greece. They perceive that it is not, what some would represent it, a bloody struggle between barbarous masters and not less barbarous slaves, in which it is difficult to take a lively interest. It is, on the contrary, a struggle between cruel and barbarous masters, and a people whose hard earned wealth is devoted to the collection of libraries, to the printing and circulation of books, and to the improvement of the means of education. At the very moment when blood was flowing in the streets of Scio, beneath the Turkish sword, when its wives and daughters were sold by tens of thousands into a heart-rending slavery, and its sick and aged burning alive in the houses, the funds of the college, which flourished in this devoted island, were employed at Paris in the publication of the choicest remains of ancient literature; employed beneath the eyes of a christian government, and in the face of Europe.

The introduction or preface to the work we are considering, taking occasion from the successive publication of the *Politics* and *Morals* of Aristotle, treats, in a practical way, and with application to the present state of Greece, the all important thesis maintained by Cicero, that morals and politics are one. To their separation, or in other words, to the administration of government on any other than the principles of morality, Dr Coray traces the vices of all states. The following is one of his illustrations:

By the separation of morals and politics the Seven Ionian Islands are now governed, not as they hoped, by a nation who long since broke the iron rod of its own despots. By this separation, the miserable inhabitants of Parga were not only exiled from their country, but are denounced as unjustly execrating those guilty of their exile. This same separation of politics and morals now condemns the race of Greeks as rebels. And why? because they have no longer the patience to be degraded to the level of beasts. . . But why need I enumerate the many and great evils of the separation of morals and politics, now especially, that their correction is meditated and desired by the wise rulers of the enlightened nations?

The gravity of the occasion does not allow us to doubt of the sincerity of the compliment of the holy alliance, in the close of this extract; it might else seem like bitter irony.

In the progress of his introduction, Dr Coray discusses the questions, whether it be possible to effect an entire union of morals and politics, that is, to administer a state purely on moral principles; and, secondly, whether it would be practicable for a state thus administered to prolong its political existence to perpetuity. These questions give occasion to examine the rise and progress of civilization and of moral science in Greece, and to compare the doctrines of the Academic, Peripatetic, and Stoical philosophy, with respect to morals. Dr Coray acknowledges that the union between morals and politics was scarcely understood and no where successfully applied, in the ancient states, and attributes the great superiority of modern Europe in this respect to the art of printing. As the ultimate design of the whole essay is to address a seasonable word to those now engaged in modern Greece, in laying the foundations of a new independent state, Dr Coray passes to the application of his thesis to several points of legislation, affecting this important union of morals and politics. In mentioning the causes, by which the citizen is defrauded of the fruits of his labors, he alludes to the multiplication of religious festivals, in a somewhat amusing manner:

Again, the citizen is defrauded of the fruits of his labors, when he is compelled to keep frequent festivals. Festivals were designed as a recreation from labor, a recreation necessary for the laborer, that he may not exhaust his corporeal powers. But it is not only unjust, but even ridiculous, to compel him to relax, when he himself feels no need of relaxation. If it was a proverb of tyrants, that *there is no leisure for slaves*, it is not less tyrannical, that the citizen should be compelled to be at leisure, when it is for his interest to be employed. This constraint is not only an unjust encroachment on the liberty of the citizen, not only deprives him and the whole community of the value of his labor, but excites him to vice, from the inability of being virtuously occupied. It is on the festivals that places of vicious resort are most crowded.

In speaking of the obstacles to the union of morals and politics, Dr Coray attributes much to the influence of the monks and the nobles in defeating it. So insignificant is the monastic institution, in any political respect, in Europe, that we presume this part of his remarks is exclusively designed for the meridian of Greece. The monastic establishments, in that country, have enjoyed a greater share of protection, under the Turkish government, than individual rights of any kind. Meteora in Thessaly, Megaspelia in Arcadia, Mount Athos, and numerous other extensive and wealthy monastic establishments, having been able to purchase from time to time the confirmation of their privileges, have afforded an asylum to a large class of monks, and their influence has of course been in proportion to their numbers and wealth. Dr Coray informs us in a note, that, notwithstanding the base and mercenary conduct of this class on some occasions, during the present war in Greece, they have generally distinguished themselves for their readiness to sympathise and act with their countrymen.

With respect to the other privileged class, namely, the nobility, Dr Coray enters more

into detail, referring to the provisional constitution, which has been adopted in Greece, in two articles of which it is made the duty of the executive branch (νομοτελεστική ἐξουσία) to propose some law to the assembly, relative to badges of honor and rewards for distinguished citizens. Dr Coray considers this as a proposal, in disguise, for an order of nobility, and, as such, he treats it justly with alternate contempt and ridicule. If it be true that, in an old country, it would be an act of violent injustice to disfranchise a privileged hereditary class, it is not less true, that to attempt to create one where it does not exist, would infallibly result in exposing the unhappy persons selected for this object to the ridicule and hatred of their fellow citizens. The most powerful prince that ever ruled, declared it impossible to make a word, by law; to make an institution which must rest on the habits and prejudices of the people, must be surely harder.

In the next place, these material and sensible insignia draw after them naturally titles wholly insignificant, and for us also ridiculous, when attached to those ancestral names, such as Themistocles, Aristides, and others, which many of our citizens are accustomed to adopt, either changing their own names or in naming their children. What conjunction of names, for instance, can be imagined more ridiculous than that of the Count Themistocles, the Baron Aristides, the Marquis Demosthenes, the Duke Phocion, or the Prince Socrates; especially if these Grecian Counts, Barons, Marquesses, Dukes, and Princes, are to sit as judges of the Areopagus. [note: See also the name Areopagus attached to the judicial power. The imitation of what was good in our ancestors is praiseworthy; but let it be in things, not in names. Let us endeavor to obtain a judiciary as incorrupt as the renowned Areopagus, and give up a name which is no longer applicable to it] Such titles, so foreign to Greece, ought neither to be uttered by a Grecian tongue, nor endured by a Grecian ear.

This very passage is succeeded by a very judicious course of remark, on the folly of attempting to found a nobility in Greece. It appears from the observations of Dr Coray, whose testimony to the matter of fact will be allowed to be decisive, that all the traces of the nobility of the Greek empire have been effaced, in the indiscriminate subjection of the nation to the Turkish yoke, commencing after so many ages of degeneracy, as must themselves have produced the extinction of most of the ancient families. The barbarity of many of the family names of the *soi-disant* Greek nobles, are sufficient to convince us that they can be neither of Greek, Roman, nor even Venetian descent, but the growth of the ignorant ages which have succeeded the conquest of the Turks. The only source of any thing like nobility among the Greeks, since the Turkish domination, has been the government of the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia. The unfortunate aspirants to these offices, the almost infallible passport to the bowstring, have assumed the name of Vlachbey (βλάχμπεϊ) or prince of Wallachia, and of this quality are the Murusis, Ypsylantis, Soutzos, and others, some of whose names appear in the contemporary accounts from Greece. Of the feeling likely to be excited by any attempt on their part, to set themselves

up, as an order of Grecian nobility, we may judge by the following remarks of Dr Coray. If in the time of the Byzantine emperors, privileges of this kind existed, the tyranny of the Turks has abolished them all, or limited and engrossed them, in the sole detested person of the tyrant; unless one should account as privileges the two governments of Dacia, which he has entrusted to the Greeks, in order that the governors and their satellites may grow fat from the fruits of the bloody sweat of the miserable Dacians, only to be butchered themselves more promptly than others. Of such privileges received but from the blood thirsty sultan, and to be exercised, not towards their fellow-slaves the Grecians, but alien tribes, it must be the wish of all who enjoyed them, if any perchance have escaped the sword of the tyrant, that the recollection may perish, as the only mode in which they themselves will be recognised and loved as brethren by their fellow-citizens of Greece. If any one of them should be so unfortunate (which I do not believe) as now to think of such privileges, to hope for honors or expect precedence from the Greeks, on account of them, he would fall into a truly ridiculous error. The Greeks were never governed by them, but the Dacians.

Considering the weight and authority, which the opinions of Dr Coray possess in Greece, it may not be wholly discreet, thus to draw invidious distinctions between the inhabitants of Wallachia and Moldavia, and the inhabitants of Greece proper. The government of the former by Grecian Hospodars, has never been regarded in the light in which Dr Coray represents it, as an aggravated slavery. On the contrary, no part of Greece, out of Constantinople, possesses so numerous and wealthy a class as the Boyars of Wallachia; and Dr Coray's ταλαίπωροι Δακοὶ set an earlier example of zeal for improvement in the schools of Bucharest than was set by Greeks, properly so called, in most parts of the Turkish empire. In fact as the Wallachians and Moldavians, whatever be their historical origin, are now Greeks in religion, many of them in language, all in ignominious subjection to the Turks, and in manful resistance to it, we should esteem it unwise to throw out any taunting comparisons of the degree not of liberty but of slavery, which they may have experienced. We presume, however, that Dr Coray's remarks had some judicious personal reference, and alluded to the absurd claims of the Wallachian princes to preferment of prerogative in the newly constituted state. Such a pretension at the present day, would be indeed, as our author calls it, ridiculous; and equalled only by the pompous infamy of the nobles of the Greeks of the last days of the empire, who were not ashamed, amidst the insults they received from the Turks, to preserve such titles as Πανυπερπρωτοσεβαστουπέρτατος [note: Ducange vouches for this title. We should not better know how to translate Πανυπερπρωτοσεβαστουπέρτατος, than by Honorificatilitudininitatibusque.] Well does Dr Coray, in repeating this difficult title of dignity, exclaim, "Wretched tribe! these noble polysyllables submitted to the Turks!"

As means of improving the state of his native land, and hastening its progress to independence, Dr Coray justly recommends an attention to the business of education, and

directs the notice of his countrymen to the teaching of the elementary branches on the system of mutual instruction (διὰ τῆς ἀλληλοδιδασκτικῆς μεθόδου), and the study of the ancient Greek. As more immediate means of pursuing the present contest with success, he enforces the necessity of husbanding the resources of the country, consisting in taxes to be equally levied on all, and on the voluntary contributions of the wealthy friends of Grecian liberty. In a note is mentioned, with deserved commendation, the generosity of a citizen of the name of Varvaces, whose donations to the public have amounted to six hundred thousand roubles. In the conclusion of this essay the Greeks are exhorted to strengthen their naval power, as the surest means of prosecuting the war to final success; and the essay closes with an injunction to conduct the contest with humanity. "Our warfare is with Turks," says he, "but let us not contend like Turks."

Such is a naked outline of this interesting treatise. It has suggested some ideas to us, relative to the present state of Greece, to which we still further ask the attention of our readers. It is the preface to a learned edition of an ancient Greek classic, published by a Greek citizen, at the expense of the unfortunate Sciotes, and designed for use in the schools of that country. Even these few facts may serve us as a standard, whereby to measure the state of civilization of modern Greece. The contradictory and often splenetic accounts of travellers, and the unfavorable pictures which they have given us of those parts of the Grecian character, with which travellers and factors become acquainted, have done much to weaken the public sympathy for the Greeks. We have been told that they are barbarous, superstitious, fraudulent; and, in all moral qualities, no better than their Turkish tyrants. We in this country, however, at least ought to be careful how we adopt the representations of travellers as to a people's character. If our national character were to be ascertained in this way, we must not only be proclaimed to the world as possessing most of the very vices charged to the Greeks, but other base qualities not yet laid to their charge. Not a year passes, in which the English press does not send forth the attestation of some worthy tourist to all that is odious, contemptible, and flagitious, as existing in America. From these accounts we naturally appeal to facts, which are in the face of the world. To public facts then we appeal, in behalf of the Greeks. They are, in their religion, christians of a most ancient and venerable communion, and in their church alone, of all the churches in christendom, the New Testament is read in the original tongue. When we are told of the ignorance and superstition of the common people and of the inferior clergy, we would ask whether any one supposes for a moment, that these are greater in Greece than in Russia, in Italy, and in Spain. Moreover, in this fact, that the Greeks are christians, no small testimony is paid to their character. Every thing said in commendation of the boldness and courage of the primitive church, applies, in no small degree, to the faithful remnant in Greece, at the present day. Do we commemo-

rate the pious constancy of those, who, either against the domestic tyranny of the Jewish hierarchy, or the haughty persecution of the Roman paganism, held fast their faith; and do we deny all commendation to those who hold it fast in like manner against the merciless domination of mahometanism? Conscious of the little effort which it costs us to maintain the public profession of christianity, we do not render justice to those, who frequent their churches amidst the insults and outrages of unbelieving and barbarous taskmasters. In the next place, the state of education in Greece is a fact before the world, which entitles them to our sympathy as a civilized people. It is well known that several of their high schools compare advantageously with those in Europe. That of Scio, before its late destruction, was perhaps equal to any seminary of learning in the United States of America. Four hundred pupils resorted to it, from various parts of Greece. Instruction in the highest branches was given by twenty teachers, most of whom had been educated at Paris, in Italy, and in Germany. The most popular text-books in the exact sciences, in morals, and metaphysics, were translated from English, French, German, and Italian, and made the basis of the instruction. A library of ten thousand volumes had already been collected, and a considerable sum was annually appropriated to its increase by the liberal Sciotes; at whose expence also the six last volumes of the Grecian classics were published in Paris. In addition to all these means of education at home, a large number of young men were annually sent to the German, Italian, and French universities, to receive the best education which those seminaries could furnish. These are all facts, of many of which we have personal knowledge; and they prove, we think, an attention to education which justly entitles the Greeks to our sympathy as a civilized people. It is another fact, that they are an enterprising and industrious people. The Greek marine, considering the disadvantages under which it necessarily labors, is a proof of astonishing perseverance and enterprize. Six hundred sail of vessels, great and small, belong to the Hydriotes, inhabitants of a little island, scarce known in ancient geography; and from Tricheri, a small town in the gulf of Volo, where, within the memory of man, a few fishing boats only existed, eighty vessels navigate the Mediterranean. The Grecian vessels are many of them built with great beauty. Their skill in navigation is attested by the most competent witnesses, and we have heard one of the most accomplished officers in our own service, speak with admiration of the success, with which he saw a Turkish quadron, in a squall, brought into port at Constantinople, by the dexterity of the Greek sailors on board it. We are accustomed to appeal to our marine as a proof of an enterprising character, of industry, and of progress in the arts of life. Do the facts we now mention—existing in spite of the most galling oppression on earth—prove less in favor of the Greeks? But it is not in this alone that the Greeks have made some progress in the arts. The ordinary branches of industry are pursued in Greece. Extensive cotton fac-

ories exist in Thessaly, conducted with such skill in the art of dying, that workmen have been sent for to introduce their processes into France. If all these facts, and many more like them, which may be gleaned even from the travellers who speak most unfavorably of the Greeks, are put together, and the obvious conclusions deduced from them, it will result that the Greeks are christian, civilized, enterprising, industrious people, and entitled to the sympathy of the civilized world, in their present contest against the Turks.

This contest is of a peculiar character, one to which the history of modern Europe affords no parallel. The Turkish power was once great and formidable; and while it was so, the neighboring states of Russia and Austria were constantly at war with it, and every body prayed for their success. A horror of Turks, at least as old as the crusades, and older than the destruction of the lower empire, possessed the christian world; and in virtue of this horror, a war against them was like a war against pirates; all were allies against these *hostes humani generis*. The Turks are now weak. Their government, the worst constituted in the world, has not been administered for a century by a prince of those commanding military qualities, which formerly gave energy to the ill compacted mass. Their institutions, originating in a wandering and Nomadic life, and calculated only for it, have become more and more inadequate to their settled state. The nature of the Turkish institutions is such, that, as Burke says of the French king at his restoration, the people must be always on horseback. A stationary nation living in towns, cities, and villages, requires a permanent tenure of property, the art of printing, and, we think, we may add the christian religion, if in contact with christendom. The Turks have neither; the Sultan is every man's heir, the art of printing is proscribed, and the profession of a strange and barbarous faith cuts off that bond of sympathy, which in so many ways unites christians, both as communities and as individuals. Such a state of things is very compatible with a Tartarian existence, and with the acquisition of great power and the achievement of extensive conquests, by dint of an overwhelming troop of men and horses. But it is incompatible with stationary national existence, and it is a notorious fact that at the present day the Turkish empire is disorganized. It is this circumstance, which adds the darkest shade to the picture of Greece. The garrisons and armies of this enervated and disorganized empire, are still maintained, in their various encampments in the Grecian cities, by the possession of arms which the unfortunate Greeks too often stand in need of; by the want of concert among their victims; and by the desperation of having every thing to lose in the struggle. With these principles of self-preservation in themselves—none of which, it is plain, furnishes the means of final permanent success in the contest with an exasperated and outraged people—it is a melancholy, an odious truth, that the Turks derive their great strength from the jealousy of the principal European powers. Whoever reflects a moment on the conduct of Mr Pitt, in despatching a courier

to Catharine II, to denounce war against that empress, if she occupied the single Turkish town of Oczakoff, is possessed, in this disgraceful step, of a key to the whole European policy with respect to the Greeks and Turks. A moment's cooler deliberation enabled Mr Pitt, by despatching a second messenger, to recall the fist and to prevent England, and probably Europe, being plunged into a war on this point, at that time. But the shrewd Turk knows, and the unhappy Greek knows, that England had rather have the Sultan at Constantinople than the Czar; and that Russia, standing at the head of the holy alliance—the most solemn covenant ever formed by man, and of which the only avowed object is to secure the administration of Europe, on the principles of christianity—would yet, a thousand times, prefer the dominion of the Turks to that of the English. In this, perhaps, they do not exceed the ordinary limits of selfishness. But cannot all the skill of so many profound politicians contrive some league—is there no sketch or prospectus of a covenant in the "pigeon-holes of the bureau" of Prince Metternich, of Count Nesselrode, by which aid and countenance shall be offered to the Greeks; and their independence guarantied, not only against the Turks but against the allied powers? We think well enough of the princes and ministers of the present day, who, in the words of the author of "Europe," are "not a group of Neros or Sejani, but, in general, persons of accomplished minds and amiable dispositions," to believe that there is not an individual among them, who had not rather see the Greeks possessed of and independent political existence, than subjected to the present afflictive and heart-rending despotism of the Turks. We can think only of three considerations which stand in the way of such a league as we have mentioned, by which aid and assistance should be given the Greeks, and their independence guarantied against all persons whatsoever. The first reason may be, that if made independent, they might nevertheless in the sequel be seized up on by the neighboring powers, by Russia, by Austria, or by England. Against such a seizure, however, we would have the covenant forever to run. Not only for the moment, but as long as the danger or the possibility should exist of the event provided against. This is a very practicable measure. It has been acted upon more or less for three centuries. Every small state in Europe exists by virtue of it. It would contain nothing new, visionary, or enthusiastic, in favor of the Greeks. It would be doing no more for them, than is daily done for Holland, Portugal, and Rome; for every state of Europe but poor Poland, where the guardians were able to agree on the plunder. What would be the effect, if England should seize on Holland, by a *coup de main*? The Russian peace establishment of 800,000 men would receive marching orders, and the Cossacks of the Don would travel on a hair line down to the Hague. What would be the consequence if the Austrian eagle should pounce on the long coveted lands of the ecclesiastical dove? A hot press would sweep the Thames; prince Esterhazy would receive a note from Downing-street, expres-

sive of 'the great interest which his Britannic majesty takes in the preservation of the integrity of the ecclesiastical state,' and the somewhat rusty sword of 'the defender of the faith' would leap again from the scabbard. The guarantee we mention would amount to no more than the admission of the Greeks as a nation into the pale of christendom, and an extension to them of those privileges, which the balance of power in Europe secures to its states. Another reason against assisting the Greeks to become an independent nation may be, that their natural advantages are so great, their geographical position, their range of continental coast, their islands, and their climate, would so favor their growth, that they would themselves soon become formidable as a rival in commerce, or a competitor for power, to the great states of Europe. We have no idea of the possibility of such an event, though the question is too large for present discussion. We are inclined to also think that such a fear is too remote and contingent, to operate on the minds of the kings and ministers of the present day, and we have only adverted to it as a possibility. It cannot, we trust, be thought *probable*, that enlightened and christian princes and rulers would deliberately condemn their fellow men and fellow christians to the continuance of a cruel and barbarous tyranny, merely for fear that, as an independent power, they might come in for a share of the world's commerce. The third and only remaining conceivable reason which suggests itself to our minds is, that the Greeks are not held capable of governing themselves. The mode in which the Ionian islands have been dealt with favors this idea. A despotism more humane, but not less absolute, than that of the Turks, is maintained in those islands by the English; and it is only by a strong military power, that the government of the lord high commissioner is kept up. This, we suppose, is defended on the ground that the Greeks of the Ionian Islands are unfit for their freedom. We know not what Count Capo d' Istria, a native of Corfu, and one of the emperor of Russia's ministers, may think of this; of how the suggestion might sound to Ugo Foscolo, one of the first poets and scholars of the age, a native of Zante. But granting the unfitness of the Greeks of the Ionian islands for independence, (a slippery reason at least for not allowing them to make the trial of it,) every one knows that precisely these islands are the worst part of Greece. Their position as a frontier between Greece and Italy, and the detestable corruption of the Venetian government, under which they were so long held, may have unfitted them for independence. It is quite uncertain whether the islands of Guernsey, Jersey, Sark, Alderney, and the Isle of Man, if constituted into a separate state, independent of England, would prosper much in governing themselves. We know of no rules of political chemistry, by which the islands on the borders of a country can be selected as a test, and the capacity or incapacity of a people argued from that of the islands. Whether Greece, in its wide sense, consisting of all those parts, continental and insular, where the great majority of the people are Greeks, be prepared for independence,

is a question wholly distinct from the character of the Ionian islands. If there be any correctness in what we have alleged in the commencement of these remarks, with regard to the present state of Greece, no doubt can remain on this point.

At any rate the Greeks, themselves, feel no doubt. They have taken the liberty, as we did in 1776, of declaring themselves free; they have raised armies and navies; they have defeated the Turks in several engagements, both at sea and on land; they have taken some of the most important fortresses, particularly Napoli di Romania, by its position and strength the most important of all; they have organized a system of government, which, though far from being faultless, is upon the whole a judicious system; and finally they have made such progress in the war, that a writer in the last number of the *Quarterly Review*, a journal not friendly to insurrection against masters, civilized or barbarous, has ventured to say, 'that it now appears extremely probable (we might indeed, we believe, use a still stronger expression) the Greeks will be able to establish their independence.'

As we do not remember to have seen the provisional constitution of the Greeks given at length in any of our journals or newspapers, and as it is a document of very considerable interest, we subjoin a translation of it, as we find it in French, in the *Courrier des Pays Bas* of the 11th and 12th of May, 1822, published at Brussels. The original Greek, with French and English translations, and preliminary historical notices, has been published both at Paris and London, but it has not been in our power to procure a copy of either of these works.

*Provisional Constitution, published at Epidaurus,*

*January 12, 1822.*

CHAPTER I.—*Of Religion.*

ART. 1. The religion of the state is the orthodox religion of the Eastern [Greek] Church. At the same time all religions are tolerated, and their ceremonies permitted to be freely exercised.

CHAPTER II.—*Public Law of the Greeks.*

ART. 2. All natives of Greece professing the christian religion, are Greeks, and enjoy all political rights.

ART. 3. The Greeks are equal in the eye of the law, without distinction of rank or dignity.

ART. 4. Every stranger established or residing in Greece enjoys the same civil rights as the Greeks.

ART. 5. A law on naturalization shall immediately be published by the government.

ART. 6. All Greeks are eligible to any office—merit only determines their preference.

ART. 7. The property, honor, and security of every citizen, are placed under the safeguard of the law.

ART. 8. Contributions for the expenses of the state are to be apportioned according to the fortune of each person. No impost shall be established but by virtue of a law.

CHAPTER III.—*Form of Government.*

ART. 9. The Government is composed of two bodies; the Legislative Senate, and the Executive Council.

ART. 10. The two bodies must concur in the enactment of laws. Either may negate a law proposed by the other.

ART. 11. The legislative Senate is composed of members elected by the different provinces.

ART. 12. The number of Senators is to be determined by the law of elections.

ART. 13. The law of elections, which shall be published by the government, must require that the representatives shall be Greeks, and that they be thirty years of age.

ART. 14. The deputies of all the free provinces and islands of Greece, are admitted as soon as their powers are acknowledged valid by the Senate.

ART. 15. The Senate appoints its President and Vice-President annually, by a majority of votes, and

ART. 16. At the same time a First and Second Secretary, and Under-Secretaries.

ART. 17. The Senate is renewed every year.

ART. 18. The Executive Council is composed of five members, chosen from the Senate, and according to rules established by a special law concerning the formation of the Council.

ART. 19. The Council appoints annually its President and Vice-President, by a majority of votes.

ART. 20. It appoints eight ministers, namely, an Arch-Chancellor of State, entrusted with foreign relations; Ministers of the interior, of the finances, of justice, of war, of the marine, of worship, and of the police.

ART. 21. It appoints also to all the offices of the government.

ART. 22. The functions of the Senate continue for but a year.

CHAPTER IV.—*Of the Legislative Senate.*

Section I.—*The Legislative Power of the Senate.*

ART. 23. Considering the urgent occasions of the State, the Legislative Senate continues its functions this year without interruption.

ART. 24. The President fixes the time of opening and determines the duration the session.

ART. 25. In case of need, he may convoke an extraordinary meeting of the Senate.

ART. 26. In case of the absence of the President, the Vice-President shall perform his duties.

ART. 27. Two thirds of the members form a quorum of the Senate.

ART. 28. The decisions of the Senate are made by a majority of voices.

ART. 29. If equally divided, the President has a casting vote.

ART. 30. All the acts of the Senate are signed by the President and countersigned by the First Secretary.

ART. 31. The President transmits the doings of Senate to the Council for their approbation.

ART. 32. If the council refuse its sanction, or propose amendments, the bill is returned to the

Senate, with the grounds of refusal or the amendments proposed, to be discussed anew; after which, it is sent back to the council, to be definitively rejected or adopted.

ART. 33. The Senate receives and examines all petitions which are addressed to it, on whatever subject.

ART. 34. Every three months the Senate appoints as many committees as there are departments in the ministry.

ART. 35. One of these committees, according to the designation of the President, is attached to each branch of the public service, to propose laws relevant to that branch.

ART. 36. Every member of Senate may bring in a written project of a law, which the President refers to the proper committee.

ART. 37. The Senate receives the projects of law transmitted to it by the Executive Council, and approves, modifies, or rejects them.

ART. 38. Every declaration of war, and every treaty of peace, shall be submitted to the approbation of the Senate; and in general no treaty, which the Executive council shall make with a foreign power, whatever be the subject, shall be binding, until approved by the Senate.

Truces and armistices of a few days duration, are not included in this provision.

ART. 39. At the beginning of each year, the Council submits to the approbation of the Senate an estimation of the expenses of the year, and of the means of meeting them. At the end of every year, also, it submits to the Senate an exact statement of receipts and expenditures.

Nevertheless, as circumstances render it impossible to prepare such a statement for the first year, the council shall supply the requisitions of the war and the other departments of the service, and submit to the Senate, at the end of the year, an exact account of receipts and expenditures.

ART. 40. The Senate approves or rejects the nominations to advanced military rank made by the council.

ART. 41. It approves or rejects also the propositions made by the Council for the reward of distinguished civil and military services.

ART. 42. The Senate shall regulate the new monetary system, and the Council shall cause the coinage to be struck, in the name of the nation.

ART. 43. The Senate is expressly forbidden to approve any treaty, which is inconsistent with the political independence of the nation; and if it should come to its knowledge, that the Council has engaged in any criminal negotiation of this kind, it shall impeach the President thereof, and if found guilty, discharge him from his functions.

ART. 44. Journalists shall be permitted to attend all the meetings of the Senate, except those of the secret committee, which may take place whenever the five members require it.

#### Section 2. — *Secretaries of the Senate.*

ART. 45. The First Secretary of the Senate, is charged with engrossing all the acts of this body, and with keeping an exact record of them.

ART. 46. He receives from the President the resolutions of the Senate, and transmits them to the council.

ART. 47. In the absence of the First Secretary the Second takes his place.

Section 3. — *Judicial Power of the Senate.*

ART. 48. If one or more of the members of the Senate be accused of political delinquency, a commission of several members, named for this purpose by the Senate, will take cognizance of the accusation, and make report of it in writing. If the commission judge the accusation to be sustained, the Senate shall take up the affair. If the accused be condemned by a majority of two thirds of the voices, he shall be declared to have forfeited his dignity, and shall be remanded to the supreme court of Greece, to be judged as a simple citizen.

ART. 49. No Senator can be arrested, till after having been found guilty of an offence or of a crime.

ART. 50. When a member of the Executive Council shall be accused of a political offence or crime, the Senate shall appoint from its number a commission composed of nine members, who shall report conformably to the 48th article. If this commission sustain the accusation, and if the Senate, which in this case remains in possession of the affair, condemn the accused by a majority of four fifths of the voices, the President shall declare the accused to have forfeited his seat in council, and shall remand him to the supreme court of Greece as in article 48.

ART. 51. If a minister be accused of any offence or crime, he shall be judged according to the provisions of article 48.

CHAPTER V. — *Of the Executive Council.*

Section 1. — *Power of the Executive Council.*

ART. 52. The Executive Council, as a body, is inviolable.

ART. 53. If the entire body of the Council should become chargeable with a political offence or crime, the President shall be judged and punished, according to the 43rd article; and after the nomination of a new President, the other members shall be separately proceeded against, according to the provisions of article 50.

ART. 54. The Council sees that the Ministers put the law in force.

ART. 55. It sanctions or rejects the projects of law adopted by the Legislative Senate.

ART. 56. It proposes projects of law to the Senate for discussion. The Ministers have a right to be present at this discussion; and the Minister of the department, to which the subject of the law proposed belongs, shall always attend the discussion.

ART. 57. All acts and decrees of the Council are signed by the President, countersigned by the First Secretary, and sealed with the seal of state.

ART. 58. The Council disposes of the public forces by sea and land.

ART. 59. It shall have power to publish such instructions as it shall think proper, and to cause the laws, which concern the public order, to be enforced.

ART. 60. It shall have power, also, to take measures necessary to the public tranquillity, in all the matters of police, provided it make report thereof in the senate.

ART. 61. It shall have power, with the consent of the senate, to make wars as well at home as abroad, and to pledge the public domain, for their payment.

ART. 62. It shall have power in like manner, with the consent of the senate, to alienate portions of the said public domains.

ART. 63. It shall appoint the ministers, and fix their powers.

ART. 64. The ministers are responsible for all the acts of their departments; consequently they cannot execute any act or decree contrary to the rights and duties proclaimed by the present act.

ART. 65. The council appoints all the agents of the government to foreign powers.

ART. 66. It must make report to the senate of its relations with foreign states and of the interior state of Greece.

ART. 67. It has the right of changing the ministers and all agents of whom it has the nomination.

ART. 68. In case of urgency, it may convoke an extraordinary session of senate.

ART. 69. Whenever a crime of high treason shall have been committed, the council shall have the power to take such extraordinary measures as it shall judge necessary, whatever be the rank of the person accused.

ART. 70. The council shall have the power also, in this same case and if circumstances exact it, to make provisional nominations and promotions in military rank, which shall be submitted to the approbation of the senate, when tranquillity shall be restored.

ART. 71. In this case the council shall present to the senate, within two days, an exact and written report of the motives which have reduced it to the necessity of taking these extraordinary measures.

ART. 72. As it disposes of the forces by land and sea, the council shall have the power in time of war to take extraordinary measures to provide quarters, provisions, clothing, and munitions, and every thing necessary to armaments by sea or land.

ART. 73. It shall present to the senate the project of a law with respect to the decorations to be given in recompense of services rendered to the country.

ART. 74. It is the duty of the executive council to keep up relations with foreign powers, and to undertake and pursue every species of negotiation. But declarations of war and treaties of peace and others must be subjected to the approbation of the senate.

ART. 75. Nevertheless it can make all conventions of truce, of short duration, conformably to the 38th article, to be reported to the senate.

ART. 76. At the beginning of every year, it shall present to the senate an estimate, and at the end of every year an exact and detailed account of the revenues and expenses of the current year. These two accounts are prepared by the minister of finance, and accompanied by all the vouchers. Nevertheless, for this year, the accounts will be made up, as is provided for in the 39th article.

ART. 77. The resolutions of the council are made by the majority of the voices.

ART. 78. In no case, and under no pretext, shall the council have power to enter into any negotiation, nor to conclude any treaty, inconsistent with the political independence of the nation. In case of such a crime, the president is proceeded against, displaced, and punished, as is provided in the 53rd article.

ART. 79. The council shall propose a project of law, with respect to the uniform of the troops by sea and by land.

ART. 80. It shall present another project of a law to regulate the pay of the troops by sea and by land, and to fix the salaries of all the officers of the government.

Section 2.—*Mode of Procedure Against the Members of the Council.*

ART. 81. As soon as the accusation of a political offense, brought against a member of the council, has been admitted by the senate, the accused is deprived of his functions; the trial and judgment are conducted, as is provided in the 50th article.

ART. 82. No members of the council can be arrested, but in virtue of a condemnation; in case of the dismissal or absence of a councillor, if the voices are divided in the deliberation, the voice of the president determines the majority.

ART. 83. An accusation against one or more ministers, admitted by the senate, involves their dismissal; and they shall be brought to trial conformably to the 51st article.

ART. 84. In case of crimes of high treason, the council shall have power to form, at the seat of the government, a central and extraordinary commission, charged to take cognizance of those crimes, till the formation of the supreme tribunal of Greece.

CHAPTER VI.—*Of the Judiciary.*

ART. 85. The judiciary power is independent of the legislative and executive powers.

ART. 86. It is composed of eleven members elected by the Government, and who choose their president.

ART. 87. A law on the organization of the courts shall be published without delay.

ART. 88. This law shall fix the extent of their jurisdiction, and the general forms of procedure which are to be followed, in the conduct of trials.

ART. 89. This law shall be founded on the five following principles.

1st. A supreme tribunal shall be formed and established in the capital. This tribunal shall take cognizance, without appeal, of crimes of high treason and of offences against the safety of the state.

2nd. Several tribunals shall be established in the capitals of the provisional governments. There shall be an appeal from the judgements of these tribunals to the supreme tribunal.

3rd. There shall be established an inferior tribunal in every department. There shall be an appeal from their judgments to the general tribunal of the provincial capital. Inferior tribunals cannot take cognizance of the political offences.

4th. There shall be established in every parish or village a justice of the peace, who shall take cognizance of every affair not exceeding the sum of a hundred piastres, and of all family differences.

5th. The justices of the peace can be accused before the tribunals of the department; those of the department before the tribunals of the capital; and those of the capital before the supreme tribunal.

ART. 90. The executive council is directed to form a commission composed of men distinguished alike by their understanding and their virtues, which commission shall be charged with the compilation of the laws that are to form the codes, civil, criminal, commercial, &c. These laws shall be submitted to the discussion and to the approbation of the senate and the council.

ART. 91. Till the publication of these laws, judgment shall be rendered according to the laws of our ancestors, promulgated by the Greek Emperors of Byzantium, and according to the laws

published by the present government. As to commercial affairs, the French code of commerce shall have the force of law in Greece.

ART. 92. The torture is abolished. Confiscation is in like manner abolished for all citizens.

ART. 93. After the entire organization of the judiciary, no person can be arrested without the special order of the competent tribunal, except *in flagrante delicto*.

#### CHAPTER VII.—*Supplementary Articles.*

ART. 94. The provisional governments, established before the convocation of the national congress, are subjected to the authority of the supreme government.

ART. 95. Corinth is declared the seat of the provisional government. In case of a change made necessary by particular circumstances, this change is decided by the senate and the council.

ART. 96. The seal of the state bears for an emblem Minerva ornamented with the symbols of wisdom.

ART. 97. The national colors, as well as for the standards by land and for the flags by sea, are white and blue.

ART. 98. The arrangement of the colors in the formation of the standards and of the flags shall be determined by the council.

ART. 99. The government will take all measures for making a provision for the widows and orphans of the citizens who have died for their country.

ART. 100. It will also bestow honors and rewards on all brilliant actions, and on all distinguished services rendered to the country.

ART. 101. At the end of the war, it will likewise grant rewards to those, who shall have contributed to the regeneration of Greece by pecuniary sacrifices, and grant recompenses to those whose generous efforts for this noble object may have reduced them to misfortune.

ART. 102. The present constitution shall be printed and distributed throughout Greece. The original shall be deposited in the archives of the legislative senate.

Given at Epidaurus the 1st (13th) of January, 1822, in the first year of Independence.

Such is the constitution which has been established in Greece. It immediately went into operation by the choice of Prince Mavrocordato as President, and Prince Mavromichalis, whom we shall again have occasion to mention, as Vice-President of the executive council. The present year the latter distinguished individual has been raised to the presidency of the council, and the seat of government has been fixed at Tripolizza, the residence under the Turks of the Pacha of the Morea. That the change in the person of the president of the council has not been the consequence of any dissension, is apparent from the honorable manner in which the venerable Mavromichalis is mentioned, in the circular letter of Prince Mavrocordato, his predecessor, addressed to the Philhellenic Societies of Germany and Switzerland. The same letter, being of the date of April 22, 1823, gives an encouraging view of the state of things in Greece, and shows the independent government of that country to be in a state of entire organization. In this state of

things, and in consideration of the circumstances mentioned above, what course of conduct ought to be pursued by the nations of the earth? On this question we beg leave to add a few words. We have already expressed our opinions, as to what we think an enlightened policy demands of the states of Europe. We will not enlarge upon this part of the subject; though we cannot but think that a more general opinion never existed in the civilized world, than that the Greeks ought to be aided in this conflict. Such a measure would do not a little toward reconciling the minds of men to the unprincipled policy, which has been pursued towards Naples and Spain; and it is not yet perhaps too late, by a work of imperial magnanimity towards Greece, to purchase the world's forgiveness of the partition of Poland. As to our own country, we think, the course our government should adopt, sufficiently indicated by its own conduct towards South America. If more accurate information of the state of Greece is wanted, let the president do as he did in 1817, when he dispatched a public vessel with a respectable commission to enquire into the progress of the revolution in that country. We have always a fleet in the Mediterranean; let a similar commission be directed to repair to it, and on board of one of its vessels visit the principal ports of Greece, ascertain the progress of the war, and the degree of organization of the government. Should they report, as they must, for they are well known facts, the circumstances which we have enumerated, then let the independence of Greece be acknowledged by the United States, and a minister sent to their government.

Such a measure will be peculiarly in character for this country. The case is far clearer than that, to say the least, of Mexico; and we have no treaties with the Turk to impose restraint upon us. America has already been called on by the Greeks to adopt such a course. More than two years have elapsed since a proclamation of the senate of Calamata signed by its president, the same individual who has since been elected chief of the Grecian confederacy, addressed to the American nation, was enclosed to the editor of this journal, accompanied by a private letter to him. The proclamation and the letter were both in the handwriting of Dr Coray, the former being a copy from the original published at Calamata, and the latter subscribed by a venerable individual, P. Epites, who had been sent, at that time, to Paris, to endeavor to awaken a sympathy in civilized nations in the affairs of Greece, and by three other respectable Greeks, among whom is Dr Coray. A translation of this proclamation was published in the newspapers of the day. But we thought it would not be improper to insert it again, in this connection, with the original, which has never before been published.

[ *The Greek text appears here, followed by Everett's translation.*

*This edition reproduces the translation only]*

To the citizens of the United States of America. —Having formed the resolution to live or die for freedom, we are drawn toward you by a just sympathy; since it is in your land that Liberty has fixed her abode, and by you that she is prized as by our fathers. Hence, in invoking her name, we invoke yours at the same time, trusting that in imitating you, we shall imitate our ancestors, and be thought worthy of them if we succeed in resembling you.

Though separated from you by mighty oceans, your character brings you near us. We esteem you nearer than the nations on our frontiers; and we possess, in you, friends, fellow-citizens, and brethren, because you are just, humane and generous; —just because free, generous and liberal because christian. Your liberty is not propped on the slavery of other nations, nor your prosperity on their calamities and sufferings. But, on the contrary, free and prosperous yourselves, you are desirous that all men should share the same blessings; that all should enjoy these rights, to which all are by nature equally entitled. It is you, who first proclaimed these rights; it is you who have been the first again to recognise them, in rendering the rank of men to the Africans degraded to the level of brutes. It is by your example, that Europe has abolished the shameful and cruel trade in human flesh, from you that she receives lessons in justice, and learns to renounce her absurd and sanguinary customs. This glory, Americans is yours alone, and raises you above all the nations which have gained a name for liberty and laws.

It is for you, citizens of America, to crown this glory, in aiding us to purge Greece from the barbarians, who for four hundred years have polluted the soil. It is surely worthy of you to repay the obligations of the civilized nations, and to banish ignorance and barbarism from the country of freedom and the arts. You will not assuredly imitate the culpable indifference or rather the long ingratitude of some of the Europeans. No, the fellow-citizens of Penn, of Washington, and of Franklin, will not refuse their aid to the descendants of Phocion, and Thrasybulus, of Aratus, and of Philopoemen. You have already shown them esteem and confidence in sending your children to their schools. You know with what pleasure they were welcomed, and the steady kindness and attention which they received. If such has been their conduct when enslaved; what friendship and zeal will they not manifest to you, when through your aid they shall have broken their chains. Greece will then furnish you advantages, which you can in vain seek from her ignorant and cruel tyrants; and the bonds of gratitude and fraternity will forever unite the Greeks and the Americans. Our interests are of a nature more and more to cement an alliance founded on freedom and virtue.

At Kalamata, May 25, 1821.

Signed, the Messenian Senate at Calamata.  
Peter Mavromichalis, commander in chief.

Our readers will observe that this proclamation is the act of the Senate of Calamata, one of those local assemblies which were organized in Greece, at the commencement of the present struggle, and before the establishment of the general government. Calamata is in that part of the Peloponessus which is inhabited by the Mainotes, and till the late revolution was governed by princes of its own, under a merely nominal subjection to the Porte. Peter Mavromichalis (Black Michael) president of this local senate is one of the most distinguished individuals of Greece, and has long, as Bey of Maina, been the ruler of his

countrymen, the Mainotes. His age, his integrity, his wealth and public spirit, have given him the greatest influence in the new government of Greece, and as we have already had occasion to mention, he is now the president of the executive council. Though we do not consider the foregoing address to be in very good taste, nor in every part perfectly intelligible, it shows at least how soon and how spontaneously the eyes of Greece were turned to this country as the great exemplar of states in the agonies of contest for independence. Such an appeal from the anxious conclave of self-devoted patriots, in the inaccessible cliffs of the Morea, must bring home to the mind of the least reflecting American, the great and glorious part, which this country is to act, in the political regeneration of the world. It must convince us that what Burke originally said in eulogy of his own land, is going into its literal fulfillment here; and in a wider sense than he dared to speak it. Wheresoever the chosen race, the sons of liberty, shall worship freedom, they will turn their faces to us. We have seen, in our own days, the oldest and most splendid monarchy in Europe, casting off its yoke, under the contagion of liberty caught from us; and why should the excesses of that awful crisis be ascribed to the new found remedy rather than to the inveterate disease? Through France, the influence of our example has been transmitted to the other European states, and in the most enslaved and corrupted of them, the leaven of freedom is at work. Meantime, at one and the same moment, we perceive in either hemisphere the glorious work of emancipation going on; and the name and the example of the United States alike invoked by both. From the earliest abodes of European civilization, the venerated plains of Greece, and from the scarcely explored range of the Cordilleras, a voice of salutation and a cry for sympathy are resounding in our ears. While the great states of Europe, which for centuries have taken the lead in the affairs of the world, stand aghast at this spectacle, and know not if they shall dare to sanction what they cannot oppose, our envoys have already climbed the Andes and reached the Pacific, with the message of gratulation. We devoutly trust that another season will find them on their way to Greece. The recognition of South American Independence, in many respects of national policy a dubious measure, was adopted with the cheering unanimity of old revolutionary times; and the man who was not in his seat in Congress that day, felt that he had done himself and his constituents a wrong, in losing the opportunity to record his voice among those of his brethren. Not less popular, we venture to say, would be the recognition of the Independence of Greece. We feel none of the scruples, which perplex the cabinets of Europe. We see nothing but an enterprising, intelligent, christian population struggling against a ghastly despotism, that has so long oppressed and wasted the land; and if an animating word of ours could cheer them in the hard conflict, we should feel that not to speak it, were to partake the guilt of their oppressors. Meantime there is something for the people of this country in their private capacity, to do for Greece. In Germany, and in France, large numbers of enthusiastic young men have

devoted themselves personally to the cause, and flocked to Greece, as the same class of generous spirits did to this country, in the revolutionary war. Considerable sums of money have also been raised in those countries, and supplies of arms and ammunition sent to the Grecian armies. In England a benevolent association has been formed under the presidency of Lord Milton, a nobleman of one of the wealthiest and most powerful British families; and this association has entered into a correspondence with the Grecian authorities. Local political dissensions have unfortunately mingled themselves with the counsels adopted in England for the relief of the Grecians. Still, however, large subscriptions have been made and forwarded to that country. We are sorry for the fact, that America did not set this example also. The experience of our won revolutionary war is so recent, that we ought to have felt, how precious would be any aid from a distant land, however insignificant in amount. Who does not know that there were times in our own revolutionary war, when a few barrels of gunpowder, the large guns of a privateer, a cargo of flour, a supply of clothing, yea, a few hundred pairs of shoes, for feet that left in blood the tracks of their march, would have done essential service to the cause of suffering liberty. We perceive that the writer of an article, already quoted, in the Quarterly Review, observes "that £200,000 would hardly afford a week's relief to the numerous applicants, and if laid out in the purchase of military stores, might be lost in the course of a single siege or battle." — True, and what may not be gained in a single siege or battle? The surprize of nine hundred Hessians, by Gen. Washington, traced in all its consequences upon the public feeling, at a time when despondency was curdling the blood of the people, did as much for the revolutionary cause, as could have been done by the most brilliant campaign, between well appointed armies. Besides, it is not merely the amount of physical aid, derived from foreign contributions, that serves the cause. There is an animation produced in these perilous struggles of a resolute few against a barbarous host, at feeling that their efforts are observed with sympathy by others; that they are not toiling and bleeding without an eye to witness or a heart to feel for them. We have no doubt in the world, that many small and gallant bands in the mountain passes of Greece; in the heights of Pindus, the narrow defiles in Parnassus, between Thessaly and Phocis, and at the isthmus of Corinth, who are holding out against all the difficulties of an ill appointed and scarcely organized force, would endure the longer and dare the more, and each in its sphere help on the struggle to a happy issue, could they cherish with them in their perilous holds, the hope that the prayers of the distant friends of liberty were offered up in their behalf, and that their contributions, however small, would not be withheld in an extreme hour. He does not know the human heart, that cannot do justice to these considerations.

America has done something for Greece. Our missionary societies have their envoys to the Grecian church, with supplies of bibles and religious tracts for their benighted

flocks. But in the present state of this unhappy people, this is not the only succor they require. They are laying the foundations of civil freedom, without which even the blessings of the Gospel will be extended to them in vain; and while they are cementing with their blood this costly edifice, they are in the condition of the returning Jews, of whom "every one with one of his hands wrought at the work, and with the other hand held a weapon." We would respectfully suggest to the enlarged and pious minds of those, who direct the great work of missionary charity, that at this moment, the cause of the Grecian church, can in no way be so effectually served, as by contributions directed to the field of the great struggle. The war is emphatically a war of the crescent against the cross. The venerable patriarch of the Greek faith, torn from his altar and hanged at the portals of his church, gave the signal of the unholy outrages which were to waste his flock. And now wherever the armies of the Sultan prevail, the village churches are levelled with the dust or polluted with the abominations of mahometanism, and the religious houses of the Greeks, the oldest abodes of christianity in the world, are wasted with fire, and the sacred volume thrown out to be trampled under foot by barbarians. At this crisis the messenger of the gospel fraternity should come in other guise than the contributor of the word; and could the broad and deep current of religious bounty be turned into a channel to reach the seat of the principal distress, it is not going too far to say, that it might be the means of giving another independent country to the church of Christ; and do more to effect the banishment of the crescent to the deserts of Tartary, than all that has yet been achieved by the counsels of christendom.

The same considerations call upon our wealthy citizens to extend their aid to the citizens of country possessed of more than one bond of community with ours. The common council of London have voted £1000 for relief of the sufferers in Greece. Let Boston appropriate ten thousand dollars for the same object; New York, and Philadelphia, and Baltimore, and the cities of the South in proportion to their means, will heartily unite in the cause; and a sum of money may be transmitted to Greece, either directly or through the English committee, which will teach those who are now toiling and bleeding for freedom, that we prize the blessing too highly, not to aid them in attaining it. We have seen on the wharfs of Boston, the household utensils of brass and copper, gathered up from the desolate hearths of the butchered Sciotes, bought as old copper in Smyrna, and as such sent to this country. Does not this bring home to our minds a picture of distress to awaken our deepest sympathy? To see reduced to old copper in our stalls, the furniture of the firesides of men and christians, who have themselves wearied the Turkish scimitar in their slaughter, and whose wives and daughters have been sold into an accursed slavery, to the number of thirty thousand? We know not whether the sight of these humble wrecks of household existence be romantic enough for the sentimentalist; but we ask our

readers by an effort of imagination, to make the case their own; to fancy an overwhelming force of barbarians, speaking another language, following a strange faith, let loose upon one of our largest cities, (for Scio, now a desert, had a population of 100,000), to put its men to the sword, and sell its matrons and virgins in the open market, into the most revolting and hopeless slavery. We would ask our readers but to conceive of a fate like this, as in reserve for one of the cities of our own country, and then say what claim the Greeks have on our sympathy.

In the few remarks, which we have taken the liberty to make on this occasion, we have not insisted on the topic of the glorious descent of the Greeks; of the duty of hastening to the succor of those whose fathers were the masters of the world, in the school of civilization. It is not because we are not sensible of the power of this appeal also; but because we think a much stronger appeal may be made. To take an interest in the fate of a people, whose ancestors fill so important a place in the history of the world and of the human mind, is certainly natural. The geographical names, which fill the accounts from Greece, excite an interest of themselves; and we feel a double eagerness to hear that the Turks have not only been beaten, but beaten out of the Acropolis of Athens; and that Odysseus is still successful on the sides of *Æta*. While, however, this kind of sympathy is perfectly natural, and nothing ought to be neglected, which helps the cause of a suffering people, we believe the Greeks have stronger and more imperious claims upon us, than any that grow out of these associations. We may differ as to the degree of respect, to which their ancestors are entitled. We may differ as to the degree, in which the modern Greeks are really the descendants of the ancient inhabitants of the soil; and more than one traveller thinks he has settled the question, whether the Turks have a right to hold the inhabitants of Greece in bondage, by maintaining that the Greeks are a mingled race, descended from the barbarians who in different ages have overrun the land. The allusion to antiquity, moreover, often borders on the ridiculous, and we entirely agree with Dr Coray, in condemning the name of *Aeropagus*, as given to the judiciary of the new state. This revival of classical names, in an application totally different, was one of the practices in bad taste which prevailed in the French revolution, and though more excusable in Greece, is better avoided there. There is enough without these names to awaken our sympathy. They derive their power from book learning, they belong to scholars and to dilettanti; but there is that in the cause of the Greeks, which ought to speak to the heart of every freeman, in Europe and America. It is not merely the countrymen of Aristides, the fellow-citizens of Phocion, the descendants of Aratus, that are calling upon us. These glorious names are a dead letter to two thirds of the community of christendom. But it is christians bowed beneath the yoke of barbarous infidels; it is fathers and mothers condemned to see their children torn from them and doomed to the

most cruel slavery; it is men like ourselves bereft of all the bounties which providence has lavished on their land, obliged to steal through life, as through the passes of a mountain before the blood-hounds of the pursuer. No exhilarating prospect of public honor; nor cheering hope of private success in life; no thrill at the name of country; no protection at the fireside; but all one blank of leaden, dreary despotism which turns the very virtues and excellencies of character into a crime. It is the great curse of a despotism like that of the Turks, that it inverts the laws of conduct for its subjects, and connects suffering and death with those principles and actions, to which providence attaches the rewards of life in a healthy society. We are able to pity individuals among us, so unfortunately born and bred, as to be surrounded with corrupting examples, and taught to find occupation and pleasure in vice. What a spectacle do not the Greeks present in this connection, to the practical philanthropist! Are they zealous in the profession of their religion and in the observance of its rights, they jeopardize the continuance of the jealous and contemptuous toleration beneath which they live. Do they love and serve the land of their birth, they are guilty of treason against its barbarous master. Do they with industry and enterprize acquire wealth, it is necessary to conceal it from unprincipled extortion, and to invest it in foreign countries. Do they found schools and make provisions for education, they expose themselves to exaction and their children to outrage, and are obliged to proceed with the greatest possible secrecy and circumspection. What a monstrous complication of calamity, to have the best, the worthiest, the purest designs and actions, loaded with all the consequences of vice and crime; to be deprived not only of all that makes life joyous, but to be punished for doing well, and to be forced to go privately about those good deeds, to which men, in other countries, are exhorted as to a source of praise and honor. These things ought to be considered; and a reprehensible apathy prevails as to their reality. If liberty, virtue, and religion, were not words on our lips, without a substance in our hearts, it would be hardly possible to pursue our little local interests with such jealousy; to be all on fire in one state, for fear Congress should claim the power of internal improvements, and up in arms in another against a change of the tariff, and carried away in all, with a controversy between rival candidates for an office, which all would administer in much the same way; if a narrow selfishness did not lie at the bottom of our conduct, we could not do all this, while men, christians as good as we, who have nerves to smart, minds to think, hearts to feel, like ourselves, are waging unaided, single-handed, at perilous odds, a war of extermination against tyrants, who deny them not only the blessings of liberty, but the mercies of slavery.

But we hope better things of our country. In the great Lancastrian school of the nations, liberty is the lesson, which we are appointed to teach. Masters we claim not, we wish not, to be, but the Monitors we are of this noble doctrine. It is taught in our settlement,

taught in our revolution, taught in our government; and the nations of the world are resolved to learn. It may be written in sand and effaced, but it will be written again and again, till hands now fettered in slavery shall boldly and fairly trace it, and lips, that now stammer at the noble word, shall sound it out in the ears of their despots, with an emphasis to waken the dead. Some will comprehend it and practice it at the first; others must wrestle long with the old slavish doctrines; and others may abuse it to excess, and cause it to be blasphemed awhile in the world. But it will still be taught and still be repeated, and must be learned by all; by old and degenerate communities to revive their youth; by springing colonies to hasten their progress. With the example before them of a free representative government—of a people governed by themselves,—it is no more possible that the nations will long bear any other, than that they should voluntarily dispense with the art of printing or the mariner's compass. It is therefore plainly no age for Turks to be stirring. It is as much as men can do, to put up with christian, with civilized, yea, with legitimate masters. The Grand Seignior is a half-century too late in the world. It requires all people's patience to be oppressed and ground to the dust, by the parental sway of most faithful, most catholic, most christian princes. Fatigued as they are with the Holy Alliance, it were preposterous to suppose they can long submit to a horde of Tartarian infidels. The idea that the most honorable, the most responsible, the most powerful office in the state, can, like a vile heirloom, follow the chance of descent, is quite enough to task the forbearance of this bold and busy time. What them shall become of viziers and sultans, when ministers are bewildered in their cabinets, and kings are shaken on their thrones? Instead of arming their misbelieving hosts against a people, who have taken hold of liberty, and who will be free, let them rejoice that great and little Bucharria are still vacant, and take up their march for the desert.

## C. The Jefferson—Korais Correspondence

### 1. *The First Letter from Korais to Jefferson.*

(Stratakis, pp. 155–57) July 10, 1823

Sir,

You will perhaps remember a Greek who was introduced to you a few years ago by the late Mr. Paradise, and who even had the pleasure of dining with you at Challiot. It is this same Greek, already greatly advanced in age, who is taking the liberty of writing you this letter at a time when his homeland is experiencing a rebirth.

It is not within the power of our tyrants to prevent this rebirth; but it is precisely because our freedom is still only an infant that its education requires great care and assistance, lest it perish in its cradle. One can hope for such aid only from truly free man.

It is a misfortune for us that we have revolted at a time when our publication has only begun. We are emerging from a very poor school, a Turkish school, which is to say everything; it is true that modern Greece has unexpectedly produced some Leonidas and Mitiadeses; but having emerged from lengthy oppression, it could not suddenly produce legislators such as appeared among the ancient habitants or such as have been seen in our times among you.

It is a further misfortune for us that we are neighbors of the so-called enlightened European nations at a time when they find themselves in a crisis: even should this crisis end with the triumph of the small amount of freedom which they enjoy, it is to be feared that they will leave Greece only as much thereof as is convenient for their interests. The English like to embrace our cause and are starting to give us assistance, but you know the nature of the embraces of your dear fathers, who in no way resemble their children. They have already started calling our public officials excellencies, and will end up perhaps by recommending to us an upper house, which, in the condition in which our political body finds itself at the present time, can be composed only of all its corrupt parts.

What is to be done in such a situation? I do not know. To return to the Turkish yoke appears to me physically impossible; but I also regard it as practically impossible that our dear friends, the neighbors of Peloponesus, will ever permit us to form a government such as we desire; it is not in their interests to leave such a bad example at the door and within sight of the Seven Isles which they are already treating in an unliberal manner.

You can see, Sir, the perplexity in which all those Greeks who desire the good fortune of their nation must be. I am the dean of those Greeks and for thirty years, seeing the present era approach, I have not ceased to exhort my compatriots to prepare themselves for it by education. The benevolence with which they have honored my exhortations has served me as encouragement to continue them up to the present time. But what can I do at the very advanced age that I am, stricken by various infirmities. Mavrocordatos, whom various bootlickers have begun to call Prince and will end up perhaps by making many imbeciles believe it, has just written me for the first time. His style, far from setting up as a prince, presents a person who is working in good faith for the well-being of his fatherland. I felt his letter to be sincere, and I have just replied to it accordingly.

That letter renewed my regrets not to have you for a neighbor and suggested to me, at the same time, the idea of writing you in order to consult your superior knowledge. Since the

distance which separates us scarcely permits you to assist us physically, at least permit me to ask you these questions:

1. Would it not be possible for you to send to Greece two or three respected persons under the name of negotiators for commercial affairs? And indeed, for your own interests I do not believe that you could find a time more favorable for such negotiation. These persons, entrusted with your affairs, could, at the same time, by their superior knowledge and zeal for their liberty, strengthen those Greeks who are at the head of affairs in their noble resolution to retain their independence, by advising them on all means directed at forming a good government. The presence of these persons on the very spot could serve us as antidote to neutralize all the pernicious influences which come to us from the enemies of our freedom.

2. In the event that you do not plan to send negotiators or that you do not believe that the time for this has come as yet, could you, or one of your compatriots enjoying the same respect as you, not insert in one of your newspapers an advisory letter on the affairs of Greece? This letter would have to be a reply addressed to an anonymous Greek who asks your advice; and I could, if you would be so kind as to send me a copy of the newspaper which publishes the letter, translate it into modern Greek. Either I deceive myself greatly or such a letter would produce a salutary effect on the minds of my compatriots, a considerable number of whom know and revere your name.

If I ask you not to identify me, it is because my position requires this precaution. Furthermore, you are not limited to the form of a letter; you can present your recommendations in the form of reflections, suggested by the interest which you have in the welfare of Greece.

I take the liberty, Sir, of sending you with this letter the *Ethics and Politics of Aristotle* which I published a short time ago. I would appreciate your acknowledging receipt thereof to me, sending your letter, in an envelope, to my home, Rue Madame No. 5, derrière le Luxembourg.

Help us, O happy Americans; it is not alms which we are asking from you; it is rather an occasion to increase your happiness which we are affording you.

Please accept, Sir, the assurance of the deep respect with which you have always inspired me.

Paris, July 10, 1823

Coray

*2. Jefferson's Response to Korais.*

(Stratakis, pp. 157-62.) Monticello, October 31, 1823

Dear Sir,

Your favor of July 10th is lately received. I recollect with pleasure the short opportunity of acquaintance with you afforded me in Paris, by the kindness of Mr. Paradise, and the fine editions of the classical writers of Greece which have been announced by you from time to time, have never permitted me to lose the recollection. Until those of Aristotle's Ethics, and the Strategicos of Onesander, with which you have now favored me, and for which I pray you to accept my thanks, I had seen only your Lives of Plutarch. These I had read, and profited much by your valuable Scholia, and the aid of a few words from a modern Greek dictionary, would, I believe, have enabled me to read your patriotic addresses to your countrymen.

You have certainly begun at the right end towards preparing them for the great object they are now contending for, by improving their minds and qualifying them for self-government. For this they will owe you lasting honors. Nothing is more likely to forward this object than a study of the fine models of science left by their ancestors, to whom we also are all indebted for the lights which originally led ourselves out of Gothic darkness.

No people sympathize more feelingly than ours with the sufferings of your countrymen, none offer more sincere and ardent prayers to heaven for their success. And nothing indeed but the fundamental principle of our government, never to entangle us with the broils of Europe, could restrain our generous youth from taking some part in this holy cause. Possessing ourselves the combined blessing of liberty and order, we wish the same to other countries, and to none more than yours, which, the first of civilized nations, presented examples of what man should be. Not, indeed, that the forms of government adapted to their age and country are practicable or to be imitated in our day, although prejudices in their favor would be natural enough to your people. The circumstances of the world are too much changed for that. The government of Athens, for example, was that of the people of one city making laws for the whole country subjected to them. That of Lacedæmon was the rule of military monks over the laboring class of the people, reduced to abject slavery. These are not the doctrines of the present age. The equal rights of man, and the happiness of every individual, are now acknowledged to be the only legitimate objects of government. Modern times have the signal advantage, too, of having discovered the only device by which these rights can be secured, to wit: government by the people, acting not in person, but by representatives chosen by themselves, that is to say, by every man of ripe years and sane mind, who either contributes by his purse or person to the support of his country. The small and imperfect mixture of representative

government in England, impeded as it is by other branches, aristocratical and hereditary, shows yet the power of the representative principle towards improving the condition of man. With us, all the branches of the government are elective by the people themselves, except the judiciary, of whose science and qualifications they are not competent judges. Yet, even in that department, we call in a jury of the people to decide all controverted matters of fact, because to that investigation they are entirely competent, leaving thus as little as possible, merely the law of the case, to the decision of the judges. And true it is that the people, especially when moderately instructed, are the only safe, because the only honest, depositories of the public rights, and should therefore be introduced into the administration of them in every function to which they are sufficient; they will err sometimes and accidentally, but never designedly, and with a systematic and persevering purpose of overthrowing the free principles of the government. Hereditary bodies, on the contrary, always, existing, always on the watch for their own aggrandizement, profit of every opportunity of advancing the privileges of their order, and encroaching on the rights of people.

The public papers tell us that your nation has established a government of some kind, without informing us what it is. This is certainly necessary for the direction of the war, but I presume it is intended to be temporary only, as a permanent constitution must be the work of quiet, leisure, much inquiry, and great deliberation. The extent of our country was so great, and its former division into distinct States so established, that we thought it better to confederate as to foreign affairs only. Every State retained its self-government in domestic matters, as better qualified to direct them to the good and satisfaction of their citizens, than a general government so distant from its remoter citizens, and so little familiar with the local peculiarities of the different parts. But I presume that the extent of country with you, which may liberate itself from the Turks, is not too large to be associated under a single government, and that the particular constitutions of our several States, therefore, and not that of our federal government, will furnish the basis best adapted to your situation. There are now twenty-four of these distinct States, none smaller perhaps than your Morea, several larger than all Greece. Each of these has a constitution framed by itself and for itself, but militating in nothing with the powers of the General Government in its appropriate department of war and foreign affairs. These constitutions being in print and in every hand, I shall only make brief observations in them, and on these provisions particularly which have not fulfilled expectations, or which, being varied in different States, leave a choice to be made of that which is best. You will find much good in all of them, and no one which would be approved in all its parts. Such indeed are the different circumstances, prejudices, and habits of different nations, that the constitution of no one would be reconcilable to any other in every

point. A judicious selection of the parts of each suitable to any other, is all which prudence should attempt; this will appear from a review of some parts of our constitutions.

Our executives are elected by the people for terms of one, two, three, or four years, under the names of Governors or Presidents, and are reeligible a second time, or after a certain term, if approved by the people. May your Ethnarch be elective also? or does your position among the warring powers of Europe need an office more permanent, and a leader more stable? Surely you will make him single. For if experience has ever taught a truth, it is that a plurality in the supreme Executive will forever split into discordant factions, distract the nation, annihilate its energies, and force the nation to rally under a single head, generally an usurper. We have, I think, fallen on the happiest of all modes of constituting the Executive, that of easing and aiding our President, by permitting him to choose Secretaries of State, of Finance, of War, and of the Navy, with whom he may advise, either separately or controlling their opinions at his discretion; this saves the nation from the evil of a divided will, and secures to it a steady march in the systematic course which the President may have adopted for that of his administration.

Our legislatures are composed of two Houses, the Senate and Representatives, elected in different modes, and for different periods, and in some States, with a qualified veto in the executive chief. But to avoid all temptation to superior pretensions of the one over the other House, and the possibility of either erecting itself into a privileged order, might it not be better to choose at the same time and in the same mode, a body sufficiently numerous to be divided by lot into two separate Houses, acting as independently as the two Houses in England, or in our governments, and to shuffle their names together and re-distribute them by lot, once a week for a fortnight? This would equally give the benefit of time and separate deliberation, guard against an absolute passage by acclamation, derange cabals, intrigues, and the count of noses, disarm the ascendancy which a popular demagogue might at any time obtain over either House, and render impossible all disputes between the two Houses, which often form such obstacles to business.

Our different States have differently modified their several judiciaries as to the tenure of office. Some appoint their judges for a given term of time; some continue them during good behavior, and that to be determined on by the concurring vote of two-thirds of each legislative House. In England they are removable by a majority only of each House. The last is a practicable remedy; the second is not. The combination of the friends and associates of the accused, the action of personal and party passions, and the sympathies of the human heart will forever find means of influencing one-third of either the one or the other House, will thus secure their impurity, and establish them in fact for life. The first remedy is the best, that of appointing for a term of years only, with a

capacity of reappointment if their conduct has been approved. At the establishment of our constitutions, the judiciary bodies were supposed to be the most helpless and harmless members of the government. Experience, however, soon showed in what way they were to become the most dangerous; that the insufficiency of the means provided for their removal gave them a freehold and irresponsibility in office; that their decisions, seeming to concern individual suitors only, pass silent and unheeded by the public at large that these decisions, nevertheless, become law by precedent, sapping, by little and little, the foundations of the constitution, and working its change by construction, before any one has perceived that that invisible and helpless worm has been busily employed in consuming its substance. In truth, man is not made to be trusted for life, if secured against all liability to account.

The constitutions of some of our States have made it a duty of their government to provide with due care for the public education. This we divide into three grades: 1. Primary schools, in which are taught reading, writing, and common arithmetic, to every infant of the State, male and female. 2. Intermediate schools, in which an education is given proper for artificers and the middle vocations of life; in grammar, for example, general history, logarithms, arithmetic, plain trigonometry, mensuration, the use of the globes, navigation, the mechanical principles, the elements of natural philosophy, and, as a preparation for the University, the Greek and Latin languages. 3. An University, in which these and all other useful sciences shall be taught in their highest degree; the expenses of these institutions are defrayed partly by the public, and partly by the individuals profiting of them.

But, whatever be the constitution, great care must be taken to provide a mode of amendment, when experience or change of circumstances shall have manifested that any part of it is unadapted to the good of the nation. In some of our States it requires a new authority from the whole people, acting by their representatives, chosen for this express purpose, and assembled in convention. This is found too difficult for remedying the imperfections which experience develops from time to time in an organization of the first impression. A greater facility of amendment is certainly requisite to maintain it in a course of action accommodated to the times and changes through which we are ever passing. In England the constitution may be altered by a single act of the legislature, which amounts to the having no constitution at all. In some of our States, an act passed by two different legislatures, chosen by the people, at different and successive elections, is sufficient to make a change in the constitution. As this mode may be rendered more or less easy, by requiring the approbation of fewer or more successive legislatures, according to the degree of difficulty thought sufficient and yet safe, it is evidently the best principle which can be adopted for constitutional amendments.

I have stated that the constitutions of our several States vary more or less in some particulars. But there are certain principles in which all agree, and which all cherish as vitally essential to the protection of the life, liberty, property, and safety of the citizen.

1. Freedom of religion, restricted only from acts of trespass on that of others.
2. Freedom of person, securing every one from imprisonment, or other bodily restraint, but by the laws of the land. This is effected by the well-known law of *habeas corpus*.
3. Trial by jury, the best of all safeguards for the person, the property, and the fame of every individual.
4. The exclusive right of legislation and taxation in the representatives of the people.
5. Freedom of the press, subject only to liability for personal injuries. This formidable censor of the public functionaries, by arraigning them at the tribunal of public opinion, produces reform peaceably, which must otherwise be done by revolution. It is also the best instrument for enlightening the mind of man, and improving him as a rational, moral, and social being.

I have thus, dear Sir, according to your request, given you some thoughts on the subject of national government. They are the result of the observations and reflections of an octogenary, who has passed fifty years of trial and trouble in the various grades of his country's service. They are yet but outlines which you will better fill up, and accommodate to the habits and circumstances of your countrymen. Should they furnish a single idea which may be useful to them, I shall fancy it a tribute rendered to the manes of your Homer, your Demosthenes, and the splendid constellation of sages and heroes, whose blood is still flowing in your veins, and whose merits are still resting, as a heavy debt, on the shoulders of the living, and the future races of men. While we offer to heaven the warmest supplications for the restoration of your countrymen to the freedom and science of their ancestors, permit me to assure yourself of the cordial esteem and high respect which I bear and cherish towards yourself personally.

### 3. Korais's Letter Acknowledging Receipt of Jefferson's Communication.

(Stratakis, pp. 162-63.) December 28, 1823.

Sir,

I could not be more grateful to you for the reply which you were kind enough to let me have and which was forwarded to me the day before yesterday by Mr. Warden. Too long for your respectable age, it appeared to me too short for the desire that I had to receive lessons from such a master. I will try to profit by them and turn them if possible to account for the benefit of my nation, which has shown up to this time prodigies of value

but which, delivered from a yoke of Cannibals, cannot yet possess neither the lessons of instruction nor those of experience. At the time that I received your letter I had just learned of a new naval combat fought by us with the fleet of the tyrant and crowned by the happiest success. Thus, there were two pleasures for me at the same time; and I had great need thereof for, in addition to the infirmities of an age more advanced than yours and a frightening correspondence which does not cease aggravating them, my soul is tormented by the most painful of torments ("to adelon"), the uncertainty of the future state of my fatherland. If I were certain that one day it would enjoy the good fortune which your wise Constitution assures you, I would descend into my tomb with the joy which Euripides recommends to the family of the deceased: χαίροντας, εὐφημοῦντας ἐκπέμπειν δόμων.

Mr. Walden, who will be kind enough to send you this letter, also agreed, Sir, to be kind enough to send you on the first occasion, a package of books which I have just turned over to him. It contains a copy of the second edition of Beccaria, translated into modern Greek, and two other pamphlets in ancient Greek which I beg of you to accept. Continue, Sir, to concern yourself with the fate of Greece, and receive with benevolence my most respectful regards.

Paris, December 28, 1823

A. Coray

#### *4. The Last Communication from Korais to Jefferson.*

(Stratakis, pp. 163–64.) January 30, 1825

Sir,

Please give me the pleasure of accepting a copy of the collection of the political pamphlets of Plutarch which I have just published. As my age does not permit me any further fatiguing editions, it is necessary that I finish my career with occupations which save me at least from the boredom of complete inaction. In the Dialogue, which serves as prolegomena to these pamphlets, you will note that I have not failed to take your advice.

Permit me, Sir, on this occasion, to remind you that I have already had the honor to write you concerning your future relations with a free Greece. It is undoubtedly true that the recognition of its independence is in no way harmful to your interests; but I would like to see you act with less circumspection. The English will probably be the first to recognize what they can no longer prevent. It is to your interest, it would seem to me, to

have at the Greek government certain persons who are authorized to recognize it simultaneously with the English, or at least not leave time to any other power to declare itself as the second.

These persons could furthermore, before the recognition itself, prepare the way for it by secret negotiations, at the same time as they assist by their advice in the desire which the Greek nation has to take your government as model. The closer the constitution of Greece is to yours, the more your interests will be favored therein by way of preference over those of other nations. Believe me, Sir, it is time for you seriously to consider not abandoning us to the pleasure of the English. They are already starting to honor us with titles and you know that for certain ears titles are sounds too imposing and ringing not to drown out the modest voice of the fatherland.

You have, Sir, given a terrible blow to the oligarchs of Europe by the manner in which you treat your illustrious host; it is no longer an argument, but things which you oppose to their sophism: "One must not become angry with things, because that does not affect them in any way." This is an apothegm which is attributed to Turgot, but which Euripides stated before him. τοῖς πράγμασιν γὰρ οὐχὶ θυμοῦσθαι χρεὼν μέλει γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὐδέν. Give them, I beseech you, a second blow by recognition of the independence of my country so that free Greeks can receive the compatriots of Jefferson and Franklin and treat them as brothers.

These are the wishes, sir, of your devoted servant,

A. Coray

January 30, 1825

I have no need, sir, to point out to you that this letter must be considered anonymous.

#### D. A Letter from Everett to Korais

[*Editor's note: This letter was addressed by Edward Everett to Adamantios Korais. The original manuscript, written in French, is currently in the Korais Library of Chios.*]

(Stratakis, pp. 164–66.) September 11, 1825

Dear Sir and Friend,

Upon the start of the Greek Revolution I received the proclamation of the Messenian Senate of Calamata in Greek and French, addressed to the citizens of the United States of America, with a letter to myself, also in both languages, signed by you, Sir, together with some of your compatriots.

I translated them into English; I had them printed and circulated in our best magazines. In the month of October, 1823, in the magazine *North American Review* of which I was then editor, I gave a lengthy note of your edition of the *Ethics and the Politics* of Aristotle. In that note I incorporated a translation of the Greek Constitution of Epidaurus of 1822. With the original of the proclamation of the Senate of Calamata and of your letter to me I accompanied it all with the strongest call which I could to the sympathy of the Americans. I would not want to attribute to my slight efforts but to the justice and truth of our Cause that a deep universal and generous feeling for Greece spread throughout North America. Philhellenic committees were formed everywhere and rather substantial amounts of money were given. Soon by worthy friend Mr. Webster, the most outstanding member of the Congress of the United States of America, made the proposal that measure be taken immediately for the Recognition of the Independence of Greece. He asked me to let him have a sketch of the Revolution during the three years of its duration, and then with a statistical overview of the territory and the means of Greece which I did as best I could. His proposal was supported by him and by other members of the Congress with rare eloquence, but it failed. I believe nevertheless that if Greece succeeds in the military campaign of 1825; and the Greek government decides to send an authorized commissioner to America, someone who speaks English or at least French, he could help a great deal in obtaining Recognition. As at present I myself have the honor of being a member of the Congress, I do not need to say that I will not fail to support any measure the purpose of which is the good fortune of Greece.

In addition to approximately 40,000 Spanish ecus (collonated) which have been sent from America to Greece, several young people have gone there. Four have received the assistance of the Philhellenic Committee of Boston of which I have the honor of being the Secretary. Twice I have received letters from Prince Mavrocordatos, in reply to my letters which were brought by these young people. One of them, Dr. Howe, is making himself very useful, in addition to what he sends me, as a surgeon.

You would be doing me a great favor, Sir, by being so good as to place yourself in communication with me on the subject of Greece. Next after the personal services of a Greek Commissioner in America, the most useful thing would be to receive true information, at an early time. If you do me the honor of writing me, write me, I beg of you, in modern Greek; I read it (particularly when you write it) very easily although I have lost the habit of writing it. I wish you the enjoyment of your venerable age. Permit your eyes to see a free and happy Greece.

Signed: Edward Everett

From the month of December until May, I will be in Washington. Address c/o Wells & Co. 26 Rue de Faubourg Peponniere, Paris

[Editor's note: The English translation of these letters was reprinted with the kind permission of Mr. Christ Stratakis and of the editors of the Journal of Modern Hellenism Queens College, New York]

E. Albert Gallatin and the Count de Lafayette:  
Philhellenic Aspects of a Friendship

1. *Lafayette to Gallatin*

(Tozes 2, p. 423)

Lagrange, August 9, 1821

Dear Sir.

[. . .]

I have been applied to by two Greek gentlemen, one of them a very learned man and friend of bishop Gregoir (sic), with a request to be presented to you. I feel doubly proud of the application and gave them an introductory letter. Their object is a more intimate and active connection between the United States and the renew'd Grecian Confederacy. I ardently wish that while the legitimate protectors share in a continental arrangement, some old republican union may be raised from the dead out of this Peloponesian war and new modelled after our genuine American creed. [. . .]

your sincere friend

Lafayette

2. *Lafayette to Gallatin*

(Tozes 7, p. 427)

Paris, July 5, 1821

My dear Sir,

This letter will be delivered by M. Vogoridei the Grecian citizen who since the departure of M. Piccolo has been pleased to confer with me on the affairs of his interesting and so abominably treated country. Sensible as he is of your interest in behalf of its cause and inhabitants, he much wishes an introduction to you, my dear Sir, and I feel myself happy in promoting your mutual acquaintance.

Most affectionately and respectfully

Yours,  
Lafayette

*3. Lafayette to Gallatin*

(Tozes 9, p. 429)

Lagrange, October 13, 1823

My dear Sir,

[. . .] Our Greek friends are doing well. How far the two Christian Emperors will spoil their game I do not know. My confidence in Great Britain, slight as it was, has been shattered by her conduct in the Spanish Counter Revolution. But I long to see the American Navy it ought to ride friendly and disinterested amidst the intrigues of European politics . . .

Lafayette

*4. Albert Gallatin Speech in Honor of the Marquis de Lafayette*

(Tozes 11, p. 430-432) Delivered on May 26, 1825 (Published in the *Daily National Intelligencer*, June 11, 1825)

[. . .] The flame of liberty has spread from the Peruvian Andes, from the extreme western boundary of the civilized world to its most remote confines in the East.

Greece, the cradle of European civilization and of our own,— Greece, the classical land of firstborn liberty, had, for centuries, groaned under the most intolerable yoke. Her sons believed to be utterly debased by slavery, degenerated, lost beyond redemption: their name had become a by-word of reproach, themselves an object of contempt rather than of pity. Suddenly they awaken from their lethargy, they fly to arms, they break their chains asunder: they receive no foreign assistance; Christian powers frown upon them; they are surrounded by innumerable dangers, by innumerable enemies; they do not inquire how many these, but where they are. Every year, without a navy, they destroy formidable fleets; every year, without an army they disperse countless hosts; every year they astonish the world; they conquer its reluctant sympathy, by deeds worthy of the trophies of Salamis and Marathon, by exploits to which the love of liberty would alone have given birth, by prodigies which would be deemed fabulous, did they not happen in our own days and as under our own eyes.

Whence that renegation and its wonderful effects? From the progress of knowledge; from the superiority of intellect over brutal force. The Greeks had preserved their immortal language, the recollection of their ancestors, their religion, a national character. Patriotic individuals had, for the last fifty years, instituted schools, established printing presses, used every means to renovate and disseminate knowledge. Their stupid oppressors could not perceive or fear a progress hardly observed by Europe. But the seed was not thrown on a barren soil: the Turkish scimitar had been less fatal to the human mind than the Spanish Inquisition.

The cause is not yet won! An almost miraculous resistance may yet perhaps be overwhelmed by the tremendous superiority of numbers. And will the civilized, the Christian world, for those words are synonymous, will they look with apathy on the dreadful catastrophe that would ensue? A catastrophe which they, which even we alone could prevent with so much facility and almost without danger? I am carried beyond what I intended to say; it is due to your presence— we do not know that wherever man struggling for liberty, for existence, is most in danger, there is your heart? . . .

*5. Lafayette's Response to the Gallatin Speech*

(Tozes 12, p. 432)

Daily National Intelligencer, June 11, 1825

. . . while I most cordially join in your eager and consistent wishes for the extension of those blessings to other nations, in mutual congratulations for the republican enfranchisement of the greater part of the American hemisphere, I could not hear you mention classic and heroic Greece, without remembering how early and with what zealous concern we have made it an object of our confidential conversations.

*6. Extract of a Letter from Lafayette to Gallatin*

(Tozes 13, p. 432)

Paris, December 9, 1825

[ . . . ] I am anxiously awaiting letters from America, not only because it is hard for me now deprived of those communications so happily enjoy'd of late, but also for the sake of this interesting period relatively to the Congress of Panama and the concerns of the Greeks. It is highly important that the frigates building at New York may reach very early the Archipelago. I have heard no more of our steamboat subscription. A few of them have bought in England with the money of the Loan. Lord Cochrane after having made his bargain with the Greek Commissioners is now at Boulogne. But there is so much intricacy and selfishness in those British politics that I can't say what their Government will forbid, permit or wink at. They are more anxious to oppose the aggrandisement of Russia, to cancel the difference of the prize of navigation between them and the Greeks and to monopolize influence and trade than to serve the cause of Grecian liberty. They would like to unite with the French Government in establishing a kind of half independence, like that of Moldavia and Valachia, which might stifle the spirit of Republicanism and commercial improvement, while it should baffle the ambitious views of Russia. On the other hand the French Cabinet are successfully worked upon by Russia, the inveterate enemy of Greece, and while a French Committee, composed of men of different opinions are honestly supporting the Greeks with cloaths, arms, ammu-

nition as far as their money goes, and it has been found that assistance in materials was more serviceable than pecuniary succours, while the only corps capable to fight in open field the Egyptian battalion is trained and commanded by Col. Fabvier, encouragement is given by the Ministry to serve in, to recruit and build for the Egyptian forces against the Greeks. It must be confessed, our friends are divided into two different people, the islanders more rich, more enlightened, who constitute their naval force, and the continentals who fight with bravery, in their scattered way, but are not easily brought to a perseverant understanding and control. But what better could be expected after the last centuries? Are not heroic deeds every day performed? Are they not determined not to submit to the Turkish yoke? And also it appears they are rather dispirited by this late addition of forces from Egypt which the two frigates and steamboats had they arrived sooner, might have abated to advantage, it is not very probable that some assistance and fellow feeling, given in earnest may rekindle their ardor? The friendly conduct of Commodore Rogers and his Fleet, as it has been represented had made them very popular in this and other countries. It has since been rumored they were dissatisfied with the Greeks, and it has occasioned some suspense in the first applauses, at the moment when they were supposed to be much satisfied with the Turks for having been denied the passage to the Black sea which is granted almost to every body.

[...]

Lafayette

## II

# INFORMATION ON THE GREEK UPRISING REACHES AMERICA: PUBLICATIONS

### A. Anthology of Newspaper Articles

*Connecticut Courant*, August 7, 1821: The Greeks and Turks.

We cannot be persuaded that *all* the civilized world sympathise with the Greeks. There are associations and recollections connected with *ancient* Greece familiar to all the reading world, which must operate greatly in their favor. Theirs is the page of history on which we dwell with most delight. Their arts and their arms irradiate their name and their patriotism make them estimable in our eyes. But with *modern* Greece we have bands and ties and common principles which entwine it around our hearts and connect it with our dearest wishes, our holiest hopes. They adore the same God, they acknowledge the same Redeemer. They believe in a state of future rewards and punishments founded on the same promises and the same evidence as we do; in one word they are *Christians*.—They are humble believers in that system of religion and morality which is believed in by all that portion of the world which do honor to Humanity. Can we then be indifferent as to their success? assuredly not—but if the causes we have relied upon were not enough to enlist us in their behalf, let us ask who are their opponents?

They are furious, bigotted, and persecuting enemies of Christianity. How often, and for how many centuries, have their swords been red with Christian blood! How often have the Turks persecuted to the death, all who acknowledge Christ and him crucified. Did they not for ages raise the Crescent against the Cross and advance against Christendom? Has not all Christendom been in self-defence, compelled to league against the Turks? Have they not always made war against knowledge and burned with a red hot furnace all the books which centuries had gathered together. These Musselmen *even now*, break into the sanctuary of an Ambassador's Palace, to seize upon and put to death the Christian Greeks. Neither age, sex, nor condition, is a protection against their inhumanity.

The Venerable Patriarch, and the Infant but newly born, are alike food for the appetites of the savage Turks. If the Turks now triumph, they will, within their dominions, prohibit the exercise of the Christian religion.

Can we then but rejoice and be exceedingly glad even when there is a *prospect* that Truth and the Greeks shall triumph over Imposture and the Turks.

A late German statistical writer, Hassel, on the best and most recent authorities, computes that Turkey *in Europe*, contains a population of 9,482,000. Of this population, the Turks do not amount to one third part, and the Greeks alone, amount to above five millions. This population and the zeal which has been everywhere displayed by the Greeks, greatly animated us in the contest. Our whole hearts, our principles, civil, religious and political, are with the Greeks and against the Turks. We shall not be surprised, indeed we rather expect, that Russia and Austria will take advantage of circumstances, to enlarge the boundaries of their dominions. We may look for another partition among those Potentates; but even *that* would be a matter of congratulation. Assuredly, it would be better, infinitely better, to have the Greeks under the protection or under the dominion of any Christian power, rather than to have them conquered and ground into dust by the Musselmén. We shall watch and report the progress of this most interesting revolt.

#### RUSSIA.

In this empire, public opinion is said to declare itself more strongly in favour of the cause of the Greeks. To the sympathy excited by a community of deep religious faith, has been added a deep sentiment of indignation at the atrocities of the Turks.

The British Monitor says:—“The Russian army in Bessarabia, under the command of General Wittgenstein, amounting to 70,000 men, had received orders to cross the Danube, and to proceed to Constantinople, and that the Russian fleet in the Black Sea, with troops on board, is at the same time to make an attack on the Turkish Capital. It will require three weeks ere the army of Bessarabia will be able to reach Constantinople.

An *expose* of the state of the Russian Finances has been published at Petersburg, in a supplement to the *Conservateur Imparfait*, of the 29th of May. —From this document it appears that the whole debt of Russia, including the balance not yet paid up, of the last loan, reduced into sterling money, does not exceed 47,000,000, being little more than one year’s interest in the debt of Great Britain.

#### TURKEY.

The Treasure taken by the Greeks from *Ali Pacha* is estimated at above 100 millions of piasters.

At Nissa, the second town in Servia, the Turkish Pacha was beheaded on the 10th of May, on suspicion of secretly favouring the cause of the Greeks. The Archbishop Athanasius, with three noble Servians, were executed by order of the Porte. The former was hanged at the door of the church, and his body, after having been ignominiously dragged through the streets, was torn in pieces, and cast to the dogs.

The successor of the venerable Greek Patriarch, who was hung by the Turks, is ascertained to have been strangled by order of the Grand Signior, instead of dying of fright and grief, as has heretofore been reported.

A late but unauthenticated account was received at Moldavia on the 27th of May from Wallachia, stating that the Turks had given battle to THEODORE, whom they took prisoner and beheaded, and that Ypsilanti had fled to Cronstadt.

The population in Turkey may be reckoned at about ten millions, viz:—3,500,000 Turks, 300,000 Jews, 2,600,000 Greeks or Hellenists, 500,000 Bulgarians, 1,370,000 Moldavians and Wallachians, 87,000 Armenians, 540,000 Arnauts, 210,000 Albanians, 450,000 Servians, 80,000 Raitzus, 250,000 Bosnians, 800,000 Dalmatians, and 30,000 Croatians.

*Connecticut Courant*, October 21, 1821: The Grecian Insurrection.

LONDON, August 10

It is now confirmed, that the Grecian Insurrections in Wallachia and Moldavia are wholly suppressed. The Turkish Government was enabled to send into those provinces a strong and well-appointed army, commanded by one of its most experienced Captains, soon after the insurrection became important. As soon as these forces came in contact with the Revolutionists, the result was not doubtful. The hordes of Ypsilanti and Theodore, never acted in concert, and it is fully believed that the latter was beguiled or betrayed by the former, and eventually was put to death by his order. Added to this, the revolutionary ranks were filled with Arnauts, Wallachians, Moldavians, and Hetaeristes, most of them volunteers under a very lax command, and the whole under very imperfect discipline. The result was that they were compelled to disperse, and seek an asylum, individually, wherever they could find it. The Prince Ypsilanti fled into Transylvania, where he was suffered by the Austrian authorities to pass the Adriatic; and it is believed he has since arrived in the Morea. This account is the most authentic, although the Austrian Official papers are silent on the subject. Of the conjectures, one is, that he had headed a small party and penetrated into Servia, had reached Monte Negro, and found an asylum among its independent inhabitants. . .

. . . MOLDAVIA, July 15. The wreck of the corps of Ypsilanti, (say 800) have succeeded in reaching Skuleni. The Turks were about to attack them, in position, when the Rus-

sians opposed their arm, under pretext that the Turkish balls would fall upon the Imperial territory. On this, the Turks resolved to attack the *flank* of the Greeks; but whilst they were preparing to do it, the latter passes the Pruth.

*Connecticut Courant*, November 11, 1821: The Greeks.

LEGHORN, September 3

(From the *Courier Français*)

The last intelligence from the Levant announces that the Greeks of the Islands are preparing in concert a great naval expedition, which will be immediately directed towards the coasts of Asia Minor. The point fixed for the junction of all their forces is, it is said, the Island of Samos. To judge from the preparations and the great armaments which are making, the enterprise will be of the most important character. The inhabitants of Samos have been excused from furnishing their contingent for the fitting out of the Greek fleet, being chiefly destined for the intended expedition. On the departure of the last despatches there were 15,000 Samiot soldiers, completely equipped and armed. Many Greek corps from the other islands had already joined them. The zeal and activity of the Ipsariots are particularly conspicuous. They not only undertake the most gallant enterprises themselves, but they are always ready to take an active part in those which are undertaken by the other Islanders.

It is generally believed in the Levant, that the object of this expedition is to get possession of the town of Smyrna. It is already reported, that the European men of war in these seas will not suffer this town to be attacked. But this report does not appear to alarm the Greeks who maintain, that if European property is respected, they will have no just ground of complaint, and cannot interfere in a matter that does not concern them, unless they wish to violate the existing neutrality, declare themselves the allies of the Turks, and take an active part in the war. Now the captains of European vessels have instructions, say the Greeks, directly opposite to so violent a measure.

The greatest union now reigns in all the Isles. That of Syros, which resisted for a long time, refused to listen to any arrangement with the Hellenic government by two Hydriot Ephori, and is perfectly satisfied with the moderate manner in which they exercise their authority. The Catholics or Latins are also reconciled with the other Greeks, since the incendiaries who excited them to discord have been expelled from the Isles. A similar reconciliation has also taken place in the Isles of Naxos and Santorin, where the principal Catholic inhabitants have recently entered into the service of the Hellenic confederation.

*Niles' Weekly Register* June 11, 1822: Turkey.

A heavy squadron that had been blockaded by the Greeks in the Gulf of Lepanto, has been surrendered to them. This was the fragment of the fleet lately captured by the Greeks, and makes the whole number of vessels taken or destroyed, by that victory, amount to 31—about 20 of which were ships of war—4 of them frigates.

The Janissaries have behaved very disorderly on several occasions—150 were imprisoned at Constantinople and 15 others put to death. 130,000 Asiatic troops are in the neighborhood of the capital, on whom the sultan appears to place much reliance. The Turks are furious for war with the Russians, and it is said that the sultan will himself lead the armies, accompanied by the famous standard of Mahomet; which, being displayed, calls every follower of the prophet to arms.

Many of the provinces are in a state of fermentation; especially Bosnia, Servia, Albania, and Epirus.

The Turks continue their cruelties on the Greeks, though some of the tales seem too horrible for belief. At Kydonia they are said to have employed themselves in hanging and shooting about 1000 children who were too small for the slave market. And it is stated, they had butchered 1200 persons attached to the monasteries of mount Athos, which caused the monks to take part in the struggle. The Turks have destroyed Moldavia with fire—they destroyed 580 houses at Jassy on the night of the 9th March, about which there was a severe battle between the Janissaries and the Tilmes—of the former, 190 men were killed and many wounded.

The Greeks are rapidly improving in discipline, and their forces appear now to be pretty well organized. Many battles take place, in which the Turks are generally defeated—but the details are confused and not worth repeating. It is sufficient to say that the Greeks are evidently gaining ground. The barbarous government of the Turks has rendered them desperate. Terror prevails wherever the Ottoman has power.

*Niles' Weekly Register*, July 6, 1822: Turkey.

The people of the rich land of Scio, (which contains about 100,000 inhabitants), assisted by those of Samos, have defeated the Turks and driven them into the fortress, which, it appeared, could not hold out long. The Turks had behaved so inhumanly to the people, that it seemed probable even one of them on the island would be put to death, if taken. These proceedings had caused much feeling at Constantinople.

There is an account of a dreadful battle that took place at Thermopylæ. Mahomet Ali, or Pacha Bey, at the head of 8,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry, intending to pass into the

Peloponnesus, was met by the guerillas of Agrapha, who obstructed their march one day. This afforded time for Ulysses to come up, when a general fight took place, which resulted in a glorious victory over the barbarians—5,000 were left slain on the field of battle, among them the pacha—three other pachas and 9 pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the Greeks.

The Greeks had also assaulted the entrenched camp at Patras, and, after much slaughter of their enemies, captured 40 pieces of cannon. It was believed that the Turks would soon surrender.

In many other affairs the Greeks appeared to have succeeded—and in no case is it stated that the Turks have lately been victors.

The plague is making great ravages at Constantinople. Many "Europeans" had fallen victims to it.

The British protector of the Ionian Isles has assumed the right to command, and has commanded, the Greek admiral in those seas, not to enter the channel of Corfu—but the "holy" allies, the Turks, go whithersoever they please.

*Niles' Weekly Register*, July 21, 1822: Turkey.

It is confirmed that the Greeks succeeded in blowing up some of the Turkish fleet, by their fire ships—one of them was a new 74, with the captain pacha and 2000 men. In consequence, the final massacre took place at Scio, and between 4 and 5000 persons were butchered. The Greeks at sea are still able to check, if not defeat, the whole naval power of the Turks; and they feel a confidence of being able to work out their own liberation. Nearly the whole of the Morea is in their possession, and their army therein is reported at 60,000 men, tolerably well armed, but wanting ammunition. The Turks only hold two places in Candia—the Egyptian and Barbary fleets had attempted to relieve them, but they were beaten off with considerable loss. The following is given as an account of the naval forces of the Turks and Greeks—that of the former, in the hands of our brave and experienced seamen, would prove itself the most powerful; the Turks have 6 line of battle ships, 11 frigates, 15 to 20 corvettes, and 20 gun boats; the Greeks in two divisions of 40 each, principally brigs of about 250 tons, a few ships, say 8 or 10, of 4 to 500 tons. . .

*Niles' Weekly Register*, July 28, 1822: Turkey.

The governor of Scio has been beheaded at the instance of the sultan's sister, for the part that he took in the massacre in this island; Most of the wives of the late Ali Pacha of

Janina have been *drowned*, by order of the sultan. His lawful wife Wasiliki will probably share the same fate, as soon as all the information she can give is obtained of her.

It appears that the Egyptian troops were suffered to land on Candia—they were then attacked with great fury and a multitude of them were destroyed—many being drowned in attempting to swim to their ships. These Egyptians had arrived at Candia for the very *humane* purpose of destroying *all* the Greeks. Some *Austrian* ships served as transports on this occasion. The Souliots have gained a splendid victory over Churshit Pacha, killing 2000 of his men.

A letter received in England from Constantinople says, "Since I have been here, 14 days, a great number of Greeks have lost their heads; they are taken from their houses, and their heads cut off before their own doors; they are then stripped, *and laid with their heads upon their bodies for three days*; after which they are thrown into the harbor. The streets being very narrow, I have been obliged to step over many, lying in them daily."

We have accounts from Vienna confirming the intelligence already received of the destruction of the Turkish fleet, and the death of the captain Pacha. They give the following details.

The chiefs of the Greek navy held a council at Ipsara, and decided on the plan which was afterwards adopted. They called upon all those who were willing to devote their lives for the public good; more than 200 immediately presented themselves, and swore on the cross to execute the preconcerted enterprize, or to die gloriously. Out of these, 48 were chosen by casting lots, and received the benediction of their priests before engaging in their magnanimous design. All arrangements having been made, on the first day of the festival of Bairam, a Greek frigate and five vessels appeared, under a foreign flag, before the Turkish line, as though to take a part in the rejoicings. The 200 heroes, who passed for Englishmen and Frenchmen, were well received by the enemy, who allowed them to enter the port of Tsesme, in order to anchor in the centre of the Turkish fleet. But scarcely had they reached that position when they carried their plan into effect. In a short time five ships of the line were on fire. The Admiral ship ran out of the harbor all in a blaze, in the hope of escaping total destruction, and run aground on the neighboring coast of Scio, where the captain Pacha was landed, expiring. After this signal success, the two hundred self-devoted patriots retired, without having experienced any loss.

The enterprize appears to have been conceived and executed in a spirit of self-devotion worthy of the best times of ancient Greece.

Ypsilanti, the celebrated Greek chief, and a victim of Russian cupidity, is said to be a prisoner at this time, in the fortress of Montgatz.

We have many particulars of the late blowing up of the captain Pacha's ship. It was a deed of desperate bravery. The ship was of 84 guns, and had 2264 persons on board, including soldiers and Greek slaves—all these perished except about 180! A second fire

vessel struck the vice admiral's ship and set her in a blaze, but not being grappled, they separated and the flames were extinguished. When the fire reached the magazine the explosion shook Scio like an earthquake.

The Greek accounts state the loss of the Turks at Scio to be, the admiral's ship of 130 guns, three others of the line and seven frigates wrecked—the greater part of their crews being drowned in consequence of their fright; that they had also captured 16 Turkish vessels, belonging to another expedition.

M. Bourville, the brave and humane French vice consul at Smyrna, died on the 23rd of June.

*Niles' Weekly Register*, August 3, 1822

*Russians, Greeks and Turks.* The pacha of Salonichi had received reinforcements, and defeated the Greeks near Jerizza.—After this, he fell upon thirty Greek villages, and carried away the women and children as slaves.

The Greek population of the Isle of Scio were conveyed successively to Constantinople, and sold like vile herds; the most considerable persons and women of the first families, were treated like the others. There were accounts at Constantinople of an unfortunate naval combat for the Turkish fleet, but no certain details were given.

Those of the people of Scio that had not been sent off as slaves, were retained for deliberate butchery. The streets of the town were filled with their festering remains!

Thousands of Greeks are exposed in the slave market at Constantinople, especially women and girls. Some of these kill each other to rescue themselves from the Turks—some refuse food, and are lashed with whips—some are purchased for the express purpose of being murdered, for which, according to the Koran, "the faithful" will be eternally rewarded. In the vicinity of Salonica, the Greeks, to prevent their wives and daughters from falling into the hands of the Turks, it is said, at the request of the females, had put them to death!

It is stated that the *English* took an active part in the reduction of Scio—and it is also intimated that they expect to obtain the *occupation* of this island to facilitate their trade in the Levant! It is hardly possible that these things can be true.

A London paper, speaking of the 10,000 females that were dragged from Scio and sold as slaves, says, "what a howl would have been set up if so many hundred negroes had been disposed of in the same manner!" And adds, "The English government is now upholding the system which produces the white slave trade in the east, and affecting great indignation that it should be carried on by powers of the west."

The course of conduct that Russia will pursue, in respect to Turkey, is still uncertain. It is strongly reported that the Turks had agreed to evacuate Moldavia and Wallachia, but later accounts tell us that they still occupied them. The *British* minister at Constantinople has exerted himself to the utmost to preserve peace—and give up the Greeks to the mercy of the Turks. The Russian army remains in *statu quo*—but it is said that vessels were clearing out at Odessa for Constantinople. The belief was very firm in London that there would not be any war, and the king of France, in reply to an address from the chamber of peers, on the 10th of June, says—“Since the opening of the session I have received accounts which assure me that peace will not be disturbed in the east. It is with the highest satisfaction that I announce to you this intelligence.” On the other hand, it is stated that the Porte has not committed himself as to the evacuation of the two provinces—that the soldiers of the marine had risen in insurrection against their chief officer, because he had recommended pacific measures—and that Alexander would soon renew his armies on the frontier. Our opinion still is, that his love of “legitimacy” and respect for the “holy alliance,” will not cure him of his *love* for Turkey.

*Niles' Weekly Register*, August 17, 1822: Turkey

A great number of Greek hostages were slaughtered at Constantinople on the 25th May—some of whom were lately among the most respected merchants in the Levant—others were distinguished prelates. This affair has been urged in parliament, and lord Londonderry, in reply, said that the enormities were greater than they had been represented in the papers, but that none of the persons had been entitled to British protection, except so far as humanity was concerned, and that lord Strangford had exerted himself to save them, but without success. A member inquired whether the minister could give any account of the new slave trade recently established in the east, for amiable and accomplished christian females, by a government which was encouraged and supported by the free and enlightened administration?

The murderers were yet at work at Scio. The barbarians promised an amnesty—the generous French consul proclaimed it, and pledged himself for the sultan's pardon—the people surrendered their arms, and a general massacre followed; 78 persons detained as hostages in the fort, were first cut to pieces, then the unresisting inhabitants of thirteen villages were put to death with the most refined cruelties. Some few had escaped to the mountains, and the French consul's house was filled with women and children, who were nobly protected by him. The whole island is said to be a sepulchre.

The entire amount of persons slaughtered at Scio, or carried off as slaves, is estimated at *one hundred thousand!* This was one of the most populous and delightful islands in the

world, in a very high state of cultivation and improvement, and had famous schools, hospitals, and libraries, &c. all which are swept away . . .

THE GREEKS. The following address from the Greeks at Constantinople, to their brethren in London, cannot be read without the deepest emotion:

Constantinople, May 25, 1822

*Dear and beloved brethren and countrymen in London,*

We doubt not that the news contained herein must have already reached you and fallen like a thunderbolt on your hearts. What more dreadful than the knowledge that our illustrious and innocent countrymen—ten of them in prison here—and those in the castle of Scio, ninety-five in all, universally esteemed and respected, chosen and held as hostages for more than a year past, at least, without a single motive, without even the shadow of a personal accusation against them, have been barbarously executed! We at first deeply lamented the unmerited restraint put upon the persons of those now no more. Their death, ignominious and cruel, in the first burst of grief, nearly paralysed our faculties; but these we look upon now as enjoying eternal and immutable felicity. Our pity no longer is then due, but it flows for those unfortunates who have survived, and who henceforth are doomed to have tyranny unexampled in history and deprivations of every kind. Who can without shuddering read of the total ruin, the universal desolation, of our famed and once happy isle—the destruction of all its inhabitants, nearly one hundred thousand, who, except a very few, that almost miraculously escaped from these ill fated shores, have fallen victims to the sword, to fire, hunger, and slavery, that worst of all evils? Who can, without feelings of indignation mantling their cheeks—without execrating the perpetrators of these horrid acts, behold a whole city, lately so flourishing, now one heap of ruins—whole villages, innumerable country seats, a prey to the flames? Our celebrated school library, hospital for the sick and for the lepers, lazaret for those attacked with the plague, hundreds of churches richly adorned—all one confused mass of smoking rubbish. Our island lately so much frequented by Europeans, and more especially by the English families of the first rank, will now have only their ashes to show to the passing strangers. Nor is this so dreadful in itself. The most dire of our calamities—the slavery of so many respectable women, young people and children of both sexes, sent off to the different parts of Asia—the markets of this city and Smyrna filled with women and young people of the first rank, and who have received the best education. What can be more dreadful than this? Happy, thrice happy, those whom the steel of the assassin has snatched from scenes so harrowing to the feelings! How miserable those still suffered to exist—who see the sufferings, hear the cries and piteous accents of their wives, children and relations; and are witnesses to the barbarous treatment this devoted and innocent people receive from the wretches who have them in their power! What can be laid to our charge? We, poor Sciots, who, from the beginning, have remained faithful, are rewarded with death and slavery! It is well known that, as soon as the Porte heard of the insurrection in the Morea, and sundry islands of the Archipelago, it sent here a Pacha with three tails, having with him about three thousand troops; the whole of the expenses of the garrison was defrayed by our island, which in the course of about fourteen months paid more than 2,700,000 piastres, each according to his means. Besides this, the Sultan ordered a choice to be made of sixty of the most considerable and respectable from our countrymen, beginning with our

archbishop Plato, the elders, and other principal inhabitants. The motive in thus treating us was no other than a mean spirit of envy and jealousy at the reputation for riches, which some of us had acquired by an active life spent in commercial pursuits, and at the laws and institutions so superior in our island, even to those of the capital. When the news of the invasion of the imprudent Samiots first spread in Scio—the principal inhabitants waited on the Pacha to appraise him of it—what was his answer? To send into the castle, as hostages, some more of those innocent men, and to transport all the provisions out of the city into the citadel, not leaving any whatever for the poor inhabitants of the city, who were so numerous. A month after, when the Samiots landed, the Pacha sent some of the hostages, with several Turks, to prevail on the Samiots to evacuate the island, but they imprudently resolved to advance, and told these ministers of peace that they would sooner put them to death than do so. The Pacha then shut himself up in the castle with all the military, taking with him all the hostages. It was understood that a number of peasantry had joined the Samiots; they were, in a manner, forced to it, being apprehensive of the Samiots themselves, and they were only armed with sticks and staves. Eleven days after, the Turkish fleet arrived at the island, and landed 15,000 soldiers, or rather assassins, who, joined by the 3,000 in the castle, being unable to attack and defeat the 3,000 Samiots, used their weapons against the innocent and disarmed inhabitants, and turned their fury against women and children, killing, burning and taking in slavery all the inhabitants of the place; the men they slaughtered, the women and children they brutally treated, and huddled together in one of the large squares, which contained several hundred of the most respectable families; they have not left a stone upon a stone, all destroyed, all ruined; it would fill volumes to recount the different scenes of horror with the ruffians were guilty of; humanity shudders at it. But this universal desolation had not yet satisfied the blood-thirsty followers of Mohammed; they had heaped upon their trembling and tender victims all the bitterness of their fanaticism; ninety-five men, the first of their nation, both as to character and property; men who had always followed the paths of rectitude in their commercial transactions, whose relations were established in almost every known commercial city in the known world; men innocent of any machination against the Turkish government, and who could not, if even they would, have been participators in the rising of the island, since they had been fourteen months under the grasp of the Turkish Satrap. Ten of these were at Constantinople, the remainder at Scio. Lord Strangford made strenuous efforts to save them; neglected no remonstrances, evinced the greatest ardour in the cause of suffering innocence, and thought he had succeeded in sheltering them from their impending fate, having obtained a promise from the Porte that no harm should be done them, when it suddenly gave orders for their execution; the ten in Constantinople were beheaded, and the eighty-five in Scio were hung outside the castle, in that very square where so many slaves were placed in sight of the Turkish fleet, who had their decks covered with Greek slaves; oh! how the heart sickens at such refinement of cruelty, and turns with loathing and horror from that hell-born malice that could take delight in deriding the mental agony of the innocent sufferers in this tragic scene. What a number of wives were forced to be spectators of the cruel death of the husbands of their affections; to see, at the same time, their sucking babes torn from their breasts! Thus bereft, at once, of their support and hopes—many, driven to despair by this barbarous usage, threw themselves into the sea; others stabbed themselves, to prevent the loss of honor—to them worse than death, to which they were every moment exposed from the barbarians.

But alas! let us draw a veil upon those who have thus sunk untimely into the grave; let us not harrow up your souls with the recital of these atrocities; their sufferings are over, and their felicity, let us hope, begun. It is now time to turn your sympathy towards the unfortunate survivors of the general wreck, to call, dear countrymen, your attention to the miserable, naked state of thousands of our Sciots, with which the markets here, at Smyrna and Scio, are glutted. Picture to yourselves children of the tenderest age, till not nursed with the most delicate attention, now driven about with only a piece of cloth around their infantine limbs, without shoes or any other covering, having nothing to live upon but a piece of bread thrown them by their inhuman keepers; ill-treated by them; sold from one to the other, and all in this deplorable situation exposed to be brought up in the Mahometan religion, and lose sight of the precepts of our holy religion. We see all this—yes, alas! what can we do here, reduced to three or four who, if found out, would be exterminated without mercy? What we could do we have done—but how little among so many claimants to our charity? You, brothers, friends and countrymen, are in the capital of England, the centre of philanthropy, who live among a people always famed for their generous feelings towards the unfortunate—for their dislike to tyranny, and their support of the oppressed, beg, pray, intreat, appeal to their feelings, call upon them, as Britons, as men, as fellow beings—it is in the cause of humanity and religion; they cannot, they will not, be deaf to your prayers and exertions; they will afford us, as far as lies in their power, the means of redeeming the captive, of aiding those families that are in a state of nudity and starvation, who will soon arrive in almost every port of the Mediterranean, when they have been enabled to fly from a yoke worse than death. We rely upon your endeavors, and still more upon the high character of the nation among whom you inhabit—thousands of hands are raised towards you to claim your interference in behalf of your oppressed countrymen. Thousands of hearts will feel grateful for your assistance. Brethren and countrymen, exert yourselves on behalf of humanity—with tearful eye we cordially salute you, and beg you will pray to God for our safety.

*Your Brothers and Countrymen.*

*Connecticut Courant*, August 20, 1822: Extract of a Private Letter from a Young Greek.

SMYRNA, May 15.

My dear brother—Prepare yourself on reading this letter to summon to your aid the strength of your character; the blow which has struck us is so terrible that all my reason is required not to succumb under it. This opening alarms—you estimate at once the extent of our misfortunes—we have to weep for our country, the beautiful Scio, in the power of our barbarous enemies—we have to deplore the loss of our numerous family.

Of all our relations my youngest sister alone escaped; by a miracle, owing to the protection of a generous Frenchman, she has been restored to my embraces. How can I speak to you of our father? Alas! this venerable old man now implores the Supreme Being for his country, and for the unfortunate children who have survived him. The following are the details of his dreadful assassination:—You know that he and our two brothers, Theodore and Constantine, and your father-in-law, were amongst the hostages shut up in the castle on the 8th inst., they went out with

the archbishop, and it appears that, notwithstanding the promises of the barbarians, they had been all the times confined in dungeons; they were placed in two lines, and were either hung or put to death with prolonged torments.

Our father and his companions witnessed with tranquility the preparations for their execution, and these martyrs to their fidelity did not lose their presence of mind for a single instant. Our sister Henrietta is a slave: and I have not yet succeeded in discovering to what country of Asia the infamous ravishers have carried her. Nor have I yet been able to obtain the least information respecting the fate of our dear mother and three other sisters; the destiny of your wife and her family has also escaped my search. In short, our misfortunes are so great that I can scarcely credit them.

On the 11th inst. I quitted Scio—saved by a miracle from the dangers of the most sanguinary catastrophe, of which any one can form an idea. But I do not feel that joy which one might experience on being delivered from the dreadful perils to which I have been exposed. Hatred and indignation against our executioners are the only sentiments which can henceforth dwell in my heart. Thanks to the European costume, which I have adopted; the captain of an English vessel agreed to take me on board; but my dreadful situation interested neither Turks nor Englishmen. The captain of the vessel would not allow me to embark till I had reckoned out to him 300 piastres, and it was not till after he had examined them one by one, that I received permission to set my foot on board the vessel: whatever was my danger in remaining longer on board the chaloupe. I have left the island in ashes. The Turks, after pillaging all the houses, set them on fire, and joining sword to fire to demolish them to the last stone, in the hope of finding concealed treasure.

Throughout the opulent Scio only fifteen houses are standing, containing our mothers, our sisters, and our daughters, reduced to the most dreadful slavery. There the monsters profane every thing to gratify their rage and their passions; and often the virgins, whom they have sullied by their embraces, receive from themselves the death which they wish for. All the chateaus which rendered our island the most agreeable in the Mediterranean, our academy, the library, the superb edifices of Saint Anaigirosso, Saint Victor, the apostles, 86 churches, and upwards of 40 villages, have been consumed by the flames.

The ferocious incendiaries then scoured the mountains and the forests, and they are now at the 24th village of Mastic. These tigers, a thousand times more cruel than those of the forest, have vented their hatred upon the dead, which they bear to the living. They opened the tombs, and threw into the streets the bones of our fathers, and the corpses of their own victims were dragged by the feet through the Brooks.

Every day women of the first families in the island are exposed to sale in the public markets; articles of great value, such as the sacred vases of the Greek and catholic churches, and the habiliments of the priests, are, by these wretches, sold at a vile price. Through the intervention of the charge d'affaires of the French consulate I have succeeded in purchasing thirty five women, whose names I sent you, and who are now in safety at the consulate.

Since my arrival here, the same scenes have been renewed every day: there are sales of diamonds, rich pelisses, jewellery, chalices, fine stuffs, in short, all kinds of valuable articles, which are in the streets, and are given away for nothing. How should it be otherwise, when all the inhabitants of Asia, from children of 15 to old men of 80, embarked every day for Scio, from whence they return laden with our spoils? We can only return our thanks to the Europeans who reside at

Smyrna; they have done all they could to purchase our women; to purchase all, the treasures which the country of HOMER possessed before its disasters, would scarcely suffice. Amongst the ravishers of them, there are some with souls so atrocious that they will not listen to any species of arrangement.

One of these monsters refused 10,000 piastres for the ransom of the wife of Gaba, and replied that he would not restore her for 200,000. I have contributed to the ransom of Theodora Halle, purchased for 5,000 piastres. M. Petrochochino, on learning the death of his brother, precipitated himself from a window; his sister Julia threw herself into a ditch; the other, made a slave, was brought here, where she was immediately purchased. Our good friend, Jean d'André, was killed in his house in the presence of his wife, whilst hastening to save his two sons, who shared the fate of their father, also, in the presence of their mother; the latter has been conveyed in slavery to Algiers.

My hand refuses to trace at greater length the atrocious scenes which I have witnessed and others a thousand times more dreadful might be added to these I have cited. In one word, the sanguinary catastrophe of Scio has produced the death or misery of 40,000 individuals, for to that amount may be estimated the number of our fellow countrymen and women put to death or reduced to slavery. Just God, when will the day of vengeance come, and what vengeance can ever inflict upon our odious assassins all the chastisement which they deserve?

*Niles' Weekly Register*, September 7, 1822: Turkey.

The details of the proceedings of the barbarians at Scio, seem to be more and more horrid, if possible. It is stated that upwards of 5000 *children* have been hung, drowned or otherwise destroyed by the Turks, putting to death 50 or 60 of them at a time, by various means, as if it were for amusement!—But yet it does not appear that the Greeks have become dispirited, and, though abandoned by the “magnanimous Alexander,” it is probable that they will maintain their ground for a considerable time—but we are now hopeless of their success, unless the infernal alliance of kings against men is shaken to pieces. It is *officially* stated that 30,000 women and children have been exported from Scio as slaves!

Many troops are arriving at Smyrna from the interior of the Asiatic provinces, and a body of 4000 Egyptians are said to have reached Stancho. It seems that the Persians are still at war with the Turks, and it is reported that they have lately gained a battle near Erzerum. The island of Scio, was the dower of a sister of the sultan, and she has taken up the butchery of the people so warmly, that it is thought the captain pacha will lose his life for his inhuman conduct, though her brother appears willing to excuse it.

A great number of Greek families have taken refuge in Marseilles.

A Turkish frigate was, in July, fitting at Deptford, Eng. with arms, &c. which, it was reported, was to be manned with English officers and sailors!

Reports of the proceedings of the British in support of the Turks are reiterated. The Greeks had released several Austrian ships having supplies for the barbarians, of the condition that the cargoes should be landed in some christian country.

Three Turkish vessels and a corvette laden with spoils and captives from Scio, had been taken by a Greek squadron and carried into port.

There is a report that the Asiatic troops in Moldavia were in a state of rebellion, and had taken post on both banks of the Danube.

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF GREECE.

The Greek nation has taken arms, and combats against tyranny. The rights of the people are incontestible. The unheard of sacrifices made by that people, have for object its independence, and as it is acquainted with its rights, it knows also its duty. In declaring its independence, it established a central government to defend the former, and to fulfil the second, it is incumbent on the government to attain its object and to render the sacred cause of the people triumphant, to deprive the enemies of Greece of all their means of oppression; in consequence, the provisional government of Greece, in virtue of the law of nations of all the states of Europe, declares now *in a state of blockade* all the coast occupied by the enemy, both in Epirus and the Peloponnesus, Euboea (Negropont), and Thessaly from Epidaurus to Salonica, including that place—declares also in a state of blockade all the isles and ports occupied by the enemy in the Egean sea, the Sporadian Isles and the isle of Crete.

All vessels, under whatever flag they sail, which, after obtaining a knowledge of the decree by the commanders of the Greek squadrons, or by separate vessels, shall attempt to enter these ports, shall be seized, and treated according to the laws and usages established in such cases. The commanders of Greek vessels shall continue to cause to be published this resolution, till the government have acquired the certainty that it has reached wherever it is necessary. The present declaration shall be besides communicated to all the consuls of the friendly powers in the different states of Greece.

The president of the executive power, A MAUROCORDATO.

The minister of foreign affairs, TH. NEGRI.

*Corinth, March 13, 1822.*

*Niles' Weekly Register, September 14, 1822: Turkey.*

It is distinctly stated, that the Turks, instead of evacuating the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, are strengthening the garrisons in them. The Russian army, except the imperial guards, remained in *statu quo*.

On the eve of the feast of Bairam, the 22d of June, the Greeks, stimulated to vengeance by the ravages at Scio, gallantly conducted three fire ships into the Turkish fleet, by which the admiral's ship and some others were in flames. Many lives were lost—the butcher, the captain pacha, half roasted to death, was landed on Scio, and there died in

torments. The amount of the destruction is not stated; but the news of the event had produced an extraordinary sensation at Constantinople, and raised the fury of the soldiers to the highest pitch; and a letter from that city says that the "affairs of the Morea assume a dismal aspect for the Porte." How glorious would it be, if this oppressed people shall shake off the chains of the barbarians, unaided by their *christian* neighbors?

An article from Corfu states, that the Greek government has adopted a new mode of paying its troops. It has substituted land for money; and the sequestration of all the domains belonging to the Sultan, the Vakoufs, and the Mosques, affords an extent of territory more than sufficient to pay the services of a large army for a number of years. By a decree, issued at Corinth on the 19th of May last, the soldiers already enrolled, and those who may hereafter enlist, are to receive an acre of land per month as long as they continue to serve the state; so that if the war should linger on for several years, every private will find himself, at its close, not only a free man, but a landed proprietor. Those who may be called upon to serve beyond the frontiers of the Morea are to receive an acre and a half per month. The rights of those killed in battle will descend to their heirs, who will receive for the whole amount of the time which the deceased had engaged to serve. Those incapacitated by wounds are to be considered as having completed their engagement.

SMYRNA, May 29

Amongst the number of private circumstances, the following is guaranteed by several eye-witnesses. A young Greek female, sixteen or seventeen years of age, of great beauty, was carried off by an Arab, who sold her to a Turk for 300 piastres. Shortly afterwards he offered 3,000 piastres to her new master for the re-purchase of this beautiful Chiot. The Turk, who already felt a sentiment of love, refused the money. The Arab proceeded to the market, met the Turk, and wanted to compel him restore the slave on receiving 300 piastres, the original price. The Turk opposed this, and high words arose; the Arab, at length, in a transport of anger, said, "you shall not have her," and, taking out his pistol, lodged the contents in her bosom; she fell and expired. The Turk embraced the inanimate body, and mingled his tears with its blood. Recovering himself, he presented himself before the captain Pacha and demanded justice. "You shall have it," said the grand admiral. "Do you know the murderer?"—"Yes." "Let all the Arabs be arrested and brought before me." The order was executed, and the Turk pointed out the guilty individual. "Draw thy sabre and cut off his head." The Turk declined the office, which was then performed by the executioner.

*Connecticut Courant* Oct. 7, 1823: The Greeks

The last accounts from Greece are of the most discouraging nature. The Turks were pouring into the Morea, the chief seat of Grecian power, and laying waste whole districts of the country with fire and sword. Many villages were seen blazing at once—women and children were sold into slavery. Bordered on one side by Russia, and on the other by Germany, two of those nations which constitute the “Holy Alliance,” yet they stand by and see a feeble people, descended from noble ancestors, wasted and destroyed—a people fighting more for religious than [. . .] liberty—yes, that very religion which these allies profess to revere, and from which they Impiously take their name. While they witness the destruction of Greece on one side, on the other another of those holy allies are in open hostility to the free constitution of Spain which abolished the Inquisition of her priesthood and secured civil liberty to the people. The world has never been made acquainted with the articles of this holy compact; they are to be learnt only from the actions of those nations who have entered into it; and if with nations, as with individuals, actions speak louder than words, what are we to conclude are the principles which holds this compact together? It must be another article with them that Monarchy is the only legitimate government, and even in its worst form even that of a Turkish Sultan with his Janizaries; or the unrestrained tyranny of the stupid Ferdinand is more eligible than an elective government, whether 'tis the liberal one of the U. States, or the more limited one of England. At any rate this alliance has betrayed enough of its views to put all other nations on their guard—and we should not be surprised if at some very distant day, a countervailing union among free governments, should be found expedient to put down the arrogant pretensions of this impious alliance, which places the Mahometan above the Christian, and is endeavoring to trample under feet the civil rights of man.

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FROM THE BOSTON DAILY ADVERTISER, *Sept. 30.*

*Greece.*—We are again furnished with Smyrna papers to the 25th of July, filled with interesting intelligence of the course of events in Greece. It would appear from this intelligence that the Greeks are on the very point of being crushed by the superior power of their enemy, and that their ruin is the more certain, from the want of concert and harmony among themselves. We hope there may be some fallacy in these accounts, and that the condition of this unhappy people is not so hopeless as it is her represented; but we feel bound to say that although the *Spectator Oriental*, from which we derive this intelligence has always shown very little respect for the Greeks, and as little interest in their cause, or faith in their success, yet we have always found, during the period that we have been accustomed to peruse this journal, through the kindness of the friend to whom we

are now indebted, that the intelligence which it furnishes is entitled to much more credit than that which we have obtained relative to affairs is that quarter, from any other source.

The Captain Pacha landed from his fleet in the island of Euboea 4000 men. By means of this force the siege of Caristo was raised, and the Turks began to act on the offensive. They burnt all the villages, and endeavoured to destroy all the houses of the Greeks, and of the inhabitants a few only saved themselves by flying to the mountains. To watch these a small force only was necessary, and the rest of the Turks it was supposed had marched towards Athens. Accounts from Athens are to the 4th of July, when it is said that every thing was in a horrible confusion, from its being announced on the 1st that 14,000 Turks were advancing upon the city and were already arrived at Livadia, and on the 4th were only three or four leagues from Athens. It was not known certainly whether this was a detachment of the Ottoman army marching upon the Peloponnesus, or the disposable force from the island of Euboea.

As soon as the approach of the Turks was known, the Hepharch gave notice to the Europeans and others at Athens that they must retire to some other place for safety, for he could not answer for what might happen. Almost every body fled upon this alarm, —the Greeks to the island of Salamis, except a little more than three hundred who shut themselves up in the citadel. They are furnished with provisions for a year, and they cannot want for water, having discovered the ancient spring of which an account has been given, and united with it the citadel by a bastion. This is of very difficult access, and to become masters of it, it will be necessary to scale a steep rock and to force successively five gates. While the Greeks besieged it formerly, although they find a vast number of bombs, they killed but two persons. But at present, the *Spectator* adds, for military purposes the Turks have no need of taking the citadel. It is only necessary to take the plain, and to fortify the Pireus, which can be easily done. In this place the Turkish shipping would lie in safety. Mr. Fauvel, the French Consul at Athens, withdrew to Syra, and thence to Smyrna.

With the exception of the Acropolis, all the fortified places on the continent but those in the Morea, are in possession of the Turks, and of these they hold Patras, Coron, Modon, and the Citadel of Corinth. The town of Corinth is in possession of the Greeks. The Captain Pacha has established himself at Patras, and from this place he sends his naval detachments without being observed by the Grecian fleet. By means of his fleet he transported to Patras from Preveza 18,000 Albanians, who were to advance into the Peninsula from that direction while a larger army entered by the way of the isthmus of Corinth. This latter army, to the number it was said of 40,000 men, under Ibrahim Pacha, had already taken possession of the first defile of the Morea, and was

waiting for the arrival of provisions. It is stated that the plan of operations was not to advance a step without being assured of an abundant supply of provisions, for an expedition where the army was sure to find only a country entirely laid waste. In pursuance of this plan, the Captain Pacha had procured provisions at Patras, until there was not longer any room to store them. In addition to these two armies, a third was assembling near Thermopylae, consisting of several bodies of men from the province of European Turkey. We find little account of the preparations making by the Greeks to resist this formidable invasion. It is said that there is still a want of harmony and subordination among them, and that Ulysses has made an offer to join the Turks on condition of the arrears due to his corps of 2500 men being discharged. It does not appear that the offer was accepted, and it may be doubted whether it was made. It is certain however that he has not performed those exploits which rumor has attributed to him, and that the plan of carrying the present war out of the Peloponnesus was never executed.

The Egyptian fleet, consisting of forty-three sail of vessels, two of which were superb frigates, under the command of Gibraltar, had sailed from Alexandria, having on board a body of 5000 troops, destined for Candia. It stopped at the island of Rhodes, where some excesses were committed by the Egyptian troops. It had sailed again on the 2d of July. It was said that the viceroy of Egypt had undertaken the particular charge of reducing the island of Candia. The plague at Alexandria had subsided. The Greeks continued in possession of the interior of the country, but the Turks were in possession of the four principal places, Candia, Rettimo, Canea, and Sude. The Egyptian fleet was seen on the 6th of July near the islands of Sapience, and it was supposed that it would land its troops in Candia, about the 20th.

Such is the picture of the affairs of Greece as it is drawn from a variety of articles in these papers. We hope it may prove a false picture. We have no doubt that the accounts are exaggerated in some of their details. We shall give some translations, containing further particulars hereafter.

*Connecticut Mirror*, October 27, 1823: WOMEN OF GREECE.

Extract from a letter of a traveller in Greece, dated Tripolizza, 1823.

May 25.—My visits have not been confined to Colocotroni and his brave companions; the Greek revolution has also produced its heroines. You have no doubt heard of Bobolina, the Spezziote matron, who furnished a squadron of ships, and assumed the command herself, when the cry of liberty first resounded through the Confederation. This extraordinary woman was present in more than one engagement, and displayed the greatest firmness. She is now at Napoli di Romania, having latterly contracted a matrimonial alliance with Colocotroni, the hero of Caritina, one of whose sons has married the eldest daughter, a beautiful girl of seventeen. —Amongst

the recent visitors to the seat of Government, I ought to lose no time in making you acquainted with Madalena Mavrojeni, the heroine of Mycono, whose zeal and enthusiasm in the cause of her country merits the very highest praise. Niece to Prince Mavrojeni, one of those early Greek patrons who fell a victim to Turkish oppression, Madalena has been most actively occupied in contributing to the defence of her native island ever since the commencement of the insurrection. Having devoted the whole of her dowry to this sacred purpose, the object of her coming here is to complete the organization of a corps to be employed at her own expense in the ensuing campaign. Though not in the flower of life, she is still extremely handsome: her physiognomy is perfectly Grecian, and must have been uncommonly beautiful ere the toils and anxieties of her present pursuits began. She speaks French and Italian with great fluency, converses with eloquence, and seems particularly well versed in every subject relating to the political condition of her country. I had heard, previous to my being presented to the heroine, that so far from participating in this patriotic ardour, her family had done all they could to dissuade her from persevering in a career so little suited to the delicacy of her sex. Having in this second interview, also mentioned, though as delicately as possible to persuade her that she had already made sufficient sacrifices in the cause, and ought now to think of restoring a constitution evidently affected by such continued cares and anxieties, she replied in the mildest manner, that the impulse which first induced her to abandon the society of her own sex, family, and friends, in order to espouse the cause of freedom, was altogether irresistible; and that having in the last effort disposed of her remaining jewels, her only regret she felt was the impossibility of leading her legion to the field, and being present at one of those combats in which she might witness the valour displayed by her countryman when opposed to their oppressors! Madalena is accompanied by her uncle and two female attendants. I need hardly add, that the virtuous and exalted sentiments which have led to such sacrifices on the part of this interesting woman, do not originate in personal vanity, or that love of adventure which have characterized many females in other places. I can therefore readily believe, that even the most fastidious will not confound her with those whose ambition is directed to pursuits which more often excite pity than admiration.

Having alluded to the most interesting of the Greek heroines, it would be unjust to omit the name of another, who has carried her enthusiasm still farther. Constante Zacari, of Mistras, (Sparta) is the daughter of a Greek Chief, who was long the terror of the Moslem tyrants of the Morea, and from whom I am told might have furnished a fit model for Lord Byron's *Corsair*. Taught from infancy to detest the persecutors of Greece, no sooner had the tocsin of war roused the dormant spirit of her country, than Constante fled from her home, assumed the Albanese costume of manhood, collected a band of fifty warriors, whom she armed and led to the *der-vanachi*, or passes through which the enemy had to make his way. A person who is minutely acquainted with the history of this modern Amazon, assures me that her followers performed wonders, and were invariably headed by their female leader. When no longer enabled to support the expense of maintaining so many armed men, the heroine of Mistras dissolved the band and joined an Epirote Chief, whose corps was attached to the little army collected by Mavrocordato last year in Albania. Severely wounded at the battle of Peta, Constante was among the few who escaped the slaughter of that unfortunate day, and having accompanied the Prince to Missolonghi, was present during its admirable defence. She is now at Gastouni, where my informant had an interview with her three days ago; when I add that Constante Zacari is only twenty-two,

and a perfect beauty both as to shape and feature, it will be for you to say, whether the poets and painters of England who want to illustrate the war of freedom and independence here, can be any longer at a loss for a heroine? I forgot to mention, in speaking of Madalena Mavrojeni, that she put on a dress of deep mourning when her countrymen flew to arms, and has determined not to relinquish it until the Independence of Greece is firmly established. The person who has furnished the details relative to Constante, represents her as being equally resolved to retain her male costume during the continuance of the war. Although I am not aware that any other female can be compared to those I have named, as to the extent of their sacrifices, the women of Greece have been in general pre-eminently distinguished for their patriotism, while many have even been known to join in the combats waged by their husbands, fathers, and brothers.

*Connecticut Mirror*, December 22, 1823: Sketch of the Revolutionary War in Greece, for the present year.

FROM THE BOSTON DAILY ADVERTISER

The accounts, which we have from Greece for the present year, come down only to the beginning of September; but they bring the campaign by land to a close. It is not probable from the position in which these accounts leave the Turkish armies, that any further attempt to take the field in force will be made this year. At sea, it is probable we shall yet receive interesting accounts of attempts, if not of successes, on the part of the Greeks.

At the commencement of the present year, the Turks were reduced, in the Morea, to the four fortresses of Coron and Modon, (which are insignificant) Patras, and the castle of Corinth, which are important. When the army of Churshid, the commander in chief, entered the Morea, the last year, a very powerful Turkish garrison was thrown into the castle of Corinth, which stands on a lofty hill, at the distance of about two miles from the town. Finding their numbers too great for this confined position, and wholly cut off from all communication with the surrounding country, a considerable part of the Turkish garrison made an attempt to cut their way to Patras. They were surprised in a defile, about half the way between the two places, and refusing the terms of capitulation offered them, they were wholly destroyed. At a subsequent period an attempt was made to throw supplies into the fortress, previously to the arrival of the Turkish fleet for that purpose. To this end, a large quantity of provisions was landed on the beach, by neutral vessels chartered by the Turkish commandant of Patras. A party of Turks from the garrison attempted to descend the hill, to take possession of the provisions; but being deterred by the appearance of a numerous Greek force, retreated to the castle, while all the provisions fell into the hands of the Greeks.

The campaign of the Turks this year was projected on the same plan with that of the last, but with more extensive combinations. From the head quarters at Larissa, in Thes-

saly, the commander-in-chief was to collect an army to move downward on the Morea. He was to be supported by the Pacha of Negropont, who was to cross to the adjacent continent, and having ravaged Attica, meet the Seraskier at the isthmus of Corinth. The Pacha of Scutari was to descend with the long expected supplies from upper Albania and passing through the mountains of Agrapha, form a junction with the Pacha in Livadia; while a third auxiliary corps under Omer Bey Brioni and Jussuf Pacha, after having been reinforced by a body of troops, to be landed by the Capudan Pacha at Condyla, in Acarnania, was to cross into Livadia and there meet the combined forces, which were to move down into the Morea, at the moment when the fleet of the Capudan Pacha, having supplied the fortresses of Carysto, (in Negropont) of Coron, Modon, and Patras, should appear in the gulf of Lepanto, to support all these movements. The reader, who will be at the pains to compare this sketch with a map, will see how skillfully it was devised. The *Oriental Spectator* in alluding to it, exclaims in triumph, and in capital letters *L' HEURE FATALE DES GRECS EST PRES DE SONNER*. Unfortunately for the prediction of the enlightened editor, no one part of this plan succeeded. We proceed briefly to sketch the mode of its failure.

At the close of the year 1822, we have seen that Churshid Pacha, the Seraskier, had met the usual fate of an unsuccessful Turkish general. His place was supplied by Djelal Bey, Pacha of Bosnia, who died immediately on his arrival at the head quarters, and not without strong suspicions of being poisoned. He was succeeded by Mehmed Ali, krai-ja, or lieutenant of Churshid, at the time of the death of the latter. This change of the persons of the commander-in-chief, was doubtless among the causes which retarded the operations of the campaign.

The first military attempt was on the fortress of Misolunghi, a strong town in the possession of the Greeks, at the entrance of the gulf of Patras. The Turks had already besieged it at the close of the year 1822; and at the beginning of this year, they determined to attempt it by assault. On the 6th of January it was attacked by the Turkish army with great vigor, and the first line of the fortifications was carried. The besieged had reserved their strength to this moment, and made so spirited a sortie, that the Albanians in the Turkish army betook themselves to flight, and were soon followed by the rest of the assailants. Thus defeated in the attempt on Misolunghi, the Turkish commanders attempted to move directly Eastward into Livadia. They were met by a body of Greeks on the Aspropotamo, (the Achelores) who successfully disputed their passage. In consequence of subsequent events, and after much individual desertion, the whole corps of Albanians in this army disbanded themselves and refused to keep the field.

With the spring of the year, the new Elections in Greece came on, and more than one candidate was started for the important post of President. The Oriental Spectator appeals to this fact as a proof of the divided state of Grecian feelings, and as indicative of the approaching ruin of the race. We hope it is no bad sign for a Nation to have more than one candidate for the Presidency. The meeting of the elective body took place at Astros, in the month of April. Napoli di Romania had been fixed upon as the future seat of the Government, a purpose for which the great strength of its fortifications and its vicinity to the naval islands, admirably fitted it. But the appearance of the plague, in consequence of the long confinement of a numerous Turkish garrison within its walls, made it expedient for the government to return to Astros, a small place at a little distance on the western coast of the Gulf of Napoli. It appears that the offer of a re-election was made to Prince Mavrocordato; but that, considering that the public good would be promoted by the choice of the bey of Mahni, he declined the office. Mavromichalis was accordingly chosen in his place as President of the Executive Council. John Orlando, a Hydriot, of character and influence, was made President of the Legislative Senate. In an interesting letter to the Philhellenic Societies of Swisserland and Germany, bearing date July 27, 1823, Prince Mavrocordato thus handsomely characterizes his successor: "The venerable and aged Chieftain, beloved for his disposition, well known for his patriotism, and strong alike from his wealth and the general esteem of all Greece." The election of Mavromichalis put an end to the discontent, which the Mainote leaders had felt, at the election of the Constantinopolitan Prince Mavrocordato the last year. For the rest, the accounts which circulate of these dissensions must be received with great caution. In the Boston Daily Advertiser for Thursday last, we perceive an article quoted from the Smyrna Oriental Spectator, that Colocotroni has openly resisted the authority of the Senate and been thrown into prison. This calumny (for such we presume it to be) has often been repeated against Colocotroni. It is true this general is of the Mainote race, and was discontented that his venerable chief Mavromichalis was passed over at the first election. But that he ever defeated or resisted the government, there is no proof. When Churshid's army passed the mountains in July, 1822, this same Oriental Spectator, charged Ulysses with being bribed to let them pass; and as Colocotroni raised the siege of Patras at the same time and marched towards Argos, the same paper accused him also of having deserted the cause, and of having fled to join the Turks with the military chest. It now appears that the whole was a plan concerted with great sagacity, and pursued with entire success, by the Grecian generals. Ulysses entered into a pretended negotiation with Churshid, promising to leave the passage of the Mountains free to him. Churshid, deceived, passed with his whole force, not thinking it necessary to leave any troops behind to protect Thessaly. Ulysses meantime having despatched an express to

Colocotroni apprising him of the approaching invasion, Colocotroni made a rapid march into Argolis, met and defeated the Turkish army, and slew its General. This was Colocotroni's desertion with the military chest. While he was thus employed Ulysses was in rapid motion in Thessaly, and Churshid was obliged to hasten back to protect Larissa. This was the treachery of Ulysses—But the calumny was circulated and did its office and the truth will not reach one in a hundred who was thus misled.

To return, however, to the events of this year. We have seen that the first operation in the Turkish campaign, the reduction of Misolunghi, has failed. In the month of May, a general rising took place in the villages about Mount Pelion and the eastern side of the gulf of Volo. This was deemed of sufficient importance by the Seraskier, to induce him to send a strong force to reduce the Greeks. This force penetrated to the Isthmus of Trikeri where it was successfully resisted. The *Oriental Spectator* failed not to inform the friends of humanity that the isthmus had been forced and Trikeri, one of the most flourishing Greek towns, reduced to ashes. In a subsequent number the misstatement was acknowledged: "Trikeri was not yet taken, though it probably would be; only twenty four villages in its neighbourhood were destroyed." The event has proved that the Isthmus was never forced, and the Turkish army, without having effected any thing, was recalled to head quarters.

On the first and third of May, the fleet of the Capudan Pacha sailed from Constantinople. According to the most probable accounts, it consisted of seventy ships of war of all sizes, and thirty transport vessels. The ships of war, however, in the Turkish navy, also serve the purpose of transports, and a considerable body of men was put on board, to reinforce the various garrisons. Though the general plan of the Turkish campaign was well understood to consist of the tour of the fortresses and a debarkation of the troops at Patras; yet as the Capudan Pacha, the last year, had made a powerful effort to regain Scio, so it was thought, this year, that an attempt would be made on some one of the islands. Ipsaro and Samoz were thought to be particularly exposed, and the most active preparations were made to defend them. At Ipsara, 280 batteries of cannon were mounted on different parts of the coast, itself little else than a rock. Twelve thousand men armed with muskets, were organized to appear at a moment's warning. Twenty-five brigs, mounting each 12 cannons, and carrying crews of from 110 to 120 men, 6 fire ships, and 120 gunboats or scampavias were in perfect readiness. We give this statement of the strength of the island with confidence, for we find it in the Smyrna paper. The motives of the Editor in thus letting the Turkish Admiral know what he might expect, if he attempted a landing, can be estimated.

No attempt, however, was made on any one of the islands, in the possession of the Greeks. About the beginning of June, the Capudan Pacha appeared off the coasts of Negropont and landed a large force. This body of men obliged the Greeks to raise the siege of Carystus. The garrison of that place, uniting with the forces thus landed, and the garrison of the city of Negropont, made an incursion into Attica, as far as the walls of Athens. The inhabitants of this city deserted it, at the approach of the Turks, and took refuge in Salamis and the other islands. The fortress of Athens, however, was strongly garrisoned and well provisioned by the Greeks, and the Turkish troops from Negropont were soon obliged to retire, to check the progress that the Greeks were making in their absence on that island. Here ended the co-operation, which the Turkish commandant of Negropont was to afford to the general plan of the campaign.

With the appearance of the fleet of the Capudan Pacha, the Seraskier Mehmet Ali, in Thessaly, put himself in motion. Ulysses at his old post of Thermopylae, and with a small army, kept him sometimes in check; the rather as rumours began to prevail of a general rising among the peasantry of many mountain villages around the plains of Thessaly, who had, as yet taken no part in the war. The first symptoms of this rising were experienced by the Pacha of Scutari, who, with 8000 men, was to pass through the defiles of Agrapha, on his way to Livadia. The Agraphiotes took arms and resisted his passage, and under the brave chieftain Stornari, kept the Pacha long stationary and cost him many men. A reinforcement, however, of 4000 men, enabled him finally to force his way. We now for the last time quote the Oriental Spectator, the great source, we repeat, from which intelligence, unfavorable to the Greek cause, is circulated in Europe. The editor of that paper, who appears to be an ultra Frenchman, in Turkish pay, in his paper of the 20th of June, which is now before us, says, "*the Pacha of Scutari is now at Thermopylae,*" and in the paper of the 11th of July, it is further added, "*the Pacha of Scutari with forty thousand men has taken possession of the first defiles of the Morea.*" Such intelligence, coming from a spot within a day's sail of the scene of action, was truly alarming to the friends of humanity. *There was not one word of truth in it!* The Pacha of Scutari, down to the last accounts, has neither the defiles of the Morea nor Thermopylae, and at the date of this pretended intelligence was struggling hard with about 8000 men in the mountains of Agrapha!

After the reinforcement mentioned, the Pacha of Scutari and the Seraskier crossed the mountains into Livadia. Whether the former was in season to join forces with the latter, we have not been able to collect with certainty from the various accounts from the scene of action. However this be, the Turkish army advanced as far as the neighborhood of Castri, (the ancient Delphi) where they received a check from some Grecian forces posted in the mountains. The road through Delphi lies on a steep hill side, and is capa-

ble of being easily defended. Here the Turkish commander made a halt, either for his reinforcements to arrive, supposing him not yet to have been joined by the Pacha of Scutari, (which we presume) and as we know he was not yet, (nor at all) joined by the army in Acarnania under Jussuf. While stationary here, the Turkish squadron appeared off the port of Delphi. The Grecian generals, who had collected all their disposable forces on the frontiers of Livadia, fearing that the Capudan Pacha would take the Turkish army on board and thus transport it into the Morea, and thinking they could better cope with the Turks in the isthmus, fell back on Thebes to leave the pass into the isthmus open. The Turkish Seraskier, however, deserted by the commander of Negropont, and not joined by the other auxiliary forces, neither attempted the march by land nor yet the passage across the gulf. Not to be wholly inactive he laid siege to the convent of St. Luc, a strong fortified pile of buildings within a few miles of the high road from Delphi to Thebes, whither it was reported that the rich inhabitants of Livadia had converted all their movable property. Scarcely had the Turkish army invested this convent, when the Grecian generals hastened to its relief. After five days spent in skirmishing and observation, a general battle was fought on the 25th of June. After a long and sanguinary contest, the Albanians, who form a great part of the Turkish armies, fled, and the Greeks, from that moment, were masters of the field. The Turkish camp and baggage fell into their possession. An interesting letter from a gentleman in Athens to his friend in London, published in the Daily Advertiser in the course of the last week, mentioned that the Albanians attached a paper to the gates of the monastery, setting forth, that as they had often found refuge there, they would not allow it to be destroyed.

The wrecks of the Turkish army retreated to Carpeniza, there to await Jussuf from Acarnania and the Pacha of Scutari, supposing him not previously to have effected his junction. Meantime multiplied disasters had befallen the Turkish cause on the side of Acarnania. The Ottoman force, as we have already observed had been defeated in the assault of Misolunghi at the commencement of the campaign, and repulsed in the attempt to cross the Aspropotamo. When the news reached this force of the events at St. Luc, the Albanians there, their brethren in the army of Jussuf thought proper to follow the example, and the greater portion of them disbanded themselves and went home. This left the intrepid Souliote, Marcos Bozzaris chief master of the field at a critical moment. Five thousand men had just been landed at Condyla by the Capudan Pacha, in the design of acting in concert with the army of Acarnania. This army was, in the manner related, reduced to nothing. The force debarked accordingly, fell into the hands

of Bozzaris, with a very able body of Souliotes. The individuals impressed at Constantinople, fled in detachments to the coast, and escaped by water as they could; while a few only made their way to the General rendezvous at Carpenitza.

The Turkish forces being thus, after a series of disasters collected at this place, the Grecian leaders also assembled their troops from all quarters, and the 19th of August was fixed on by them for the attack. The brave and patriotic Bozzaris resolved to render his country a signal service, at the risk of his life, invited a hundred Hellenian volunteers to join him with his corps of Souliotes in a forlorn enterprise. While the attack was made on three points by as many divisions of the Greek army, the intrepid Bozzaris penetrated to the tent of the Pacha. He failed in his object, but succeeded in throwing the Turkish guard into confusion, increased by the progress of the assault, throughout the line. The battle lasted during the night. Bozzaris early received a wound, but continued at the head of his devoted band till a second shot destroyed him. He lived, however, to see the enemy fly in all directions. The appearance of day disclosed the Turks in full flight and great disorder, while the field was covered with killed and wounded.

This is the last action of which we have any intelligence, on the continent of Greece. The remains of the Turkish armies retreated precipitately to their old head quarters in Thessaly, and the Capudan Pacha sailed, about the first of September for the Dardanelles, followed by the Greek squadron, which will doubtless attempt some enterprise like those which signalized the naval warfare of the Greeks the last year. The Austrian Observer, a paper that has echoed with great fidelity all the unfavorable articles of intelligence from Greece, admits, in the last extracts we have seen from it, that the campaign has failed in all its objects, and is at an end. Such is the opinion expressed in the last number of the *Moniteur* the French government paper. Such the opinion expressed in the Editorial article in the *Daily Advertiser* for November 28, which suggested this sketch. Such unquestionably is the fact. I shall, by your permission, Mr. Editor, in one more paper, make a few remarks on the subject of the Revolution, of which we have now seen a brief sketch.

A FRIEND TO GREECE

Cambridge, December 3, 1823

*Connecticut Courant*, December 30, 1823: Greeks.

FROM THE BOSTON DAILY ADVERTISER.

. . . It will be remembered that the Tunisian and Algerine squadrons formed a part of the Turkish fleet. America knows something of these wretches, for her citizens have been chained by the neck to the wheelbarrow in their fortresses. By the accounts from

the Archipelago, the traffic in the miserable Greeks was pursued by none with greater eagerness than by these enemies of the human race; and when their own ships were filled with victims, to be transported from the delightful island of Scio to Algiers and Tunis, neutral vessels, Austrian, Italian, English, were chartered and freighted with fellow christians sold into slavery on the Barbary coast. In Constantinople, the slave market was filled with Sciotes; nay, on receiving there the intelligence of the events in that island, not only were the ten hostages hung, but Sciote merchants, who have been for months in the capital were shot at in the street like dogs, by Janisaries. These things passed under Lord Strangford's eyes, they were mentioned in the British parliament, the noble English spirit kindled at the recital of such horrors. But unfortunately the British prime minister was shocked at the thought of "interfering with the internal administration of Turkey." We have seen an extract from a work published at Leipzig in 1821 containing an account of the excesses, which took place in Constantinople at the time when the Patriarch was hung. It was our intention to make an extract from it, but the tortures inflicted by the Janisaries on the Greeks, who fell into their hands, are too disgustingly horrible to be repeated.

We ask then whether it is not the right, nay the duty of the civilized nations of the earth to interfere, rescue a civilized christian people, from the hands of these wretches? Is it not too great an insult on the age, to see all the powers at Europe, save one, leagued together, and pouring their armies into every weak and decrepit state, that makes an effort to improve its institutions, under the pretence that the peace of Europe is in danger from Revolutionists; and yet we see these same potentates upholding the Turkish despotism in the sickening cruelties, which it exercises over the inhabitants of one of the fairest portions of the earth? But the Greeks, we are told, are pirates and robbers, and deserve no better. What, pirates and robbers, that send one hundred of their young men annually, to the different Universities of Western Europe? Pirates and robbers, who in one of their islands, had a library fund, yielding one thousand dollars annually, which is more than can be said of any city, town or college in the United States of America? Pirates and robbers, who, almost with the Turkish scimitar at their necks, published the Constitution of Epidaurus? That the numerous islets of the Archipelago, especially in a time of war, may be the covert of freebooters, Greeks, as well as others, we are not disposed to deny. It was so in the time of Thucydides, and of Julius Caesar, and will probably be so always. It is so in other parts of the world. We have heard it hinted that several American citizens have engaged in piratical adventures in the West Indies, and on the coasts of the Spanish Main, and the Gulf of Mexico, of late years. Is the American nation a horde of pirates and robbers? The Greeks, it is further said, are divided among themselves; they fight and pillage each other. We know they have had their dissensions in

Council, and we think it by no means improbable, (though we have seen no proof of the fact) that bands of different races that have been thus unexpectedly brought in arms into contact with each other may have had their fallings out and perhaps come to blows. But there is not any trace of any wide spreading and serious division of Councils. We have read all the intelligence of any note, that has been published in Greece, since the war began, and we can venture to assert, that there has been no degree of such an alarming dissension or division of opinions, as that which prevailed between the Tories and patriots throughout the whole of our revolutionary war. There have been no scenes like the cartings and the tarring and featherings of Boston; no Councils like the "Vermont Council of Safety," with its birch seal; we have not perceived that any thing at all like the Newburgh letters has made its appearance from head quarters; not a Grecian general has aimed, like Arnold, to betray to the Turks the most important fortress in the Morea; one of the islands it is said, has refused to confer in the general government, the power of laying a tax, which is no more than Rhode Island did in 1782: in short, there is no trace of any division of parties among them, and while Neapolitan patriots take to their heels, at the sound of an Austrian drum, and Castilian patriots bribed by French gold, shout for the "Absolute King," the Greeks, rising from a state of slavery without an ally, a government, an army, a treasury, or a navy, have stood undivided and undismayed, and gallantly fought through three campaigns; each campaign bringing down the Turks in greater force, and sending them back more signally defeated. In 1821, the Turks were in some measure, taken to disadvantage. They had Ali Pacha on their hands in Albania; and 150,000 Russians in Bessarabia, ready to cross the Pruth. It was not remarkable that, under these circumstances, the Turks should be able to send no overwhelming force into the field, against the Greeks. In 1822 Ali Pacha was no more, and the Russian army was withdrawn. The Turkish army penetrated with irresistible force into the Morea: but in six weeks was beaten back. This we were told, however, was because the Persians had fallen upon the Eastern frontier, and the Pacha of Acre had revolted. In 1823, the Pacha of Acre makes his submission, the Persians make peace; the Turks have no enemy to divide with the Greeks the weight of the blow, and yet the latter have, for the first time, gone to meet the Ottoman host, and not a Turkish army has been able to reach the great theatre of war.

*Connecticut Mirror*, February 9, 1824: Late From Greece.

FROM THE BOSTON DAILY ADVERTISER

We are again indebted to a mercantile friend for Smyrna papers to Nov. 21, containing the information from Greece of a much later date than we have before received. Dates from Constantinople to the 12th, state that Mr. Mensaqui, former Russian Chancellor,

is to come there under the title of Inspector of Russian commerce, and to be accompanied by Mr. Bacof, the first Secretary to the Russian embassy. Mr. Tatischev would be appointed minister extraordinary and plenipotentiary near the Ottoman Porte.

It is asserted in the *Oriental Spectator*, that the Greeks in the Island of Candia have been defeated by the Turks, with the loss of about 5000 men—that the Turks in Canea are being reinforced by troops from Egypt, had left their fortifications, had repeated actions with the Greeks, in all of which they were successful, took five villages, where they made two or three thousand prisoners, whom they had conducted to Canea. The paper of the latest date re-asserts these accounts as it states, on further information, but states that they have been positively contradicted by the Greeks. It is added, that in the latest accounts, the Greeks at Hydra admit that their countrymen in Candia had met with the disasters above stated, but that subsequently those who had retreated to the mountains re-descended, attacked the Turks, and after slaying many hundreds compelled them again to retire within their fortifications. The Smyrna editor admits that the truth probably is that the Turks, finding nothing more to combat, had retired to their fortified places with their booty, and that the Greeks had again taken possession of the plains.

We did not find that in any other quarter the Turks pretended to have obtained any positive advantage, except that, as has several times before been pretended, Missolonghi, the siege of which was aided by a Barbary squadron, was on the point of surrendering. On the other hand, the Greeks had obtained several advantages, as will be found related to the following extracts. The most important of these events is the surrender of Corinth which is represented in the papers as on the point of taking place, and authentically announced in the letter we copy. The following extracts are translated from the *Oriental Spectator*.

ATHENS, Nov[ember] 1st [1823]

Corinth, which has not been able to procure provisions, is on the point of capitulation. A part of the Albanian garrison has already left the place.

ATHENS, Nov[ember] 3d [1823]

It is still said that the Turkish garrison of Corinth has held parleys respecting a surrender, for want of provisions. It is a fact that it will be forced to capitulate, if it is not assisted in season by the Algerine and Tunisian division which is blockading Missolonghi by sea, and it is not probable that this division will give up the blockade of a place still more important, for the sake of supplying Corinth with provisions.

Aboulabout Pacha is at Zeitun with 15,000 men. His intentions are not known—but the Turks seem to be every where taking positions which will leave their rear in safety,

wishing to precipitate nothing. They are now masters of all the gulf of Volo, they have no anxiety for Euboea. Negropont and Caristo being two very strong and well provisioned places. Triqueri has submitted. The Agraphiotes are making no further motion—Attica is held in check. 25,000 Turks are blockading Missolonghi by land. The Camps at Zeiton can be brought to act equally well, and as convenience demands either on Euboea, Attica, the canton of Aspro Potamos, finally on Seloni, Lepanto or Missolonghi. The Ottomans march every where without resistance and their power and superiority over the Greeks is every where acknowledged. The business, however, is not yet finished, and perhaps we are destined to see a fourth campaign. But as, among other reasons, the localities have prevented the Turks from arriving at the proposed result: that of reducing Greece to submission, it is still more certain that the Greeks, by their own means alone can never reach the end of their desires, can never succeed in establishing their own independence. They are generally sensible of this, their generals alone will not feel it—accustomed to command, every idea of submission to the Grand Seigneur, or to anyone else shocks them, and irritates their presumption. Out of about five hundred thousand souls who occupy the Peloponnesus, there are four hundred and fifty thousand who suffer and murmur silently at this state of things—and there are fifty thousand individuals bearing arms who gain as well as lose by it. More than a wish is necessary to make them act. Chance alone puts them in motion here and there. How many fine things will be said in the halls of Philhellenes if Corinth yields, and yet it may be safely said beforehand that the reduction of this place will not advance in the slightest degree the cause of the Greeks.

The executive power is transported for the present to Napoli di Romania, and the legislative to Argos, several members of this body are at Salamina, and purpose to pass over the Peninsula.

The Philhellenes of distinction have arrived at Hydra—they were well received there, and are lodged in the finest houses. It is said they have made very singular propositions to the Greeks with regard to the island of Rhodes—we have had nothing but projects for a long time.

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#### MANIFESTO BY THE SUBLIME PORTE.

We have devoted a good many columns to the *pros* and *cons* regarding the Greek question, but the following is the shortest and best article on the wrong side, that we have seen.

[*Translated for the Salem Gazette.*]

Important State Paper.

## MANIFESTO

BY THE SUBLIME PORTE

*Allah is Great and Mohomet is his Prophet!*

A voice from the new Hemisphere, called America, has reached the ears of Us, Mahomoud the Second, Sultan and Sovereign by the will of God over the Faithful of Turkey and the Infidels of Greece, the most august Emperor who commands the two Lands and the two Seas, the support of Kings, the Seal of Justice, and the Emperor of Emperors. We listen to the voice. We hear that a certain portion of inhabitants of the New World called the African race are held in the most degrading slavery and bondage by the Infidels who profess to have a government that permits freedom to all its subjects equally; that some of that wretched race have been barbarously kidnapped and torn from the arms of their fond parents and wives in their native country, on the shores of the Old World, and cruelly transported in the foul and narrow hold of ships across an ocean of three thousand miles; while others "raised" in the New World, called Indians, have been most cruelly wronged by the Infidels, and have been involved in wars with these foreign intruders, who have been attempting to strip them of the lands and patrimony of their brave fathers. We have learnt too that both the Africans and Indians have made several unsuccessful efforts to throw off the yoke of their foreign task-master.

And it being inconsistent with the rights of the others that the people of the New World should interfere with the affairs of the Old World, and as the pestilent example may prove contagious, and as it is incompatible in the moral dignity of man that conduct so atrocious and afflictive to humanity should be tolerated by those sovereign states which recognize the same international law with the people of the New World, and it being Our duty, as it is Our high pleasure, to aid the cause of humanity and justice on every part of which it has pleased Allah (thanks be to him and all honor to Mahomet his prophet) to place us, for the purpose of governing it according to his good pleasure, and for repressing Infidels.

We, so, therefore, of our own mere motion, in full Divan, our Grand Vizier and Mufti humbly concurring with us, command that an Agent or Commissioner, with the rank of a Pacha of three tails, shall be sent among the forlorn and oppressed Africans and Indians in the other Hemisphere, who are thus kept in subjection by the Infidels of the New World, in order to inquire into their actual condition and to aid and comfort them in their praise-worthy exertions to regain their ancient and inprescribable rights and re-establish themselves among the independent nations of the globe; and thus to alleviate the throngs and convulsions of agonized man seeking through blood and slaughter his long lost liberties.

Given at Constantinople, in Divan, the 22d day of the month Rebia Elul, year of the Hegira, 1239, (July 4, 1824. [sic])

The servant of the Sultan, my master, whom God preserve!

TAHER ABDALLAH TENNISH

*First Secretary.*

*Niles' Weekly Register*, July 3, 1824: [Report on the Death of Byron.]

LORD BYRON is dead [. . .]. Previous to his departure, he said he wished it to be remembered that his last thoughts were given to his wife, child and sister. His memoirs, written by himself, had been deposited with Mr. Thomas Moore, and designed as a legacy for his benefit. By the consent of Byron, Moore had sold the M.S.S. to Mr. Murray, the book-seller, for 2,000*l.* After the decease of his lordship, his sister and Mr. Moore jointly perused the work, and the former apprehended that certain of the passages might pain some persons living, though in no manner injuring the reputation of her brother. Mr. Moore then put the manuscript in her hands, and permitted her to burn it in his presence. He repaid the 2,000*l.* to Mr. Murray, and refused to receive 5,000*l.* which the family of the deceased offered him to repair his loss. Byron was born in 1788. The estate left by him was a large one; capt. Byron, of the navy, who escaped in the *Belvidera* frigate from the squadron under the command of com. Rodgers, in the early part of the late war, succeeds him in the title, &c. The amount of sums that he gave to the Greeks is not stated, but it was in a very considerable sum.

*Greece.* The Greeks have sustained a great loss in the death of lord Byron, who died at Missolonghi on the 19th April, after an illness of ten days. His personal services and munificent donations will cause his memory to be tenderly regarded by Greece, when she shall have established her freedom. The national government directed a general mourning for twenty-one days, and obtained his *heart*, that it might be placed in a mausoleum. The body was to be sent to England. Prince Mavrocordato, in announcing the event to the secretary of the Greek fund in London, says "our loss is irreparable, and it is with justice that we abandon ourselves to inconsolable sorrow," &c. Byron was of great importance to the Greeks; generally acting with effect to keep down differences among them, and leading them to unity of action.

Colocotroni has fallen by the hands of his countrymen, how is not stated. He is spoken of as having been the nurse of discord among the Greeks for the last three years—yet he was reported of as a valuable soldier.

*Niles' Weekly Register*, July 31, 1824: Turkey and Greece.

Letters from Constantinople are to the 17th May. It now appears certain that the evacuation by the Turks of Moldavia and Wallachia has been determined on. The porte has despatched several couriers to Bucharest and Jassy to regulate the final evacuation of those provinces. There were only 3,000 Turkish troops in the two principalities.

The captain pacha sailed for the Dardanelles on the 1st of May, for the supposed purpose of attacking some of the islands. He was closely watched by the Greeks.

The patriots have lately captured 18 Turkish transports. At the last accounts, they had about 200,000*l.* sterling in their treasury, in coin. Their affairs look well.

Letters, recently received from Greece, convey the agreeable intelligence, that the Turks, who had effected a landing in Candia and Negropont, were repulsed at the first mentioned place, with great slaughter. The force of Ulysses at Negropont was considerable, and it was fully expected that the utmost extent of the evil of the arrival of the Turkish troops would be only to prolong the resistance of that fortress. The Turks are said to have abandoned all idea of invading the Morea this summer.

It is stated that two Austrian vessels, when on their way from Constantinople to Alexandria, had been boarded by the Greeks, and several Turkish passengers taken out, who were held until high ransoms were paid. A complaint had been made upon the subject to the Greek government, and the answer was as follows:—

The executive were sorry to hear of the affair, and hoped it would be satisfactorily explained. It was notorious, however, that Austrian vessels were employed in conveying Turkish officers as passengers to the fortresses besieged by the Greeks, and in other ways violating neutrality.

A press has been established at Nauplia, which was sent to the Greek government by Mr. Firmin Didot. It is the second which this enlightened typographer has bestowed on the Greeks.

The friends of lord Byron have objected, in the most positive manner, to the removal of his body to England. It is to be interred at Zante.

*Niles' Weekly Register*, October 9, 1824

GREECE. The accounts from Greece are terrible. The life of a man is regarded as nothing in this afflicted country. Thousands are massacred in a day and after they cease to be enemies, for victory is not complete without an extermination of the vanquished! But it appears that the Turks have been dreadfully handled, both at sea and on the land; and if the Greeks shall follow up the stroke and destroy the fleet of their foes, as it is highly probable that they have done, it is possible that the campaign will be closed, and a

breathing time allowed in which something may be done to terminate a war so monstrous. It is the disgrace of the Christian powers, the "holy alliance," that they have permitted it to go on. They have interfered in several cases much less interesting—but the Grand Turk being a "legitimate sovereign," is, perhaps, the reason why he is suffered to oppress and kill his Christian subjects; and, it may be also, that they cannot approve of "rebellion" in any condition of things whatever! Indeed, it seems resolved by these royal conspirators that even life is enjoyed at their own special license.

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THE GREEK PRESS. The following newspapers are now published in Greece:—At Missolonghi, *THE GREEK CHRONICLE*, (in Greek); *THE GREEK TELEGRAPH*, (in several languages); at Hydra, *THE FRIEND OF THE LAWS*, (in Greek); at Athens, *THE ATHENS FREE PRESS*, (in Greek); at Ipsara, *THE IPSARA NEWSPAPER*, (in Greek).

The Corfu university is now established. There are professors of mathematics, divinity, metaphysics, logic, ethics, botany, rhetoric, the Greek, Latin and English languages, and history. Among the POOR Greeks the Lancasterian system of education is in full operation.

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TURKEY AND GREECE. We have dreadful details of events at Ipsara and in its neighborhood. The women rivalled the men in defending the island and themselves. All fought while a hope remained of destroying an enemy, and then they destroyed themselves, by poignards or by leaping into the sea: the women with their children in their arms! It was the most DESPERATE battle ever fought; and it has already been stated that the Ipsariots fired one of their own magazines and destroyed hundreds of themselves and their enemies together—crying LIBERTY OR DEATH! It appears, however, that about 2000 of the islanders retired to two forts, and there maintained themselves until relieved, but were so separated from their countrymen that they could render no efficient service in the fight. Very few engaged in the battle escaped, but among them was the famous Canari, conductor of fire ships, who, after fighting like a tygress robbed of her whelps, was seized upon by a few friends round him, and carried him off to Hydra, from whence he immediately returned with a fleet of 70 or 80 vessels. The Greeks then attacked the Turkish fleet, and fired and blew up three of their frigates, commanded by the vice admiral, rear admiral and sub-admiral, the captain pacha very narrowly escaped, much damaged. They also captured several other vessels, and compelled the Turks to fly to Mitylyne. The victory was decisive, and the Greeks then landed on Ipsara, and, being joined by the 2000 in the forts, attacked the barbarians left to keep

possession of the island, nearly 6000 strong, who were all cut to pieces. Among the spoils that the captain pacha has sent to Constantinople from Ipsara, were 2000 human ears!

The Turks have plundered two villages on Mitylyne, and murdered all the inhabitants! The Greeks have landed at Chios, and killed all the Turks that were in the village of Wollina! It is truly a war of extermination.

It is estimated that the attack on Ipsara cost the Turks 20,000 men! The population of the whole island was only 12,000, including the 1,500 Albanians who turned traitors—and it is probable that not less than two thirds of them perished! And it appears, that the Turks, provoked, perhaps, by their great loss, massacred the whole of the Albanians, and thus got back again the money with which they had purchased them!

Caso has been retaken by the Greeks. The few who retired to the mountains, being reinforced by 2000 men, fell on the Egyptians and killed every one of them. They amounted to 2000 men.

Though articles of intelligence from Greece are oftentime of a very doubtful character, the preceding notices have much the appearance of being true. A second meeting of the fleets was expected. The Greeks, to preserve the islands, are convinced of the necessity of destroying the Turkish marine. It is intimated that the latter is secretly aided by some of the CHRISTIAN powers, who have vessels of war in the Archipelago. Hydra, the great naval depot of the Greeks, will be next attacked, unless the Turkish fleet is too much crippled to attempt it. The place is very strong, and has a powerful garrison.

There were great rejoicings in Greece, and Te Deums had been sung for the late victories over the barbarians.

*Connecticut Courant*, October 30, 1824: Greece.

CALAMATA, August 3

Tripolitza, the capital of our peninsula, has just been reduced. The Greek army having been concentrated in the neighborhood from the middle of the last month, the attack was commenced on the day that the commander-in-chief, Demetrius Ypsilanti, and the Prince Cantacuzeno joined it. The former held the chief command, the latter directed the artillery. After a large breach had been made in the wall, the Spartiats received orders to enter first, and they were followed by the rest of the army. The Turks made a most courageous defence, but were compelled eventually to submit. The greatest part of the army of Tripolitza repaired after the victory to Patras, which is in a state of siege. The reduction of the latter city is hourly expected. The fortress of Monombasia has sub-

mitted within these few days. The Greeks, learning on their entry into that city that the hostages, and all those of their countrymen who had remained in it, had been sacrificed by the Turks, took terrible reprisals on the latter.

The Admiralty of Hydra has transmitted to our Provisional Government the official news of the success gained by our fleet off Samos. The following are the particulars of this important victory, which ensures to the Greeks the dominion of the sea, and will prevent the Turks from engaging in any greater operation:

On the 12th day of July the Turkish fleet passed the Dardanelles; it consisted of 4 ships, 5 frigates, 4 corvettes, and 30 vessels of different rates. It steered first to the isle of Chios, and afterwards to Scala Nuova, where it took on board a great number of troops from Asia Minor, which it landed on the isle of Samos. This Turkish army, consisting of 13,000 men, was received by the inhabitants of the island with a degree of courage worthy of the cause which they defended. The engagement was bloody, and for a long time doubtful, but at length the Turks, after a considerable loss, were repulsed to the water's edge, and re-embarked.

It was at this moment that the Greek fleet appeared on the coast of Samos: it was disposed in three divisions, each consisting of 30 ships: it anchored in a place abounding with small islands and rocks which it left interposed between it and the enemy. The Turkish Admiral, eager to punish the audacity of these rebels, advanced towards them, and imprudently engaged them in a place where his large vessels had not free scope for their operations. The fight was at first partial, ship to ship, but at length the Greek Admiral, after having remained as if inactive for some time, watching the motion of the enemy, suddenly collected the best of his vessels and attacked the centre of the Turkish fleet; by the means of five fire-ships he burnt eight Turkish vessels, captured six, and sunk several: the rest of the squadron took to flight, and were pursued by the Greeks, who captured them the more easily, as they were dispersed and could not reunite. A very few only have escaped the isle of Cos. This engagement took place on the 24th of July.

ODESSA, Aug[ust] 10, N. S.

Honor to the Almighty!—Honor to the Christian Religion!—Long live our country!

Hear, my friends, the heroic deeds of new Themistocles and Cimon; hear the recital of those achievements and rejoice. The enemy's fleet, consisting of 17 ships of war, and 33 transports, which issued from the Bosphorus under salvos of cannon, and the shouts of the barbarians, cast anchor in Hellespont.

Fourteen Greek gun boats, (barques) which were watching the movements of the enemy, towered their colors, and pretended to take flight; they met European traders, who hailed them, and asked them where they were bound for? The fugitives answered, with an assumed fear, that discord reigned on the islands; that the Hydriotes and the Sphakiotes had embarked their fortunes

and their families for the purpose of proceeding to America, and that they were following the example of their expatriated friends. These ships apprised the Turks of what had passed; and the latter determined to avail themselves of the information. They arrived with a favorable wind and in a very short time, in the channel between Samos and Chios, where they came to anchor. There happened to be in the same roadstead a Dalmatian trader, which is now actually at Odessa, and who has related to us as an eye-witness, an event of the last importance to the cause of the Greeks.—The subjoined is the narrative of the master:—"We were detained in the roads two days by adverse winds. The first day, in the morning, we descried thirty-four Greek vessels approaching us, among which were two Turkish frigates previously captured. At the head of this flotilla appeared a small brig which belonged to the Rear Admiral. We weighed anchor and set sail.

The Greeks fell upon the Barbarians with incredible fury and commenced a terrible fire; a strong wind from the south presently drove us a great distance; but we had scarcely been three hours under sail when we observed the sea covered with Greek vessels; we reckoned no less than 112. They attacked the enemy in like manner. We heard nothing but hideous cries, mixed with the frightful roaring of cannon. We trembled for the issue of this bold attack by the Greeks, but we know nothing more. I do not think, however, that the Ottoman fleet could long resist the heroes opposed to it, had it even been double the number. The battle, it is said, lasted three days.

A vessel just arrived at this port confirms the news of the defeat of the Turks. It is conjectured that as no Turkish vessel had entered the Dardanelles for the last fifteen days, the Turkish fleet must have been entirely destroyed. Some individuals affirm, however, that one ship of the line and two frigates have fallen into the hands of the Greeks: that several were blown up, and that the remainder had sought their safety in flight. This intelligence excited the fury of the Sultan to the highest pitch. He commanded that those among the believers, who had only two pistols, should go and take two others to the arsenal; and he declared that whoever would not obey, should be responsible before God for the ruin of his country and his religion. His infatuated subjects, courageous only against defenseless citizens, women and children, have commenced anew their atrocities against the unfortunate Christians.

The Divan is now arming in haste the remains of the fleet, consisting of six ships of the line, two of which are three deckers, and four transports. A number of Jews have been pressed into service. When the Amazon Bobolina learnt that the Pacha of Egypt intended to dispatch no merchant vessels into the Archipelago, she ascended her barge, and accompanied by 44 others which she commands, and of which four belong to her, she is now cruising in the vicinity of Rhodes— We hear that many Europeans are on board the Turkish fleet.

*Connecticut Mirror*, December 6, 1824

*General Ulysses*.—Mr. Casimir Degeau, after residing for the space of two years at Athens, in his capacity of French Vice Consul, where he performed very many acts of humanity towards the wretched victims of the war, particularly the Turkish prisoners who were often brought into the city, in August last left Athens for Smyrna. He there furnished the editors of the Smyranean with the following notion of the Greek General

Ulysses, Governor of Attica, and Livadia, which we translate from the Smyranean of Aug. 21. Since the date of the article, Ulysses has been furnished with funds by the Greek government, to form a new army, and for that purpose has repaired to Salona.

*Niles' Weekly Register* January 8, 1825: GREEK MANIFESTO. The following is the new manifesto of the Greek government.

*Missolonghi, Sept. 21.*

*Provisional government of Greece.*

The president of the executive power, the Greek government having no other care than that of the preservation of the Greek nation, to avoid everything that may lead to its destruction, published, on the information it had received, the proclamation of the 27th of May, which concerned the European merchant ships which were freighted at Constantinople and Alexandria to convey the enemy's troops to Greece. But the government having learned that the said vessels do not convey the enemies' troops, but warlike stores, provisions, &c. and as the Greek government takes care that neutrality and the laws of nations are observed in commerce with all possible precision, and as far as the rights of war permit—order.

1. The European vessels, freighted by the enemy, to convey arms, ammunition, horses, provisions, and any other article for the use of the enemy, are subject to the laws of neutrality, and shall be treated by our naval forces according to the usages existing under similar circumstances among the European powers.
2. The present ordinance shall be communicated to the admiral of the Greek naval force, and published in the Greek Government Gazette. Copies shall be sent to all the consuls, vice-consuls and agents of the European powers who are at the Greek Archipelago.

*Napoli di Romania, 15th August, 1824.*

(Signed) The president, G. CONDURIOTTE.  
The provisional secretary of state, G. RHODIUS.

*Connecticut Mirror*, January 24, 1825: GREEK OFFICIAL REPORT

*Report of the Admiral Andreas Miaulis to the Greek Government.*

*Fellow Citizens!*—On the 24th inst. having been informed that the united fleets of the enemies were at anchor in the Gulph Boudroum, (anciently Halicarnassus) we selected ten vessels of war and three fire-ships—and we ordered them to go against the enemies, in company with some Spezziot and Ipsariot vessels, to attempt, if possible, to gain some advantage over them. The remainder of our vessels followed them from afar, having expressly few of their sails spread out, as we resolved not to approach the others till we perceived that the enemy had put to sail, and had come to an engagement. This plan succeeded completely; at 3 o'clock we saw that the united fleets had put to sail, between Cos and Boudroum, and the ten vessels having approached them begun the skirmish. Then we went to join them against the enemy, and towards 4 o'clock the battle began, and in that battle, the resistance and obstinacy of the enemy were worthy observa-

tion; but still more remarkable was the courageous impetuosity of our vessels, and more especially of the fire-ships; but as night was drawing on we had no time to shew our enemy the difference between Greeks and Turks, and on that account we were obliged to leave the Strait and return to Jeronta, where we cast anchor. This battle hardly lasted two hours and a half. We lost two fire-ships, one of Ipsara, and the other of Hydra, belonging to Captain Manethas, which the enemy sunk by a heavy cannonading, as they feared its too near approach. The enemy lost, as we have just been informed by an Austrian and an English merchantmen, a Commander of a corvette, thirty men belonging to a frigate, and four of the bravest officers in the cut-down vessel of the Captain Pacha, and many others in the ship which went against Manethas' fire-ship and the nephew of the Turkish commander, who was ordered to go against Samos, with an Albanian Bibassi, commander of 1000 men. The vessel of the Captain Pacha had the yard of its mainmast broken. This was the coup d'essat of the enemy's fleet.

On the 27th inst.. the van of the enemy's fleet wished to try a second engagement against our van, which was commanded by Captains Pelopides and Rafaelis, but was driven back in confusion.

On the 28th, this was again tried, & whilst the two vans were skirmishing, the whole of the enemy's fleet put to sail. Our van, on seeing this, made the signal agreed upon, and at 2 o'clock, P.M. we left Jeronta to join them. That same evening, from half past 4 to 6 o'clock, we were continually skirmishing between Satalia and Cos, but on account of the narrowness of the Gulph, we were again obliged to retire without effecting much. All the night we were becalmed between Kalimnos and Lazata. The enemy followed us.—In the morning, before sunrise, the wind being in favor of the enemy, they hoisted their superb colours, and amidst the sounding of musical instruments, and the heavy firing of cannons, they made towards us; whilst we remained becalmed. How many tears our Greeks shed then! But they were tears of sorrow, because the wind would not permit them to sail against the infidels! How vexed they were that they were aloof and becalmed! If it had been possible, they would with their eager breathings have raised a wind to carry them against the enemy. Every one eagerly observed from what side the wind might be expected, in order to put forth all their efforts, and spread their sails, as their naval science taught them. The men belonging to our fire-ships, each near the vessel which he accompanied, were ready, and only waited for the wind to bear against the enemy. In the mean time, the enemy, after sunrise, began a heavy cannonade on the vessels which were nearest them, and which were ten in number. These, having taken advantage of a slight which then arose, approached, and returned the cannonading in a most courageous manner, although they were only ten, and were opposed to large frigates, brigs and corvettes. At 6 o'clock, A.M. twenty of our vessels, which were rather in advance, having a slight wind, tacked about, so as to make the most of it. The enemy's did their utmost to disunite that small division of the Greek fleet and to proceed to Samos, where they were bound, as we have just been informed. But the Greeks wishing to disunite and disperse the immense column of the enemy, which was of great extent, resisted with the most astounding courage, and threw themselves into the midst of the enemy, with an Ipsariot fire-ship which was near them. The enemy, however, altho' much inferior in naval science, having the wind in their favour, were enabled to prevent the burning of a frigate, and the fire ship was lost without having effected any thing. At last, towards 7 o'clock, all our vessels had long wished for wind, and then the battle became general. Then proud Pluto, with the wide-jawed Cerberus, must have smiled on seeing on one side the enemy, like a wild cat, bearing down with desperation on the Greek vessels, and on the other side the Greeks, who opposed the

enemy's impetuosity like haughty lions, despising such reptiles, and threw themselves on them, as the eagles from the air seize on the creeping serpents, and casting their fires against the enemy as Jupiter casts forth his thunderbolts, and hiding their fire ships from their sight as the cat hides its claws from the rat. At noon, an Egyptian brig, of the finest sort, of 20 guns, fell into our snare. The commander of that brig, named Mehemet, a native of Cos, was one of the most determined enemies of the Christian name. There were more than 300 men on board. Pipinos and Matrosos, two of the Captains of our fireships the former of whom had been wounded, together with one of his companions, immediately ran against the enemy, who began from despair to cast themselves into the sea, and more than 100 men were drowned in that manner. The wind, which was favorable to the brig, hindered it from taking fire on all sides, and bore it towards the Gulf of Natalia, where it was entirely consumed. Then the Greeks, hoping that the enemies, on seeing the misfortune of that brig, would have gone to its assistance, awaited in the same place the arrival of the other hostile vessels; from which they intended to throw themselves against them with their frigates, but the enemies were better occupied in saving themselves. At 1 o'clock, P.M. the brave Papodtis commanding a fire ship, went ahead against a frigate, to which he communicated the Greek fire with the greatest skill, which tended to warm the enemies on board, whose blood was chilled by fear. That brave man resisted for half an hour the heavy musket fire of the enemy, he lost two of his men, who ascended to heaven with cries of triumph, & he himself had a slight wound in the leg.—Then we sent another fire ship, commanded by Captain Papikiottis, who set fire to the other side of the same frigate, and in that manner that fine frigate fell a victim to the flames of the Greeks, near the shores of Jeronta. It was a Tunisian frigate, and had more than 900 enemies on board. The commander was the bravest and most skillful of all the enemy's officers. He had under his command eight other vessels of the Tunisian division. He and a Bimbasi. (Commander of 100 men) of Mehemet Ali, threw themselves into the sea to save themselves, and were taken alive by the Greeks, and now they are on board of the vessel of Capt. Chamados.—At 3 o'clock P.M. the enemy, seeing the terrible sight of the conflagration of the frigate, began to flee. One would have said, that the flames were so brilliant at that time, in order to shew the enemy in its full light the triumph of the Greeks. Among our sailors were only killed or wounded those mentioned above. One soldier alone was killed by the enemy's fire. We send you by the vessel which bears this, all the wounded. One of the masts of the vessel of the Vice Admiral Sactouris was somewhat damaged. The enemy's force only consists in the size of their vessels and the numbers of their cannons. —The so much boasted organized troops of the Egyptians consist of a few heartless boys, a thousand of whom would stand little chance against a single Greek. We are sure of this, since we have seen it from those who threw themselves into the sea and were taken alive. It is really astonishing how the Pacha of Egypt could have thought of success from such a childish expedition. And now we can see that, not being able to injure Greece in any other manner, he wished to infect our country with the impure blood of these Arab children, and with their carcasses.

Respectable Fellow-Citizens, these are the victories and the trophies which the Greeks have as yet offered to their injured country.—The Almighty God has filled our hearts with enthusiasm, and these victories have been obtained not only by stratagem but also by open combat. —I am, with greatest respect, your obedient fellow-citizen,

—(Signed) ANDREAS MIAULIS.

Jeronta (anciently Posidonium) Aug. 30 O.S. (11 September,) 1824.

*Connecticut Mirror* February 14, 1825: Spirit of the Turkish Government.

We have frequently had occasion to express our strong wishes that the British Government would at length adopt some more active part in favor of the Greek Cause, and would even deviate, in some degree, from the strict rule of the National Law, to render so great a service to the common cause of Christendom. We are not, indeed, unaware, that main and established principles must not be sacrificed, or even weakened, in favor of particular cases, —or, in other words, that the general rule must be violated, because it may occasionally bear hard upon an individual instance.

It is an unquestionable rule in national law that one nation shall not interpose in a civil war between another nation and its own subjects, except in the way of friendly mediation.

But to this rule, as to all others, there is, we imagine, an exception, and this exception occurs, where the conduct of the parties is such as to affect the right and duties of neighboring nations. Now, as respects the Greeks and Turks, we hesitate not to say, that this is the precise state of things. Everyday brings us intelligence that an atrocious system of extermination is now the policy of Turkish Government, and that the Greeks, unless victorious will be exterminated. This state of circumstances, therefore, brings their case within the express terms of the exception above stated and constitutes that the extreme condition of things, under which another and a higher duty interposes to set aside the ordinary rule of the law of nations. The law of nations is, let no one interpose between a nation and its rebellious subjects, because such an interference is contrary to the great rule of the independence of nations as to each other. The exceptions, —But where the operations of any neighboring nation, whether extreme or internal, are such as to affect the safety, the duty or the honor of its neighbors, there, such neighbors may interfere, because, under such effects, the cause becomes their own. To defend their own safety and honour is, of course, a right of self defence. To perform their own paramount duties, —to defend the first laws of God and nature, —to take up arms against a system of extermination and massacre, and to protect those of the same religion as themselves from extermination upon the ground of their religion, are all, —not rights, but paramount obligations, and therefore constitute an exception to all positive rules whatever.

So far as to the question of right; and those considerations are, indeed, so decisively rooted in our minds, that we have not the hesitation of a moment in saying, that there cannot exist two opinions as the *right* of assisting the Greeks. It is, indeed, totally another question, what is the line of prudence —what that of policy.

The main principle here is that if we assist the Greeks in their present contest, we destroy the Turkish Empire. We pull down one of the barriers against the predominance of the Russian power, and, in fact give Turkey to Russia. Either, we must endeavor

or to establish the emancipated Greeks as an independent Power under British protection, or we must at once give them to Russia. In the first case, we give direct offence to Russia and, perhaps, provoke a general war on the Continent; at any rate, a particular war against ourselves. In all events, we sever all the great and rich provinces of Turkey from the body of her Empire, and put her out of condition of defending herself—Russia would instantly march to Constantinople, which must fall almost without defence. The Asiatic provinces would follow, and Russia thus become our neighbor upon the Indian frontier.

All these considerations are certainly very important, and, we think, fully justify our Statesmen in the delay and reluctance which have occurred through all this business. We have had enough of war, and Russia is already too strong, too restless, too ambitious, to be unnecessarily provoked.

But, as regards the spirit of the Turkish Government, and the necessity of doing something, we think that a recent event must produce some effect. A paper now before us contains a Firman of the Grand Signor, by which all the Turkish Magistrates and Authorities are commanded to burn all the copies of the Gospels and Bible, which may be found in their several districts. "We have learned," says the Proclamation, "that many thousands of books such as the Bible, the Gospels, the Psalters, and the Epistles of the Apostles, have been recently printed in Europe, and that some hundreds of them have been landed for distribution in my Empire; be it, therefore, ordered, &c, that all such be collected, and forthwith burned; and that, if any ships bring such cargoes in future, the said ships shall be obliged to take them back again to Europe."

This Firman, however, is moderate enough in comparison of the spirit with which it is executed. "It was no sooner made public in this city," says a letter from Aleppo, "than the Cadi called together the Chiefs of the several Christian communities, and commanded them (the Chiefs,) to enjoin all Christians to deliver up any of their books which might have, adding, that he would hang any Christian who should be discovered to have a Bible or Testament in his possession."

It is surely unnecessary to add another word upon the subject. We trust that there are many amongst us, and even among those in high station, who will sympathise in this condition of their brother Christians, and will feel that a state of things has arisen, under which it is our bounden duty to contribute something in support of the common cause.

*Bell's Weekly Messenger.*

*Niles' Weekly Register*, March 19, 1825

*Greece.* Reports prevailed sometime ago, that the Greeks were distracted by civil con-

tentions, and there appears to have been some foundation for them— but the latest advices assure us there “is really a government in Greece,” and that the whole energies of the nation will be exerted for the common defence and general welfare. The great Egyptian fleet is no longer heard of.

It is stated, that the Turkish garrison in Patras has been reduced to such an extremity, as to have proposed terms of capitulation— and the hostages that were given, on the occasion, are named. It is probable that this important place is, at least, in the hands of the Greeks.

It is said that “Omer Vrione, the Turkish commander in Albania, apprehensive of the treachery of the Divan, who, under the pretext of promoting him, are endeavoring to get him into their power, has opened negotiations with prince Mavrocodato; an armistice had been agreed to, and it was expected that the Pacha would declare himself independent. The instant he does so, a signal will be given for the dismemberment of the Ottoman empire. Every Pacha, remote from Constantinople, will, at once, raise himself from subjection to sovereignty. The wily viceroy of Egypt will be among the foremost to seize the golden opportunity for which he has so long been watching and dissembling. The Austrian Observer, the consistent and persevering friend of the Mahometans, asserts that they are resolved upon making their campaign with more vigor than ever. Their resolution may be very good, but we suspect their power will begin not a little to fail them. Every effort, it seems, however, will be made to call into the field a great levy of the Turkish forces. The Sultan, with his own hand-writing, has summoned the Pachas of Widden and Belgrade. Alarm has penetrated the Divan, and not without reason, for never was the empire of Constantinople in a more critical state. It is fighting now, not for victory, but for life.”

*Niles' Weekly Register*, July 30, 1825: Greek Official Papers.

FROM THE CONSTITUTIONEL.

*Missolonghi*, April 18. Notwithstanding every thing published by the Journal of Athens respecting Odysseus, there can be no longer doubt that he has become the enemy of the country, and of the present order of things. If circumstances hitherto have caused him to be looked upon as one of the best of chiefs, and so great a friend of liberty, that some have even compared him to the illustrious Bolivar, his character has, at last, discovered itself in its real colors. As soon as this man, who is only greedy of wealth, egotistical and ambitious, perceived that the laws were beginning to acquire force and effect, and that he could no longer exercise an illegal influence over public affairs, he joined the stan-

dard of anarchy, and refused to obey the order of government. In order to portray his character in its proper light, we publish his letter to the primates of Athens and their reply to it.

Gentlemen, primates of Athens, I embrace you.

I have addressed you numerous letters, to induce you to restore me my money, and you reply, by referring me to government. It was not to government I lent my money, but rather to yourselves, as may be seen by your signatures. I, therefore, write you once more, for the last time, that you send me back the money which I expended in provisioning your fortresses, and also my physician whom you refrain among you—otherwise, you may be assured, I will set about burning your olive trees and devastating your plains. Think not to intimidate me by the mention of your government; when I have reason on my side, I fear not God himself. In the course of five days, I shall expect a categorical answer on your part; and be sure not to forget that you will be answerable for the misfortunes your refusal may bring upon this province.

ODYSSEUS ANDRETZO.

*Izeveniko, 1825."*

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The answer of the Athenian primates.

General Odysseus: We have received your letter, in which you menace us with the devastation of our plains and the burning of our olive trees, unless we send you back your money and your physician in the space of five days.

That money, you know, has been expended by yourself in provisioning a citadel which belongs to the government; your physician has been employed as the surgeon of the garrison, and consequently performs a public function; we, therefore, recommended to you, and we still recommend you, to apply to government, who will not, certainly, be guilty of the least injustice towards you. Only make your claims known to the proper quarter, and you will receive satisfaction. As to the threats you make, we cannot be persuaded that we have any cause to apprehend that our plains or olive trees will be destroyed by that very Odysseus who, during four invasions, preserved them uninjured, and combatted so often to defend them.

THE PRIMATES OF ATHENS.

*Athens, 1825.*

[In pursuance of his threat, Odysseus did, however, at the head of four hundred horsemen, make an irruption into Eastern Greece, and laboured to seduce his countrymen from their allegiance and join the Turkish standard. But he was met by general Gouras, who drove him, at the head of five hundred men, into Tarentum, where he was closely blocked up. This is the last official intelligence received of this traitor.]

*Official intelligence—first dispatch.*

## PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF GREECE.

*The executive body to Messrs. John Orlando and Andreas Luriottis.*

The government thinks necessary to inform you of the true state of affairs at present in Greece. It is very probable that report will have augmented the number of troops landed by Ibrahim Pacha at Modon, and Coron; learn, then, that the forces, disembarked by him at those places, do not exceed 8,000. It was a regular corps, consisting of Arab soldiers, and commanded by about forty European adventurers; six thousand only of them were fighting men, the rest were servants, such as grooms, &c. They were accompanied by about 350 horsemen, organized in the manner of the Mamelukes. This corps was able to advance to within eight hours' distance of Modon and Coron; but they were not able to do any injury—but, on the contrary, in a skirmish which took place with 1,000 Greeks, under our general, Pasos Mavromunlottis, they were forced to retire. As, however, our troops were not in readiness to oppose them, they advanced shortly after towards Navarino, hoping to besiege and take that fortress; but it is too well defended, and too strong to be taken even by four times that number of enemies. Thus, up to this day, there have only been skirmishes, in which the enemy have lost 1,300 men. His excellency the president, Conduriottis, has been elected chief of the forces destined to besiege Patras, and it is several days since he proceeded on that expedition; but on account of the landing of the Arabs at Modon, he proceeded thither, and from thence he will march to Patras.

A corps of 8 to 10,000 men has entered into Western Greece. They must really imagine that they can strike terror into the deserts, since on advancing into Western Greece, they will only meet stones and guns, and if even they succeed in reaching the interior, they will find that Anatolico and Missolonghi are impregnable.

In Eastern Greece there have only appeared 400 horsemen, accompanied by the renegade Odysseus, who, not being able to seduce the people to his traitorous opinions, threw off the mask, deserted to the Turks, and took up arms against his country; but the brave general Gouras, with a force of 5,000 chosen men, attacked him, and drove him, with his companions, to Tarentum; he keeps them closely blockaded up there, and we think that shortly Odysseus and his troops will experience the fate they merit.

The enemy have begun the campaign this year much earlier than usual; and we do not doubt that this fifth campaign they will employ all their efforts; but we also confidently hope and believe, that those exertions will fail, and that the Greeks, by brilliant victories, will advance their independence. The government is occupied in expediting three strong corps of troops—one will be stationed at Volo, one is destined for the besieging of Negroponte, and the other for Agrapha. A fourth corps, of less strength, will be stationed at Patranziki.

According to all appearances, the Sultan has placed all his hopes on two forces—that of the Albanians, and that of Mehemed Ali Pacha. As to the Egyptians, we have spoken of them above; and as to the Albanians, the experience of four years has taught us what may be expected from them, especially on comparing our forces of this year with those of the preceding campaign. Our vessels also are cruising on the coasts of Albania.

*Napoli di Romania, April 4, 1825, o.s.*

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*Second despatch.*

*The executive body to Messrs. John Orlando and Andreas Luriottis.*

The enemy before Navarino, having experienced defeats at various times, is, at present, in distress, and is endeavoring to retire into the fortresses of Modon and Coron. We hope that none of them will escape us, and that their present position may serve them as a salutary lesson. On the 31st March, (12th April), a curious engagement took place. About one hundred Greeks, under general Macrojanis, sallied out of the fortress, sword in hand, threw themselves on the centre of the enemy, and, after having killed more than 500, according to the most authentic information we have received, they returned into the fortress, laden with booty, having lost only one of their companions, and with only seven slightly wounded.

It is also proper to inform you of the heroic action of John Mavro Michaelis, son of Petros Mavro Michaelis. That young man, accompanied by his brother George, had hardly learned that the enemy advanced towards Navarino, when he went to throw himself into that fortress with a body of soldiers. Unwilling to remain in the fortress, he sallied forth and threw himself on the enemy, and occasioned them a considerable loss. Death, however, deprived us of this young but worthy patriot; he received, in that engagement, a mortal wound. The government, having remarked the sincere zeal of Petros Mavro Michaelis, who himself persuaded his sons to perform that heroic feat, restored him to all those civil rights, of which circumstances had obliged it to deprive him last year. At present, he is united with the other patriots who bravely vindicate the rights of their country.

We give you the agreeable news of a victory obtained by our brave Gouras over Odysseus and his Turkish companions. We have sent you the details of that affair by Mr. K.

The Lively has arrived here with l. 60,000, from London.

We have received the contract of the second English loan, and have forwarded it to you with the ratification.

*Napoli di Romania, 11th, (23rd), April, 1825*

*Niles' Weekly Register, September 24, 1825*

"LEGITIMACY." *Zante, July 6.* The martyrdom of a monk of the convent of the Virgin Mary, in Mount Aracynthe, is the subject of admiration among the faithful here. This old man, having been brought before the tribunal of Roaschid Pacha, and asked what his name was, answered, "Ambrose."—"Your country?" demanded his persecutors. "The monastery of the Holy Virgin," replied the monk. "And your dwelling?" "My dwelling place," said he, "were these rocks until they were levelled by your soldiers; and soon," lifting up a cross at the same time, "my dwelling will be in Heaven." "What have you done with the sacred vessels of the church?" "I have rescued them from the defilement of your soldiers." "Where are they?" "That secret rests with myself." "Speak!" "You may put my body to the rack: God only has power over my soul." They immediately began to apply the torture; not a word, however, escaped him but "Kyrie

*eleison!*" and "Lord have mercy on me!" They drove sharp instruments under his fingernails; but the martyr glorified God, and prayed for his persecutors; who, enraged by his patience of suffering, impaled him, and left him to perish in view of the trenches of Missolonghi. This news was communicated by a Piedmontese deserter. Such are the tortures to which Christians are subjected in the nineteenth century. [Yes—but do Christians use Christians any better? Were not the *scalps* of women and children bought at Malden in 1813? Was there not a massacre of the wounded at the river Raisin? And, what is doing in Spain?]

*Niles' Weekly Register*, October 8, 1825

A KING OF GREECE! There is a long article published in the papers, signed "Captain Nicolas Kiefala," and addressed "to his holiness Leo. XII." "in the name of the provincial government, and of all the learned ecclesiastics of Greece," praying the interference of "the most holy father," that the emperor of Germany and the king of France may be interested in the cause of the Greeks, and nominate and appoint some Christian, catholic and apostolic prince, the issue of any one of the numerous reigning families, to be the king of the Greeks, and proposing a union between the Roman catholic and the Greek churches. It is not said from whence this paper came, and it is without a date. It is probably a *manufacture*, with a view to some political object or speculation.

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*Greece.* Whatever advantages the Turks and Egyptians have gained in their war with the Greeks, are said to be owing to the *Christian* officers who lead the battalions of the barbarians. A gallant French commander, general Roche, who is in the Greek service, complains of this, and mentions, besides, that a hundred European vessels have been hired as transports to the Egyptians; that convoy and cannon are furnished to the invaders, &c.

The Greek committee of Boston, have received letters from general *Jarvis*, captain *Miller*, and Dr. *Howe*, Americans in the Greek service. The following passage is from a joint letter signed by all three of these gentlemen:

As to the progress of the revolution, we jointly give it as our opinion that, taking into consideration all things, the Greeks have exerted themselves beyond every thing that could be reasonably expected; and judging from the past and the present state of affairs, we do not hesitate in saying that we believe they will succeed in establishing their freedom. Two hundred thousand Turks have already perished in this sanguinary contest. There are now in Greece more than two hundred thousand stand of arms; which, though not good, are nevertheless equal to the Turks. Order is daily gaining ground, with the principles of rational liberty learned in the school of adversity. *We* would exhort the friends of Greece in America, to exert themselves for this suffering people, remembering that the struggle is not yet over.

A Trieste account, dated July 2, says—Letters from Syra, of the 8th of July, while they confirm the account of the death of the celebrated Bobolina, give the following details of that melancholy event:

Her daughter had encouraged professions of tender attachment on the part of a young Greek of Spezzia, which her mother entirely disapproved of. After a series of fruitless negotiations, the young man at length presented himself before the mother to demand, for the last time, the hand of her amiable daughter. Bobolina refused him in the most preemptory and obdurate manner, upon which the young Greek, reduced to despair, fired, in a fit of frenzy, a pistol at this unfortunate parent, in the very presence of her daughter, and deprived her of her life. All the letters which we have received, agree in relating this melancholy affair as we have stated it.

It is stated that Lord Cochrane who, it seems, is to assist the Greeks, will direct his chief attention to the attack of Turkish fortresses on the coast, and in laying the open towns under contribution; thereby to break up the military and commercial correspondence of the barbarians.

*Niles' Weekly Register*, November 22, 1825

. . . The Turks have been repelled in four attacks on Missolonghi, and with great loss. In the last, they got possession of several parts of the fortifications, but were driven out, leaving more than 3000 men killed, wounded and prisoners—one account says they lost 9000 men. The captain pacha had retired to Patras, to avoid the Greek fleet under Miaulis, but it is said with loss of some of his vessels. The rest were blocked up by the Greeks. It is stated that Sachturis, with 28 vessels, and 10 fire ships, under the famous Canaris, had sailed for Egypt, to destroy the fleet about to sail for Alexandria, with reinforcements for Ibrahim. Accounts from Hydra say that the Greeks led out about 200 Turks, whom they have long held in captivity, *and butchered them in the streets*—after which they killed many Turks that they had kept as slaves. The cause of this is stated to have been a Turk who fired the magazine of a Greek vessel, destroying himself and all her crew, except 20. Orders had been issued to the Greek fleets, said to amount to 75 sail, *to take no more prisoners*. It is thought that Ibrahim may have heard of those proceedings—for *he has caused a massacre of all the women and children at Salona!* The Greeks have lately blown up a Turkish frigate, (Venetian built), with 400 men. Mr. Allen, an American volunteer in the Greek service, particularly describes the awful event. The Greeks appear to fight as with desperate courage. Bozzaris and Nicetas greatly distinguished themselves at Missolonghi.

## B. Printed Materials on Greece and the Progress of the War of Independence

1. ADDRESS OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED AT A PUBLIC MEETING HELD IN BOSTON, DECEMBER 19, 1823, FOR THE RELIEF OF THE GREEKS, TO THEIR FELLOW CITIZENS. [BOSTON] : Press of the North American Review [1824] (*Pamphlet*)

FELLOW CITIZENS,

The committee appointed by the meeting, assembled Dec. 19th, for the Relief of the Greeks, for the purpose of addressing the public on this subject, now solicits your attention. In discharging this duty, we feel ourselves called upon, at the risk of repeating facts of public notoriety, to state those circumstances and considerations, which seem to us to dictate to the American people the propriety of an earnest expression of their sympathy, and of a generous exertion of their benevolence, in the cause of the Greeks.

That people, it is well known, has now been, in most of its provinces, subjected to the Turkish government, for nearly four hundred years. We apprehend that, notwithstanding the length of time, for which the Turkish domination has been established in Greece, the majority of the community is not yet fully alive to all the misery, which is implied in the political relation of the Greeks to their Turkish masters. Such is the similarity between civilized nations in manners, character, language, and more than all, religion; and such is the effect of the civilized policy of Europe in putting conquerors and conquered on the same footing, that the permanent subjection of a province or a state in Europe, to a foreign European power, though ever followed by murmurs and alienated affections, seldom presents any spectacle of national disaster and woe. It is for this reason, perhaps, that we are apt to think too lightly of the subjection of Greece to the Ottoman yoke, regarding that country as in somewhat the same condition as Ireland, since its conquest by England, or Poland, since its partition by the northern powers. The circumstances of the two cases are, however, widely different. The Greeks have been kept from mingling with their Turkish conquerors, by several causes, all natural, and some most honorable. Their languages are different, not only as the languages of many states of Europe differ, which are yet of the same stock; but different to such a degree, as to cut off almost the possibility of intercourse between the Greek and his masters. Reflecting men will consider the aggravation of a despotic rule, arising from the want of a common language between subject and master. We will only invite such men to imagine to themselves a peasant in Greece, a country where there are no legal advisers by profession, who having been cruelly oppressed by a Turk, should appear before the Turkish judge, to demand his rights, with no medium of communication but the secretary of the latter. Another important circumstance of dissimilarity exists between Greeks and Turks, in their respective national character. The Turks are still but little above the

state of barbarism, in which they issued from the deserts of Tartary. They are strangers to the improvements of civilized life, not wholly from ignorance of them, but partly from superstitious attachment to their inherited manners, and still more from hatred to the Christians, among whom those improvements exist. From the absence of any law, there is no security to property. While the Greek is indiscriminately pillaged by the Turkish governors, they in their turn are subject to the caprice of those higher in authority than themselves, and all to the despotism of the government. In this manner, the little disposable wealth in the country circulates, not through the natural channels of fair exchange, diffusing private comfort and public improvement in this way, but through the ruinous channel of successive extortions, in which it is lawlessly amassed to be finally squandered in the barbarous luxuries of the governors or of the Porte. Hence this country, so highly favored by nature, is wholly destitute of artificial comforts and improvements; without the art of printing; without roads, consequently without any vehicles for island trade; without social institutions of any kind; without any means of securely investing property. What makes this state of things the more oppressive is, that the Greeks possess, naturally, a strong aptitude for all these improvements, and are not only kept in barbarism, but in a barbarism of which they are conscious and keenly aware. Lastly, the religion of the Greeks renders them victims of oppression, in the tenderest and most sacred point. The original alternative, which the barbarous warriors of the crescent proposed to the vanquished, was death to the koran. Wearied by the heroic constancy, with which Christian provinces had, in this terrible alternative, held fast their faith, the Ottoman princes, in time, relaxed from this Tartarian rigor, and allowed the inhabitants of vanquished Christian nations to ransom their lives. On this footing, the conquest of Greece was made; and the name of Rayas, given by the Turks to the Greeks, imports, those whose lives are ransomed from the sword. This ransom is annually renewed in the form of a tax on every male Christian above a certain age. It need not be urged, what a feature of barbarity the taxes of a despotic government acquire, from being considered as the fair ransom of the forfeited life of the subject; and yet this odious tax is but a small item in those imposed upon the Greeks.

By the several causes we have mentioned, all amalgamation between the Greeks and their masters is prevented, and the latter hold the country by a military occupation alone, and that of the most cruel kind. Nineteen-twentieths of the soil are the property of the Turks, and the miserable Greek proprietors are fatally harassed in the possession of the poor remnant. It is an habitual resort of the Turkish governor, in order to increase his wealth, to let loose a band of robbers upon any particular village, of which he covets the possession. The wretched inhabitants understand the source of the evil, and that they have no protection to hope from the arm of power. Their only resource is to sell to

their oppressor, for a trifle, their own lands, and even the payment of this trifle is often withheld on account of a pretended arrearage of taxes. The poor peasant, thus stripped of his land, has nothing left but to work upon it as a serf, for the wretched compensation which his tyrant is willing to bestow. It is in this form, under the name of chiflics, that a large proportion of the farms in Greece have been wrested from their owners. In addition to this comprehensive despotism, which blasts all the germs of social improvement, the Greeks are exposed to the grossest violations of personal right. Their houses are always exposed to military quarterings; nor is any other provision made for the march of a Turkish army, than to designate the Greek villages, on which it shall be quartered. To have acquired wealth in any considerable amount is a crime usually expiated with life alone; while the most sacred relations of domestic life are continually trampled on, by a tyranny as licentious and depraved as it is absolute.—Such is a faint sketch of the despotism, which having for four hundred years weighed upon the Greeks, had grown into a burden too grievous to be borne. Life had lost its value, and death its terrors, under such a yoke. The state of Europe, moreover, for the last fifty years had carried many European travellers to Greece, and brought many Greeks either as navigators, merchants, or students, into the countries of Western Europe; and the horrid contrast of the situation of their country, with that of the rest of the Christian world, has more and more forced itself upon their feelings. It is now three years since they rose in their desperation, and appealed to arms, to Christian nations, and to God. They rose in the simple energy of oppressed, insulted, outraged man; their great resource that they had nothing more to lose; their strong encouragement that no extremity could sink them lower. With little previous concert, the flame spread from province to province, and from island to island; and in the space of three months the whole of Greece was in revolt. The fortunes of the war are before the world. It has raged three years. The two first years terminated with the total defeat of the Ottoman plan of campaign, both by sea and land, and left the open country throughout the south of Greece, and several of the most important fortresses, in the hands of the Greeks. For the present year, down to the middle of October, as far as our accounts go, the want of success, on the part of the Turks, has been still more complete. They have not been able to penetrate to the great theatre of the war; and this campaign, like that of 1822, has closed with the disgrace and exile, and probably the death of the Turkish commander in chief. A still more brilliant success has crowned the naval efforts of the Greeks. Possessed in time of peace of a commercial marine of six hundred sail of vessels of all kinds, all of which were more or less powerfully armed, the Greeks have exhibited on the sea a skill and enterprise memorable in the annals of naval warfare. Though unable to meet the Turkish navy in regular battles, three Ottoman ships of the line have been destroyed by the Grecian fire ships, and the Grecian squadrons have been able to keep up a constant communication between the Continent

and the islands, and have held several of the Turkish ports in a blockade, which for eighteen months past has been respected by the English and French. In addition to their naval and military exploits, the Greeks have formed a constitution of elective representative government, an institution which carries strength and power in its name, and which has for two years gone into operation, and been administered with a success, that, under the circumstances of the people, demands the highest admiration. It is unnecessary to subjoin, that such success has produced a very general opinion, that the Greeks will finally triumph. The most respectable writers in Europe have avowed this opinion. A writer in the *Quarterly Review*, a journal of very high authority, and at the same time by no means friendly to revolutionary pretensions, makes use of these expressions, "It now appears extremely probable, (we might indeed we believe use a still stronger expression,) that the Greeks will be able to establish their independence."

To this opinion, the President of the United States has given great strength in his late Message to Congress, in stating, that,

from the facts, which have come to our knowledge, there is good cause to believe, that the Turkish government has forever lost its dominion over the Greeks, and that they will become again an independent nation.

Such then are the efforts, and such the success of Greece, in her struggle, they appealed to the sympathy of Christian nations, and the appeal was everywhere, in Europe, heard and answered. A thought on the state, in which they entered the war, will satisfy all that they must be destitute of arms, munitions, military skill, and money. All these wants, if not supplied, have been diminished by the liberality of the friends of freedom and humanity in Europe. Besides several bands of volunteers, who have entered their service, the numerous societies, which have been formed for their relief in the several parts of Europe, have transmitted large supplies of arms, clothing, and money. The sum of sixty thousand florins was subscribed by the king of Wurtemberg alone, toward the expenses of an armament of volunteers fitted out in Germany for the aid of the Greeks.

But another, and perhaps, more powerful appeal has been made to the benevolent in Europe. The war being peculiarly a war of Mahometanism against Christianity, the Greek and the Christian, wherever he was found, whether in arms or quietly pursuing his occupation, was indiscriminately proscribed. Hence thousands, even without the limits of the theatre of war, could save their lives, only by flying from their homes, in a state of total want. At Constantinople, after the cruel spectacle of the Patriarch hung on Easter day, at the door of his church; and of ladies and children, from the ancient Greek families in the Fanar, torn from their homes, and surrendered to a brutal soldiery in the bazar; thousands of Greeks fled, in the extremest misery, to the Morea, and the free isles. Throughout the cities of Asia Minor, particularly at Smyrna, the Greeks were shot at,

like dogs, by the lawless Janisaries; and European and American merchants established there, were obliged to shut their doors on women who, after wandering for two days without food, and in constant peril of their lives, came to implore a single night's shelter, from pursuit, brutality and death. The only hope of all the Greek population in Asia is, in finding means of escape to those parts of Greece in the power of the Patriots. In the catastrophe of Scio, besides forty one thousand, principally of women and children, sold to slavery; besides twenty five thousand, who had perished with arms in their hands, or were hanged, impaled, burned, or drowned, by the ruthless victors, it is computed that fifteen or twenty thousand succeeded in making their escape to the independent Grecian islands, in a state of total want, and of misery of the most pitiable description. On this subject, we quote the words of an address of twenty respectable Sciote merchants established at Trieste, made in behalf of their wretched brethren. This address, after stating that the warfare now waged by the Turks, surpasses in horrors of cruelty, whatever is recorded of the ages of darkness, thus proceeds, "Those who, no longer able to endure the intolerable yoke of tyranny, resolved to take up arms, with a determination either to obtain their lawful and just liberty, or end at once their miseries and their life, have suffered indeed many and great evils. But then it has not been their unhappy lot to see their temples profaned, and their children and wives dishonored, to be themselves dragged into captivity, and to become the sport of the insolent rage of their rulers. These are horrors, which have been reserved for the submissive and unoffending; for those who, trembling at their own defenseless situation, when exposed to the cruelty of the tyrant, determined to bear in silence the weight of oppression; for those, who not only took no part in the operations of the insurgents, but who, in order to give the strongest proof of their allegiance and subordination, surrendered themselves into the hands of their masters, and as a confirmation of their submission, went voluntarily to prison, where they were treated with every indignity and cruelty. Nay, they even deprived themselves of food, in order to maintain those very persons, who were soon to become their executioners. They consumed all their property to enrich their plunderers; they stripped themselves to clothe their oppressors. It was upon these wretched victims, (amongst whom the inhabitants of Cyprus and Scio were preeminent in misery,) that those Turkish beasts in human form rushed, with the fury of tigers, attacking them with fire and sword, without distinction of class, family, or age, guilt, or innocence, slaughtering unmercifully and indiscriminately, from the magistrates of the people, the archbishops, and the archons, to the lowest menial, so that the blood of the Christians flowed in torrents, dyeing the very soil of Scio. It was indeed a sight too horrible to be endured, when men beheld their wives led into captivity, their chaste daughters shamelessly dishonored on the highways, and in the streets, by the vilest of the multitude, their innocent infants snatched from their arms, and dashed upon the ground. Many women,

unable to endure so shocking a calamity, threw themselves from the windows of their houses; others cast themselves into the sea, with their children, choosing rather to be themselves the destroyers of their offspring, than to leave them to perish, by the barbarity of the enemy.\* \* \* Out of more than a hundred thousand inhabitants, there now remain but twelve hundred on the island. The greater part of the men and of the aged women were destroyed. The younger women were made slaves, and carried into Asia and elsewhere, to be exposed to the insolence and cruelty of barbarians. And when the consuls of the different European powers, resident at Scio, deceived by the insidious promises of the Capudan Pacha, had persuaded the fugitives to return, and had delivered up those of the Greeks, who had sought the protection of their flag, these also shared the fate of their brethren."

This address then proceeds to describe the sufferings of those, who made their escape to the mountains, wandering without food or water, or any other necessary of life. Of these, some succeeded in reaching the coast, and embarking for the various islands in the possession of the Greeks, and some for Trieste and Ancona. Of those, who escaped to Trieste, the address thus speaks.

The clemency and humanity of our great and magnanimous emperor [of Austria] have afforded them an asylum. But scarcely had their harassed spirits recovered a little from their pressing danger, when they began to feel more acutely the full weight of their calamity; one perceiving that he had lost a son, another a brother, another a father, another his wife, or children. Naked, they knew no one who should clothe them; perishing with hunger they doubted if any one would take compassion on them. Our Greek community in this town, small and poor as it is, made generous efforts for their relief, and supplied their immediate wants, in order to prevent their dying on the spot; but owing to the great number of fugitives from all parts, who had taken refuge here, and on account of the poverty of the community, it was no longer able to raise sufficient to support them. Thus many families of the upper and middle classes of merchants, brought up to abundance, and all the conveniences of life, are compelled to take up their abode in the roofs of houses, are ready to perish for want of clothing, and ashamed to go abroad, have no beds whereon to give a little rest to their weary frames, are destitute of necessary daily food, scarcely supplying the urgent wants of nature, with the coarsest bread. Here are old men, objects of honor and esteem, worn away not only by the weakness of age, but by want of the common necessities of life; widows miserably bereaved, lamenting bitterly that they have escaped from death, which would have spared them the weight of their present calamity. Absorbed in the contemplation of their wretchedness, no longer possessing their substantial houses, they wander about not knowing whither to go, and pining with hunger. Such is the extreme of misery, that on many of both sexes, who had escaped the flurry of the Turks, the violence of the shock has produced insanity and death itself. And if the compassion of the benevolent, both of our own nation, and among foreigners, be not excited on their behalf, despair and a miserable death will be the termination of the calamities of the survivors.

Such is the condition of those of the Greeks, who have made their escape to foreign countries. To convey an accurate idea to the public of the horrors exercised on those, who were surprised by the Turkish power too suddenly to escape, we feel it our duty to enter into a few details of a nature almost too painful to be read, but of which the Christian world ought not to be uninformed. It is well known that a few weeks after the commencement of the revolt in the Morea, the Patriarch of Constantinople, the head of the church of Greece and of Russia, was torn from his altar, on Easter day, and hung in his robes at his own door. We quote the following sentence from the *Jafta*, or inscription which, according to the forms of justice in Turkey, is attached to the breast of the person executed, to set forth his crime: "Instead of having prevented or punished the revolt, the Patriarch has, in all probability, taken an active part in it, so that it is almost impossible, that the whole Greek nation, although it may contain innocent individuals, should not be totally destroyed, and exposed to the wrath of God." In these impious terms, and on this impious occasion, the decree of extermination against five millions of Christians was pronounced. The infuriated Janisaries constituted themselves its executioners. According to an extract, which we have seen from a work published at Leipsic, by an eye-witness of the scenes, which took place at Constantinople, after the murder of the Patriarch,

One hundred and seventy six of the most respectable Greeks were dragged upon the pavement, till the flesh was torn from their limbs, and they expired. The Janisaries heated the ramrods of their guns red hot and forced them into the bodies of their prisoners; others were blinded by burning irons; and the hands and feet of others exposed to live coals. On one day four thousand bodies were found in the street, the limbs mutilated, and the heads cut off. Some were nailed by their ears to tables; others had burning coals thrust into their mouths, and their flesh torn with hot pincers. A large number were nailed to trees; others were scourged to death; of others the hands and feet were sawn off. Children perished in multitudes by the bayonet. Without the walls of the city, were to be seen several wretches buried alive to the neck, with their mouths kept open by a gag, so that the ants and vermin might creep in.

In these sickening horrors, there is unfortunately nothing inconsistent with the Turkish habits and manners; nothing improbable, at a moment when, according to an expression in an official note of Lord Strangford, the English ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, "the distinction between the innocent and guilty was unknown, and all the Greeks, without exception, were criminals in the eyes of an exasperated populace." Throughout the Turkish empire, the same horrors were perpetrated. The fate of the island of Cyprus was scarcely less deplorable than that of Scio. Notwithstanding the total absence of every thing like a revolutionary movement in that island, and although a general disarming of the Greeks had taken place, the archbishop was hung at the close of 1821, and most of the Christians of the town of Larnica, the chief place in the island,

were massacred. By the month of August, 1822, sixty-two villages had been destroyed; every church in the area of forty miles levelled, and 18,000 Christians put to death. "The Christians were hunted by the Turks," says a respectable foreign writer, like wild beasts. Several churches were immediately converted into mosques and stables. In the monastery of Panteleimon, the Turkish commandant caused the brethren of the fraternity to be saddled and bridled, like beasts of burden, and traversed the hills, he and his soldiers, thus mounted, till these unfortunate Christians, in many cases, dropped dead with fatigue and merciless beating.

There is the less difficulty in giving credit to these horrid details, when we call to mind the treatment of the Christian prisoners at Cyprus, when this island was first taken by the Turks, in the year 1570. After a massacre of men in arms to the amount of 20,000, "the aged of both sexes, the women not sent to the slave market, and the children unfit for service, were built up within a wooden pile, in the market place of Nicosia, and burned alive." One of the most shocking features of the present war, is the impious rage, which the Turkish soldiery has every where exhibited against the religion of their victims. The first objects of their fury are the monastery, the church, the altar, the volume of the Scriptures, and the ministers of religion. The most respectable foreign prints, on the credit of the letters from Greece, have related among other atrocities, one, that surpasses almost the bounds of Turkish barbarity. A Greek priest, who bore the name of our Saviour, (a name not unusual in the Greek church,) having fallen into the hands of these monsters was, by them, in derision of his name, nailed to a cross, and after languishing for some hours, covered with pitch and burned alive.

The few facts, we have stated, are sufficient to show the horrors of this warfare, the cruelties to which the Christians are exposed, whenever they are within the reach of Turkish power, the number and wants of the fugitives in every part of Greece, in the possession of the Patriots. There is satisfaction in reflecting, that the sympathy of the benevolent has been excited, as widely as the tale of these calamities has circulated. In Odessa and in Trieste, at St. Petersburg, in all the considerable towns of Germany, in Holland, France, and Switzerland, and in England, societies have been formed for the relief of this appalling amount of human misery. Large sums of money have been forwarded to the principal scenes of action and suffering, and agents sent to Greece to ascertain the most effectual mode of applying the contributions, that have been raised. In the city of London, it has been publicly stated, that the Quakers alone, in that place, raised the sum of £4000, in one week, after receiving the intelligence of the catastrophe of Scio. Our own country, used to be the most prompt in listening to the call of misery, has, as yet, sent nothing to the sufferers of Greece. Our distance from the scene of suffering, our communication with but one port in Turkey, and that distinguished for its hostility to the cause of the Patriots, and the general want of information, are not doubt the reasons

why America has so long remained the only Christian country, which has taken no interest in this momentous struggle. At length, however, the public mind is awakened. Two successive appeals to the sympathy of the national legislature have been made by the President of the United States, in his annual addresses to Congress. Our first commercial city, under the lead of one of its first commercial citizens, has evinced the noblest spirit in the cause; and a memorial from the pen of another of her citizens, a civilian, whom to name is to praise, has already gone to Washington, on behalf of the Greeks. The same spirit has been displayed in Philadelphia, and her most eminent citizens have appealed to the people and to the government, in the cause of their suffering fellow men and fellow christians. Other cities and towns in various quarters of the country, and the scientific and literary seminaries, are daily giving proof that the emotion in this cause is universal. In the legislature of Maryland emphatic resolutions have been already introduced, responding to the sentiments of the President's Message; the chief magistrate of South Carolina has expressed himself not less earnestly on the same topic; our own representative in Congress, whose character and talents are the honor of his constituents, and of his country, has laid upon the table of the House an important resolution, which has perhaps already been called up.

Under these circumstances, we rejoice to know that a very general feeling has also been cherished in Boston, in the same good cause, and that we may safely discharge in few words, all that remains of our duty, in this address. We feel that no arguments are wanting in aid of facts like those before the world. We confidently call upon the citizens of Boston and our brethren generally throughout the state, to join the efforts already made and making in the civilized world, for the relief of an oppressed, suffering, agonizing, Christian people. We call upon our merchants, whose hearts are as noble as their fortunes, to put forth their liberality in behalf of an enterprising nation, which has not enjoyed the blessings of a government able and willing to protect their flag on every sea; but which, nevertheless, amidst indignity, insecurity, and oppression, has acquired a high reputation for commercial skill and industry. We call upon the inhabitants in general of our favored cities, towns, and villages, while they glory in the possession of privileges, which call out and strengthen the powers of man, and make him capable of all that is great and generous, to stretch forth a helping hand to a people of noble origin and aspiring feelings, subjected for centuries to the most revolting slavery. We would invite the matrons of America—wives and mothers—to contemplate, and to realise, the picture of the fate of Scio, and to use their influence in exciting a general and powerful emotion, in behalf of the sufferers, in a war like this; and while they draw round their firesides, and miss no member from his place in the happy circle there, to think of the mothers and the daughters, bred up like themselves in ease and competence, in the garden of the Levant—sold in the open market, driven with ropes about their necks into

Turkish transports, and doomed to the indignities of a Syrian or an Algerine slavery. To all who have felt the pangs of eternal separation from a beloved child, even in the course of nature, we would quote the words of the address of the Greeks at Constantinople to their brethren in London, on occasion of the sack of Scio. "It is time," says this affecting address,

to turn your sympathy toward the unfortunate survivors, to call, dear countrymen, your attention to the miserable naked state of thousands of our Sciotes, with which the markets here and at Smyrna are glutted; picture to yourselves children of the tenderest age, hitherto nursed with the most delicate attention, now driven about with only a piece of cloth round their infantine limbs, without shoes or any other covering, having nothing to live upon but a piece of bread thrown them by their inhuman keepers, ill-treated by them, sold from one to the other, and all in this deplorable condition exposed to be brought up in the Mahometan religion, and to lose sight of the precepts of our holy faith.

We call upon the friends of freedom and humanity to take an interest in the struggles of five millions of Christians, rising, not in consequence of "revolutionary intrigues," as has been falsely asserted by the crowned arbiters of Europe, but by the impulse of nature, and in vindication of rights long and intolerably trampled on. We invoke the ministers of religion to take up a solemn testimony in the cause; to assert the rights of fellow men, and of fellow christians; to plead for the victims whose great crime is christianity. We call on the citizens of America to remember the time, and it is within the memory of thousands that now live, when our own beloved, prosperous country waited at the door of the court of France and the States of Holland, pleading for a little money and a few troops; and not to disregard the call of those, now struggling against a tyranny infinitely more galling than that, which our fathers thought it beyond the power of man to support. Every other civilized nation has set us this example; let not the freest state on earth any longer be the only one, which has done nothing to aid a gallant people struggling for freedom.

THOMAS L. WINTHROP, Chairman.

EDWARD EVERETT, Secretary.

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2. A GEOGRAPHICAL VIEW OF GREECE, AND AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE RECENT REVOLUTION IN THAT COUNTRY. Published by N. & S. S. Jocelyn, New Haven; Collins & Hannay, New-York [1824] (*Book extract*)

The Historical Sketch was taken principally from several well written articles recently published in the Boston Daily Advertiser.

## SITUATION AND EVENT

Greece, or the country inhabited by the descendants of the ancient Greeks, embraces all that portion of Turkey in Europe which lies south of the parallel of  $41^{\circ}30'$ . The continental part is a peninsula, jutting out into the Mediterranean, and separated by the Ionian sea from the peninsula of Italy on the west, and by the Archipelago, from Asia Minor, on the east. In the former sea are situated the Seven Islands, constituting the Ionian republic; in the latter, about 100 islands of various size. All these may strictly be considered as a component part of Greece. Near the southern extremity of the peninsula, is the sub-peninsula of the Morea, (the ancient Peloponnesus,) connected with the main land by the narrow isthmus of Corinth. The whole area of Greece, including the islands, may be estimated at 40,000 square miles.

DIVISIONS AND POPULATION. It is impossible to define with any accuracy the limits of the different provinces into which Greece is divided by the Turks. The boundaries for many years have been continually changing, in consequence of the wars between the different Pachas. In modern maps, the country is commonly represented as comprehending the Morea, Livadia, Thessaly, and parts of Albania and Rumelia. These names are sometimes used by writers on the modern geography and history of Greece; but generally, they refer back to the most ancient divisions of the country. For this reason, we have inserted on our map both the ancient and modern divisions, the former being distinguished by an open letter.

<i>Modern Divisions</i>	<i>Ancient Divisions</i>	<i>Population</i>
Morea	Argolis	400,000
	Laconia	
	Messenia	
	Elis	
	Achaia	
	Arcadia	
	[Total Morea]	
Livadia	Attica	250,000
	Megaris	
	Boeotia	
	Phocis	
	Locris	
	Doris	
	Aetolia	
	Acarmania	300,000
	[Total Livadia]	
Thessaly	Thessaly	300,000
Rumelia and Albania	Macedonia and Epirus	800,000

Ionian islands	200,000
Islands in the Archipelago	700,000
	<hr/>
	2,550,000

#### PROMINENT FEATURES OF THE COUNTRY

Down the middle of the peninsula, and parallel to its two coasts, runs a continuous range of lofty mountains, varying in height from 7 to 8,000 feet in the northern and central part, to as many hundred near the southern extremity. Of the former height may be reckoned the ridge of Pindus and Parnassus, while Parnes and Pentelicus, in Attica, do not exceed the latter. Branches are thrown off towards either coast from this central chain; to the eastward, the celebrated Olympus, rising near the head of the gulf of Salonica, to the height of 6,000 feet, forms the north extremity of an inferior chain, consisting of Ossa and Pelion, Othrys, and Cæta and continuing in a S. E. direction through the island of Negropont. To the westward of the main range are the rugged and mountainous countries of Epirus, Ætolia, and Acarnania. The highest mountains of the Morea are the Cyllenian range, near the west coast, and the Taygetus near the S. extremity. Extensive plains of considerable elevation above the level of the sea, are encircled by the mountain ranges. Of these, Thessaly, Boeotia, and Arcadia, still preserve their ancient character. The rivers by which these plains are watered are little more than mountain streams, with the exception of Peneus, or Salymphria, whose numerous branches, after intersecting the plain of Thessaly, unite and discharge themselves through the celebrated defile of Tempe into the gulf of Salonica, and the Alpheus, which waters the verdant plains of Arcadia and Elis.

CLIMATE, SOIL, AND PRODUCTIONS. The climate of Greece is more severe in winter, and in many parts warmer in summer, than that of the south of Italy. In the neighbourhood of Tripolizza, on the elevated plains of the Morea, snow sometimes falls to the depth of 18 inches. In Attica, the climate is more moderate and equable than in other parts of Greece; the air being generally clear, dry and temperate. The peaked summits of Pindus and Parnassus are covered with snow for nine months in the year. The plains of Greece produce corn, rice and tobacco in abundance. In Thessaly are cultivated extensive groves of mulberry trees for the silk worm. The Morea is celebrated for the excellence of its silks, and Messenia, in the S. W. corner of the Morea, is as famous as in ancient times for its corn, wine and figs. The richest produce of Attica is the olive. The cotton plant is in general cultivation.

PRINCIPAL TOWNS. The following is a list of the most important towns that occur in the recent history of the country, arranged in geographical order.

*Misolunghi* or *Messalonga* is a town of 5000 inhabitants, situated near the coast of Ætolia.

*Corinth* is situated on the northern declivity of a mountain near the isthmus which connects the Morea with the main land. It formerly had two harbours: one in the gulf of Egina, which is now deserted, and the other in the gulf of Lepanto. The town contains at present only 1300 or 1400 inhabitants. The isthmus in the narrowest part is only 5 or 6 miles across. It was famous in ancient times for the Isthmian games, celebrated there in honour of Neptune.

*Patras* is situated on a bay of the same name, near the entrance of the gulf of Lepanto. It is built on the declivity of a hill, at the top of which is the castle. The harbour is perfectly safe at all times for the largest ships. The surrounding country is cultivated with great skill and industry, and the numerous products for exportation have rendered this place the most important mart in the Morea; particularly since the Ionian islands have been formed into an independent republic, under the protection of Great Britain. The population is 6 or 8,000, among whom are a number of Jews.

*Navarin* or *Navarino* is one of the best ports on the south-west coast of the Morea. It is formed by the island of Sphacteria and several small islets, between which are the passages to the harbour. The principal entrance, which is on the north, between Sphacteria and the main, is commanded by the cannon of Old Navarin. New Navarin is on a promontory of the south shore of the harbour.

*Coron* is on a small peninsula which just out from the west shore of the gulf of the same name. About the middle of the peninsula is a high rock, which commands the fortifications. The town was destroyed by the Russians in 1770, and a great part of it is now in ruins, but it is still one of the most commercial places in the Morea. The harbour is large and safe.

*Modon*, at the S. W. extremity of the Morea, is a town of 6,000 inhabitants, situated at the foot of a mountain, and surrounded by ancient fortifications falling to ruins. Its port is sheltered by the island of Sapienza, which is well inhabited by Greeks, and has several trading vessels belonging to it. Pilots are usually taken here for the Archipelago.

*Napoli di Malvasia*, the *Monembasia* of the Turks, is built on a small island, close to the shore, north of Cape St. Angelo. It has but little trade, its port being unsafe. The ruins of Epidaurus Limera are north of it.

*Napoli di Romania* is situated at the head of the gulf of Napoli, on a rocky promontory which projects into the sea, and forms an excellent harbour, capable of containing 150 ships of war. It is the best built town in the Morea and is well fortified, the works constructed by the Venetians being still in good order. The town is built on the south side of the harbour, and stretches along the whole length of the promontory. It is divided into upper and lower, having a wall and several batteries between them; the upper town is

also surrounded by a wall with embrasures. On the summit of the mountain which rises behind the town is a citadel, the ascent to which is by a flight of steps covered over. Within the citadel are extensive barracks and cisterns. The town contains 9,000 inhabitants.

*Pidauro*, on the west shore of the gulf of Egina, is situated on the ruins of the ancient *Epidauros*. It was celebrated for the temple of *Æsculapius*.

*Athens*, anciently the capital of Attica, and the birth-place of the most distinguished orators, philosophers, and generals of antiquity, is now an insignificant town of 10 or 12,000 inhabitants, on the rivulets of Ilissus and Cephissus, a few miles from the eastern shore of the gulf of Egina. Vessels from different parts of the Archipelago occasionally visit the harbour and the neighbouring coast for wood.

*Salonica* is pleasantly situated at the N. E. extremity of the gulf of the same name. In extent of trade, it is not surpassed by any city in European Turkey, except Constantinople. It is poorly fortified. No city in Greece, except Athens, presents so great a number of splendid ancient monuments. The population of *Salonica* is estimated at 60,000 souls, one half of whom are Turks, and the remainder Greeks, Jews, and Franks.

*Zetouni* or *Zeitoun*, situated at the head of a small gulf in the S. E. part of Thessaly has 4,000 inhabitants, principally Turks. A few miles south of this place is the famous pass of *Thermopylæ*, between mount *Cæta* and the sea. In the narrowest part it is only 25 feet broad. Here *Leonidas* and his 300 gallant Spartans resisted for three days the powerful army of *Xerxes*, and gloriously fell in defense of their country.

*Larissa*, the capital of Thessaly, is beautifully situated on the *Peneus*, and contained a few years since 20,000 inhabitants, chiefly Turks, with a mixture of Greeks and Jews.

**DARDANELLES.** The Dardanelles are two old and strong castles on the Hellespont, (sometimes called from them the Strait of the Dardanelles,) between the sea of Marmora and the Grecian Archipelago. One is situated in Europe, and the other in Asia. There are on each side 14 great guns, fitted to discharge granite balls; they are of brass, with chambers, like mortars, 22 feet long, and from 25 to 28 inches in the bore. These castles are called the *Old Dardanelles*, to distinguish them from two others built at the entrance of the strait, about 10 miles to the south west, one of which stands in like manner in Asia, and the other in Europe.

**CHARACTER.** The character of the Modern Greeks will be best learnt from the sketch of their history which accompanies this description; there are several tribes, however, which deserve particular notice.

The *Mainotes* who inhabit a mountainous district called Maina, at the southern extremity of the Morea, are supposed to be the descendants of the ancient Spartans, and, aided by the natural strength of their country, they have defended their liberty against the Turks with a bravery and constancy not unworthy of such distinguished ancestors. They were formerly noted of their daring piracies, but of late years these habits have yielded to a love of industry and regular commerce. When Guilletière visited Greece in 1669, it was not safe for his ships to approach the promontory of Maina. Rows of grottos in the rocks facing the sea were occupied as cells or hermitages by priests, who were always on the look out, to give the signal when ships appeared, and received as their reward a tythe of the plunder for the use of the church. The Mainote chiefs, who are very numerous, dwell in square towers strongly fortified; their government resembles, in many respects, that of the Highland clans in Scotland, each tribe being entirely independent of the other, and each chief being the judge of his people at home, and their commander in the field. The most powerful chief is invested with the title of Bey, and when the country was subject to the Turks it belonged to him to negotiate with the Grand Seignor, and settle the annual contribution, for no Turk was ever suffered to reside in any part of the territory of Maina. "Here, says Dr. Sibthorp, "man seemed to recover his erect form; we no longer observed the servility of mind and body, which distinguished the Greeks subjugated by the Turks." Every man carries his rifle, and every woman is trained to arms.

The *Souliotes* are a courageous tribe of Greek Christians, about ten thousand in number, who inhabit the district of Suli, in Albania. This district consists of a valley, 26 miles long by 3 broad, inclosed on all sides by inaccessible mountains, except towards the south, where there is a narrow entrance defended by three towers.

The *Yeuruks* inhabit the mountainous districts in some parts of Macedonia. At the time of the conquest of Greece, their ancestors were transplanted hither from Turkomania, to restrain the subjugated districts. They occupy the villages on the heights, and on the slightest report of a revolt, arm themselves and descend into the Greek settlements to re-establish order. They are a laborious race of men, and manufacture large quantities of coarse cloth for exportation.

MANUFACTURES. Cotton and silk goods are manufactured in large quantities, particularly in Thessaly. In the district of Zagora, which lies along the declivity of Pelion and Ossa, there are 24 villages inhabited by active and industrious Greeks, who carry these manufactures to such an extent, that some of their towns resemble rather cities of Holland, than Turkish villages. The district produces annually 25,000 okes of silk, of which 5,000 are consumed in the country, in the manufacture of handkerchiefs, which

are, for lustre, equal to those of Lyons. The great coats of Zagora are celebrated in all the ports of the Mediterranean. They are made of a thick shaggy wool, which is so well woven, that it is impenetrable to water. Ten thousand bales of cotton are annually dyed red in the manufactories of Thessaly, and exported into Germany, Switzerland, Poland, and Russia.

ISLANDS. The following table presents at one view all the important islands, with their population, according to the best estimates.

<i>Islands</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Tenedos	5,000	Half Turks, half Greeks
Metelin	18,000	Dearborn says 40,000 half Greeks half, Turks
Scio	60,000	Before the massacre, 120,000, chiefly Greeks only 4,000 Turks.
Nigaria	2,000	Dearborn says 1,000
Samos	12,000	All Greeks
Patmos	3,000	Chiefly Greeks
Lero	2,000	All Greeks
Calamino	3,000	
Slanco ???	8,000	Greeks and Turks
Piscopia	700	
Rhodes	20,000	Acc. to Turner of whom 14,000 are Greeks. Acc. to Savary, 30,000 of whom 12,000 are Greeks.
Cyprus	83,000	Half Greeks, half Turks
Scarpanta	4,000	Chiefly Greeks.
Candia	240,000	Half Greeks, half Turks
Santorini	12,000	10,000 Greeks, 2,000 Catholics
Stanpalia	3,000	Chiefly Greeks
Nio or Jos	2,700	All Greeks
Sikyno	200	Chiefly Greeks
Policandro	1,200	Chiefly Greeks
Milo	7,000	Dearborn says 500
Argentiera	200	
Siphno	7,000	All Greeks
Paros	2,000	All Greeks
Naxia	10,000	Chiefly Greeks
Myconi	3,000	Chiefly Greeks
Delos	uninhabited	

Syra	5,000	All Greeks
Serpho	2,000	Chiefly
Thermia	4,000	All Greeks
Egina	5,000	
Zea or Ceos	5,000	All Greeks
Tino	25,000	Chiefly Greeks
Andero	12,000	All Greeks
Negropont	25,000	
Skyro	1,500	All Greeks
Scopelo	12,000	
Lemnos	20,000	Chiefly Greeks
Imbro	3,000	Chiefly Greeks
Samothraki	2,000	
Tasse	8,000	
Hydra }		
Spezia }	58,000	All Greeks
Ipsara }		
	<hr/> 698,800	

IONIAN ISLANDS. The Ionian islands, sometimes called the Republic of the Seven Islands, is a small and recently constituted republic, consisting of seven principal islands, and a number of islets extending along the western coast of Greece, from 36° to 40° N. lat. The seven principal islands are, *Corfu*, *Paxo*, *Santa Maura* (the ancient *Leucadia*) *Theaki* or *Ithaca*, *Cefalonia*, *Zante*, and *Cerigo*. The coasts of these islands are rugged and difficult of access, and their harbours insecure, with the exception of those of *Theaki* and *Cefalonia*, to which, in consequence, most of the shipping belongs. The productions are corn, wine, olives, currants, cotton, &c. Since the year 1815, these islands have constituted a republic, under the protection of Great Britain. The inhabitants are partly Italians, but principally Greeks.

#### HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE REVOLUTION IN GREECE.

##### *Origin of the Revolution*

In the year 1814, an Association for the promotion of knowledge and of general improvement in Greece was established at Vienna. To this association many distinguished Statesmen of Western Europe, many of the literati, particularly in Germany, and most of the affluent merchants and other respectable characters in Greece itself, subscribed and contributed. No political object was avowed. In general, none, probably was contemplated. Still, however, the views of the most ardent associates doubtless

extended to the political regeneration of Greece. The effervescence, which existed in Spain, France, Italy, and Germany, after the overthrow of Napoleon and the general call for political improvement in those countries, could not but have had an effect in Greece, from which country about one hundred young men annually resort to the Universities of Western Europe.

*Ali Pacha.*

In the year 1820, the war of the Porte against Ali, the powerful and veteran Pacha of Yanina, broke out. In this war the Greeks took no part, and Ali, when driven by the Turkish armies into his strong hold of the lake of Yanina, took with him more than one hundred of the most respectable Greeks in his dominions, as hostages of the quiet of the rest. By the end of the year 1820, Ali's armies had either deserted him or been driven from the field, and he was closely besieged by the Turkish Pacha, who had been sent against him.

*Revolution in Wallachia and Moldavia.*

In this state of things, in the beginning of 1821, the Greek Hospodar of Wallachia died. The two Turkish provinces, Wallachia and Moldavia, bordering on Austria and Russia, and wholly inhabited by christians of the Greek faith, (though not of the Greek nation,) are governed by Greek Princes, called Hospodars, nominated by the Porte. This government is guaranteed to these two Provinces by several treaties between the Porte and Russia. On the death of the Greek Hospodar of Wallachia in January, 1821, and before a new one could be appointed at Constantinople, *Theodore*, a native Wallachian, gathered together 60 or 70 adventurers, principally Albanians—a kind of *Turkish Swiss*, found in every part of the empire—and with these marched out of Bucharest, the capital of Wallachia, calling on the inhabitants to revolt and procure the redress of their grievances. It has been said that this revolt was effected by the gold and emissaries of Ali Pacha. Theodore in a short time collected about 15,000 men, without plan or organization, who demanded a redress of the grievances, which they suffered under their Greek governors. The Porte received the news of the revolt with little concern, and despatched officers with orders to suppress it, as one of those hasty mutinies, which are frequently happening in all parts of Turkey.

Meantime, however, a more serious event took place in the adjoining provinces of Moldavia. On the 7th of March, 1821, a proclamation was found pasted up in all the streets of Jassy, the capital of Moldavia, signed by Prince Alexander Ypsilanti, calling upon the inhabitants to assert their liberty, assuring them that Prince Michael Suzzo, the Hospodar of Moldavia, was in their cause, and intimating that the co-operation of Russia might be hoped.—Alexander Ypsilanti is of one of the oldest families of Greece; his father was Hospodar of Wallachia, and escaped to Russia, his life being threatened by

the Porte; Alexander had been educated in a Russian military school; served and lost an arm in the Russian army, and at this moment enjoyed the rank of *Major General*, in the Russian service. He had been an active member of the Association alluded to above, and stood in correspondence with the men of most influence in all parts of Greece. It was true that Prince Suzzo was in the secret of this revolt, although, in the first instance, it was against himself. Ypsilanti's proclamation had a powerful effect. The people rose and crowded to his standard, and he was soon in full march toward Wallachia. On the way, he was joined by another strong band, who had revolted at the same time at Galaez, on the Danube, and it may justly be called singular that these three simultaneous insurrections were wholly without concert.

The news of these events produced great excitement at Odessa, of which a great part of the inhabitants are Greeks. The wealthy subscribed in the most liberal manner, and the young and adventurous crowded to the banner of Ypsilanti, which was emblazoned, like that of Constantine, with the christian cross and the motto, "*in this thou shall conquer.*" Ypsilanti lost no time in sending an address to the Russian Emperor then at Laybach: and the Emperor lost as little time in ordering Ypsilanti's name to be erased from the lists of the Russian army, and directing the Russian consul at Jassy to denounce the revolutionary proceedings in the name of the Emperor. Information of these measures was also given to the Porte, by Baron Strogonoff, the Russian minister at Constantinople. The Porte not wholly satisfied, ordered a search of all vessels passing to or from the Black Sea; an order, at which Baron Strogonoff took umbrage.

By this time the Porte was alarmed at the progress of the revolt. The lives of the Greeks at Constantinople were threatened; Suzzo was outlawed as a traitor, and the Greek Patriarch, by order of the Porte, excommunicated him and all the Moldavian rebels.

*Revolution extends to Greece.*

Meantime, however, the flame was spreading. Alexander Ypsilanti had his agents in all the provinces of Greece, who received and propagated intelligence of the events in the two North Eastern Provinces. Preparations had been making all winter in the mountains of the Morea, and arms were collected, and councils held by Peter Mavromichalis, the Bey of the Mainotes, and his brave associates. At the end of March they had 8000 men ready to throw off the yoke. The news from Moldavia put them in motion, and the Turks were driven to the fortresses, in all the Southern parts of the Morea. The 30th of March, Germanus, Archbishop of Patras, raised the standard of the cross, collected the peasantry, and after a skirmishing warfare and many mutual excesses, drove the Turks into the citadel of Patras. On the same day, the Messenian Senate of Calamata, was convened; proclamations were issued, addressed to the Greeks; another to the Turks,

promising them protection on condition of their not resisting; and others to foreign nations. Among the last a proclamation was addressed, by this body, in the month of May, to the citizens of the United States.

It was highly favourable to the cause of the Patriots that Churshid, Pacha of the Morea, the ablest Turkish commander who has appeared in this war, was absent, besieging Ali Pacha at Yanina. On hearing of the revolt in the Morea, he detached his Lieutenant, Jussuf Selim, with a considerable force. Jussuf landed at Patras, pillaged the city, burned 800 houses, and massacred the Greeks, who fell into his hands, without distinction of age or sex. This severity produced a happy effect: it roused many, who had hitherto taken no part. The whole Province was in arms. Gregory, a monk, ranged the country with a cross in his hand, and took post, with several thousand followers, at the Isthmus of Corinth: and in a few days Attica, Livadia, Acarnania, and Thessaly, were in open revolt. The features of insurrection were every where the same. After some bloody skirmishes, the Turks were everywhere driven to the walled towns, and often to the castles in the towns. Nor were the islands behind the continent. Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsara, the three islands where the navigation of Greece centres, formed their Senate, fitted out in a short time 180 privateers, and swept the Turkish trade from the Archipelago. The single house of Conturioty fitted out 30 small cruisers. Vovlina, a lady whose husband had been put to death by the Turks, fitted out, at her own expense, *three* cruisers, and commanded the little squadron in person. These fleets raised all the islands; kept up a communication between them; blockaded the ports where the Turks were fortified, and gave life to the Patriot cause in every quarter.

### C. Accounts by Greeks of Personal Experiences and Suffering Published in the United States

#### 1. TURKISH BARBARITY. AN AFFECTING NARRATIVE OF THE UNPARALLELED SUFFERINGS OF MRS. SOPHIA MAZRO, A GREEK LADY OF MISSOLONGHI

Who with her two daughters (at the capture of that Fortress by the Turks) were made prisoners by the Barbarians, by whom their once peaceable dwelling was reduced to ashes, and their unfortunate husband and parent, in his attempts to protect his family, inhumanly put to death in their presence.

Taken from her own mouth, and translated by Mr. Kelch, the Greek agent in London.

*Great indeed have been my sufferings for CHRIST's sake, but I will not murmur, for much more did he suffer for me while on earth."*

PROVIDENCE: Printed for G. C. Jennings.—Price 12½ Cents.

*District of Rhode Island—to wit:*

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the twenty-eighth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight, and in the fifty-second year of the Independence of the United States of America, GEORGE C. JENNINGS, of said district deposited in this office the title of a book the right whereof he claims as Proprietor, in the following words, to wit:—"Turkish Barbarity—an affecting narrative of the unparalleled sufferings of Mrs. Sophia Mazro, a greek lady of Missolonghi, who with her two daughters (at the capture of that fortress by the Turks) were made prisoners by the Barbarians, by whom their once peaceable dwelling was reduced to ashes, and their unfortunate husband and parent, in his attempts to protect his family, inhumanly put to death in their presence. Taken from her own mouth and translated by Mr. KELCH, the Greek Agent in London—Great indeed have been my sufferings for Christ's sake, but I will not murmur, for much more did he suffer for me while on earth." In conformity to an Act of Congress entitled "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the time therein mentioned, and extending the benefit thereof to the Art of designing, engraving, and etching, historical and other prints."

Witness— BENJAMIN COWELL,  
Clerk of the Rhode Island District.

#### UNPARALLELED SUFFERINGS OF MRS. SOPHIA MAZRO

It is a fact known to almost every individual of this country, that the long persecuted christian inhabitants of ill-fated Greece, have been for several years past contending for their freedom and independence, of the merciless Turk—the avowed enemies of the Cross! During the arduous struggle, the cruelties inflicted upon, and the hardships endured by the Greeks, have been such as to awaken the sympathies of all who feel an interest in their righteous cause—they have indeed deserved the commiseration of the whole christian world. The accounts of their great persecutions, have heretofore been received through the medium of the public prints only—but, there has at length arrived among us, one of the unfortunate subjects, who comes to make a public declaration of them—by her narrative, it will be perceived that she has drank deep of the bitter cup of woe, but has borne her afflictions with that fortitude, which is peculiar only to a true and sincere christian—her narrative follows:—

"I am a native of Greece, and for many years have been zealously attached to the Greek Church, whereby I have, in common with others of the same faith, been made the subject of the most bitter persecutions by the unmerciful Turks. My unfortunate countrymen submitted to their tyranny, and bore the yoke of bondage, until it could be no longer endured—appealing to the Most High, as to the purity and justness of their cause,

## TURKISH BARBARITY.



“Turkish Barbarity”

*Woodcut fold-out bound in the volume (see facing page)*

An Affecting Narrative of the Unparalleled Sufferings of Mrs. Sophia Mazro,...

and placing implicit reliance on Him, for his kind interposition in their favour, they united to a man, and with one mind arose, determined either to gain their freedom, or perish in the effort. The example was first set by the patriotic Greeks of the Morea, which soon spread to Scio, where after a desperate conflict, they were overpowered, the whole island laid waste, and the few christians who escaped the dreadful slaughter, and was not so fortunate as to make their escape from the island, were obliged again humbly to submit to Turkish bondage.

This melancholly and unexpected event, so calculated to dishearten and dampen the spirits of the patriotic Greeks, in their first onset, had no other effect than to encrease their thirst for liberty, and so strengthen their determination to effect it, or perish with their wives and children in the attempt.

I was at this time an inhabitant of Missolonghi, where my christian countrymen arose en-mass, to oppose the tyrannical mandates of the Turkish foe. On the first symptoms of a revolt, the Turks flew to arms, but the conflict, altho a bloody one, was short, victory decided in favour of the Greeks—had it been otherwise, Missolonghi would undoubtedly have then shared the fate of Scio, and presented a similar scene of cruelty and dissola-

tion. The city was soon after converted into a fortress, with a determination on the part of the Greeks to defend it, so long as any thing to subsist on remained; nor did they fail to do it. Prayers were put up at all the Christian churches by the Bishops, imploring the aid of Heaven in what they conceived a just and righteous cause, and every preparation was made to give the Mahometans a warm reception, should they attempt a conquest—even the females from the ages of 18 to 35, voluntarily proffered their services, and were presented with arms—and it was not an uncommon sight to see a husband and wife with one or more daughters, issuing early in the morning from their dwellings, with muskets in their hands, and proceeding in different directions to their respective divisions.

Although at the time of the extermination of the Turks, the place contained a plentiful supply of provision, yet so numerous were the inhabitants, and all prospects being cut off by a powerful Turkish fleet, of gaining a supply from abroad, that after sustaining and repulsing several unsuccessful attacks by the Infidels, it was found necessary to put every inhabitant of the city on an allowance—a step which was conceived so indispensably necessary, that every one cheerfully submitted to it, with fond hopes that what was now most to be dreaded, FAMINE, with all its horrors, might be avoided, until we could receive new supplies from our christian brethren abroad—but, alas, their various attempts to relieve us were unsuccessful—their naval force, which for many weeks was plain in view, was so inferior to that of the enemy, that an attempt to have approached so near as to land the provision intended for us, could have produced nothing but their own destruction.

The time at length arrived when what we most fearfully apprehended, was most seriously realized—every dumb beast of the horse or neat kind, which the city contained, was early seized by order of the Greek commanders, to serve as food to the Greek soldiery—this at length failing, recourse was had to meaner animals and quadrupids, such as dogs, cats, rats, &c. The dreadful scenes of misery and want which the streets now generally presented, and the horror depicted in the countenances of wretched parents, of numerous families of helpless children, falling victims daily to starvation, is beyond the power of imagination.—Mothers, unable longer to afford nourishment to their tender infants, plunged them into the deep ditches surrounding the city, preferring thus to terminate their own children's sufferings, to falling into the hands of the barbarous infidels, from whom they could expect no mercy!

The brave Greeks at length unable and unwilling longer to witness such scenes of horror, and when driven themselves by deprivation to a state of desperation, resolved to open a passage whereby they might be enabled to obtain food for their dying compan-

ions and tender offspring, or perish with them in the attempt. with this determination (after repairing to the churches where the sacrament was administered to them,) a sortie was made by 800 picked men, whose object it was to attack a battery of the Turks, on the water side—a movement which was unfortunately anticipated by the Mahometans, who had so well prepared themselves for their reception, that by a tremendous fire, they soon put their assailants to flight, who fled in disorder to the mountains for shelter—the Turks followed up their success and soon with little opposition entered the city with sword in hand!—it was near the close of the day, and O! the horrors which then ensued made too deep an impression on my mind to be ever forgotten! The merciless Turks commenced their work of blood without respect to age or sex! the streets were soon filled with little else but the dead and dying—here might be seen the wretched parents intreating that their lives might suffice, and that those of their unoffending offspring might be spared! and there, the poor children, driven by terror to a state of distraction, pleading for the lives of their parents! but, in vain were their intreaties for mercy—too great was the thirst of the infuriated monsters for Christian blood! but few women and children were permitted to survive the bloody conflict. The Governor, who had repaired to a church with a few chosen men, repulsed for some time the attacks of the Turks with heroic bravery; but the most of his men being killed, and the doors forced, he sprung a mine and blew up both the church and citadel, destroying both his own life, and that of more than 2,000 Turks.

Myself with my poor husband and children, as our only place of security had sought to escape the fury of the enemy by secreting ourselves (soon after their entrance into the city) in an upper apartment of our dwelling; but which, sharing the fate of others in the general conflagration, we were soon driven therefrom by the devouring flames! O, Heavens! what followed, was too much for the eyes of a mother (enfeebled by sickness and infirmity) to behold—my poor children clung to their wretched father, begging for that protection, which he was longer unable to afford them! expecting no mercy from the hands of monsters already crimsoned with the blood of his countrymen, he manfully defended himself, nor did he yield until so shockingly cut and mangled by the swords of the Infidels, as to render him unable longer to resist!—such I expected would inevitably be the fate of myself and poor children—we kneeled, and improved that which we concluded would be the last moment of our lives, to implore the forgiveness of our sins, and supplicate the mercy of Him, who has power to stay the hand of the assassin—but, we soon found, contrary to our expectations, that our lives were to be spared, but only to endure, if possible, still greater miseries!—my daughters were given to understand that their fate was determined upon—that they were to be sent with many of their christian female companions to some distant part of the Grand Seignor's dominions, there to be

disposed of as slaves, to the highest bidders! but, that it was still in their power to save themselves, by renouncing the Christian Religion, denying the blessed Saviour and embracing Mahometanism—but, I rejoice that I have it in my power to say, that they found my dear children steadfast and immovable in their faith, and that death, in whatever way the Mahometan infidels might have been pleased to inflict it, would have been preferred to that of complying with their impious request.

The moment had now arrived when fate had decreed that I was to be separated (perhaps forever) from my poor beloved children! we had only a moment's time allowed us to embrace, when they were dragged from me by the unfeeling wretches, and ordered on board the vessel which was destined to convey them to a distant land, where they were to be consigned to slavery! Before embarking, they were indulged with the privilege of kneeling and kissing the soil of their birth place, and the last christian ground on which they, in all probability, would ever again be permitted to walk!—my eyes followed them until forced by the winds and waves beyond my view!—gladly would I have accompanied them, and shared with them in their miseries, but this indulgence was denied me.

I was not left at liberty to wander wherever I pleased, without a home, and deprived by the cruel hands of my enemies of all my dear connexions; and to add to my great afflictions, I was now doomed to be exposed continually to the insults of those who profess to be the avowed enemies of the cross!—nor was it long before I was reduced to the most awful extremities, by hunger and despair! the very recollection of my extreme sufferings for more than three months, now shocks my memory! by day (half clad) I wandered about searching among the ruins, and begging in vain of the authors of my wretchedness for something to appease the cravings of nature! and at night seeking some shelving rock, beneath which I might repose my wearied limbs! nor was I without my miserable companions—both women and children, whose sufferings were equal and in some instances greater than my own, dying with hunger, naked and forsaken, deprived of their homes, and subject to the insults and derision of those whose hearts were callous to every humane feeling, were continually presenting themselves before my eyes! Some of my christian readers may suspect this picture to be exaggerated, but I assure them that it is not, indeed so far from it, that without hazarding truth, it might be painted in still deeper colours! O, that I could forever efface those dreadful scenes from my memory!

When driven by the loud calls of hunger to beg relief of an unfeeling Turk, his only reply was “deny *your* Saviour, and acknowledge Mahomet, and your wants shall be supplied!” “never! (was my constant reply) I will yet, if possible, endure greater miseries for the sake of Him, who suffered so much, and gave his life up a sacrifice for *me*, while on earth!” My only resource was to my prayers, which I did not fail to repeat night and

morning—and that my prayers did finally prevail, it would betray my want of love and gratitude for that Benevolent Being, who has supported me under my many afflictions, to doubt—when least expected, relief came—a stranger appeared among us (who, although not a Greek) assured us that we were worshippers of one and the same Saviour—he came he said to alleviate our sufferings—he had brought us provision and clothing which was generously sent by our christian friends, of a far distant country (America) whom we had never and probably should never see in this world!—and O, how seasonable was this relief—it was the means of preserving the lives of many poor women and children—and never may I or my companions in misery forget to mention those good people, of one and the same faith, in our daily prayers! and humbly petition that peace and prosperity may attend them through this life, and finally receive in the world to come that reward which their acts of christian benevolence so justly entitles them.

Our generous benefactor was accompanied by another, whom I afterward found was the commander of an English armed vessel, to him I related (by the help of an interpreter) the tale of my afflictions, which seemed so much to effect him as to draw tears from his eyes!— “madam (said he) you have already suffered too much from the persecutions of such unmerciful barbarians—leave them until such time as your christian friends shall succeed so far in avenging your wrongs, as to effect their extermination, root and branch—if you will accept a passage with me to England, there I promise you, you shall be conveyed in safety; where, I will guarantee, you will be welcomly received, and will find christian friends who will cheerfully contribute to your relief!”—and in justice to this good man, I must say that he did not deceive me, all of his promises have been fully and satisfactorily realized, and I can never reflect without the most grateful sensibility, on the charity and hospitality which my christian friends in England have exerted towards me, for which it is my sincere prayer, that they may receive a rich reward in another and better world.”

#### THE EXILE OF SCIO

To the foregoing melancholly tale of human sufferings, we have thought that it would not be disinteresting to our readers, to annex another of an unfortunate Female of Scio—her narrative is here recorded as it was related by her to two English gentlemen, who visited the shores of that unfortunate island, soon after the horrid butchery of its Christian inhabitants by the unmerciful Turks. In speaking of Scio, one of the gentlemen above mentioned observes:—The view on either shore is splendidly beautiful: but on both, the associations of memory cast a feeling of disgust over every object: we could not look on the verdent hills of Scio without a shuddering recollection of the slaughter that

had so lately stained them, whilst the opposite and equally beautiful coast was alike detestable as the home of its perpetrators. But whilst to us the scene was anything but a pleasing one, there was one individual on board our vessel to whom the sight of the devoted island served to summon up the most heart rending reflections. This was a young Greek lady of twenty-two or twenty-three years of age, a native of the island, a witness to its massacre, and a destitute exile in consequence of the murder of her family. She was now on her way with us to Smyrna, in order to place herself under the protection of a distant relative, whom she hoped though, faintly, to find surviving. She sat all day upon the deck, watching with wishful eyes the shores of her native island, at every approach which our vessel made towards it, she seemed anxious to recognize some scene that had once been familiar, or perhaps some now-deserted home that had once been the shelter of her friends; and when, on the opposite tack, we again neared the Turkish coast, she turned her back upon its hated hills to watch the retreating shores of her desolate home. I had not been aware of her being on board, as her national retiring habits had prevented her appearing upon deck during the early part of the voyage; but as she drew near Scio, feeling seemed to overcome education and prejudice, and she sat all day beneath the awning to satiate herself with gazing and with recollection.

Towards evening we drew near the ruined town, built on the sea-shore, at the foot of a wooded hill, which had been the site of the ancient city of Scio. Its houses seemed all roofless and deserted, whilst the numerous groups of tall and graceful cypresses which rose amidst them, contrasted sadly with the surrounding desolation; all was solitude and silence; we could not descry a single living creature on the beach, whilst from the shattered fortress on the shore, the blood red flag of Mahomed waved in crimson pride above the scene of its late barbarous triumph. At sunset the wind changed; we passed the Spalmadores and Ipsara, and, rounding the promontory of Erythræ, entered the bay of Smyrna. As we caught the last glimpse of the ruins of Scio, the unfortunate pointed out the remains of a house to the north of the town, which had been her father's; it was now in ruins, and as clearly as we could discern, appeared to be of large dimensions, and situated on one of the most picturesque points of Scio. Her name, she said was Kalerdji, and her father had been one of the commissioners for collecting the revenue of the Sultana from the gum-mastic of the Island. On the breaking out of the revolution in the Morea, strong apprehensions of a similar revolt in Scio were entertained in the Divan, and a number of the most distinguished Greeks of the island were selected to be sent to Constantinople as hostages for the loyalty of the remainder; amongst these were her father and her only brother; herself, her mother, and two elder sisters being left alone in Scio. Tranquility continued undisturbed in the island for more than a year, thought the accounts of the reiterated successes of the Moreots were daily stirring up the energies of

the inhabitants, whose turbulence was only suppressed by the immediate dread of the Turkish garrison in the Genoese fortress on the beach, the only strong hold in Scio.

One evening, however, a squadron of their vessels, manned with Samians, entered the harbor, and aided by the lowest rabble of the town, succeeded in despatching the guard, and taking possession of the fortress. But the deed was done without calculation, and could be productive of no beneficial result; the fort was untenable, and on the almost immediate arrival of the Ottoman fleet, a capitulation, without a blow ensued. The news brought by the hostile armament was of the instant execution of the ill-fated hostages, the moment the accounts of the revolt had reached the Porte. Overwhelmed with grief for the loss of their only and dearly beloved protectors, the family of Kalerdji spend the few intervening days in vain but poignant regret, and in the seclusion of their bereft mansion knew nothing of that was passing at the town; where, whilst the Greeks were occupied in supplications and submission to the Captain Pacha, the Turks in false protestations of forgiveness and amnesty, the troops of the Sultan disembarked at the fortress. At length the preparations for slaughter were completed, and the work of death commenced.

It was on the evening of the third day from the arrival of the Turkish admiral, that the family of the wretched being who lived to tell the tale, descried the flames that rose from the burning mansions of their friends, and heard, in the calm silence of twilight, the distant death scream of their butchered townsmen; whilst a few flying wretches, close pursued by their infuriate murderers, told them but too truly of their impending fate. As one of the most important in the valley, their family was almost the first marked out for murder, and ere they had a moment to think of precaution, a party of Turkish soldiers beset the house, which afforded but few resources for refuge or concealment. From a place of imperfect security, this distracted young lady was an involuntary witness to the murder of her miserable sisters, aggravated by every insult and indignity suggested by brutality and crime, whilst her frantic mother was stabbed upon the lifeless corpses of her violate offspring. Satiated with plunder, the monsters left the house in search of farther victims, whilst she crept from her hiding place to take a last farewell of her butchered parent, and fly for refuge to the mountains. She had scarce dropped a tear over the immolated remains of all that was dear to her, and made a step towards the door, when she perceived a fresh party of demons already at the threshold. Too late to regain her place of refuge, death, with all its aggravated horrors, seemed now inevitable, till on the moment she adopted an expedient. She flew towards the heap of slaughter, smeared herself with the still oozing blood of her mother, and falling on her face beside her, she lay motionless as death. The Turks entered the house, but, finding their errand

anticipated, were again departing, when one of them, perceiving a brilliant sparkling on the finger of this only surviving member of the murdered family, returned to secure it. He lifted the apparently lifeless hand, and attempted to draw it off; it had, however, been too long, too dearly worn; it was the gift of her affianced husband, and had tarried till it was now only to be withdrawn from the finger by an effort.—The Turk, however, made but quick work; after in vain twisting her hand in every direction to accomplish his purpose, he drew a knife from his girdle and commenced slicing off the flesh from the finger. This was the last scene she could remember. It was midnight when she awoke from the swoon into which her agony and her effort to conceal it had thrown her, and she lay, cold and benumbed, surrounded by the now clotted streams of her last loved friends. Necessity now armed her with energy; no time was left for consideration, and day would soon be breaking. She rose, and still faint with terror and the loss of blood, flew to a spot where the valuables of the house had been secured; disposing of the most portable about her person, she took her way to the mountains. She pointed out to us the cliff where she had long lay concealed, and the distant track by which she had gained it, through a path at every step impeded by the dead or dying remains of her fellow-countrymen. By the time she imagined the tide of terror had flowed past, when she no longer observed from her lofty refuge the daily pursuits and murder of the immolated Sciots, and when she saw the Ottoman fleet sail from the harbour beneath its crimson pennon, now doubly tinged with blood, she descended with her fugitive companions to the opposite shore of the island. Here, after waiting for many a tedious day, she succeeded in getting on board an Austrian vessel, the master of which engaged to land her at Hydra, in return for the quantity of jewels and gold she had been able to reserve. She reached the island in safety, where she had now remained for nearly two years, but, finding or fancying her various benefactors to be weary of their charge, she was now going to seek, even in the land of her enemies, a relative who had been living at Smyrna, but whom she knew not if she should still find surviving or fallen by the sabre of their common enemy.

Her tale was told with a calm composure of oft-repeated and long contemplated grief—she shed no tear in its relation; she scarcely heaved a sigh over her sorrows—she seemed, young as she was, to have already made her alliance with misery. She had now, she said, but one hope left—and if that should fail, she had only death to look to!

[☛ In confirmation of the truth of the preceding Narratives, of two of the unfortunate Females of Greece, as regards their deprivations and sufferings, and the awful barbarities of the Turks, we would now present the reader with well authenticated accounts from

Dr. HOWE and Mr. J. P. MILLER, who have for some time resided in that country as agents to and under the patronage of the American Greek Committees—we shall commence with some extracts from a letter of the latter:]

[*Editor's Note: The Howe and Miller letters are in Chapter VI, p. 341*]

2. THE PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF THE SUFFERINGS OF J. STEPHANINI, (Ι. ΣΤΕΦΑΝΙΝΗΣ) A NATIVE OF ARTA, IN GREECE: INCLUDING  
Accounts of the capture of Patras—of some of the principal events of the Greek Revolution— of some of the most conspicuous characters which have been developed by those events; of the manners, customs and religion of the Albanians, Turks, Egyptians, and Bedouin Arabs.

PUBLISHED WITH A VIEW TO ENABLE HIM TO RETURN TO HIS OWN COUNTRY,  
AND TO RELEASE FROM SLAVERY A LARGE AND SUFFERING FAMILY.

NEW YORK: VANDERPOOL & COLE, PRINTERS, 1829

#### PREFACE

The following pages will be found immethodical in arrangement and deficient in elegance of style: These defects, the compiler found unavoidable.—The want of method, is to be ascribed to this: that all the facts which related personally to Mr. STEPHANINI, are drawn entirely from memory. It was, therefore, impossible that the dates, or order of events, should in all cases, be accurately marked. Many of the defects, in the composition, are to be ascribed to the imperfect knowledge which Mr. S. has of the English language, which rendered him unwilling that the compiler should employ any other than the most plain and familiar expressions; and, also to the circumstantiality with which Mr. S. has, in many places, insisted on describing minor events. These causes, it will be perceived, must tend, in some degree, to depress the style, if not the general character of the narrative. It has, however, a redeeming quality. It is true. In detailing the facts wherein Mr. S. was personally concerned, he has been scrupulously guided by his personal knowledge. In those wherein he cannot be supposed to have participated, the most authentic sources of information have been sought. In the hope that it may prove a hook on which benevolence may hang her offerings, it is submitted, with all its imperfections, to the public.

RECOMMENDATIONS from the Rev. Dr. Wainwright, and R. Sedgwick, Esq., of New York; J. K. Kane, Esq., and Rev. Dr. Ely, Philadelphia; and T. S. Grimke, Esq., Charleston.

(copied from the original)

Mr. Stephanini, a native of Greece, has brought to me several letters from gentlemen of high standing and character—he has also shown me testimonials in the highest degree favorable;—from these documents, confirmed by intercourse with him on several occasions, relating to his designs and prospects, I have no hesitation in recommending him to the notice of those who may be willing and able to assist him in redeeming his mother and sisters from their cruel bondage among the Turks.

JONA. M. WAINWRIGHT.

I have had a long acquaintance with Mr. Stephanini, having known him during nearly all the period of his residence in this country, and consider his narrative of his personal misfortunes entitled to unqualified confidence.

R. SEDGWICK

Mr. Stephanini has presented to me letters from gentlemen of well known character in Charleston and New York. I have conversed with him, and have examined the testimonials with which he is furnished; and I fully and cordially commend him to the sympathy and good offices of those who have the means and the willingness to indulge a discriminating benevolence.

J. K. KANE

Mr. J. Stephanini, a native Greek, has been introduced to me by several gentlemen, in whom I have the highest confidence. He has been himself a captive, and now seeks to procure the means of redeeming his mother and sisters from the horrors of Turkish bondage. His object will commend itself to every human person; and I feel happy to give him this introduction to any of my acquaintance.

E. S. ELY

From the interview which I have had with Mr. Stephanini, and from conversations with others, and the examination of his letters, I recommend him with great pleasure to all who feel a sympathy for his personal misfortunes, and admiration for the cause of his gallant and afflicted country.

THOMAS S. GRIMKE

[*Narrative extracts begin on pages 49-50*]

. . . The city of Patras, at the commencement of hostilities, contained about 12,000 inhabitants. It is pleasantly situated on a gentle acclivity, on the south-west side of the entrance of the gulf of Lepanto, or Corinth. On an elevation near the city stands the fortress, garrisoned at that time by five or six hundred Turks, and containing 150 guns, though not more than 20 or 25 were mounted and effective. This fortress overlooks the town. It has two large gates at the northern and southern extremities. Of these gates or

portals, the southern was several years before the commencement of the revolution, thrown down by lightning, but was about four years afterward rebuilt by the Turks. The fortress is of a circular form. The outer wall is very high, of great thickness and strength, and surrounded by a broad moat. On this wall, the cannon are mounted—within is a second wall, overlooking the former, and inclosing the houses and barracks of the garrison; and the area within a third wall is occupied as an arsenal.

In April, 1821, the suspicions of the Turkish garrison were awakened by the secret removal of a large number of the Greek inhabitants of the city. Measures were immediately taken by Zidar Aga, the Turkish commandant, to put the fortress into the best posture of defence, in order to repel the anticipated attack. The aga attempted to enforce the order to disarm the Greek inhabitants, but met a firm resistance. He then turned the cannon of the fortress against the city, and soon obtained possession of it. A multitude of peasants, collected by the zeal and efforts of Germanos, archbishop of Patras, soon recovered possession of the town, and drove the Turks into the citadel.

The aga gave immediate orders to set fire to the house of the archbishop. This violence was the signal for open hostilities. The Greeks, filled with indignation at such a wanton outrage, hastily seized their arms, assembled in a body, and made a vigorous assault upon the fortress.

The Turks commenced a cannonade upon the city, but being unskilful in the management of artillery, their fire produced but little effect. The Greeks, who had previously left the city, now flocked in from the mountains, accompanied by the neighbouring peasantry. A general shout was heard throughout the Grecian multitude. Ἐλευθερία, Ἐλευθερία! διὰ πίστι, τοῦ Χριστοῦ! (Liberty, Liberty! for the faith of Christ!)

On a neighboring hill, called Scatovuni, within a short distance of the citadel, they took a position, and threw up a battery. A vigorous and regular siege was commenced by five or six thousand Greeks. For eleven days, a constant fire was maintained on both sides. The Greeks, during the first days of the siege, had no cannon, but they at length obtained some small pieces from an Ionian vessel, lying in the harbour . . .

. . . The siege of the citadel at Patras, was vigorously pressed; a mine was opened, and almost ready to be sprung; the Turks had begun to suffer, for want of provisions; and every thing seemed to promise a speedy reduction of the garrison; when an unexpected incident frustrated and destroyed the hopes of the besiegers.

This was the arrival of Yusouf Pasha, at the head of a large body of cavalry. Taking advantage of the obscurity of a night unusually dark, he had transported his troops across the gulf, from the city of Lepanto, and appeared with them on the plain before the city early in the morning, in array of battle.

This enterprise had been conducted with so much secrecy and despatch, and so complete and effectual was the surprise the Greeks suffered, that the first intimation of the circumstance, was communicated to the citizens by a simultaneous, discharge of all the guns of the citadel, by way of salute, and by the entrance of Ysouf Pasha, and his cavalry, into the city.

Many of the Greeks were in their beds. Roused by the noise and confusion, they commenced a precipitate flight; some to the seashore, and others to the mountains. Thousands of men, women and children, were rushing through the streets in every direction, endeavouring to escape the scymetar of the bloody conquerer. The town was immediately given up to pillage. The aged and infirm, and infants of both sexes, who were unable to escape, were dragged from their habitations and hiding places, and butchered in the streets.

My father's residence was in a central part of the city. Most of the family were in bed when the alarm was given. I had just risen, and hearing a tremendous explosion of cannon, and a great tumult and confusion, I hurried to the door to learn the cause,— and on opening it, I was suddenly seized by a Turkish soldier. He bound my hands, and commanded me with many execrations, (in broken Greek,) to go before him to the citadel. Entreaty was as unavailing as opposition would have been. My tears and supplications were addressed to a heart of marble; and my reluctant steps were goaded forward by the muzzle of the musket of my captor.

Thus was I, at the age of seventeen, torn from the bosom of my family, to behold some, perhaps all, of them no more for ever. Their fate, I was unable to ascertain; and the suspense and anxiety of my soul were insupportable. Ah, ye favoured of heaven, whose lot is cast in this happy and peaceful land; who have never beheld the sword and flame of war spreading carnage, misery and desolation around you; whose friendships have not been severed by the stroke of the scymitar; and who have never felt the agony of being deprived by massacre, dispersion and chains, of that sweetest of all earthly joys, the society of parents, brothers and sisters; as little can you imagine as I describe my feelings, at that distressful and disastrous hour!

On reaching the fortress, my captor secured me in a solitary apartment, and left me pinioned and half dead with grief and terror. As he was a soldier of the lowest order, I had every thing to apprehend from his brutality, and nothing to hope from his humanity. He soon after returned accompanied by some other Turkish soldiers. Expecting immediate death, I endeavoured to commend myself to God, and await the issue.

On being informed by some of his companions, by whom I was recognized, that I was the son of a wealthy merchant, and that my father had probably secreted his money

somewhere in the neighbourhood, as many other rich Greeks had done, he proceeded to interrogate me concerning its disposal, and the place of its supposed concealment. My inability to satisfy his rapacious curiosity, was construed into willful contumacy; my most solemn assertions of ignorance were disbelieved, and their repetition served but to kindle and inflame his rage.

Stung with disappointment in being thus defeated in the attainment of his anticipated booty, he seized me, and with eyes darting fury, he drew his ataghan, and swore by Alla (God) and his prophet, that he would cut me to pieces. He made a violent stroke with his weapon across my arms (still pinioned behind me,) which inflicted a severe wound on one of my wrists. He then aimed a thrust at my head, but the point of his dagger striking against a bone behind my right ear, was prevented from penetrating deeply. His fury was here checked by the representations of his companions, and seemed to give place in some measure to another passion, that of avarice. They reminded him that if he killed me, he would lose the large sum he had calculated on as the price that I should bring in the market; for as it was known that my father was wealthy, and would, if living, pay a high price for my ransom, it was imagined that my purchaser, when informed of that circumstance, would be more liberal in his price. To these representations, I owe the prolongation of a life, subsequently so filled with suffering, that is preservation can hardly be accounted a blessing.

Meanwhile, the work of destruction was going on in the city. No adequate idea can be conveyed of the horrible atrocities that were committed on the unhappy inhabitants. The old and helpless of both sexes were dragged forth shrieking into the streets and slaughtered; the matrons and wives were brutally abused and whipped; the young women were violated, and then murdered or dragged to the shambles and sold into slavery. Invention was set on the rack to find modes of torture. Vengeance was superadded to cruelty, and brutal passion to vengeance, in aggravating the torment and agonies of unhappy sufferers.

All the men who were taken in arms, were immediately beheaded. Fifty that morning were led into the fortress, and suffered death in this manner before my eyes; and their bleeding bodies were flung out to be trampled on by the cavalry and to be devoured by dogs. Nothing but the fatigue of exertion, put an end at last to the horrible work of rapine and slaughter.

The fate of these unhappy men was, however, enviable, compared with that of those who lived, to endure the shocking miseries of a protracted slavery.

\* \* \*

## CHAPTER VII

My captor, having concluded that my death would be a loss to him, and, not yet despairing of being able to compel me to disclose the depository of my father's money, forbore to put the finishing stroke to my wretchedness. He now fell to whipping me with rods, and continued for three days and two nights, at short intervals, to inflict that horrible punishment. The excruciating torture I endured, from the shocking laceration of my flesh, at length rendered me frantic, and I heartily wished for death to put a period to my torment. On his approaching me the last time, brandishing the instrument of his barbarity, I begged him to kill me, and satiate his demoniac vengeance with my blood. I entreated and implored him, in the name of his God, and of his prophet, to terminate my sufferings then, for I could endure no more. I imprecated and denounced him as an unbeliever in any God, or any religion hoping to provoke him to inflict the fatal blow, for which I supplicated in vain. With a fiend-like laugh, he assured me, that he was not to be moved by prayers, nor provoked by reproaches, to an act so prejudicial to his interest. I repeated my execrations, till at length his savage temper could be no longer suppressed. He took a large pistol from his belt, cocked it, and pressed it against my breast. He snapped it, and it missed fire. Another trial was equally unsuccessful. Enraged at the disappointment, he struck me furiously with the pistol several times on my forehead. I fell to the ground, stunned, and apparently dead. The blood gushed in copious streams from my forehead, and ran like water on the floor. It is probable, that he would, on this occasion, have put an end to my misery, and life, together, had not one of his companions, who accidentally entered the room at that moment, interfered, and advised him to desist, and to spare my life. He remarked, that it would be a pity to kill me, as I would, doubtless, bring something in the market, and recommended to him to take me thither, and dispose of me, and apply the proceeds to the purchase of a horse, or of equipments. This suggestion seemed to mitigate his fury, and recall his recollection. He desisted from further violence, and exhausted the venom of his spite in stigmatizing with a variety of execrations and opprobrious epithets, the "Greek dog" (Σκύλο Ρωμιέ,) while I lay lacerated, bleeding, and half dead before him.

His rage being abated, the barbarian took some sulphur and olive oil, and melted them together in a pan. Then, having dipped a piece of cotton therein, he bound it closely round my forehead, which was still bleeding profusely. The application of this styptic, stanching the blood, and the wounds, in a short time, began to heal. The scars of them remain, however, as a convincing testimony of Turkish cruelty. I was then shut up in a wretched apartment, that might acquire, by a short respite from torture, a more merchantable plight. During this time, my condition was truly deplorable. My flesh had been so horribly bruised, and mangled; it was so much swollen, that it had assumed a

livid colour, and was so exceedingly painful, that, with the slightest touch, or motion, I could hardly refrain from screaming aloud; and I was unable to sit, stand, or lie, without great torment. In this situation, I remained five days; at the expiration of which, I was dragged forth to the Pasari, or market place, where I was subjected, with several other Greeks, chiefly females, to the inspection of the Turkish traders, as a horse, or any other brute; and was, at length, purchased by a Bey, named Mustapha, for five hundred piastres, a sum equal to about seventy-eight dollars of the currency of the United States.

As my new master was a man of rank, I had conceived a hope of less barbarous treatment from him, than from the brutal monster from whose tyranny I was now released. My reception, however, soon convinced me that I had only been transferred from the hands of one Turk to those of another.

I was taken with much rudeness, and no commiseration to the house of my new master. My common appellation was, "You dog." (In the Turkish language, *Sen chiopec*;) and I was introduced to my new situation by the only title which I bore for more than four years. "*Giaour chiopec*,"— (Christian dog). The object, to accomplish which my master now set himself, was to make me a convert to the Turkish religion. In order to do this, he inquired of me first, if I wished to become a man. I answered, that, thank God, I was one already. He said he meant a Mussulman; a believer in the true prophet; that Christians were not men, but dogs. He then proposed to me a change in my religion, offered me several advantages as the necessary consequences of such a change, spoke of a removal of my bondage, and the immediate improvement of my condition,— and set forth with much zeal, the future joys which the Koran promises to every true believer. He endeavoured to strengthen these considerations, by adding to them many threats of punishment, perpetual slavery or death in the event of my refusal. I told him firmly, that, much as I valued liberty and life, I valued my religion more than either. That I could never consent to renounce it; — but should live while I did live, and die when I did die, in the faith of Christ.

He fell into a violent passion, and calling his *choushe* or principal Secretary, commanded him to throw me into a dungeon. In obedience to this mandate, the *choushe* dragged me to a cell under ground, about six or seven feet square, where dogs had been kept. Here I was kept twenty-eight hours without a morsel of food or a drop of water; and all his retainers were prohibited, by the severest penalties, from any intercourse with me. After this time had elapsed, apparently apprehensive that further deprivation of air and food might hazard the loss of his property; and, perhaps, conceiving that the preservation of the body, was of more consequence to him, than that of the soul, of his slave; he sent orders to the *choushe* to bring me again before him. On my approaching him, he said to me with a sneer of contempt, "Well, dog, have you come to your senses? Are you

now willing to become a Mussulman? to throw off your religion—the religion of dogs, and embrace ours?" I answered, in substance, as before, that "I had attachments to my faith, which I could not break; that I had formed a firm and unalterable resolution never to abandon it, nor to swerve from its principles, whatever might be the result."

The decisive tone of my answer, which was, perhaps, in some degree strengthened by resentment, seemed to redouble his rage. With many execrations he commanded me to my dungeon, swearing that I should remain there until I abjured my religion, and adopted his, or died from starvation. I was again thrown into the same loathsome cell, with six dogs as my companions. In this situation, I lived for two months and a half; my lacerated flesh still unhealed, my frame wasted and weakened by hunger and pain, without a gleam of light to cheer my despondency, with no bed but the cold and wet earth, whereon to rest my weary and emaciated limbs, and with no other nourishment than a small piece of black, mouldy and worm-eaten bread, and a cup of filthy water, once in twenty-four hours. No one was permitted during my confinement, to approach my cell, except a little black, called Selim, who once a day, thrust my miserable fare through a small aperture in the wall of my dungeon, and then immediately closed it and retired without speaking.

The aim of my master was to inflict all the sufferings my enfeebled frame would possibly bear, short of death. He did not wish to lose the seventy-eight dollars he had paid for me, and, therefore, allowed me just a sufficiency to eke out a life which I should have been glad to resign. During some of the last days that I remained in this dungeon, I had become so completely worn out with hunger and exhaustion, that I was unable to stand, or scarcely to move my limbs. I lay on the ground, expecting and wishing to die; and the only tokens of life I was able to exhibit, were the faint groans I occasionally uttered. The black boy had been instructed to watch the effects of this barbarous treatment, and, when he perceived that the cord of suffering had been drawn to the utmost stretch of endurance, to give an intimation thereof to my master. The black now began to notice me attentively from day to day, and, at length, informed my master, that I could hold out no longer. On hearing this, he immediately deputed another servant with the black, to bring me again before him. On seeing me, he inquired, "Well, dog, what think you by this time? Are you now ready to become a Mohammedan?" I was too weak to answer. He narrowly observed my condition, and, beholding my emaciated and death-like appearance, spoke for some time to the other Turks, who were present, I suppose, in explanation of his treatment to me, and then ordered me some pilaf or boiled rice, a piece of beef, and some bread and water.—I was so extremely weak, and so near death, that I had no appetite or disposition to eat. I swallowed with much difficulty a mouthful or two and was then conveyed to another apartment, above ground, on

the floor of which was a straw carpet, and an old rug, swarming with vermin. My master soon after sent me a cup of coffee, by which I was somewhat refreshed. My fare here was rather more tolerable than before, although I was terribly annoyed by vermin, and deprived of the comforts of light and wholesome air; and although my mind was constantly on the rack of anxiety for the fate of my family, and of apprehension for my own, yet the natural vigour of my constitution began to prevail over the privations and hardships I suffered.

My master spared no pains to intimidate me by threats, and to tempt me by promises. to become a convert to his faith; but at length wearied with my firmness, (which he deemed obstinacy,) and despairing from further persecution. After remaining a month or more in this prison, and having in a degree recovered from the effects of my former severe sufferings, I was permitted to go out and to enjoy the luxury of light, fresh air, and exercise. My master then led me into the house, and installed me into the office of a lower servant, whose duty it is to understand a command before it is uttered; to be ready to perform whatever work may be assigned, but more especially to take the charge of the paraphernalia of his master, particularly of his pipes and tobacco, whence he is called "chibouc olan," or "boy of the pipe...."

## CHAPTER IX

In this servile and contemptible occupation, almost five years of my life were spent. The monotony of a period like this, it will be readily conceived, affords but few incidents that can awaken interest, or claim attention. Every successive day brought a renewal of the same dull task. Perhaps it is not one of the least miseries of slavery, that it binds down the victim, soul and body, to the same narrow range of action, to the same unvaried course of action, to the same unvaried course of tedious drudgery of the body, and uninterrupted lethargy of the mind . . .

## CHAPTER XII

I now return to pursue the thread of my own history. During the period of my captivity, the city of Patras was several times besieged, and once was taken by a body of Ionians, under Mavrocordato. The citadel was, however so strong, and the garrison so numerous, that all attempts to reduce it, failed. While the city was invested, the Greek slaves in the citadel were confined in dungeons, and subjected to every species of cruelty and indignity. I, among the rest, was shut up in my old dungeon, and, for some time, experienced the same barbarous treatment, and the same mean fare, that I have already described.

At those times, when the Greeks threatened an assault upon the city, my master sent his family, for the greater security, across the gulf of Corinth, to the city of Lepanto. His duty, as commissary to the garrison, compelled him to reside either at the city, or at the castle Moraitico, a strong fortress, situated at the mouth of the gulf. I used to accompany him in his journeys between the two places, he riding on horseback, and I following him on foot.

One great source of misfortune to me, during the whole period of my slavery, was the cruel and capricious temper of my mistress. She would sometimes treat me with a show of kindness. At other times, without any known cause, or reason, she would heap upon me all the obloquy of which she was capable, and, by false colourings, and misrepresentations of my carriage toward her, would often instigate my master to the infliction of undeserved and rigorous punishment. Indeed, little instigation to severity, or cruelty, is necessary to a Turk, when a slave and a Christian is the victim.

On one occasion, merely for looking attentively in her face, (the better to learn the import of some orders she was giving me in the Turkish language, which I did not well understand,) she, with much anger, and in a loud tone, told me, that I knew that her religion did not allow such familiarity between men and women; and that the tendency of my looking her in face, would be to pervert her mind; her anger rose still higher, when I told her, that it was the custom of my country to attend to those with whom we were conversing, and she immediately sent me to my master, with a request, that I might be severely punished. My master, to gratify her spleen, immediately inflicted on me one hundred and fifty strokes of the bastinado.

The blood, during this dreadful operation, oozed from beneath the nails of my toes, and, in a short time, my feet swelled to such an enormous size, and were so exceedingly painful, that I was unable to walk, or even to stand. A composition of salt and onions, beaten together, was applied to the soles of my feet, and I was immediately thrown into my former dungeon.

At another time, for something I had said, which was construed into disrespect, my master sewed my mouth: piercing my lips with a large needle, and inserting a wire. In this situation, I was kept about thirty hours, unable to speak, or to receive any nourishment.

My tedious life thus wore away, till the beginning of the year 1825; at which time, the castle Moraitico was visited by several Italian vessels, for the purpose of traffick. These vessels usually lay in the bay for two or three days, making arrangements with Ysouf Pasha, for leave to visit the Grecian ports, in the gulf of Corint, and such other places as might be occupied by Greek citizens, or were subject to the authority of the Greek com-

manders. In these licenses, the pasha drove a secret, but very profitable trade; inasmuch as these captains commonly paid, for such permission of the pasha to traffick, a premium of twelve per cent, upon all articles of merchandise which they disposed of to the Greeks. These articles included various kinds of provisions, wool, cotton, currants, and oil. This trade would have been far less advantageous to the traders than to the pasha, had they not taken care to add these charges as well as their own commissions, to the price of the commodities disposed of to my countrymen, whose necessity compelled them to purchase at whatever price was demanded. My master, who was commissary of that place, had frequent transactions with these capitani, in purchasing provisions for the garrison. I sought, a long time, for a favorable opportunity to address some of these men, and to communicate to them a knowledge of my situation. My courage failed me, on several occasions, when I was on the point of making this communication, forasmuch as they were generally men who, by their occupations, (partly trader, partly pirate,) were accustomed and injured to every species of dishonesty; and whom no tie, but that of interest, could bind. These rovers were, also, generally hostile in feeling, to the Greeks, by whose admirals they had often chastied, for their piracies, in the Ionian and Aegean seas, although interest prompted them to disguise their hatred, and to carry on an apparently cordial trade. Any communication with such men, I was fearful might be betrayed, and reliance upon them might fatally prejudice the purpose I was meditating. Had they known of my situation, and inclination to escape, their sense of morals would not, probably, have prevented them from enticing, or stealing me away. There was no sufficient motive of interest, however, to induce them to run the hazard of incurring the heavy penalty inflicted for that offence. It is probable, therefore, that instead of aiding my escape, they would have betrayed my secret to my master, as well to secure his favour and confidence, as to gratify their vindictive feelings toward a Greek.

There happened to arrive, however, at castle Moraitico, about the middle of January, 1825, an Italian vessel, under the command of a Genoese, named Spalla. This man was totally unacquainted with either the Turkish or the Greek languages. He brought out a cargo of provisions, consisting of rice, corn, fruits, biscuits, and other commodities. My master wished to purchase this cargo for the use of his garrison; and as I was the only person of his household who understood Italian, I was chosen, by good fortune, as the interpreter between them. Of this opportunity, I took advantage. The captain and myself entered into conversation together,— and as I knew his inability to betray my confidence, I disclosed to him my situation without reserve. This was all in the presence of my master and several other Turks, who did not suspect, that in carrying on his negotiation, I was at the same time, negotiating for my own liberty. I represented to the Italian, as well as I was able, the cruelties and privations I had suffered, and my anxious

desire to escape from a state of slavery so dangerous and dreadful. He was touched with pity, and sympathised sincerely with me in my afflictions, inquired with much earnestness, respecting my family; and on learning that my name was Stephanini, observed that he was familiar with the name, having often heard of my father from the Italian merchants, with whom he was acquainted. He took special care to inspire me with hope and confidence in heaven. He told me that he could not conceal from me, that my enterprise, would, if undertaken, be attended with great and particular danger, both to myself and to those that might assist me. He asked me if I could brave death, in order to effect my freedom; and told me at length, if I had sufficient confidence in my own courage, to attempt the experiment, he would contribute all the means in his power to effect my deliverance. I was not long in forming my resolution. I blessed him as my friend and benefactor, and expressed with confidence the strong desire I felt, and the hazards I would willingly incur, to escape from my thralldom.

A subsequent meeting completed our arrangements. In about ten days after this, his business being finished, and his vessel ready to sail, the captain called on me and said; My friend, the time of your emancipation has, I hope, arrived. Put your trust in God, and follow my directions. I am now ready for my departure. Come to the small warf, that runs into the gulf beyond the castle Maraitico, this evening, at eight o'clock, precisely, and I and my crew will be there waiting for you with a boat.

I had not words to express my gratitude. I embraced my benefactor. He left me, and the time drew near. The mingled emotions of joy, of gratitude, of fear, that agitated my mind, it is impossible to describe. My frame trembled like an aspen leaf. I had three miles to go by land, and every step of this distance lay among enemies and barbarians, who would have thought no more of the murder of a Greek than of the destruction of a dangerous or offensive beast;— but the apprehensions of death weigh but little with the slave who has the glorious prospect of liberty before his eyes. In the worst event, he is released from a life of weariness and woe; “a consummation devoutly to be wished.” I loaded with care an old pistol my master had given me a year or two before, in a fit of uncommon kindness, and having offered up my earnest prayers to God for his guidance and aid, in this season of peril; I watched my opportunity, and seizing a favourable moment, when none were observing me, I left the house. I walked precipitately through the streets in the dark. I dared not run, lest I should be suspected by the Turkish soldiers and citizens whom was meeting every moment. I walked on; my heart beating violently, my knees tottering, and my breath almost suspended. I at length reached the wharf in safety. A tutelary angel seemed to watch over and direct me. The boat was ready, and had been sometime waiting. I sprang on board— we put off in an instant, and were

soon on board the vessel. I fell on my knees, and returned thanks to God for my deliverance; nor did I forget my obligations to the man who had been its instrument.

The captain took care to have my hair cut and my Turkish habiliments exchanged for others of Italian make, with a view to my security from the straggling glance of any occasional visiter from the Turkish fleet, through which we were obliged to pass. My Turkish garments he rolled up, with a large stone, and committed them to the gulf. He then sent me down into the hold of the vessel, where I was kept concealed until he could prepare a water cask for my reception. Into this vessel I was put forthwith, and never did I enter a dungeon with so hearty a good will as on this occasion. It was well that I had been secreted with so much expedition. My flight had become known, and I was sought for through the whole town. In the fortress, wherever a man could possibly be secreted, I was searched for; and at last the search was directed to the very vessel of which I was a silent inmate. The officers of the castle came on board early in the morning, and every part of the vessel where I was not, was closely inspected. When they commenced their investigations in the part where I was, the captain, by the judicious distribution of a few dozen of piastres among them, convinced them at once that further search was needless; and they left the vessel, apparently with the fullest confidence that all was right on board. Thus the captain's piastres had the effect to preserve my life, his property from confiscation, and himself and his crew from a life of slavery.

Having obtained a license from the commandant, we immediately sailed from beneath the castle of Patras, and by the blessing of God, were soon out of the reach of its guns, as well as of those of the Turkish fleet, and in a few hours we had the satisfaction to find ourselves free from danger, and with a favourable breeze smoothly gliding over the broad waters of the Ionian sea . . . .

. . . We arrived in the harbour of Smyrna, after a passage of eight days from Patras. This city is the principal port of Asia Minor, and carries on an extensive maritime commerce with various parts of Europe and America, and an inland trade with the neighbouring Asiatic provinces. It is inhabited principally by Turks, though the streets are thronged by merchants and travellers, from various parts of the world. There are to be seen assembled, Americans, English, French, Italians, Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Austrians, Egyptians, Algerines, Jews, &c. &c. &c. In a word, the population of Smyrna, represents most all the varieties of the human race, and afford a picture of the world in miniature. The city is governed by a Turkish bey, and is, I should judge, about the size of Boston in New England. There are extensive salt-works in the neighbourhood of the city. Unwilling to run the hazard of a second captivity, I did not, at first, venture on shore, but remained as close as possible, on board the vessel. I was persuaded at last by

the solicitations of the captain, to accompany him once on shore. On that occasion, I saw many of my countrymen in a state of the most wretched slavery; others were famishing with want, and all were in the greatest affliction and distress. I was told, that a short time before, while the Greeks were assembled in their houses of worship, on a Sunday morning, they were beset and surrounded by the Turkish troops, sword in hand, who inhumanly butchered a great many of them, in cold blood, they making not the least resistance.

The captain, to whose kindness I had been so much indebted for my restoration to liberty, treated me with all imaginable tenderness, and gave me all the information that he was able to collect, in the course of his business. I officiated as his clerk, and did all in my power to promote his interest, in return for his goodness.

We took in a cargo of wood, at Smyrna, for Alexandra, in Egypt, and sailed for that port in April . . .

. . . Our captain having finished his business in Alexandria, took in a cargo for the isle of Crete. This island was at the commencement of the revolution taken by the Greeks, who, with the exception of the two strong castles of Megalo-Castro and Canea were in possession of the whole island. These two citadels the Turks had occupied prior to the revolution, and still maintained them. We set sail for this island, and in sixteen days arrived off the harbour of Megalo-Castro, which lies on the northern side . . .

. . . After discharging our cargo, we took in ballast. I went on shore in company with the captain, and to my extreme regret, saw many of my countrymen in slavery. Several were sold during my stay, in the market like animals. One lady and two small children were offered for sale to the captain and myself, for about fifteen dollars. The unhappy slave, with the most piteous lamentations, besought us, by the love of God, to deliver her and her infants from the ruffians, into whose hands they had fallen; and if we could not dispose of them otherwise, to throw them into the sea. The captain told her that to afford them any relief was impossible, as he was obliged to visit several Turkish ports, and to have her and her children on board his vessel, would endanger his own safety, and prove fatal to them. The brutal wretch who offered them, swore by Alla, (God) that if we did not purchase them, he would kill them; as he would not be at the expense of maintaining them any longer.

I was so much shocked at this barbarous and revolting scene that, with a heart almost bursting with grief and indignation, I returned to the vessel, taking care not to show my face on shore again. After five days, we sailed for Smyrna, and arrived there after a passage of eight days

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. . . My friends in Genoa kindly furnished me with several letters to different persons at Gibraltar; and with much regret at leaving the good captain who had done so much for me, I sailed from Genoa, and in nine days reached Gibraltar. I immediately delivered my letters of introduction, and was kindly and courteously received. These letters put me on a respectable footing in that place; and I wrote without delay, to several friends in different parts of Greece, begging them, if they were able, to communicate some account of the fate of my family. I waited four months and a half at Gibraltar, in daily hopes of receiving intelligence from my friends—but was disappointed. Every day brought in additional accounts of the calamities heaped upon my unfortunate country; and amidst such violent commotions as she was compelled to undergo, extending as they did to every corner of Greece, I had every thing to fear for my family and friends. I became almost vexed with life. Successive disappointments had broken my spirit, and my life to me was but weariness and trouble. There was no point of my country, to which I could safely return. All the places we could hear from, were in possession of the Turks. All business was suspended; all Greek property confiscated, or destroyed; all communication broken off, except for the army and military despatches. I could not turn my eye to any part of my ill-fated country with the hope of meeting friend or relative alive to receive me. In vain were all the letters I had written. I had no security for their conveyance to the place of their destination; no assurance that they had not fallen into the hands of the Turks, and been destroyed, with every thing else that could not be turned to their own interest. In this situation, under the doubts, the purposeless wandering of my hopes, I could not determine on anything with regard to my own country; and willingly listened to a proposition of some of my friends to visit America. This happy country was described to me in the warmest terms, and most glowing colours. It was represented as the sanctuary of liberty, in which she found an abode when driven from every other quarter of the globe. The security of its laws, the humanity and moral beauty of its customs, the hospitality, elevation, and prosperity of its people, were enlarged upon, and without a home to receive me in my own country, I made my determination to seek an asylum here.

The brig *Abeona*, Captain Fairchild, was then at Gibraltar, and about to sail for New York. In her I took passage, and, after a voyage of forty-four days, I arrived in that large and flourishing city. It was more than a month, before I found a single individual to whom I had letters; as I was totally ignorant of the English language. During a part of this time, I was kindly and courteously entertained by Captain Fairchild, on board his vessel.

At length, I became acquainted with L. Bradish, Esq., who rendered me great service, especially as an interpreter, and kindly introduced me to the Greek Committee of that place; which association had been formed for the benevolent and godlike object of relieving the sufferings, and aiding the exertions of my unhappy countrymen. Anxious to return again to my country, in order to ascertain the situation of my unfortunate family, I applied to the Greek Committee, and stated to them my desire. They advised me to return, and procured me a passage in the ship *Six Brothers*, which was about to sail with a cargo of provisions, sent as a gratuity by the liberal citizens of New York, to the famishing and perishing Greeks, at Napoli di Romania. She was to stop at Malta, pursuant to the advice of the Committee. I embarked for that place, on the 13th of May, 1827. On our arrival there, the vessel was ordered into quarantine. The captain went into the lazaretto, and I accompanied him. I was introduced to John Pulis, Esq., the American consul, and to the Rev. Daniel Temple, then in that island. A Greek merchant, named Anastasi Pagoni, hearing of me by these gentlemen, called on me at the lazaretto, and brought me a letter in answer to one had written from Gibraltar to a friend at Previsa. This letter gave me the dreadful intelligence of the massacre of my father, at Missolonghi, together with the capture of his family, at the time of its fall. That event, so bloody and disastrous, both to me and to my country, took place on the 22d of February, 1825. The letter went on to inform me, that my mother, and my two younger brothers and sisters, were made prisoners by the Albanians, and dragged away into slavery; that my eldest brother and sister, Spiro and Maria, had been, early in the revolution, lost by some mischance, and had never been heard of since; that the hopes of the most sanguine patriots, for the salvation of their country, began to fail; that ruin, desolation, and misery, overspread the country; and concluded, by exhorting me to bear up with courage and fortitude, under this complication of afflictions.

This exhortation was, however, ineffectual. The gloomy intelligence quite overwhelmed me. My soul was sunken and prostrated; and death would have been a relief to me; for life presented nothing but a blank and dreary desert before me, on which I could discover no green nor sunny spot. Cut off from the society of my family, and friends; doubtful as to their existence; and, if they existed, knowing that it was in a slavery more horrible than death; without a country or a home; dependant on the charities of strangers, and hopeless of a change in my fortunes, I sunk down into a state of sullen despondency. The captain of the *Six Brothers*, Mr. John Stuyvesant, and other friends, whom I had found in my wanderings, endeavoured to console me, but there is a measure of grief, which even the voice of kindness and friendship cannot assuage.

Not knowing what to do, and reckless of my fate, I was about to take passage from Malta to Corfu, with the forlorn hope of gaining some further intelligence of my unhap-

py family, and of obtaining means among our former friends for their ransom; when two of my countrymen came to see me at the lazaretto, and advised me to abandon the design of going to Corfu, but to proceed in the ship *Six Brothers* to Napoli di Romania; whither her cargo had been directed. In this advice the captain concurred, together with Mr. Stuyvesant, the supercargo, and the other American gentlemen on board. I determined on doing so— went again on board the *Six Brothers*, and we immediately sailed for that place. On arriving there, we found it in a most deplorable situation. Thousands of people, driven as exiles from other parts of Greece, were assembled here; stripped of every thing, without habitation, clothing, or food. Hundreds and hundreds of poor emaciated creatures, in the last stages of fever and starvation, were lying about in the fields, with but the remanant of a garment to hide their nakedness, and no covering but the canopy of heaven. I never beheld so shocking a picture of agonizing misery, as that city at that time exhibited. Hundreds of the unhappy exiles had perished with famine and disease, and hundreds more were dying all around us. The recollection of such a spectacle of suffering humanity, even now makes me shudder, and my blood almost congeal. Oh my God! what have not my countrymen suffered in this dreadful struggle for their liberty and religion!

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The arrival of the ship with supplies to the famished people at Napoli, was hailed with transports of gratitude and joy. The richest blessings of heaven were invoked on the Americans for their signal benevolence. The voices of old and young were engaged in expressions of fervent and grateful acknowledgement of American philanthropy; and the faint voices of the sick, and even the dying, were not silent amidst the general joy. Col. Miller, Col. Jarvis, and Dr. Howe, the three distinguished Americans who have done so much for the Greek cause and the Greek nation, were the distributors of the provisions and clothing among the people. I was introduced to them; and they with one accord counselled me to return to America.

On looking around me, I found the circumstances of my country, and of myself, such, as to incline me to their advice. In the existing state of Greece, overrun by the relentless enemy; desolated by the scymitar; and devastated by pillage and fire; the remnant of her unhappy people, who had escaped, massacre and captivity, driven from the pursuits of industry into exile, and perishing with famine, nakedness, and disease: in such a state of things, I could render no service to my country by remaining, and I despaired of being able to learn any thing more of my unfortunate family; to procure the means of their deliverance, or even of my own subsistence.

These reasons, concurring with the advice of my American friends, I once more left my native land, to seek an asylum elsewhere. I felt myself a solitary wanderer on the earth,

and I cared very little where I dragged out the residue of my wretched existence. My heart was withered; my soul, desolate. The fate of my mother, brothers, sisters, in slavery—in torture, was ever present to my thoughts, and filled my soul with the most agonizing distress.

Distracted by such reflections, I proceeded in the *Six-Brothers*, to the isle of Poros; whence, after a stay of nine days, we took our departure for Marseilles, a large commercial city in the south of France.

The *Six-Brothers*, being bound to MonteVideo, Captain Lee procured for me a passage to Boston, in an American brig, called the *Byron*, (a name consecrated to liberty and to genius,) commanded by Captain Moore, who kindly gave me my passage thither. I had letters to the Greek Committee in that city, whither, after a long and boisterous passage of 73 days, we arrived in safety. On treading the soil, and breathing the air of freedom, I felt my soul revive again: but the emotions of joy I felt, were allayed with those of sorrow for my own dear land, when I contrasted her calamities and degradation, with the liberty, peace and happiness of this heaven-protected country.

I was received in Boston with the greatest kindness by the Greek Committee, and was hospitably entertained by many other gentlemen. In the family of the father of Dr. Howe, I received attentions and courtesies which I shall ever remember. I resided in his house for some time previous to my departure from Boston to New York.

At New York, I was solicitous to engage in some occupation that might afford me an independent livelihood, till circumstances might prove more auspicious to the accomplishment of my object—that of procuring means for the deliverance of my suffering family. I at length, obtained employment in the drug store of Messrs. O. & W. Hall, who have always shown me the greatest kindness, and, for which, I shall always feel grateful. In this situation, I remained almost a year, surrounded by difficulties, and heart-stricken by my own misfortunes, and those of my family; I lived sullenly on, during this period; in despair of ever emerging from the obscurity by which I was shrouded, to a situation wherein I could, with advantage, exert myself to compass the object of my desire.

Receiving an invitation to visit South Carolina, I embarked for Charleston, in hopes of obtaining some situation wherein my exertions could be turned to more account; and the means of accomplishing my object more speedily acquired.

On my arrival, I found that the duties of a place which I had designed to occupy, and which had been procured for me by the kindness of a friend, were of such a nature as to render its acceptance incompatible with my feelings. I had letters of introduction to a few gentlemen in Charleston, who, in the kindness and courtesy with which they received me, nobly sustained the reputation for generosity of feeling, and liberality in

conferring benefits, which has always been a characteristic of the citizens of that respectable city. I could long dwell with emotions of gratitude and pleasure, on the multiplied acts and manifestations of philanthropy and disinterested benevolence, which were heaped on me by many in that place; but, time would fail me to mention all the names of those to whom I am under obligations I never can repay. I should, however, do violence to my feelings, were I to omit to mention, the peculiar debt of gratitude I owe to John S. Richardson, Esq., to whom I was introduced, and by whom, after hearing my story, I was first advised to publish it to the world, as the most feasible, if not the only mode of effecting the deliverance of my wretched family.

Confiding much in the intelligent judgment of Mr. Richardson, and relying on the liberality of my friends to assist and support my undertaking, I resolved on the publication of my narrative. In visiting Savannah, to obtain subscriptions for the work, I received much courtesy and attention from Rev. Messrs. Baker and Weir, C. W. Rockwell, and G. W. Coe, esquires, who will pardon me for seizing this occasion to express my gratitude for their hospitality and courteous kindness. In New York, Philadelphia, and Albany, which cities I have since visited, I have received much encouragement in the prosecution of my little work.

It is now finished; and it is hoped, that the object, for which it was undertaken, and is now offered to the public, is of such a nature as will commend itself to a liberal and Christian community. It is a well-known characteristic of the American people, that when a worthy object of benevolence is presented to their observation, that noble sympathy which adorns and dignifies our nature, comes spontaneously forth, and impels the hand to do what the heart dictates.

The emancipation of a family from the miseries of slavery,— a slavery of whose horrors I can speak from bitter experience, is an enterprise which such a people, I confidently trust, will not refuse to aid.

The voice of my suffering country, has never yet appealed in vain to Americans. In the extremity of her calamities, when “clouds and thick darkness” hung over the issue of her sunken and almost desperate struggle for the recovery of her long lost rights; when the banded powers of Europe were lowering on her people with an aspect menacing destruction,— it was among Americans that she found firm and faithful friends, whose voices kindly cheered her onward in her glorious labour; and whose hands were stretched forth to relieve her distress— O, when my country shall again assume her rank among the nations of the earth; when her ancient glory shall shine again with brighter splendour from its long obscurity; when her suffering people shall, like Americans, be free and happy— how grateful to American hearts will be the reflection, that they have largely contributed to her moral and political regeneration!

The occasion on which American benevolence is now addressed, is of less comparative importance, than that of the salvation of a whole country;— but it is one, on which the feeling heart will not withhold its sympathy. It is the cry of the suffering and helpless slave, that calls for deliverance from a bondage worse than death. It is the voice of a son and brother on their behalf, that now asks that beneficence, which in a reverse of circumstances, his hand would freely bestow.

#### CONCLUSION

As this is the only edition of my Narrative I expect to publish in this country, I take the opportunity of expressing my deep sense of the great kindness and friendly hospitality with which I have been treated in the several places I have visited while in this country.

Benevolence and sympathy have not smiled for me in merely single instances; but one impulse of kindness seemed to warm the breast of all to whom my unhappy story was communicated, and inclined every one to mitigate the afflictions which I suffered.

I came to this country bereaved of all my family relations, a mere stranger, almost unknown; having escaped from captivity only with life. I have found friends to receive me with kindness, and glowing with a desire to assist me in that object which I pursue before all others, the design of redeeming from captivity my mother, sisters, and brothers, who still suffer the trials from which I have been delivered. The distresses that I had experienced, made many regard me as a brother; and like a brother have they ever treated me.

To the ladies who have so kindly interested themselves to obtain subscriptions for my work, my most sincere and respectful thanks are due. Their own pure and generous feelings are their best reward; but the stranger's gratitude will fill his heart as long as life remains; and when in lands far distant, will raise it in prayers for their welfare and happiness.

But from persons of all classes I have received expressions and acts of kindness. All, all have sympathized with the oppressed captive, soothed his moments of despondency, and cheered his hopes of future peace. To all, therefore, does he present his farewell acknowledgements, and he will bear with him a lasting remembrance of their unabated kindness.

Those from whom I have received testimonies of kindness are so numerous, that I am unable to offer them, at parting, my grateful expressions. But I cannot deny myself the pleasure of expressing, however inadequately, my sense of the obligations which I feel towards several gentlemen of the Greek Committee, and to Rev. Dr. Wainwright, Rev. Mr. Bruen, R. Sedgwick, Esq. and J. F. Phillips, Esq., of New York; as well as towards the Rev. Dr. Ely, Alexander Henry, J.K. Kane, and J. P. Morris, Esqs., of Philadelphia; and to Rev. Dr. Lacy, and Mr. Hopkins, of Albany.

### III

## “GREEK FIRE” THE GRASS ROOTS RESPONSE

### A. Expression of Public Support for the Greek Cause

#### 1. *Two Notices*

*Niles' Weekly Register*, September 20, 1823

THE GREEKS. Some ladies of New York contributed the necessary funds and prepared a cross of twenty feet, inscribed “*sacred to the cause of the Greeks.*” It was planted, with proper ceremonies, by gen. Swift in the presence of a large and brilliant assembly, on Brooklyn Heights.

*Niles' Weekly Register*, November 29, 1823

THE GREEKS.—A subscription is opened at the Insurance office, No. 52, Wall street, New York, for the assistance of the Greeks, and donations, in cash or otherwise, will be forwarded, forthwith, by Messrs. Charles Wilkes, John Pintard, John G. Costor, Jonathan Goodhue and William Bayard—a most respectable committee.

#### 2. *An Early Resolution by the Citizens of Albany, New York.*

*Niles' Weekly Register*, December 7, 1822: Grecian Emancipation.

The following resolutions were passed at a very numerous meeting of citizens of Albany, convened, by public notice, at the capital of Albany, on Tuesday evening last. John Savage, esqr. comptroller of the state, presided as chairman, and col. James Mc.Kown, as secretary. The object of the meeting was explained by Isaac Hamilton, esqr. in a very interesting address. S.S. Lush, esqr. followed Mr. Hamilton in a speech of much feeling in behalf of the suffering Greeks, the land of Demosthenes, of Plato, Pericles, Alcibiades and Leonidas, where “now the shouts of Allah are resounding from christian temples, formerly dedicated to the living God, and the turbaned Turk tramples upon the cross of the Saviour.” These gentlemen were followed by John Van Ness Yates, and D.L.

Vander Heyden, esqrs. in strains of patriotic eloquence. The speeches were received with reiterated bursts of applause. The resolutions were all carried unanimously.

*Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this meeting, it is consistent with the peace, neutrality, and honor of our government, for the people to assemble together and express their sentiments upon the subject of the emancipation of Greece—that such an expression not only comports with the magnanimity and feelings of a christian people, but is more particularly honorable to the character of a nation who were the first to declare and establish the principles of freedom.

*Resolved*, That the interesting appeal by the patriots of Greece, to the American people, is worthy of the cause in which they are engaged, and demands our most respectful attention—that when we consider that Greece has been alike distinguished as the seat of science and the arts—that to her, sculpture is indebted for its best models, poetry its greatest masters, and our seminaries of learning for much of their classic lore—that she has given birth to the most illustrious philosophers, statesmen, and heroes, we cannot be indifferent to the relentless tyranny now exercised over them by their savage and ferocious masters.

*Resolved*, That we view, with extreme mortification and regret, the policy of the potentates of Europe, especially those claiming to belong to the “holy alliance,” in remaining passive spectators of the great scene now acting before them in Turkey, instead of affording the suffering Greeks that countenance and aid, which all christendom had a right to expect—more particularly we cannot but express the painful disappointment of all our hopes in the policy pursued by the emperor Alexander, from whose large armies, and vast preparations, the most prompt and decisive measures were fondly anticipated by the American people.

*Resolved*, That the cause of religion—and the rights of humanity are intimately connected with the result of the conflict between the Greeks and the Turks; and should that conflict prove unsuccessful to the Greeks, (which Heaven forbid), that then it is our duty, as christians, and as men, to offer them an asylum from oppression in this happy country.

*Resolved*, That J.V.N. Yates. S.A. Tallcott, J. Hamilton, S.S. Lush, and P. Gansevoort, be a committee to correspond with such other committees as may be appointed throughout the union, for affording relief to the suffering Greeks, and that they have power to call any future meetings of the citizens, and to co-operate with other committees, by raising subscriptions or otherwise, in aid of the Greeks, as in their judgment shall be deemed most advisable.

*Resolved*, That D.L. Vander Heyden, John Stillwell, Wm. Maywell, John Koon, and James McKown, be a committee to prepare and publish an address, in the name of this

meeting, to the citizens of the United States, upon the subject of the foregoing resolutions.

### 3. *A Resolution by the Students of Columbia College.*

(Robinson pp. 150–51) December 9, 1823

*Resolved*, That the Students of this Institution unite with their fellow citizens in the anxious wish that Greece may once more be free; and desire equally with them, to be of some assistance to her in her present glorious struggle. It may be thought unbecoming in persons of our age, and devoted, as we are, exclusively to study, to interfere in the politics of the day; but the present occasion, it is conceived, is one on which without fear of censure all ages and all classes may come forward. We indeed are peculiarly called upon; our daily studies bring to our recollection Greece in the period of her glory; and if we did not sympathize in their misfortunes, and rejoice that she has at length awakened from her long degradation, to a remembrance of what she once was, we should be strangers to those generous feelings which in youth it may be sometimes pardonable to carry to excess, but which to be devoid of, would be considered in the highest degree dishonorable to the enlightened and liberal mind.

*First Resolved*, That a Committee of eight to be appointed, two from each class, for the purpose of receiving subscriptions, and that the sum thus collected be forwarded to the General Committee of this City.

*Second Resolved*, That a Committee of three be appointed for the purpose of raising a sum from the students to publish the articles which appeared in the American for the golden medal, the proceeds of sale thereof to be applied to the Grecian fund.

### 4. *Address of the Committee Appointed at a General Meeting, Held in Philadelphia for the Relief of the Greeks*

ADDRESS OF the Committee appointed at a General Meeting, held in Philadelphia, Dec'r 11, 1823, FOR THE RELIEF OF THE GREEKS; TO THEIR FELLOW-CITIZENS [Pamphlet: No date]

THE Citizens of Philadelphia and its vicinity, convened for the purpose of devising means of evincing the public sympathy for the oppressed people of Greece, have assigned to is the duty of addressing you, our fellow-citizens, on this most interesting subject.

Under ordinary circumstances, we are aware, the necessity might not exist, of urging upon you considerations of humanity; because, so far from closing your ears to the voice of distress, or averting your eyes from her haggard form, you have always caught her slightest whisper, and sought her in her most secluded retirement; have, unasked, healed

and clothed and fed the children of misfortune, and raised their hopes from the dust, and reared their dwellings from the ashes. Nor is it, we know, within the narrow circle of home only, that your philanthropy has been thus exerted: distant cities, even distant countries, have already tasted your bounty. It could not therefore be doubted, that the sympathy for suffering Greece, so universally felt and expressed, should also be productive of the fruit of charity. For, remote as she is, her cry has been echoed from the shores of these continents, and the blaze of her burning cities glared across intervening seas. You have viewed the destruction of her churches, and the murder of the ministers of her religion, and have shuddered as Christians; you have seen her soil devastated, and her sons trodden to earth, and have glowed as patriots; you have beheld her children massacred, her matrons and maids dragged to slavery and pollution, and have felt as men.

But there may be some among our fellow-citizens, who, from a conscientious adherence to religious obligations, might be scrupulous in bestowing the aid we solicit, lest it should be applied to the furtherance of warlike operations in Greece: while others might shrink from any participation in our labours, because, in their opinion, the aspect of our political affairs, in relation to Europe, gives an importance to the act of any portion of the American public, having a tendency to urge the government to the adoption of a policy leading to hostilities with foreign powers. To these objections, however, a ready, and, we trust, a satisfactory answer, can be given. It need not, and it ought not to be concealed, that the fund contemplated to be raised, would be appropriated not only to the alleviation of the distresses of the non-combatants of Greece, but that her warriors also would receive their share of succour. But the arrangement made in reference to this subject, will, it is hoped, remove every difficulty. The committee have instructed those who collect donations, to make entries in books prepared for that exclusive purpose, of all sums or donations of whatever kind, received from those who at the time express their wish to that effect : and the money or articles thus distinguished, shall be remitted to Greece, for the sole purpose of contributing to the relief of private distress. In other countries, the estimable class of Christians to whom we now allude, have been liberal in their contributions in aid of the Greeks; with us they have ever been among the foremost in deeds of charity, and it may be hoped they will not find any impediment on this occasion, to a free exercise of their wonted beneficence.

It is true, likewise, that the meeting from which we derive our powers, has instructed us to address a memorial to the Congress of the United States, on the subject of a recognition of Grecian independence. But this measure can have no such tendency as seems to be apprehended. The memorial is but to pray the government to take into consideration the propriety of acknowledging the independence of the Greeks; and already a proposition, having the same object, has been submitted to Congress by one of its members, and

may probably be acted on before our memorial reaches that body. And there is no doubt, the government will decide on this subject with its accustomed prudence, although without any abatement of its characteristic firmness. Our policy has been openly declared, and will not be lightly altered, if such alteration should incur the danger of exhausting the national strength abroad, while the concentration of all its energies might be required in this hemisphere. If, therefore, the recognition of Grecian independence take place, it cannot be by a departure from our policy : it will be because what is in accordance with the avowed sympathies of the government, and with the general sentiment of the people, is also found to be in strict conformity with the true policy of the nation.

No, fellow-citizens! there is nothing which ought to prevent you, as men, as patriots, as Christians, from affording your assistance to the labour we are engaged in. For ages the unhappy Greeks have been trampled under the feet of their ferocious enslavers. They have at length turned upon their oppressors, and single-handed dared to contend for their natural inheritance. Surrounded by privations of every kind, amidst the smouldering ruins of their habitations, over the blackened corpses of their relatives, they still have fought, and still withstood the fearful odds against them, and at the end of their third campaign, remain masters of almost the entire Morea. The governments of Europe have witnessed their struggle with indifference, or with selfish jealousy. Their senates have been insulted, their blockades violated, their captures forced from them. Vessels under neutral flags have degraded themselves into transport ships for their enemies; and even government vessels of that power, looked up to as the bulwark of European freedom, have sailed by their blazing islands in frigid neutrality, within hearing of the supplicating shrieks of the female victim, almost within reach of her outstretched arms.

Greece expects nothing from European governments. Their entangling alliances, their involved policy, their chimerical balance of power, must at present, and perhaps forever, forbid their interference in her behalf; and another series of centuries may, for all they will do, behold this fairest portion of earth, hallowed by so many glorious recollections, this gallant and intelligent race, descendants of the bravest, the wisest and the most polished of their time, still groaning under the barbarous dominion of the scimitar.

But to the people of every Christian country, the Christian Greek confidently appeals,—and does not, and shall not, appeal in vain. England, Germany, France, have seen their citizens, some of the highest rank, proud of arraying themselves under the banner of the Grecian cross; and money and munitions of war, food and clothing, have been liberally contributed by the generous people of these nations. And shall America alone do nothing? America, who should, in such a cause, do most, from whom Greece expects more

than from nations less free and less generous, whom she, beyond all others, with reason, invokes! Can we read the Address from the Messenian Senate to the Citizens of the United States, and still shut our hearts to the appeal?—

"We possess in you," say they, "friends, fellow-citizens, and brethren, because you are just, humane, and generous; just because free, generous and liberal because Christian. Your liberty is not propped on the slavery of other nations, not your prosperity on their calamities and sufferings. But, on the contrary, free and prosperous yourselves, you are desirous that all men should share the same blessings; that all should enjoy those rights, to which by nature equally entitled. It is you who first proclaimed those rights; it is you who have been the first again to recognize them, in rendering the rank of men to the Africans, degraded to the level of brutes. It is by your example that Europe has abolished the shameful and cruel trade in human flesh; from you that she receives lessons of justice, and learns to renounce her absurd and sanguinary customs. This glory, Americans, is your alone, and raises you above all the nations which have gained a name for liberty and laws.

It is for you, citizens of America, to crown this glory, in aiding us to purge Greece from the barbarians who for four hundred years have polluted the soil. It is surely worthy of you to repay the obligations of the civilized nations, and to banish ignorance and barbarism from the country of freedom and the arts. You will not assuredly imitate the culpable indifference, or rather the long ingratitude, of some of the Europeans. No! the fellow-citizens of Penn, of Washington, and of Franklin, will not refuse aid to the descendants of Phocion, of Thrasybulus, of Aratus, and of Philopœmen."

No, we dare answer for you, fellow-citizens, No: the countrymen of Penn, of Washington, and of Franklin, will not refuse their aid. We do not ask much: and although we cannot, and would not, restrict the munificent in the measure of their voluntary offerings, we limit our solicitations to a sum within the means, we trust, of every citizens. There are, we know, theoretical philanthropists, who will sneer at humble and partial efforts to relieve extensive misery. But we also know how much, under certain circumstances, even a little may effect. There are veterans of our revolutionary war still alive, who could tell the true value of the coarsest meal, or the roughest garment, in the dark day of that conflict; there are childless matrons yet living, whose freezing and famished infants, in that dreadful trial, the scantiest blanket might have preserved from perishing, the smallest morsel saved from starving. We ask you, then, for what you can with perfect convenience bestow, and, on behalf of our brethren of Greece, we will be grateful for the smallest donation.

GEORGE M. DALLAS, WILLIAM MEREDITH, JOSEPH PARKER NORRIS, NICHOLAS BIDDLE, JAMES N. BARKER, MATHEW CAREY, JOSEPH R. INGERSOLL, LANGDON CHEVES, RICHARD W. MEADE, CHANDLER PRICE, JOHN SERGEANT, HORACE BINNEY, JOHN M. SCOTT.

5. *Letter by the Students of the Theological Seminary at Andover.*

(Robinson, pp. 170–73.) *New York Commercial Advertiser*, December 23, 1823: *Cause of the Greeks*.

We take great pleasure in laying before our readers the following circular letter, addressed by the students in the Theological Seminary at Andover, to their fellow students in all the colleges and higher seminaries in our country. It augurs well in favor of the ultimate triumph of the Greeks to find their cause awakening such a sympathy in the breasts of our youth—of that generation which is just now entering upon the stage of action, and which is therefore to constitute the sinew and strength of our nation for many years to come. It augurs well, too, that this strong sympathy is kindling up more particularly in the hearts of those, from whom are to come the future leaders of public sentiment and of public virtue,—who are to be the guardians of our civil rights, the dispensers of our laws, the ministers of every youth who shall pursue it so that Greece, though Delphi has become silent and a voice from her temples or her caverns no longer serves to inspire her exertions, may yet hear her cry answered from beyond the waters, in the united voice of the youth of America, urging her onward to victory and liberty.

The object embraced in the third resolution will meet, we think, with general approbation. The youth of our seminaries are early led to an acquaintance with the literature of that country, on whose soil Homer sung and Demosthenes launched his thunders, and Paul proclaimed the everlasting gospel; and from which Rome borrowed all her intellectual greatness, and modern nations still derive their noblest models of eloquence and taste. It is natural for these youth to turn from the habitual contemplation of what "Athens was," to the unwelcome conviction of what "Athens is," to feel a deep interest in the descendants of those to whom we owe so much; and to yield, not only their good wishes, but their mite, towards advancing to glorious consummation the heroic struggle in which that people are now engaged. What though their tribute be not large it is yet one of those streams which will serve to swell the tide of effort;—and if, when the eagle of victory and of liberty shall have perched upon the Parthenon, the Government should see fit to appropriate this offering in the manner proposed, it may constitute such a token of sympathy and friendship between Greece and the American people, as shall link them together in the closest bonds, and thus promote the mutual and highest interests of either nation. It will at least afford the novel and interesting spectacle of Greece, the mother of free institutions, and the nurse of intellect, receiving, in her fallen state, the sympathies, the encouragements, and the aids of a land, which, in her prime, she never knew; and which, inheriting from her both freedom and literary treasures, regard her with filial veneration, and claims to be the latest born of her posterity.

## AN APPEAL BY STUDENTS

Andover, Dec. 13, 1823

To the members of . . .

Gentlemen:

In behalf of the members of the Theological Seminary in this place, we beg leave to address you on a subject, which we are confident has already excited your attention.

To Americans, any brave and generous nation, struggling for civil and religious freedom, is a spectacle never to be regarded with indifference; but when a people, inheriting a spirit which ages of suffering have not subdued, and professing the same Christian faith with ourselves—breaking the chains of their oppressors, not only look to us as the chosen people of freedom, gathering strength from our example, and hope from our history; but call on us as Freemen and as Christians to aid them in their hour of peril;—if we should turn away from that appeal, and refuse to hear their cry, we should prove ourselves unworthy of the name in which we glory.

The case is not imaginary. It is this day before us. The Greeks, to whom learning is a birthright, and freedom peculiarly an inheritance, have broken the fetters of their bondage, and in their struggle they have looked to America as the sanctuary of liberty and religion, and they have besought us by all the sympathies of freemen and fellow Christians, not to let them perish in so noble a conflict. Nor has their voice been disregarded. Throughout our country but one sensation has been felt. The public expression of the sentiments of our beloved Chief Magistrate has given a new impulse to that sensation, and the measures recently adopted in the city of New York are directing it into a channel of powerful efficiency.

But we have been led to address you on this occasion, because we feel that Greece has some peculiar claims on us and you. As men of letters, we have formed an acquaintance with her historians and philosophers, her orators and poets. For ourselves, we have looked at this contest from the beginning with no ordinary emotion. We have regarded it as a means which the wise Governor of Nations is using to bring to nought the dominion of the false prophet. AS we pursued our course in the various departments of study, we were perpetually reminded of the *Greeks*—and we have felt ourselves under some personal obligations to the countrymen of Homer and Xenophon, and the descendants of Socrates and Plato;—and when we saw our fellow citizens coming forward with their contributions, we thought it a privilege to offer our mite, and we felt that it would enhance our satisfaction if we might contribute in such a way that it should be made a simple and enduring monument of our gratitude. Under the influence of such impressions, the members of this Seminary, in the evening of the 19th instant adopted the following Resolutions:

1. *Resolved:* That the members of this Seminary deeply sympathize with the Greeks in their present struggle.
2. That a Committee, consisting of one from every college and state, represented here be appointed to confer with our Professors on the subject; to take up a contribution, and receive subscriptions here; and to propose a *Circular* for the various colleges and professional seminaries in this country.
3. That if the members of the other literary institutions concur in the plan, it be represented to the government of Greece, as our wish, that the money contributed in these institutions, be devoted, after the establishment of Grecian freedom, to the promotion of literature in that country, in some

such way, so that it may become a permanent token of the respect and esteem with which the Greeks are regarded by the American youth devoted to study.

We have been led to present these Resolutions for your consideration, from a persuasion, that the emotions which we feel, must be common to all engaged in literary pursuits. The consideration too, that representatives from twelve colleges, and as many different states, are found in our number, relieved us from some part of the diffidence, which we might otherwise have felt. In concluding, we remark, that the object to be gained by the plan proposed, is not so much the pecuniary aid, we may afford the Greeks, as the public testimony, which in this way will be given to our fellow-citizens and to the Greeks that the young men in all our seminaries of Education, have heard and regarded the cry of a Christian civilized people, struggling with their persecutors—a civilized people, contending with their savage oppressors, and a people whose ancestors were the highest in the course of human improvement, driving forth an nation of untutored barbarians, from the land where learning and refinement once had their abode, and where the muses still love to linger. Most respectfully yours, etc.

JACOB ABBOT, Be. Bodwin College, GEORGE D. BOARDMAN, Waterville, Col.  
GEORGE W. BLAGDEN, Dist. Columbia., LEONARD BACON, Theol. Sem. Andv.

NATHANIEL BAUTON, Yale College., JOSIAH BREWER, Mass.

SAMUEL H. COWLES, Conn., PINDAR FIELD, Amhearst College.

ORRAMEL S. HINCKLEY, N.H. Dart. College., GEORGE HOWE, Penn. Mid. College.

WM. W. HUNT, Wm. College., T. S. W. MOTT, Nova Scotia.

JAS. MUENCHER, R. I. Br. University., EDWARD PALMER, S. C.

HORACE SISSIONS, Ham. College., JOSEPH C. STYLES, Georgia.

ROYAL WASHBURN, Vt. University, Vt., WILLIAM WITHINGTON, Harvard University.

N.B. The money contributed here will be forwarded to the Committee in behalf of the Greeks in the city of New York, accompanied with our third Resolution. Should you co-operate with us, we would suggest the propriety of forwarding your contributions to the same Committee, accompanied with a similar resolution. Editors, generally are requested to republish the Circular.

## 6. *A Resolution of the Senate of the State of Maryland.*

(Robinson, pp. 68–70) December session 1823. Tuesday, December 16, 1823.

Mr. WINDER submitted the following preamble and resolutions:

The Senate and the House of Delegates of the General Assembly of Maryland contemplate with great satisfaction the state of the country and government, as exhibited in the full and luminous message of the President to the present Congress.

. . . But whilst we feel a lively sense of gratitude in looking at the rapidly improving and happy condition of our country, and a just pride in contemplating the high station which the wisdom of the government, and the enterprise and patriotism of the people have given to our country in the estimation of the world; yet we entirely reciprocate the

sentiment, "That there never was a period since the establishment of our revolution, when regarding the condition of the civilized world, and its bearing on us, there was greater necessity for devotion in the public servants to their respective duties, or of virtue, patriotism and union among the people".

A confederacy of modern monarchs of Europe has existed for some years past, with avowed purposes of hostility against the system of representative government; not as a mere speculative proposition, but as a practical conduct, and which has already been carried into action in several recent instances in Europe, and in the last of them under such circumstances as manifests a fixed and settled purpose to deny to the people any or all participation in government, except so far as their sovereigns may, of their own mere will and pleasure choose to permit.

The people of the United States, while they appreciate the wise and salutary maxim of their government, of keeping aloof from the political agitations of Europe, have, nevertheless, been unable to hear the avowed principles of this tremendous conspiracy against the liberties of mankind without strong and indignant feelings; and have been awakened to an apprehension, that their own happy political system, viewed, as it is, by these monarchs with a secret, but ill-disguised enmity, as the practical and animating example to the rest of mankind; of the happiness of a representative government, may, when the opportunity occurs, be considered by them as a necessary victim, to ensure the final triumph of their project of universal despotism.

Under these circumstances, the Senate and the House of Delegates of the General Assembly of Maryland, perceive with lively sensibility (sic), that their (sic) is just ground to believe that this confederacy already contemplates to extend the practical application of their principles beyond the boundaries of Europe; and meditate an attempt to reduce our Sister Republics in America from their present independent condition to their former state of subjection to their faithless tyrant; thus, distinctly admonishing the people of the United States, that their local position is no security against the application of a principle, which, in its terms, embraces them.

We cannot, therefore, but view any attempt on these republics "who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence the United States have on great consideration, and on just principles, acknowledged as dangerous to our peace and safety, and "as manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States," Therefore,

*Resolved*, That we highly approve the frank and candid declaration on this subject contained in the President's message to Congress, as justly due to the character and spirit of the nation over which he presides, and as directed by sound wisdom and a provident view towards the true interests of the country.

*Resolved*, That while we hope and believe this declaration will prove a salutary warning to the confederated sovereigns, and deter them from attempting to execute their intention—yet should the event show that this hope is fallacious, we feel a confident assurance that the people of the United States will be prepared to make good the warning, and will be convinced that in employing their energy, power, and resources, in defeating such machinations against the independence of their neighbours, that they are most effectually securing their own.

*Resolved*, That we view with deep solicitude and anxious interest the noble and heroic struggle which the Grecians are waging against their relentless and barbarous tyrant; and that we experience a high gratification in believing that he has forever lost his power over them, and that Greece will again assume an independent station among the nations of the earth.

Which were read, and made the order of the day for Thursday next.

Page 14. Thursday, December 18, 1823.

*7. A Resolution in Support of the Greeks  
of the Legislature of South Carolina.*

(Robinson, p. 73) Communicated to the House of Representatives, January 2, 1824. In the Senate, December 19, 1823

*Resolved*: That the State of South Carolina regards with deep interest the noble and patriotic struggle of the modern Greeks to rescue from the foot of the infidel and the barbarian the hallowed land of Leonidas and Socrates; and would hail with pleasure the recognition by the American Government, of the independence of Greece;

*Resolved*: That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to our Senators and Representatives at Washington.

*Ordered*: That the resolutions be sent to the House of Representatives for concurrence.

By order of the Senate, WM. D. MARTIN, C. S.

In the House, Dec. 20, 1823.

*Resolved*: That the House do concur in the resolutions.

*Ordered*: That they be returned to Senate.

By order of the House, R. ANDERSON, C. H. R.

*Mr. Robert Y. Hayne, Senator from S. Carolina, communicated the following (above) resolutions passed by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the State of South Carolina.*

8. *Citizens of the City of Boston Appeal to Congress.*

(Robinson, pp. 133–35) December 19, 1823

Communicated to the House of Representatives January 5, 1824

SYMPATHY FOR THE GREEKS

Memorial

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled.

The undersigned, a committee appointed for this purpose, by a large number of the citizens of Boston and its vicinity, convened by public notification on the 19th instant, beg leave most respectfully to represent:

That they feel a deep interest in the political situation of the people of Greece, and rejoice in the information recently communicated by the Chief Magistrate of the United States "that there is good reason to believe Greece will become again an independent nation."

That the contest of an oppressed and enslaved people for the invaluable blessings of self-government, and of a Christian people for the enjoyment of religious liberty, has a claim to the best wishes of this nation, for its eventual success, and to whatever aid and encouragement, consistently with the primary duty of self-preservation, it may have the ability to afford.

No one who has duly reflected upon the consequences which have resulted from our own successful struggle in the cause of civil liberty, not as respects the interests of our nation only, but as it has affected also the condition of the whole civilized world, can hesitate to admit that the question of the erection of a new independent Christian State is the most momentous that can occur in the program of human affairs, and especially deserving the attention of the representatives of a free people. Centuries, whose annals are filled with the common succession of wars and conquests, may pass away, without being attended with any important result to the great cause of civilization and humanity; but the emancipation from a barbarous despotism of a gallant and enterprising and intelligent people must be followed by the most propitious consequences, and cannot fail to add to the security of all free Governments, by increasing the number of those who are devoted to their common defence.

The extermination of the Turkish despotism of the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean sea has justly been regarded as a more worthy object of concert and coalition among civilized powers than any which ever engaged their united attention. The existence of that despotism has reduced to a state of desolation several of the most fertile countries of the globe, and annihilated the commerce that might otherwise have

been maintained. It has been attended with the grossest insults and outrages on the dignity of States and the liberty of their citizens. The maintaining of a powerful marine force, expensive consular establishments, disgraceful tribute, slavery and war, have successively been among the evils to which this lawless domination has subjected the civilized world, and from which our own country has not been exempted.

It is then quite obvious that the erection of a new free State in the Mediterranean, possessing not only the coasts of Southern Greece, but the islands, particularly of Candia and Cyprus, would form a powerful check upon the barbarous dependencies of the Porte in those seas, and give facility to that commercial enterprise which now finds its way only to one port of European or Asiatic Turkey.

Your Memorialists would not presume to make any suggestion as to the course which it may become the American Government to pursue at this interesting crisis. They feel, in common with their fellow-citizens generally the just weight and obligation of that policy which hitherto has prohibited an interference with the internal concerns of any of the powers of Europe, and content themselves, therefore, with expressing their assurance, that if the peculiar and unprecedented condition of the Greeks should, in the opinion of the Government of the United States, form a case of exception to that rule of policy, the measures which may be adopted shall receive their cordial support.

But, your memorialists, at any rate, cannot refrain from the expressions of their earnest wish that the indignation and abhorrence which they are satisfied is universal throughout the United States at the mode in which the Turkish Government is carrying on the war against Greece, should be distinctly avowed in the face of the world, and that other civilized and Christian nation should be invited to join in a solemn remonstrance against such barbarous and inhuman depravity.

The sale of forty thousand Christian women, and children (after the massacre of their husbands and fathers), in open market, in the presence of Christian Europe, and without one word of remonstrance from the surrounding nations, is a circumstance discreditable to the age in which we live. If older and nearer nations are silent on such a subject, there is the greater reason and the more honor in giving utterance to the feelings which are excited on this side of the Atlantic, and of endeavoring to obtain the interference and combining the sentiment of all civilized nations to put an end to such horrible scenes.

The just indignation of the world has recently been manifested by a simultaneous effort to humble and restrain the Barbary powers. Every year has witnessed some new exertions among Christian nations to abolish the horrible traffic in slaves; an amelioration of the ancient laws of war with regard to private property has recently been propounded as

a subject worthy the consideration of the nations; and yet no remonstrance has been made in behalf of Christian brotherhood and suffering humanity.

Your memorialists do therefore most earnestly commend to the constitutional representatives of the American people an attentive consideration of the foregoing interesting and important subjects.

All which is most respectfully submitted, etc.

THOMAS L. WINTHROP	SAMUEL F. JARVIS	SAMUEL D. HARRIS
GEO. BLAKE	EDWARD EVERETT	F. C. WARREN
H. A. DEARBORN	HENRY ORNE	WARREN DUTTON
JAMES T. AUSTIN	S. ADAMS WELLS	

*9. Report of a Meeting Held in Philadelphia "to express the sympathy of the citizens for their Christian brethren the Greeks . . ."*

*Niles' Weekly Register* December 20, 1823

THE GREEKS. A very large meeting of the citizens of Philadelphia was held in the Masonic Hall, on the 11th inst. to consider what measures were proper to be adopted to express the sympathy of the citizens for their Christian brethren the Greeks, heroically struggling for their lives, liberties and religion, against the grinding tyranny of the ferocious disciples of Mahomet—when the venerable bishop White was called to the chair, and Mr. Matthew Carey appointed secretary.

The chairman opened the meeting by the following address:

*Gentlemen—*

Before you proceed to business, I beg leave to say a few words, explanatory of my motive in accepting the honor conferred on me, by constituting me your chairman on this occasion.

I am not so sanguine as to imagine that the measure, contemplated by the call of this meeting, can have considerable effect in the cause of the oppressed Greeks, any further than by showing the public feeling to be in unison with what the president of the United States has affirmed in his late message, that they have "the good wishes of the whole civilized world." This, itself, coming to them from a country so remote, and from a nation rising on the scale of political importance, cannot but be a gratification and an encouragement.

On receiving a personal invitation to this meeting, it occurred to me, as a serious question, how far the intended measure, if it should pervade the union, may indicate a popular state of mind, tending to the dreadful calamity of war. On a consideration of the question, there appeared to me no danger of such a result, unless it should arise from the prosecution of the avowed designs of certain princes, who, by a strange misnomer, have called themselves "the Holy Alliance." Should they, for the realizing of their project, attempt the subjugation of any people, when it might probably be a prelude to an attack on the sovereignty and the independence of the United States, I am not prepared to say, that, in such a case, war, on our part, would be either unjust or

unwise. No such case exists at present. In the meantime, we shall be safe in the tract marked out by the president in his message, with which there is no inconsistency in the object of the present meeting.

To the sentiments now delivered, there is not attached any importance, except so far as they may serve to reconcile the conduct of the deliverer of them with his official character.

The address from the Messenian senate to the citizens of the United States was then read, after which, sundry resolutions were passed—one appointing a committee to draft a petition that congress may take into consideration the expediency of recognizing the independence of the Greeks, the rest of the proceedings had reference to the supply of funds, by voluntary contributions, for the aid and relief of that suffering people.

At a stated meeting of the select and common councils of Philadelphia, held on Thursday evening, the following resolution was adopted *unanimously*:

Whereas, from the institutions of ancient Greece we have derived the first example of republican government, and its effect in promoting the happiness of the human race; and we continue to cherish in kind remembrance, our obligations for the knowledge derived from their statesmen, heroes and philosophers, in the arts, in arms and in policy:

*Resolved*, That these councils do now adjourn in order that the members may individually have an opportunity to attend the meeting this evening, called on behalf of the Greeks, to whose cause we are attached by the double tie of religion and gratitude.

#### 10. *Sentiments of Nathaniel Rochester toward the Greek Cause*

(Booras, p. 186) *Boston Recorder*, December 20, 1823

[*Col. Nathaniel Rochester, the distinguished citizen after whom the city was named, was himself an ardent Philhellene, and during the period of the revolution made many effective appeals in behalf of the Hellenes. In one of them he concludes:*]

The Greeks appealed to heaven for the justice of their cause—but not to heaven alone. They have appealed to the United States for sympathy and assistance. We rejoice that that appeal has not been made in vain. . .

Fellow-citizens, think of the nature of the contest in which that valiant nation is engaged; the sufferings she has endured and her destitute situation.

#### 11. *Address of the Committee of the Greek Fund of the City of New York to their Fellow-Citizens throughout the United States*

*Connecticut Courant*, December 23, 1823

BELIEVING that you have not heard of the struggle for Liberty and Independence, in which the *Greeks* are engaged, without the deepest sympathy in their cause, your fellow-

citizens of New York, deem no apology necessary for addressing you in their favor. From the commencement of the contest, our hopes and wishes for their success have been strongly excited; but our distance from the scene of action, the uncertain and confused accounts which have reached us of the progress and events of the war, our ignorance of their actual sufferings and wants, and consequent doubts of our ability to afford them seasonable and efficient aid, have prevented any general and public expression of our feelings toward them. These reasons may explain, if they do not justify, our silence. But we are resolved as men, and apparently unconcerned spectators of a contest in which the interests of freedom, of knowledge, and religion are so deeply involved. If we are not deceived in the character and disposition of our fellow-citizens, we cannot err in the belief, that the impulse that we have felt will be communicated to the remotest quarters of the Union. It is to us, in common with other Christian nations, that the *Greeks* have looked for assistance. It is the sympathy and succour of the *American People*, that they have specially implored; and it would be a national reproach, if this appeal, urged by every consideration that can stimulate a free and generous people to honorable and virtuous exertion in their behalf, should remain any longer unanswered.

Nearly four centuries have now elapsed, since the subjugation of the *Greeks* by the followers of *Mahomet*; since "the standard of the *Crescent* has been erected on the ruins of the *Cross*."—From that period, this illustrious people have groaned under oppression unparalleled in degree and duration; and have been compelled to endure sufferings of which a people in the full enjoyment of the blessings of civil liberty can form no adequate conception. Other nations, like the *Greeks*, have been compelled to submit to the sway of invaders, and to endure, for a season, the multiplied evils of foreign conquest. In other instances, the relation of victors and vanquished, with all the train of odious distinctions, and all the malignant passions which they engender, have soon ceased to exist. In other instances, a conquered people have been admitted to an equality of privileges with their conquerors; and under the influence of a common faith, language and laws, the memory of their wrongs has been extinguished, and all the offensive circumstances of distinction and superiority have been gradually effaced; but the *Greeks* have been continually treated as a conquered people. For centuries, they have exhibited the afflicting spectacle of a civilized and Christian people oppressed by the vengeance of barbarians, and persecuted by the bigotry of infidels. In their case, the ebullitions of sudden fury have been succeeded by the operations of a dark, settled, and systematic hatred. In the lapse of ages, no sympathies have arisen, no bond of union has existed, for a moment, between them and their oppressors; and if, in each successive generation, the wrongs of the former have been forgotten, it was because their attention was fixed, and their feelings absorbed in the deep sense of their immediate sufferings. For ages, it has been the lot

of the *Greeks* to mourn, to endure, and to hate, in silence; and the privilege of the *Turks*, to vex, to insult, to plunder and to destroy. The tyranny to which the *Greeks* have been subjected has been of daily, hourly recurrence. It has embraced every family, to every individual, invaded every comfort of existence, pursued every occupation of life, broke the sanctuary of their dwellings—torn them the hard canned fruits of their industry, outraged the charities and violated the dearest and most sacred relations of domestic life. Most truly has it been said, that the records of history furnish to our abhorrence no example of similar oppression,—of an oppression so relentless in its motives—so universal in its extent,—so incessant in its operation.

In estimating the sufferings of the *Greeks*, and their claim to our sympathy, it is impossible not to recollect from whom they are descended. We cannot forget that those who now solicit our aid are the descendants of a people the most illustrious of any who have gained a title to the admiration and gratitude of mankind;—of a people whose virtues and exploits have ennobled our common nature;—who, in every department of literature and art, have won the noblest triumphs which have yet been achieved by the intellect of man. To the *Greeks* of the present day, sunk, degraded and enslaved, how deeply must the consciousness of their servitude be embittered by the recollection of the glories of their ancestors!

It is unnecessary to inquire into the immediate causes of the war now waging by the *Greeks* against their ruthless oppressors. In describing the tyranny which they have so long endured, we have sufficiently asserted the justice of their cause. They have seized a favourable opportunity for the recovery of rights derived from the great and benevolent author of our nature, and of which they have been so long deprived by the injustice and cruelty of man. They are nobly endeavouring to rescue themselves from a state of moral and intellectual degradation; to vindicate their title to freedom and independence; and to obtain a permanent rank among the civilized nations of the world. In other words, stimulated by deeper injuries, with fewer resources—opposed by more fearful odds—destitute of foreign aid—supported alone by their courage, the justice of their cause, and their reliance on that Divine Providence to which they have appealed, it is our example that they are emulating; it is the virtues which our fathers exhibited, that they are striving to imitate. If we value the blessings that we now enjoy, we must wish them success. If we desire that the same blessings should be extended to other nations, we cannot withhold our aid.

Three years have elapsed since the *Greeks*, roused into action, have, by a sudden and almost general effect, thrown off that load of oppression which weighed them to the earth. The nature and limits of this address will not allow us to attempt a detailed rela-

tion of the events of this most interesting contest. But we cannot forbear to advert, for a moment, to its peculiar character. On its issue depends, not merely the independence, but the very existence of the *Greeks*. Their efforts to break their chains, and the extraordinary success which has followed their arms, has exasperated to the highest pitch, the brutal passions of their oppressors.

The atrocities already committed by the *Turks*, the merciless cruelties that have followed every partial success they have gained, show, that, in their vengeance, they have devoted this whole people to the wretched fate which the miserable inhabitants of *Scio* have been compelled to suffer. Should a portion of the Grecian race be spared, the abandonment of their religion, their language, literature and arts, will be the conditions of such doubtful mercy.

In the contemplation of these evils, *Englishmen* have recently exclaimed, "We will endure that the land to which we owe everything, after religion, most valuable—science, art, poetry, philosophy—that that land, with all its recollections, its images of beauty, its temples worn by the footsteps of heroes, its sacred mountains and poetic streams, should be left desolate, a prey to the ferocity of barbarians, without feelings to sympathize for departed grandeur; without generosity to pardon the unsuccessful devotion of patriotism; without religion to stay the slaughtering hand when despair pleads for mercy." If such are the feelings of *Englishmen*, what, let us ask, ought to be the language and conduct of AMERICANS?

Let us not, fellow-citizens, suffer our sympathies towards this unfortunate people to be extinguished, and the generous impulse of our benevolence to be repressed, by the calumnies against them which a few, even amongst us, have been eager to circulate and ready to adopt. If in the first burst of vengeance against their perfidious and inexorable oppressors, they exceeded the bound of moderation or mercy, they have by their subsequent conduct nobly redeemed themselves from the reproach, and have extorted the admiration even of their enemies. And when we reflect on the abuse and ridicule one thrown upon our own government, institutions and manners, should be assailed by similar calumnies? This resemblance in their fate, to our character and fortune, gives them an additional title to our sympathy.

It is most unjust to say, that the *Greeks* of the present day are an ignorant people. The solicitude which they have generally evinced, within that period the study of their ancient language has been revived and ardently pursued. Their present language has been improved, cultivated and fixed; and numerous translations have been made and circulated, of the standard works in the languages of modern Europe. Their attention to the education of youth, and their excellent system of public instruction, are alone

sufficient to establish their claim to the character of a civilized nation. Many of their schools, we speak from the highest authority, "compare advantageously with those of Europe, and that of Scio, before its late destruction was equal to any seminary of learning that we ourselves possess." Of the commercial spirit of the Greeks, their skill in navigation, their talents for maritime enterprise, their great activity and industry, it is useless to speak. Those are qualities which they have so publicly and constantly displayed, that their possession of them, has not been questioned by their worst enemies.

But it is the knowledge with the Greeks have manifested of the principles of liberty; and the determination they have evinced, to maintain, at every hazard, a free government, that principally claim our applause, and demand our support. That independence which some doubted their ability to preserve, they declared at a very early period of their struggle; and the government which they then organized, and under which they have continued to live, is, in its form, truly republican. In their constitution of government, they have proclaimed and embodied the great principles which form the basis of our own;—the right of the people to choose and displace their rulers; the eligibility of every citizen to the highest offices of state; the abolition of all distinctions of rank, and the entire equality of political rights; the toleration of all religions; the separation of the executive, legislative and judicial powers; and the accountability of every public functionary, for the abuse or violation of his trust. We may deem their frame of government, in some respects, defective; but one of the benefits which they will derive from an intimate intercourse between them and us, will be the knowledge of the means by which those defects, in their existing constitution, may be remedied.

But the Greeks have another, and we may say, a still higher claim to our sympathy and support. They are *Christians*, professing all the essential principles of that faith which are destined to raise our fallen nature to its highest state of improvement. Let us not forget that the Greek Church is entitled to our veneration as the most ancient in the world, and in which alone the scriptures of the New Testament continue to be read in the language in which they were originally written. To Christians, then, we address ourselves. We solicit with confidence the contributions of those who remember by whom they are commanded, "to love one another." Already, "our Missionary Societies," to use the words of a learned and eloquent writer of our own country, "have their envoys to the Greek Church, with supplies of bibles and religious tracts for their benighted flocks. But in the present state of this unhappy people, this is not the only succour they require. They are laying the foundations of civil freedom, without which even the blessings of the gospel will be extended to them in vain; and while they are cementing with their blood this costly edifice, they are in the condition of the returning Jews, of whom every

one with one "of his hands wrought at the work, and with the other hand held a weapon." "We would respectfully suggest to the enlarged and pious minds of those who direct the great work of missionary charity, that at this moment the cause of the Grecian Church can in no way be so effectually served, as by contributions to the field of the great struggle. The war is empathically a war of the Crescent against the Cross. The venerable patriarch of the Greek Faith, torn from his Altar and hanged at the portals of his church, gave the signal of the unholy outrages which were to waste his flock. And now, wherever the armies of the Sultan prevail, the village churches are leveled with the dust, or polluted with the abominations of Mahometanism; and the religious houses of the Greeks, the oldest abodes of Christianity in the world, are wasted with fire, and the sacred volume thrown out to be trampled under foot by barbarians. At this crisis the messenger of Gospel fraternity should come in otherwise than the distributor of the World; and could the broad and deep current of the religious bounty be turned into a channel to reach the seat of the principal distress, it is not going too far to say, that it might be the means of giving another independent country to the Church of Christ; and do more to effect the banishment of the Crescent to the deserts of Tartary, than all that has yet been achieved by the counsels of Christendom."

Let us not listen, fellow-citizens, to the arguments of those who would persuade us to withhold our aid, on the frivolous pretext that little benefit can be derived to the cause of the Greeks, from any contributions which we can furnish. It is of money, of clothing, of arms, of military supplies, that they are in want; and the example of our revolution must be lost to those who deny that in a war like that in which the Greeks are engaged, conjunctures may, and frequently to arise in which the importance and value even of small supplies, may be beyond the power of calculation. But why should we listen to the predictions and counsels, of avarice? Why should our contributions be scanty, and our supplies small? If, on this occasion we are animated by the spirit which we ought to feel, it is in our power to decide the conquest; and to say, GREECE IS FREE.

By order of the Committee of the Greek Fund.

WILLIAM BAYARD, *Chairman*  
CHARLES KING, *Secretary*

### *12. Resolution Passed by Citizens of Poughkeepsie.*

(Robinson, pp. 127-28) January 1, 1824

At a meeting of the citizens of Poughkeepsie held at the Hotel to take into consideration

the propriety of aiding the suffering Greeks pursuant to public notice on the first day of January 1824.

General James Tallmade was called to the chair and the Reverend Cornelius C. Cuyler was appointed Secretary.

Whereupon it was resolved that a Committee of Five be appointed to prepare and report to this meeting resolutions expressive of the sense of this meeting in relation to the Greek cause,

Whereupon it was ordered that Ebenezer Nye, Stephen Cleveland, Theodore Allen, Major Bailey and Albert Cochs compose said committee.

The Committee reported the following resolutions which after a short and eloquent address by the Reverend C. C. Cuyler on the objects of the Meeting were unanimously adopted.

*Resolved*, that the Greek Nation ought of right to be Free and Independent, and that the People of the United States, preeminently enjoying those blessings ought not to look with indifference at their sufferings.

*Resolved*, that we view with a lively interest the contest now carried on by the Greek Nation against a barbarous enemy to obtain their Independence and that it is the duty of every freeman living under a free government to aid them in the important struggle.

*Resolved*, that it is right, just and proper to aid our Christian Brethren of Greece against the cruel and unrelenting Moslems, and that every one who values the Christian Religion woe it to himself and the Great Head of the Christian Church to aid in the Pious Cause.

*Resolved*, that the Ministers of the Gospel, and the various religious societies in the Country of Dutchess be and they are hereby requested to assemble their several congregations and solicit from them Contributions in aid of the Greek Nation.

*Resolved*, unanimously that the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Hon. Daniel Webster, Member of Congress from Massachusetts for the high and honorable stand he has taken in favor of the Greek Nation, and that the Chairman and the Secretary of this Meeting transmit to him a copy of these resolutions.

*Resolved*, that a Committee consisting of nine persons with power to add to their number be appointed to carry into effect the foregoing resolutions, which committee are requested to publish and address to the inhabitants of Dutchess in aid of the Greek Nation.

Whereupon the Chairman by order of the Meeting appointed Ebenezer Nye, Stephen Cleveland, Nathaniel P. Tallmade, Major Bailey, Abraham G. Storm, Albert Cox, Jacob Van Ness, John Brush and John Nelson to compose said Committee.

*Resolved*, that the proceedings of this Meeting be published in the newspapers printed in this village.

JAMES TALLMADE Chairman  
CAS. C. CUYLER Secretary

### 13. *Kentucky General Assembly Resolution*

(Robinson, p. 73) January 7, 1824

ACTS PASSED AT THE FIRST SESSION OF THE THIRTY-SECOND GENERAL ASSEMBLY FOR THE COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY, BEGUN AND READ IN THE TOWN OF FRANKFORT, ON MONDAY, THE THIRD DAY OF NOV. 1823.

Resolutions approbatory of the course of the President of the United States, in reaction to the struggles of the Greeks and South Americans for freedom, and in relation to the administration of the general government.

*RESOLVED by the Legislature of Kentucky*, That the sentiments expressed by the President of the United States, at the opening of Congress, in his message to that body, in relation to the struggle by the Greeks for the right of self government, and particularly the wish which he expresses, that the devotion of that people to the cause of freedom, may be crowned with ultimate success; that Greece, once the admiration of the world, the theme of universal eulogy—ever interesting to literature and science, to the politician and patriot, may achieve her emancipation, burst the shackles of the crescent, and emerging from the gloom of despotism, shine refulgent with the splendours of her pristine freedom; must be the fervent hope of each votary of liberty, and is the enthusiastic prayer of Kentucky.

### 14. *Speech in Support of the Greeks in the State House of Louisiana*

SPEECH DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE OF LOUISIANA, THE 20TH OF FEBRUARY, 1824, ON MOVING THE RESOLUTIONS IN SUPPORT OF THE GREEKS. BY A. DAVEZAC. (Pamphlet: New Orleans, 1824)

M. SPEAKER,

In an age so fruitful of wonderful events, none has yet been witnessed which has excited so lively an interest, or awakened such deep sympathy in the bosom of Americans, as the contest which Greece sustains, alone and unaided, against the whole Force of the Ottoman Empire. It is natural indeed, that freemen should have their feeling enlisted on the side of those who seek to conquer their freedom; and especially when it is recollected, that the nation now endeavouring to break the chains of servitude, is the eldest daughter

of civilization, the teacher of the arts, the founder of learning. If we look back to the history of that illustrious people, we discover, in every thing related to them, the stamp of genius. In their very infancy, they at once attained, as it were by divine inspiration, to a degree of perfection, in the fine arts and poetry, which Italy has perhaps rivaled, but which was never equaled by any other nation.

Their fictions were wrought with so potent a spell, that they still sway our minds. Their poets and their historians have succeeded alike, so that our very passions, qualities and vices are yet embodied in Grecian forms. Valor claims the attributes of Achilles; wisdom assumes the venerable mien of Nestor; eloquence is personified in the son of Laertes; the name of Helen is synonymous with Beauty; Patriotism owns Hector as its finest model; while envy and detraction still bear features of Thersites. If, from the heroic ages, we pass to those epochs, the events of which have been transmitted to us by the genius of their historians, it is only a change of wonders: not even the fancy Homer could have feigned the exploit of Leonidas. Sparta during the whole of her existence, presents to our observation a series of miracles, scarcely credible, were they not attested by the evidence of contemporary writers. Even the fall of the Republics of Greece was sublime and awful; the arm by which they were subdued was predestined, if we believe the inspired Daniel, to accomplish the purposes of divine wisdom; we are tempted indeed, in following the son of Philip in his career, to view him rather as the blind instrument of fate, than as the accomplisher of his own designs. Surely, if aught could have consoled the Athenians and the Spartans for the loss of their freedom, it was doubtless their traversing Assyria as its conquerors, avenging by the conflagration of Persepolis the ravages of their country by Mardonius and Xerxes. Even the dismemberment of the immense empire won their valor, was for the Greeks, a subject of pride. — Five Grecian Generals divided the world, and became the founders of five powerful monarchies. The language and the arts of Greece followed Ptolemy to Egypt, the Seleucides carried them to Asia, while Cassander and his successors preserved them in Europe, by transferring to Macedonia the politeness and the glory of Athens.

When, in the accomplishment of her destined greatness, Rome poured her triumphant legions over Macedonia and Achaia, in submitting to the Imperial people, the Greeks did not fall inglorious, since, if they received the yoke of conquest, they, in their turn, imposed on their masters that of those arts and sciences which embellish life and adorn society. Constantinople became the seat of the Empire, and surpassed the splendor of the Eternal city. From its walls wisdom pronounced the Oracles of Legislation, by which the civilized world is still governed. It was indeed a debt in which Christianity owed to the Greeks, whose eloquence had so much aided to spread its precepts, that Constantinople acquitted, when he raised the Cross on the dome of St. Sophia in

defiance of the Eagle of the Capitol. Experience soon manifested the wisdom which had presided over the choice of another Capitol for the Roman Empire. From the deserts of Arabia a new race of conquerors rushed on the civilized world; inflamed by fanaticism and the desire of enjoying the sensual paradise, which their Prophet promises to valor, they overlapped every barrier, save that which Constantine had raised: there, as in a sanctuary, learning and the arts were preserved from the profanation of the barbarians. A flame, blown by Grecian genius, ran over the water, and devoured the Arabian fleets. Baffled in all their attempts, the ferocious Caliphs could not destroy the productions of genius and wisdom collected by the Eastern Caesars, as they had destroyed the volumes which the Ptolemies had deposited in Alexandria.

When Mohamet II. entered the city of Constantine, after marching over the lifeless body of the last of her Emperors, the sacred fire was not extinguished: preserved by the Greeks with Vestal solicitude, they bore it to the rude nations of the West. Apostles of learning, they, like the Apostles of the true Faith, visited every country in Europe, and breathed into every heart their own enthusiasm for the works of their ancestors.

Descendants of Britons and of Frenchmen! Can you hear unmoved, the imploring voice of that people from whom your fathers received the rich inheritance of learning and science? The cry which echoes from the shores of the Hellespont to those of the Hudson, from the banks of the Eurotas to those of the Mississippi, is not that of the feeble, or inert, calling for that aid from other which they dare not seek in their own efforts. — No! Greece, like the Guardian Goddess of Athens, stands with the helmet on her head, and the lance of her right hand. The land of Cadmus, ploughed by freemen, has again brought forth an iron harvest of steel clad warriors. Greece implores the succour of friendly nations; but, like her own Ajax, while imploring aid, she presents her shield to the foe, and brandishes her sword.

All the cities of the Union have called meetings to deliberate on the mode of aiding the Greeks. Pity has extended like a chain from Portland to New-Orleans, and humanity has sent through it an electric spark home to every American heart. Representatives of Louisiana, whose deeds have recalled the memory of Grecian exploits, you mourn that you cannot aid your Greek brethren with your swords, but you rejoice that you are allowed, at least, to express your sympathy in the cause for which they fight. Already has the highminded and democratic state of South Carolina, always foremost in whatever is noble and generous, expressed the wish that the general government should recognize Greece as an independent nations. Can we hesitate to recommend that measure? Will any one pretend that there can be an impropriety in our advising a republic to do that for Greece, a republic, which France, a monarchy, did for the United States? Had we, at the time when the court of Versailles acknowledged our independence, given

greater pledges of our determination to be free, than Greece has already offered to the world? Had our successes been such as to presage a happier result than theirs seem to promise? They are in fact more unanimous in their resistance to tyranny than we were in 1776, for we hear of no royalists or tories among them; nay, their fleets obey the command of Fierce Amazons; women are again seen fighting like men, and men flying from the contest like women. We had captured a whole army; they have destroyed several armies, and burned several fleets; we had a Washington, a Montgomery, a Franklin, a La Fayette; they also boast of wise statesmen and chiefs of renown: but were those wanting, they would evoke the shades of the mighty dead —Phocion and Aristides would again sit in their councils, and Miltiades and Themistocles guide their phalanx. No! it cannot be that Americans alone should remain insensible to so noble a cause; for, if in Europe the governments continue torpid, the people are awake; if England forget what she once was, in France, in stead of giving as formerly, now waits for the word of command; if that prophetic voice which once awoke the Roman tribune, commanding him to go and tell the Senate that the Gauls were at the gates of the Capitol, disturb no longer the soft slumber of despots; if the Czar can listen with, unpitying ears, to the agonizing shrieks of a nation, calling on Scythia, (as their ancestors, in days of old, called Argos, on Macedonia,) to send forth to their aid a Hero, a King of Kings, another Alexander, once more to avenge on Asia the wrongs of Europe, if he disdain to crown his brows with the palms which victory holds ready to his hands on the Shores of the Hellespont —neither Frenchmen, nor Britons, nor Poles, have waited for the tardy signal. The Highland brand, the sword of the Gaul, the spear of the Sarmatian, gleam in the ranks of freemen. Those who met as foes in the fatal fields of Waterloo, now advance, side by side; under the banners of liberty, nor will another Tyrtaeus be wanted in the Spartan band; The lyre of Byron, of the Poet for whom the muses have woven a wreath of the laurel of Pindar and of the Myrtle of Ovid, and of the vine of Anacreon, fires the ardor of the combatants, and his lays will give immortality to the conquerors.

Were it necessary, Mr. Speaker, in order to excite the compassions of Americans, for the sufferings of an oppressed people, to present to their fancy scenes of deep horror, and were I possessed of the talents of him whose words could raise armies to defend the expiring liberty of his native land, or of him whose eloquence could make a throne, raised and supported by sixty Kings, fall to the ground, or of him whose loss, Ireland, and genius, and learning, still deplore: I need not range in the field of fiction to find subjects that would harrow up your inmost feelings. —I would open the page of contemporary history, and point to you the ferocious Janissary entering the abode of innocence, and piety; in vain the aged father opposes his unarmed body as a barrier against the intruder. It is not his death that you should mourn; the scimitar of the barbarian has

only terminated a life of honour, by inflicting a glorious death. Reserve your pity, your tears, for the matron doomed in slavery—for the shrieking virgin, dragged to captivity by a lawless soldiery; and finding no refuge, no asylum, save the Harem of a Satrap. There, the victim is adorned and awaits the commands of her master. Will Heaven permit the sacrifice of youth and beauty? Are there no protecting angels nigh; no hero, guardian of innocence and honour? no JACKSON, calling on freemen to rush to battle, and breathing into every heart the presaging inspirations of his own dauntless mind? Americans! give to husbands, fathers, brothers, arms to defend their wives, their daughters, their sisters: Give them arms! it is all in your hands: The God whom they and we adore, will give them Victory and Freedom!

I feel, Mr. Speaker, that I must conclude; not that I have exhausted the subject—on the contrary, like a boundless Ocean, it seems to spread as I advance, but because my strength is unequal to the task. I have marked my slow progress in the ground where the giant footsteps of Webster are now impressed—I stop, conscious that I cannot follow him in his triumphant and glorious career.

### 15. *An Appeal by the People of the City of New York.*

*Niles' Weekly Register*, December 13, 1824

THE GREEKS. The people of the city of New York are fully in earnest to do something handsome for the assistance of the Greeks. At a late meeting of the committee of the Greek fund, *William Bayard*, chairman, and *Charles King*, secretary, a letter was presented from *N. Biddle*, of Philadelphia, containing 300 dollars, for the good of the cause—various other donations have been received; it is recommended that collections should be made in the churches, and expected that it will become even quite *fashionable* to assist the descendants of those who were the bulwark of light and knowledge in old times, in rescuing themselves from the dominion of a barbarian race. A large and most respectable committee has been appointed to receive donations, &c.; and, if we all give a little, a great good to our fellow men may be accomplished—or, if the Greeks should fail, we shall have the consolation to know that we were not indifferent spectators of their glorious struggle for freedom.

Just after the meeting was organized, the venerable col. Willett entered the room—every body rose—he advanced slowly to the table, and spoke in substance as follows:—

I ask one minute's indulgence. I take it for granted that fourscore and three years present a good apology for my not being able to attend the business of this committee. Its object is, if I understand it, the defence of liberty—it is fifty eight years since I first engaged with the sons of liberty to take measures to oppose British aggression in this country—the sons

of liberty were then not divided—they united for the good of their country. I would that it might be so at this day. Our success was not complete at that time, we only got a reprieve, and succeeding oppressions drove us again to assert our rights, to tax ourselves and regulate our own affairs, and we entered into a non-importation agreement. I was of that committee, and, from that day to this, I think my conscience will acquit me in saying, I have long been engaged in the cause of liberty. I am now too old to be active, but I wish it as well as in my more youthful days, and can only, in reference to the objects of this committee, say with regret, "Oh! the day when I was young." Gentlemen, I could not omit, on this occasion, to say this much, and I have presented myself here to declare, that though age has enfeebled my limbs, my heart yet glows in the cause of which I understand you to be engaged—the cause of liberty.

It may be imagined that this address was received with no little applause—and as the venerable warrior withdrew, the whole committee rose to salute him.

I would rather have had col. Willett's feelings on this occasion, than those of the "restored" king of France after he has eaten an hundred oysters, which is said to be the most notable thing that he can do—and yet I like oysters as well, and as plentifully partake of them too, as "his majesty"—if I please; with a yankee *notion*, also, that I eat better ones than enslaved France furnishes him with.

Meetings are called or have been held at Philadelphia and other places, to raise funds for the assistance of the Greeks.

## 16. Various Notices, Newspaper Articles and Letters

*Niles' Weekly Register*, January 9, 1824

"GREEK FIRE!" A New York paper says that the corporation have loaned the portrait of General JACKSON, to be placed in the dancing room on the eighth of January, when the profits of the ball are to be given to the "Greek fund"—and calls the proceeding "Greek fire!"

(Robinson, p. 147) September 7, 1825

There will be a meeting of the Greek Committee at the *Union Bank* on Friday, at 11 o'clock to consider the letters lately received from Greece.

By order      EDWARD EVERETT, Secretary.

Messrs. S. I. Armstrong, J. I. Austin, Geo. Blake, A. Bradford

Col. S. D. Harris, Rev. S. F. Jarvis, D. D., J. C. Merrill, H. Orne

N. P. Russell Esq., J. C. Warren, M. D., S. A. Willis, T. L. Winthrop

(Robinson, p. 56) December 18, 1826: [Letter from Edward Everett to Mathew Carey in Philadelphia.]

. . . I have your esteemed favours of the 11th, 13th and 17th, which I beg leave to acknowledge.

I was most truly rejoiced to have had it in my power to put into your service and faithful hands a document which would assist you in your appeals to the sympathies of your benevolent city. With regard to the printing of my letter, although I did not contemplate definitely any other publicity than that of having it perhaps read at some meeting, yet I cannot certainly be so ungracious as to complain of that which was not only well designed by you, but has been productive as you think of some good effects. The misprint you notice had also been observed by me and in the letter as published in the *Democratic Press* there are some others as Mr. added before the name of the old mountaineer KOLOKOTRONI and counties for countries in the extract from the letter. But these are trifling things to which the judicious reader generally furnishes his own correction and which even while uncorrected, produce no worse effect than to throw an air of rusticity over a sentence or two of no weight in the main Import.

I enclose you a trifle as my own contribution toward the benevolent object you have so essentially promoted. God knows I wish it carried two cyphers instead of one. It is all my limited means enable me to contribute. I shall be desirous of writing to one or two friends among the noble and devoted spirits who are agonizing in Greece to go by your vessel; and in acknowledging the letter of General KOLOKOTRONI, I shall take good care to let him understand that the credit of having given effect to it belongs not to me but to you.

I am, Dear Sir,  
Very truly yours,

(Robinson, p. 164) *Boston Daily Advertiser*, December 21, 1826: *Relief for the Greeks*

A correspondent who declared himself much gratified with the remarks of F in our paper of Tuesday (Dec. 19), expresses a wish that some one would call a meeting of the citizens to take measures for contributing something for the suffering Greeks. In case anything is done, he authorizes us to consider him pledged to contribute twenty barrels of flour. We are satisfied that many other gentlemen feel the same disposition to do something in this work of charity if the opportunity were offered them. We regret that something was not done before Mr. Miller left town. His testimony, which is entitled to the fullest credit, concurs with that which has reached us from several other quarters, in showing that great numbers of the Greeks, who are driven from their farms and homes

are dying for want of food and clothing. We should have recommended, had we not hoped that the suggestion would come from some quarter that should be raised in money, provisions and clothing, to be sent to Greece, under the care of Mr. Miller himself, (should he be willing to undertake the charge) and of our most deserving townsman, Dr. Howe, who is now in Greece. They have both, by their personal sacrifices and their good conduct, given the best proof of their being entitled to this mark of confidence. By means of one or both of these agents, we might feel an entire satisfaction that our charity would be judiciously dispensed.

There is reason to believe that the citizens of New York will do something liberal in aid of this cause. The people of Philadelphia also are already making a generous effort, which promises to be successful. A letter from Philadelphia published in the New York Evening Post, of Monday, says that on Saturday a large and representative meeting was held—that Mr. Everett's letter to Mr. Carey "was read with applause, and excited deep interest," and resolution were adopted. The letter adds "there is strong reason to hope that a vessel of 250 or 300 tons burden, will be fitted out here in the course of this or the next week."

(Robinson, p. 165) *National Gazette*, Philadelphia, December 30, 1826

*Communication.*

The following letter, received by Mr. EVERETT, and transmitted by him to the *Greek Committee*, reflects so much credit on the head and heart of the writer, and sets so laudable an example, that it would be unjust to withhold it from the public.

Richmond (Va.) Dec. 25, 1826

EDWARD EVERETT ESQ.

Sir: The writer of this is an utter stranger to you and you are, personally, equally unknown to him. An apology for intrusion, however, is deemed unnecessary, as a redeeming spirit, it is hoped, will appear in the object in view.

I have read your letter to Mr. Carey relative to the wants of the suffering Greeks with deep interest. I wish to aid them, so far as I can consistently with my circumstances. A ten dollar note is enclosed for this purpose. I am aware the same is small, but it is a full tithe of my clear yearly income. Be pleased to apply it efficiently if there is opportunity, if not, you will be good enough to return it.

Born and brought up in a land of liberty, I know, and knowing, prize the rights, the privileges and the blessings of a citizen of a free country; and I cannot but wish that all who are seeking, through toil, suffering, and blood, for the rights of men, may enjoy them as liberally as I do myself.

Yours etc.

HEZEKIAH BELDEN

(Robinson, p. 49) March 3, 1827:

[Letter from Edward Everett to General Kolokotronis.]

Washington, House of Representatives, 3rd March, 1827

General,

I have had the honor to receive the letter of last July addressed to me by your Excellency. I have made it public to the friends of Greece and the American People generally. Our citizens have been deeply affected with sympathy, on hearing of the sufferings of our fellow Christians in Greece; and I have the happiness to inform you, that they are anxious to contribute to their relief. The law of nations does not permit the Government of the United States to render you any warlike aid, but the American people, in their warlike capacity, are eager to afford all the assistance in their power, to their brave and suffering fellowmen. The vessel which bears this letter, is loaded with provisions and clothing, the contribution of benevolent individuals, and it is hoped will bring some relief to the wants of your heroic countrymen. Two or three other vessels will shortly follow from the different parts of the country and will be received, I hope, as a proof that the hearts of the American people are with you. This first cargo is the exclusive offering of the citizens of New York.

Wishing to you, General, and to your brave and patriotic countrymen victory and success, I subscribe myself

Your faithful, humble Servant,

EDWARD EVERETT

(Booras, p. 211-12) New York *Evening Post*, March 2, 12, 15, 17, 1827: Report of the Joint Committee of the Senate in Assembly [of New York State] of the Application for Relief of the Greeks, Made March, 1827.

[...] Similarly, in the sovereign state of New York, a joint committee of the Senate and Assembly was appointed to consider a bill, which had been introduced, for the purpose of sending 1,000 barrels of flour to Greece. On March 1, 1827, the committee reported favorably on the bill, saying, among other things, that the stake for which Greece was fighting was also that for which the pioneers of American independence had fought. The report concludes in the following words:

. . . that land from which we derived our first ideas of freedom, which produced the heroes and statesmen whose example is constantly exhibited for our emulation, which gave birth to the authors in whose works their country still lives and will forever live and whose precepts formed our minds and planted there the seeds of intelligence, the land of which we are perpetually reminded by the monuments of art, in painting, sculpture and architecture,—the land, finally, to



General Theodoros Kolokotronis

which the heart of every scholar turns with the devotion of a long absent pilgrim,—that land sup-  
plicates our benevolence. . .

To us, the youngest and most free of the nation of the world, is this appeal made. In the opinion  
of your committee, a refusal would ill become such a nation.

[*Editor's note:* The bill passed the Senate but was defeated in the Assembly, in spite of  
the stirring oration by Representative Spencer. It is interesting to note that the New  
York *Evening Post*, which verbally was consistently philhellenic, nonethelss praised the  
action of the Assembly in defeating the bill, as it feared that its passage would indirectly  
embroil the nation in international disputes.]

## B. Poetry Inspired by the Greek Revolution

GREECE

J. M. D.

Greeks now struggling to be free  
 Greeks who fight for liberty,  
 Valiant as your fathers be,  
 Spurn your chains and slavery

Now's the day, the dawning hour,  
 See the haughty Turkish power,  
 On them like a torrent pour,  
 On for Greece, and liberty.

Who would wear a Turkish chain,  
 Who would bear a coward's name;  
 Who would live in servile shame?  
 Coward, let him basely die.

By your maids and matrons' woe,  
 By your sons, and temples low,  
 Down the impious crescent throw,  
 Bear the cross for liberty.

Now Columbia feels a glow,  
 Freemen shall to freemen show,  
 Gallantly to aid the blow,  
 On for Greece and victory.

The *New-York Mirror*, and *Ladies Gazette*, I, January 17, 1824; Raizis-Papas, pp. 14-15.

GREECE

Laurence

Freedom! from thy tranquil home,  
 Fast by the Atlantic wave,  
 Haste, from their impending doom,  
 Greece's hapless sons to save,  
 Happiness, thy loveliest daughter,  
 Dwelt of yore beneath their skies;

Now, the blood-stain'd fiend of slaughters  
Rules where Scio ruin'd lies.

Shall the country of thy birth  
Bow for aye to tyranny?  
Free'st once of all the earth,  
Shall she ne'er again be free?  
Shall the noble and the brave  
Fight and bleed for thee, in vain?  
Haste thy native land to save;  
Break, oh! break, her galling chain!

.....

Hark! 'tis Freedom's voice I hear!  
"Children of the west, to arms!"  
Thousands at the cry appear;  
Freedom every bosom warms.  
Hark, again! "By ev'ry favour  
That my hand to you has given,  
Haste to Greece, from ruin save her"—  
"Haste to Greece!" they shout to Heaven

.....

Widows, orphans, who had mourn'd  
Husbands slaves, and parents slain;  
Husbands, fathers, sons, return'd  
To the arms of love again,  
Twine to grace each hero's head,  
Wreaths from glory's chosen tree,  
While the band who for them bled,  
Shout exulting, "Greece is free!"

*The Minerva*, I, December 7, 1822. This is one of the earliest poems on the Greek cause.  
Raizis-Papas, pp. 18-19.

#### GREECE

Ye generous spirits! whom the holy cause  
Of charity, this night together draws;  
Whose hearts the woes of others promptly feel,  
To you the Drama makes her fond appeal.

*"Founded on Freedom and Virtue"*

'Tis for that land illustrious and revered,  
 To her above all other lands endeared,  
 The Drama's birth-place, long her only home,  
 Her darling boast through every age to come;  
 GREECE! sacred name, that elevates the mind  
 To musings proud, exalted and refin'd,  
 Thy wrongs and sorrows shall my speech unfold,  
 (Sad contrast now to what thou wert of old!)  
 Thy sons—oh! shall I tell how like their sires,  
 They feel the flame which freedom's cause inspires?  
 Tho' few and friendless, they their foes defy,  
 Resolved to gain their liberty or die!

And oft have they upon th' ensanguined field,  
 Taught their oppressors' barbarous hosts to yield:  
 But hosts on hosts the barbarous tribes afford,  
 And fruitless valour wields the Grecian sword!

Yet ah! 'tis not the formidable host  
 Of vengeful armies, Grecians dread the most;

'Tis not the shedding of their dearest blood,—  
*That* flows in welcome in a cause so good;—  
 'Tis not the groans from Scio's ruined isle,  
 Nor the dead shrieks from Missolonghi's pile,  
 That bid their cheeks the hue of sadness wear,  
 And fill their dauntless bosoms with despair!  
 'Tis FAMINE's iron grip that chills their fires,  
 'Tis *starving children, mothers, wives, and sires*  
 Whose cries for bread th' heroic soldier hears  
 In helpless anguish and o'erwhelming fears!  
 Yes, hearts whom all the Sultan's proud array  
 Of chiefs and warriors, never could dismay,  
 Despond and droop, by famine's power o'ercast,  
 Like withering leaves before th' autumnal blast!

And they are Christians! shoots of glorious stem,  
 Children of heroes—yes, and worthy them!  
 Say, must they starve, or sink beneath the yoke

Of the fierce Infidel, so lately broke,  
While Christian nations spread their realms around,  
With riches of o'erflowing harvests crow'd:  
Shame! shame, to Christendom, if she can stand  
With heart unmov'd and with unopened hand,  
To view such scenes, nor promptly interfere  
To check the desolating Turk's career!

But more than shame to *us*, so amply blest.  
If in the lap of plenty we can rest  
With selfish ease, and hear the affecting prayer  
Of Greece for aid, nor snatch her from despair!  
But heaven forbids to act so vile a part,  
Heaven, and each virtuous feeling of the heart.  
To Greece we hearken, and her tale of woe  
Has bade our warmest sympathies to flow:  
Soon to her shores our ships shall gladly bear  
The wish'd relief, which we so well can spare.—  
Then may her sons reviving vigor again,  
To drive their tyrants from her classic plain,  
Until the fierce but glorious struggle o'er,  
Plenty and peace shall bless her realms once more:  
And as from ashes of her parent springs  
The beauteous Phoenix, on untarnished wings,  
May Grecian genius yet her powers unfold,  
And shine as pure and bright as e'er she shone of old.

Anonymous—From *The Philadelphia Albumn, and Ladies Weekly Gazette*, I, no. 35, January 31, 1827. The original editor's note indicates that: "The following animated lines were written by a gentleman of this city, advantageously known for its literary and poetical talents, and presented to the Committee in aid of the Greeks, as an Address intended for delivery at the Theatre on the night lately devoted by the managers to the benevolent purpose of assisting that persecuted and oppressed people." Raizis-Papas, pp. 34–35.

## THE LAST SONG OF THE GREEK PATRIOT

James Gates Percival

.....  
 These have been glorious days:  
 Let come what will, our fame  
 Is like the sun's eternal blaze,  
 And when they tell of Marathon,  
 And all the fields our fathers won,  
 They too shall name  
 Bozzaris, and the few who died,  
 Victims of glory, by his side.

The world has told our doom,—  
 'Tis liberty or death!  
 The tree we planted must not bloom,  
 For Turk and Christian—all unite,  
 And royal hands our sentence write,  
 And yet our breath,  
 When trampled by the ruffian herd,  
 Shall never breathe one recreant word.

If we must die, then die!  
 And let the foul disgrace  
 Cling to their names eternally,  
 Who, when they had the power to save,  
 Doomed to a dark and bloody grave  
 A high, devoted race.  
 Awhile the sweets of life to know,  
 O God, and then to perish so!

But freedom has one shore:  
 Would we could shelter there  
 The tender ones we value more  
 Than life or fame! O generous men!  
 Be with us, as ye long have been,  
 And we will share  
 All the poor fruit of toils and pains,—  
 Our hearts, our lives, perhaps our chains.

Come at this fatal hour,  
 Ye last of high-born souls;  
 Come, when the crushing weight of power  
 Has all but bent our necks to earth;  
 We will not shame our glorious birth.

.....

James Gates Percival, *The Poetical Works*, Boston, 1859; Raizis-Papas, pp. 52–54.

# THE GRECIAN AMAZON

William Cullen Bryant (1824)

I buckle on my slender side  
 The pistol and the scimeter,  
 And, in my maiden flower and pride,  
 Am come to share the tasks of war;  
 And yonder stands my fiery steed,  
 That paws the ground, and neighs to go;  
 My charger is the Arab breed—  
 I took him from the routed foe.

My mirror is the morning spring,  
 At which I dress my ruffled hair;  
 My dimm'd and dusty arms I bring,  
 And wash away the blood-stain there.  
 Why should I guard from wind and sun  
 This cheek, whose virgin rose is fled?  
 It was for one—oh! only one—  
 It kept its bloom—and he is dead!

But they who slew him—unaware  
 Of coward murderers lurking nigh—  
 And left him to the fowls of air,  
 And yet alive, and they must die.  
 They slew him—and my virgin years  
 Are vowed to Greece and vengeance now;  
 And many an Othman dame, in tears,  
 Shall rue the Grecian maiden's vow.

I touch'd the lute in better days—  
 I led in dance the joyous band:  
 Ah! they may move to mirthful lays  
 Whose hand can touch a lover's hand.  
 The march of hosts that haste to meet  
 Seems gayer than the dance to me:  
 The lute's sweet tones are not so sweet  
 As the fierce shout of victory!

Originally published as "Song of the Greek Amazon," in the *United States Literary Gazette* (December 1, 1824); reprinted as "The Grecian Amazon" under the initials "L.G." in the *New York Mirror, and Ladies Literary Gazette*, II, March 25, 1825, p. 280, probably on the occasion of the anniversary of the the Greek Revolution. Raizis-Papas, pp. 59–60.

SONS OF THE GREEKS

Δεῦτε παῖδες τῶν Ἑλλήνων!

George Washington Doane

"Sons of the Greeks, arise!"  
 And gird your armour on;  
 Your bleeding country's rights assert,  
 Avenge your father's wrong.  
 Sons of the helmed brave  
 Who held Thermopylae  
 Dare, as they dared, the turbaned slave,  
 And Greece shall yet be free.

.....  
 'Tis up—the glorious strife,  
 By field, and tower, and town;  
 And palace, mosque, and minaret,  
 And frowning fort, are down:  
 The Ottoman retreats,  
 The crescent veils its ray,  
 And holy hands, in Stamboul's streets  
 The Cross of Christ display.

"Sons of the Greeks arise!"  
 Rise in your fathers' might,

With sword girt on, and spear in rest,  
Wage Freedom's holy fight;  
Swear—'twas the father's oath,  
And well befits the son—  
Swear, free to live, or firm to die,  
"By those in Marathon!"

W. C. Doane, ed., *The Poetical Writings of the Right Rev. Geo. Washington Doane* (New York, 1860), pp. 28–30. Doane was Episcopal Archbishop of New Jersey. Raizis–Papas, pp. 71–73.

PROLOGUE

Edward C. Pinkney

(Delivered at the Greek Benefit in Baltimore—1823)

I

As one, who long upon his couch hath lain  
Subdued by sickness to a slave of pain,  
When time and sudden health his strength repair,  
Springs jocund to his feet, and walks the air;  
So Greece, through centuries a prostrate land,  
At length starts up—forever may she stand—

II

Since smiling Liberty, the sun thrice blest,  
That had its rising in our happy west,  
Extends its radiance eastward to that shore,  
The place of Gods whom yet our hearts adore;  
And, hailed by loud acclaim of thousands, hath  
Been worshipped with a more than Magian faith,

.....  
Shall we, who almost placed it in the sky,  
Fail to assist the magnanimity;  
With which, regardless of much pressing want,  
They greet their fair and heavenly visitant?

*"Founded on Freedom and Virtue"*

Forbid it, Justice! we detest the state,  
 Which, knowing that mortality must rate  
 By mere comparison things dark or bright,—  
 Would make its fame as painters from a light,  
 By circumjacent blackness—we are free,  
 And so could wish the total earth to be.  
 Greece *shall*, —Greece *is*,—each old, heroic shade,  
 Draws, with her living sons his spectral blade,  
 And combats, proud of like his own,  
 Like Theseus' ghost at storied Marathon.

## III

"The Last of Grecians," —is become a phrase,  
 Improper in these new triumphant days:  
 The swords well wielded against Turkish bands,  
 Are not unworthy of those mighty hands,  
 Which overthrew the haughty Persian, when  
 Pausanias and Leonidas were men.

.....

## VI

Tonight the useful and the pleasing claim,  
 Still more than commonly, to seem the same;  
 For pleasing you, we aid, "in our degree,"  
 A struggling nation's strife for liberty,—  
 The strife whose voice from this great world demands,  
 What mine of you beseeches—"clap your hands!"

"This address was written to be spoken before some theatrical entertainment for the benefit of the Greeks, then engaged in a war of independence from Turkish rule, during which American and English sentiments greatly favored the patriots." See: *The Life and Works of Edward Coote Pinkney*, by Th. O. Mabbott and Frank L. Pleadwell (New York, 1926), pp. 122–124. As a young man Pinkney served on the Mediterranean Squadron and had fought pirates off the Barbary Coast. Raizis–Papas, pp. 82–83.

TO THE LADIES OF GREECE

T.

Ye beautiful daughters of Greece and her Isles,  
Who weep o'er the land of your birth,  
Where all that was glorious the spoiler defiles,  
Like the fiend in the garden of earth;

Again on the mountain—again by the wave,  
Assist at the rite and the prayer.  
Which man, putting off the foul bonds of the slave,  
Shall offer to liberty there.

Again light the brave with your glances divine  
And the crown of green laurel prepare  
For him who has fought for his land, and the shrine  
Of the God who made you so fair.

From you shall the heart of the Patriot claim  
The reward which the valiant most prize,  
The best, dearest bliss—the clear light of his fame,  
Reflected from chaste loving eyes.

Too long has that beauty which came from above  
The home of the Hero to grace,  
Been doom'd to the curse of the Infidel's love,  
Who tramples the fame of her race.

Yet shall beauty again those high virtues insure,  
Which flourish'd when Greece yet was young;  
The noblest that Bards ever gave to the lyre,  
Or glow'd upon History's tongue.

Then call forth the youth to their country's array,  
Cheer them onward to Fame with your smiles,  
Till the tyrant shall perish, or flee far away  
From Greece and her beautiful Isles.

For Greece was the region where Woman first gave  
 To Virtue a magical sway,  
 And guided to Honor the Free and the Brave,  
 Like the Angel of Glory's bright way.

*The Minerva*, I, April 27, 1822; Raizis-Papas, pp. 92-93.

# THE SULIOTE POLEMARQUE

S. L. Fairfield

'Tis sunset o'er Oraco's vale  
 And old Dodona's holy woods,  
 Where lingers many a glorious tale  
 Shrined in those holy solitudes;  
 And through *Klissura's* dim defile,  
 As pours *Voionssa's* mountain flood,  
 Its dark waves catch a sunlight smile  
 Along the lonely pass of blood;  
 And Pindus wears a robe of light  
 Through all this rugged mountain range,  
 Like spirits throned where change and blight  
 Come not, nor sin nor any change;  
 And on the Cassopean Height  
 the Kungghi—fortress of the brave,  
 Like dark clouds on a lurid night,  
 Hangs threatening o'er the Ionian wave.

'Tis midnight: and a Suliote band  
 Of faint and famished ones pass on  
 In silence—exiles from that land  
 Where deathless deeds were vainly done,  
 And through a deep, wild wooded dell  
 The last hope of the Suliote name  
 Tread trembling where their fathers fell,  
 The eternal heirs of Grecian fame,  
 And often bank their dim eyes turn,  
 In love yet lingering mid despair,  
 Where beacon lights of glory burn  
 Amid proud Freedom's mountain air,

But few can now find free abode  
On those wild cliffs where temples erst  
Rose, crown'd with glory, to each god,  
Whose presence from the starr'd skies burst!

.....  
"Tis Freedom—Glory—or the Grave!  
So spake the high-souled caloyer,  
The Polemarque of Suli's band:  
The man whose trumpet voice could stir  
The faintest heart in all the lkand:

.....  
"Our birth place for our trophied tomb,  
"Our death, our immortality!  
"Brave Palikars! they come, they come!"  
Each in his full heart's silence stood,  
Thought of lost hope and ruined house,  
And deep revenge in Othman blood.  
"They come! they come! now stand apart  
"With torches in your red right hands,  
"And by the wrongs of every heart,  
"Where this proud tower on Pindus stands,  
"The Suliote's grave shall be—and there  
"The victims victors with their mountain foes  
"Shall sleep mid their own mountain air  
"Free till life's latest heart pulse close!"

.....  
Onward through mazy paths he trod  
And thousands followed hurriedly,  
When loudly—In the name of God!  
"Death on the shrine of Liberty!"  
The Caloyer's high voice went forth,  
"Death to the tyrant and the slave!  
"Death on the spot that gave us birth!  
—"Revenge for home, hope, country gone!  
"Revenge for bondage borne in vain!  
"Revenge for each loved, honoured one!  
"Revenge for all!" He fired the train!

The fire ran, leapt and burst and flew  
 Through all the vaulted magazine,  
 And dark as fiends the Moslems grew—  
 The Suliotes knelt and prayed serene.  
 Each for a moment—seas of flame  
 Burst through vast rocks that had withstood  
 The skill of many a vaulted name,  
 The earthquake and the boundless flood.  
 The mountain sprang asunder then;  
 And mid a storm of shattered rocks,  
 The arms and limbs of thousands men  
 Flew through the air in blackened flocks,  
 And, mid the glare and gloom—the roar,  
 The wreck, the ruin, upward rose,  
 .....  
 So Suli's cliffs and crags became  
 A lurid mass of fire and blood,  
 The home of havoc and of flame,  
 Where Freedom in her death hour stood,  
 Where tyrants ne'er shall dare to stand,  
 While Suli's sons on earth draw breath,  
 In that proud, holy, storied Land  
 Where Glory lights the realms of Death.

*The Philadelphia Album, and Ladies' Literary Gazette*, III, October 22, 1828, p. 168. Fairfield's  
*Poetical Works* was published in Philadelphia, 1842. Raizis-Papas, pp. 103–107.

MARCO BOZZARIS

Fitz-Greene Halleck (1824)

At midnight, in his guarded tent,  
 The Turk was dreaming of the hour  
 When Greece, her knee in suppliance bent,  
 Should tremble at his power:  
 In dreams, through camp and court, he bore  
 The trophies of a conqueror;  
 In dreams his song of triumph heard;

Then wore his monarch's signet ring;  
Then pressed that monarch's throne — a kind;  
As wild his thoughts, and gay of wing,  
As Eden's garden bird.

At midnight, in the forest shades,  
Bozzaris ranged his Suliote band,  
True as the steel of their tried blades,  
Heroes in heart and hand.

.....  
An hour passed on — the Turk awoke;  
That bright dream was his last;  
He woke—to hear his sentries shriek,  
"To arms! they come! the Greek! the Greek!"  
He woke—to die midst flame, and smoke,  
And shout, and groan, and sabre stroke,  
And death shots falling thick and fast  
As lightnings from the mountain cloud;  
And heard with voice as trumpet loud,  
Bozzaris cheer his band;  
"Strike—till the last armed foe expires;  
Strike—for your altars and your fires;  
Strike—for the green graves of your sires;  
God—and your native land!"

They fought—like brave men, long and well;  
They piled that ground with Moslem slain,  
They conquered—but Bozzaris fell,  
Bleeding at every vein.  
His few surviving comrades saw  
His smile when rang their proud hurrah,  
And the red field was won;  
Then saw in death his eyelids close  
Calmly, as to a night's repose,  
Like flowers at set of sun.

Come to the bridal chamber, Death!  
Come to the mother's, when she feels,

For the first time, her first-born's breath;  
 Come when the blessed seals  
 That close the pestilence are broke,  
 And crowded cities wail its stroke;

.....

But to the hero, when his sword  
 Has won the battle for the free,  
 Thy voice sounds like a prophet's word;  
 And in its hollow tones are heard  
 The thanks of millions yet to be.

.....

Bozzaris! with the storied brave  
 Greece nurtured in her glory's time,  
 Rest thee—there is no prouder grave,  
 Even in her own proud clime.  
 She wore no funeral weeds for thee,  
 Nor bade the dark hearse wave its plume,  
 Like torn branch from death's leafless tree  
 In sorrow's pomp and pageantry,  
 The heartless luxury of the tomb;  
 But she remembers thee as one  
 Long loved, and for a season gone;  
 For thee her poet's lyre is wreathed,  
 Her marble wrought, her music breathed;  
 For thee she rings the birthday bells;

.....

Talk of thy doom without a sigh:  
 For thou art Freedom's now, and Fame's;  
 One of the few, the immortal names,  
 That were not born to die.

*The Poetical Works* (New York, 1852), pp. 17–21. The best known, and perhaps the greatest poem in this collection, was received with enthusiastic praise by Helleck's contemporaries, poets and critics such as Bryant, Brooks, Poe, Dana, Parker et al. For a metrical translation in Greek, by M. Byron Raizis, see the March 1970 issue of *Epeirotike Hestia*. Alexander Rizos Rangaves

had seen the ode, during his stay in the United States as Ambassador, and translated it in archaic, unrhyming lines. A French version is known to have been made. According to Halleck himself "Marco Bozzaris" was reprinted, recited, and "puffed in a thousand (more or less) magazines and newspapers" in America, England, Scotland, Ireland, Greece etc. See, N.F. Adkins, *Fitz-Greene Halleck: An Early Knickerbocker Wit and Poet* (New Haven, 1930). Raizis-Papas, pp. 108-111.

---

J. H. B. Latrobe

Thus marched Bozzaris on his bold career,  
 Hope nerved his arm and vengeance steeled his spear;  
 High in the air he waved his banner proud,  
 The Hero's glory, soon the Hero's shroud.  
 Like rocket hurrying through the gloom of night  
 To burst in splendor at its farthest flight,  
 So flew Bozzaris to o'er the rocky steep.  
 Raised the loud war-cry, charged the startled foe  
 And, victory gained, received the fatal blow.  
 Then to his tattered flag still closer clung  
 And died with Greece and Freedom on his tongue.

"Lines written by Mr. John H. B. Latrobe on the occasion of a ball given by public subscription in the Holliday Street Theatre in favor of the Greeks." See, John E. Semmes, *John H. B. Latrobe and His Times 1803-1891* (Baltimore, 1917). Raizis-Papas, p. 112.

#### THE MASSACRE AT SCIO

William Cullen Bryant (1824)

WEEP not for Scio's children slain;  
 Their blood, by Turkish falchions shed,  
 Sends not its cry to Heaven in vain  
 For vengeance on the murderer's head.

Though high the warm red torrent ran  
 Between the flames that lift the sky  
 Yet, for each drop, an armed man  
 Shall rise, to free the land, or die.

And for each corpse, that in the sea  
 Was thrown, to feast the scaly herds,  
 A hundred of the foe shall be  
 A banquet for the mountain-birds.

Stern rites and sad shall Greece ordain  
 To keep that day along her shore,  
 Till the last link of slavery's chain  
 is shattered, to be worn no more.

*Poetical Works*, (New York, 1879); Raizis-Papas, pp. 115-16.

## MISSOLONGHI

Iris

Up to the combat—charge again,  
 O let not Missolonghi's plain  
 Have drunk the Martyr'd blood in vain.

A gallant band survives the fall,  
 The ruins of that sulphur'd wall  
 Were not a grave to bury all.

And these are freedom's sacred seed;  
 Through heart and hand a soul they'll speed,  
 To emulate the deathless deed.

That soul shall flash through all your land,  
 Shall bind each heart to valor's band,  
 And arm each bold and desperate hand.

Up to the combat, gallant Greeks,  
 Despised of all be he who seeks  
 To shun the fight;  
 let know your battle clarion swell,  
 To call from every mount and dell,  
 The peasant might.

.....

And Grecia's loudest trump shall tell  
 The hero names of those who fell  
 As fall the brave;—  
 "Brothers, ye are marked for fame,  
 Your death hath won a splendid name  
 Beyond the grave."

*The PhiladelphiaAlbum, and Ladies' Weekly Gazette*, I, No. 36, February 7, 1827, p. 6;  
 Raizis-Papas, pp. 126-27.

from MISSOLONGHI

Anonymous

Famine hath worn them pale, — that noble band;  
Yet, round the long-beleagur'd wall,  
With wasted fame, and iron hand,  
Like watching skeletons they stand,  
To conquer, or to fall.

.....  
With features pale, and sternly wrought  
To all the agony of thought,  
Yon widow's mothers mount the tower,  
To guard the wall in dangers hour;—  
Fast by their side, in mute distress,  
Their infant sons unwavering press,  
Taught from their cradle-bed to know  
The bitter tutelage of woe,  
No idle fears in their bosom glow,  
But pride and wrath in their dark eyes glance,  
As they lift their murder'd father's lance.

.....  
But ah!—I read in those brows of gloom,  
That your sons have found a gory tomb;  
And ye with despair and grief oppress,  
Would strike ere ye share their clay-cold rest.

.....  
Hark!—hark!—the war-cry—swells the shout  
From wild Arabia's wandering rout,  
From turbid Nilus' swarthy brood,  
From Ibrahim's host who thirst for blood:  
'Tis answer'd from the echoing skies,  
Sons of Miltiades, —arise!

.....  
Earth heaves, as if she gorg'd again  
Usurping Koran's rebel train,—  
She heaves, with blast more wild and loud,  
Than when with trump of thunders proud

Th'electric flame subdues the cloud,  
 Torn and dismember'd flames are thrown on high,  
 And see! the oppressor and opprest in equal silence lie.

Anonymous, *The Philadelphia Album, and Ladies' Literary Gazette*, II, No. 32, January 9, 1828, p. 256; Raizis-Papas, pp. 128–29.

from THE BATTLE OF NAVARINO

Park Benjamin

.....  
 The morn shines fair on Navarin,  
 And on its clear and waving bay  
 From whose blue waters slight and thin  
 Mists slowly rise, to fleet away.  
 In ancient days, here Pylus stood,  
 Laved by the glad Ionian sea,  
 And onward, onward rolled the flood  
 Against a coast rock-bound and free.  
 Barbarians now within thy walls  
 Have reared the crescent o'er the cross,  
 The Greeks have fled their lordly halls,  
 And virtue's self is turned to dross.

There is a music in the dashing spray  
 There is a beauty on the ambient wave,  
 Which from the vessel's side, when tossed away,  
 Forms glistening rainbows in the solar ray  
 Then passes off into its watery grave  
 Slow and majestic now, the tall ships veer  
 And show the deep-mouthed cannon frowning near.  
 The snow-white wings on which they lately flew  
 Like plumed birds across the waters blue,  
 Are idle now and anchoring they rest  
 Before the crescent fleet where all is life  
 And stirring notes which tell the coming strife,  
 Sound like a trumpet o'er the bay's calm breast.

Land of the Lyre! thy bards again shall pour,  
 Rich melodies and songs of classic lore,  
 Home of the beautiful! Circassian maids  
 Shall tune the lute in green Arcadia's shades,  
 And Learning too, thou muse of arts and arms  
 Wooing her votaries by Minerva's charms  
 Resume her seats in groves of Academe,  
 And freely quaff the pure Pierian stream.

See, Merle M. Hoover, *Park Benjamin, Poet and Editor* (New York, 1948), pp. 23-24;  
 Raizis-Papas, p. 131-32.

GREEK APPEAL TO AMERICA

James Gates Percival (1827)

ROUSE ye at a nation's call,—	"Whither shall we fly for aid?
Rouse, and rescue, one and all!	Where is now the warrior's blade?
Help, or liberty shall fall,	Low the mighty heart is laid,
Fall in blood and shame!	Death alone could tame.
Shame to him who coldly draws	"To the mountain, to the cave,
Backward from the noblest cause!	Let us go, and weep the brave;—
Not to him who fights and fa's,—	Better die than live a slave,—
His a glorious name.	Better death than shame!"
Sons of more than mortal sires,	No,—forbid it, chosen land!
We have lit again their fires,	Open wide thy helping hand,—
Or to be our funeral pyres,	Pour thy corn and wine, like sand;—
Or our sun of fame.	What is wealth to fame!
Hear ye not the widow's cry?	Quick, before the flame expire,—
"Help us, or we faint and die:	Feed, O, feed the holy fire!
See! the murderous foe is nigh,—	Feed, and it shall kindle higher,—
Hark, the wasting flame!	Win a generous name!

*The Poetical Works* (Boston, 1859) pp. 241-42; Raizis-Papas, pp. 153-54.

Remember me! my friends,  
 Who here for freedom's cause remains  
 In Grecian seas, in Grecian plains  
 To break the most inglorious chains,  
 And seeks humanity.

Closing lines of an "Improviso" or improvisation addressed to some departing Philhellenes by Colonel George Jarvis, Adjutant General of Byron's Brigade, entered in his journal in 1824.

Come from afar, we left our rocky shore  
 With Greeks we suffer'd and for Greece we bled.  
 Our native plains are near to us no more.  
 Our blood and tears for Greece alone we shed.  
 Discord and hatred let us all resist,  
 May Concord bless our newly strengthen'd arms.  
 With manful courage in the Good persist,  
 And peace alone our evil tempests calms.

Concluding lines from the dedication of Fort Byron on June 16, 1828 by Jarvis, as Adjutant General and Commissary of Fortifications.

[ADDRESS]  
 To that fair land where once the Graces reign'd—  
 The Muses bless'd their wreaths unfading twined;  
 Where dauntless Freedom heaven's first flame maintain'd—  
 To hallow'd Greece—the holy-land of mind!  
 Oh! turn Columbia's daughters, virtuous, fair,  
 And hail, from heaven restored, your sisters *there*!

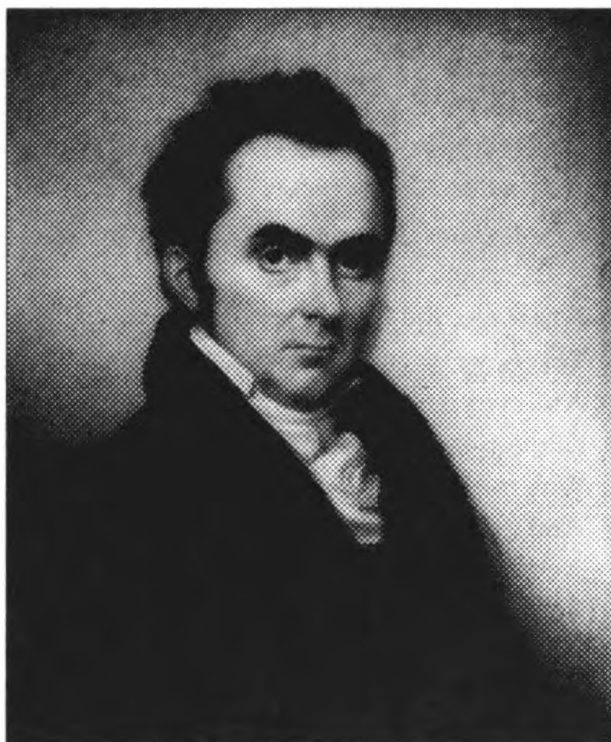
The *New-York Mirror, and Ladies' Literary Gazette*, I, September 20, 1823; Raizis-Papas, pp. 154-55.

THE FASHIONS;  
OR  
ADDRESS OF THE CARRIER,  
OF  
THE NEW-YORK MIRROR,  
AND LADIES LITERARY GAZETTE,  
TO HIS PATRONS

How fashions change in the inconstant world!

.....  
A year ago, and Greece was all the rage,  
That is, we felt enraged against the Turks,  
And every daily paper had a page  
Filled up entirely with their bloody works,  
With battles, massacres, heroic deeds,  
And self-devotedness of patriot men,  
And cruelties at which the bosom bleeds,  
When memory calls the picture back again—  
Wives, mothers, maids, compelled to slay themselves,  
Or yield to these infernal turban'd elves  
One general burst of honest indignation  
Was heard throughout the land; our public halls  
Echoed to strain of lofty declamation  
Or sweeter strains of fiddles—for our balls,  
And every other pastime, were intended  
To aid the cause which Grecian arms defended.  
To save their sisters from such cruel foes,  
Our patriot ladies danced with ceaseless ardour,  
As some say *masses* for the sake of those  
Whose destiny below is somewhat harder.  
Whose families were doomed to starve for weeks,  
Who had no banker whom to draw for cash on,  
For splendid dresses, worn to aid the Greeks!  
But, recollect, the Greeks were then in fashion.  
.....

*New York Mirror and Ladies' Literary Gazette*, II (January 8, 1825), p. 192. Raizis-Papas, pp. 157-58.



*Daniel Webster*

Sarah Goodridge (1788-1853)

Miniature (watercolor on ivory) painted in 1827,  
shortly after his election to the United States Senate.

## IV

# THE "GREEK QUESTION" AS AN ISSUE OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

### A. Executive Contacts and Expressions

#### 1. *A Letter from the Marquis de Lafayette to Rufus King*

(Robinson, pp. 47-48) La Grange, November 10, 1822

My Dear Sir:

Public papers of the several European countries are very proper channels to convey information which composed together by an experienced statesman may give him an adequate idea of the situation of affairs. But I know you are not insensible to the pleasure of hearing from another person, and old friend, who shall ever be more heartily attached to you.

The politics of Europe are critical; a Congress at Verona has afforded some signs of misunderstanding between two great powers. Russia feels she has been over complaisant for the theories of the Sainte Alliance, when in opposition to her eastern interests; Great Britain is endeavoring to obtain the confidence of Spain, the Commerce of South America and an influence over that very Greece where she has protected, if not encouraged, Ottoman cruelty and barbarity. The passions of the governing power in France misled their policy in every point; yet something has already issued from the deliberations among the several representatives of privilege which the defenders of right will not wait long to know; in the meanwhile a late success of Mina against the troops of the Regency of Urgel has very timely dampened the sanguine hopes of the Counter Revolutionary party.

The actual leaders of Constitutional government in the Peninsula are not yet reconciled I will say to the idea of South American Independence, due to the unpopularity attending its acknowledgment. Saving that great error, their conduct is patriotic, spirited and of much importance to the liberties of Europe. They, of course, have the wishes of all liberal men on this side of the Atlantic.

So have the Greeks to the highest degree, and when I think that two ships of the line, or three or four large frigates, and a loan of some money should insure their Independence, I lament that such assistance be withheld from them; Loans have been found among Capitalists for objects less momentous; Just what will be done at Verona with respect to the new Grecian Republic we do not yet know; but have rejoiced to hear the American flag has appeared on those seas, altho' only on board a frigate and small vessels and consider the United States as the only disinterested patronage which might insure their real freedom.

Be pleased, my dear Sir, to present my affectionate regards to all the family and believe me for ever,

Your most sincere friend,

LAFAYETTE

## *2. References to the Greek Question in the Letters of President James Madison*

(Madison, III pp. 339-41) To President Monroe, October 30, 1823

Dear Sir,

I have just received from Mr. Jefferson your letter to him, with correspondence between Mr. Canning and Mr. Rush, sent for his and my perusal, and our opinions on the subject of it.

From the disclosures of Mr. Canning it appears, as was otherwise to be inferred, that the success of France against Spain would be followed by an attempt of the Holy allies to reduce the revolutionized colonies of the latter to their former dependence.

The professions we have made to these neighbours, our sympathies with their liberties and independence, the deep interest we have in the most friendly relations with them, and the consequences threatened by a command of their resources by the Great Powers, confederated against the rights and reforms of which we have given so conspicuous and persuasive an example, all unite in calling for our efforts to defeat the mediated crusade. It is particularly fortunate that the policy of Great Britain, though guided by calculation different from ours, has presented a co-operation for an object the same with ours. With that co-operation we have nothing to fear from the rest of Europe, and with it the best assurance of success to our laudable views. There ought not, therefore, to be any backwardness, I think, in meeting her in the way she has proposed; keeping in view, of course, the spirit and forms of the Constitution in every step taken in the road to war, which must be the last step if those short of war should be without avail.

It cannot be doubted that Mr. Canning's proposal, though made with the air of *consultation* as well as concert, was founded on a predetermination to take the course marked out, whatever might be the reception given here to his invitation. But this consideration ought not to divert us from what is just and proper in itself. Our co-operation is due to ourselves and to the world; and whilst it must ensure success in the event of an appeal to force, it doubles the chance of success without that appeal. It is not improbable that Great Britain would like best to have the merit of being the sole champion of her new friends, notwithstanding the greater difficulty to be encountered, but for the dilemma in which she would be placed. She must, in that case, either leave us, as neutrals, to extend our commerce and navigation at the expense of hers, or make us enemies, by renewing her paper blockades and other arbitrary proceedings on the Ocean. It may be hoped that such a dilemma will not be without a permanent tendency to check her proneness to unnecessary wars.

Why the British Cabinet should have scrupled to arrest the calamity it now apprehends, by applying to the threats of France against Spain the small effort which it scruples not to employ in behalf of Spanish America, is best known to itself. It is difficult to find any other explanation than that interest in the one case has more weight in its casuistry than principle had in the other.

Will it not be honorable to our Country, and possibly not altogether in vain, to invite the British Government to extend the "avowed disapprobation" of the project against the Spanish Colonies to the enterprise of France against Spain herself, and even to join in some declaratory act in behalf of the Greeks? On the supposition that no form could be given to the act clearing it of a pledge to follow it up by war, we ought to compare the good to be done with the little injury to be apprehended to the U. S., shielded as their interests would be by the power and the fleets of Great Britain united with their own. These are questions, however, which may require more information than I possess, and more reflection than I can now give them.

What is the extent of Mr. Canning's disclaimer as to "the remaining possessions of Spain in America?" Does it exclude future views of acquiring Porto Rico, &c., as well as Cuba? It leaves Great Britain free, as I understand it, in relation to other quarters of the Globe.

I return the correspondence of Mr. Rush and Mr. Canning, with assurances, &c.

J. M.

(Madison III, p. 341) To Thomas Jefferson, Montpellier, November 1, 1823

Dear Sir,

I return the letter of the President. The correspondence from abroad has gone back to him, as you desired. I have expressed to him my concurrence in the policy of meeting the advances of the British Government, having an eye to the forms of our Constitution in every step in the road to war. With the British power and navy combined with our own, we have nothing to fear from the rest of the world; and in the great struggle of the epoch between liberty and despotism, we owe it to ourselves to sustain the former, in this hemisphere at least. I have even suggested an invitation to the British Government to join in applying the "small effort for so much good" to the French invasion of Spain, and to make Greece an object of some such favorable attention. Why Mr. Canning and his colleagues did not sooner interpose against the calamity, which could not have escaped foresight, cannot be otherwise explained but by the different aspect of the question when it related to liberty in Spain, and to the extension of British commerce to her former Colonies.

(Madison III, pp.344-48) To Richard Rush, Montpellier, November 13, 1823

[...]

But whatever may be the motives or the management of the British Government, I cannot pause on the question whether we ought to join her in defeating the efforts of the Holy Alliance to restore our Independent neighbours to the condition of Spanish Provinces. Our principles and our sympathies; the stand we have taken in their behalf; the deep interest we have in friendly relations with them; and even our security against the Great Powers, who, having conspired against national rights and reforms, must point their most envenomed wrath against the United States, who have given the most formidable example of them; all concur in enjoining on us a prompt acceptance of the invitation to a communion of counsels, and, if necessary, of arms, in so righteous and glorious a cause. Instead of holding back, I should be disposed rather to invite, in turn, the British Government to apply, at least, "the small effort" of Mr. Canning to the case of the French invasion of Spain, and even to extend it to that of the Greeks. The good that would result to the world from such an invitation, if accepted, and the honor to our Country, even if declined, outweigh the sacrifices that would be required, or the risks that would be incurred. With the British fleets and fiscal resources associated with our own, we should be safe against the rest of the world, and at liberty to pursue whatever course might be prescribed by a just estimate of our moral and political obligations . . .

(Madison III, p. 619) To General La Fayette, Montpellier, February 20, 1828

. . . We learn with much gratification that the Greeks are rescued from the actual atrocities suffered, and the horrible doom threatened from the successes of their savage enemy. The disposition to be made of them by the mediating Powers is a problem full of anxiety. We hope for the best, after their escape from the worst . . .

(Madison IV, p. 39) To General La Fayette, June 15, 1829

My Dear Friend,

Your letter of January 28 came duly to hand. The answer to it has been procrastinated to this late day, by circumstances which you will gather from it.

I am glad to learn that the regenerating spirit continues to work well in your public councils, as well as in the popular mind; and elsewhere as well as in France. It is equally strange and shameful that England, with her boasted freedom, instead of taking the lead in the glorious cause, should frown on it as she has done, and should aim as she now does to baffle the more generous policy of France in behalf of the Greeks. The contrast will increase the lustre reflected on her rival . . .

### *3. Extracts from President James Monroe's Annual Messages to Congress*

(Robinson, pp. 67, 72, 125): 17th Congress, Second Session. December 2, 1822.

. . . Europe is still unsettled, and although the war long menaced between Russia and Turkey has not broken out, there is no certainty that the differences between those Powers will be amicably adjusted. It is impossible to look to the oppressions of the country, respecting which those differences arose, without being deeply affected.

The mention of Greece fills the mind with the most exalted sentiments, and arouses in our bosoms the best feelings, of which our nature is susceptible. Superior skill and refinement in the arts, heroic gallantry in action, disinterested patriotism, enthusiastic zeal, and devotion in favor of public liberty are associated with our recollection of ancient Greece. That such a country should have been overwhelmed and so long hidden, as it were, from the world under a gloomy despotism, has been a cause of unceasing and deep regret to generous minds for ages past. It was natural, therefore, that the reappearance of these people in their original character contending in favor of their liberties, should produce that great excitement and sympathy in their favor, which have been so signally displayed throughout the United States. A strong hope is entertained that these people will receive their independence and resume their equal station among the nations of the earth.

18th Congress, First Session, December 2, 1823.

. . . Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers, to consider the government de facto as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting in all instances the claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none.

. . . A strong hope has been long entertained, founded on the heroic struggle of the Greeks that they would succeed in their contest, and resume their equal status among the nations of the earth. It is believed that the whole civilized world takes a deep interest in their welfare. Although no power has declared in their favor, yet none, according to our information, has taken part against them. Their cause and their name have protected them from dangers, which might, ere this, have overwhelmed any other people. The ordinary calculations of interest and of acquisition, with a view to aggrandizement, which mingle so much in the transactions of nations, seem to have had no effect in regard to them. From the facts which have come to our knowledge, there is good cause to believe that their enemy has lost for ever all dominion over them; that Greece will again become an independent nation. That she may obtain that rank, is the object of our most ardent wishes.

18th Congress, Second Session, December 7, 1824.

. . . In turning our attention to the condition of the civilized world, in which the United States have taken a deep interest, it is gratifying to see how large a portion of it is blessed with peace. The only wars which now exist within that limit, are those between Turkey and Greece, in Europe, and between Spain and the new Governments, our neighbors, in his hemisphere. In both these wars, the cause of independence, of liberty, and humanity, continues to prevail. The success of Greece, when the relative population of the contending parties is considered, commands our admiration and applause a similar effect with the neighboring Powers is obvious. The feeling of the whole civilized world is excited, in a high degree, in their favor. May we not hope that these sentiments, winning in the hearts of their respective Governments, may lead to a more decisive result: that they may produce an accord among them to replace Greece on the ground which she formerly held, and to which her heroic exertions, at this day, so eminently entitle her?

4. *Correspondence between John Quincy Adams and Alexander Mavrocordatos*

(Booras, pp. 163-65) Tripolitza, June 22, 1823

Sir: I am directed by my Government to bring to your knowledge the feelings of gratitude towards the ministers of your nation accredited in London, Paris, Lisbon, and Madrid. The interest they have taken in the success of our cause and the sentiments of benevolence inspiring them in our favor, assure them as well as all your generous citizens the incontestable rights to our thankfulness.

If an immense distance separates America from Greece, their constitutions and their reciprocal interests bring them so close together that we cannot possibly omit to look forward to the establishment of relations whose happy results can possibly be doubted.

A mission which is about to be sent to London for the negotiation of a loan is, at the same time, directed to enter into secret negotiations with you.

In the firm hope that they will have the desired success, I request you to be kind enough to accept the assurance of my perfect esteem and also the highest consideration with which I have the honor to be, Sir, your most humble and obedient servant.

(Signed) A. MAVROCORDATOS

Washington, August 18, 1823

Department of State

Sir: A copy of the letter which you did me the honor of addressing to me, on the 20th of February last, has been transmitted to me by the minister of the United States at London, and has received the deliberate consideration of the President of the United States.

The Sentiments with which he has witnessed the struggle of your countrymen for their national emancipation and independence has been made manifest to the world in the public message to the Congress of the United States. They are cordially felt by the people of the United States; who, sympathising with the cause for freedom and independence wherever its standard is unfurled, behold with peculiar interest the display of Grecian energy in defence of Grecian liberties, and the association of heroic exertions, at the present time, with the proudest glories of former ages, in the land of Epaminondas and of Philopoemen.

But, while cheering with their best wishes the cause of the Greeks, the United States are forbidden, by the duties of their situation, from taking part in the war, to which their relation is that of neutrality. At peace themselves with all the world, their established policy, and the obligations of the laws of nations, preclude them from becoming voluntary auxiliaries to a cause which would involve them in war.

If in the progress of events, the Greeks should be enabled to establish and organize themselves into an independent nation, the United States will be among the first to welcome them, in that capacity, into the general family; to establish diplomatic and commercial relations with them, suited to the mutual interests of the two countries, and to recognise, with special satisfaction, their constituted state in the character of a sister Republic.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

*5. Extracts from the Memoirs of Secretary of State John Quincy Adams*

(Adams, vol. VI, p. 102) November 16, 1822

The President read to me the paragraphs relating to foreign affairs which he has drawn up for the message, particularly to those relating to Spain and Portugal, to South America, to Russia, Turkey, and the Greeks, and to the unsettled state of Europe. I doubted most of those concerning Spain and Portugal, in which he had spoken of their revolutionary prospects more favorably than I thought the state of facts, according to our most recent information, would warrant. He said he would revise them, and would attend particularly to the last dispatch from Mr. Forsyth. His paragraph concerning the Greeks, with a strong expression of sympathy in their favor, adds a sentiment equally explicit, that neither justice nor policy would justify on our part any active interference in their cause. The President said he hoped to be ready to bring the draft of the whole message before a meeting of the members of the Administration next Tuesday. He proposes also to say something of the repairs of the Cumberland Road, being satisfied that Congress have the right of appropriating money to that purpose . . .

(Vol. VI, pp. 107–10) November 27, 1822

. . . The message had also several paragraphs relating to the Greeks, with no little invective upon the *horrible* despotism by which they are oppressed. Mr. Crawford suggested that these might give offence to the Sublime Porte. I thought it doubtful whether they would ever see the message; but he said that there were those who would take care to make them see it. Some passages of high panegyric upon ourselves were questioned; and there were two references to the opinion of the President sent to the House at their last session, upon the Constitutional power of Congress to make internal improvements, one of which I thought would be sufficient. About three hours were occupied with these deliberations, and the President will modify the message as he shall think proper, on consideration of all the remarks that were made . . .

(Vol. VI, pp. 172-75) August 15, 1823

Cabinet meeting at the President's at one. Mr. Wirt absent from indisposition. The subject first mentioned by the President for consideration was a letter to me from Andreas Luriettis at London, styling himself Envoy of the Provisional Government of the Greeks, a copy of which was sent me some months since by R. Rush. This letter, recommending the cause of the Greeks, solicited of the United States recognition, alliance, and assistance. It was proper to give a distinct answer to this letter, and I had asked the President's directions what the answer should be.

The President now proposed the question. Mr. Gallatin had proposed in one of his last dispatches, as if he was serious, that we should assist the Greeks with our naval force in the Mediterranean—one frigate, one corvette, and one schooner. Mr. Crawford and Mr. Calhoun inclined to countenance this project. Crawford asked, hesitatingly, whether we were at peace with Turkey, and seemed only to wait for opposition to maintain that we were not. Calhoun descanted upon his great enthusiasm for the cause of the Greeks; he was taking no heed of Turkey whatever. In this, as in many other cases, these gentlemen have two sources of eloquence at these Cabinet meetings—one with reference to sentiment, and the other to action. Their enthusiasm for the Greeks is all sentiment, and the standard of this is the prevailing popular feeling. As for action, they are seldom agreed; and after two hours of discussion this day the subject was dismissed, leaving it precisely where it was—nothing determined, and nothing practicable proposed by either of them. Seeing their drift, I did not think it necessary to discuss their doubts whether we were at peace with Turkey, their contempt for the Sublime Porte, or their enthusiasm for the cause of the Greeks. I have not much esteem for the enthusiasm which evaporates in words; and I told the President I thought not quite so lightly of a war with Turkey. I said I would prepare an answer to Mr. Luriettis, and an instruction to Mr. Rush for his consideration. He had proposed the question whether a secret Agent should be sent to Greece. Calhoun mentioned Edward Everett, and I named Lyman [*Editor's note: probably Theodore Lyman of Boston*]; but we cannot send a *secret* Agent. Our Agents never will be secret . . .

(Vol. VI, pp. 194-95) November 21, 1823

. . . The President approved of this idea; and then taking up the sketches that he had prepared for his message, read them to us. Its introduction was in a tone of deep solemnity and of high alarm, intimating that this country is menaced by imminent and formidable dangers, such as would probably soon call for the most vigorous energies and the closest union. It then proceeded to speak of the foreign affairs, chiefly according to the

sketch I had given him some days since, but with occasional variations. It then alluded to the recent events in Spain and Portugal, speaking in terms of the most pointed reprobation of the late invasion of Spain by France, and of the principles upon which it was undertaken by the open avowal of the King of France. It also contained a broad acknowledgment of the Greeks as an independent nation, and a recommendation to Congress to make an appropriation for sending a Minister to them.

Of all this Mr. Calhoun declared his approbation. I expressed freely my wish that the President would reconsider the whole subject before he should determine to take that course. I said the tone of the introduction I apprehended would take the nation by surprise and greatly alarm them. It would come upon them like a clap of thunder. There had never been in the history of this nation a period of so deep calm and tranquillity as we now enjoyed. We never were, upon the whole, in a state of peace so profound and secure with all foreign nations as at this time. This message would be a summons to arms—to arms against all Europe, and for objects of policy exclusively European—Greece and Spain. It would be as new, too, in our policy as it would be surprising. For more than thirty years Europe had been in convulsions; every nation almost of which it is composed alternately invading and invaded. Empires, kingdoms, principalities, had been overthrown, revolutionized, and counter-revolutionized, and we had looked on safe in our distance beyond an intervening ocean, and avowing a total forbearance to interfere in any of the combinations of European politics. This message would at once buckle in the harness and throw down the gauntlet. It would have the air of open defiance to all Europe, and I should not be surprised if the first answer to it from Spain and France, and even Russia, should be to break off their diplomatic intercourse with us. I did not expect that the quiet which we had enjoyed for six or seven years would last much longer. The aspect of things was portentous; but if we must come to an issue with Europe, let us keep it off as long as possible. Let us use all possible means to carry the opinion of the nation with us, and the opinion of the world . . .

(Vol. VI, pp. 198–99) November 23–24, 1823

. . . The President said he had spoken of the Greeks and of the Spaniards in his last year's message. I said I should not object to paragraphs of a like description, in general terms and pledging nothing, but I would be specially careful to avoid anything which may be construed as hostility to the allies. He said he would fully consider what he should say, and when prepared with his draft would call a meeting of the members of the Administration.

24th. Mr. Gallatin was here, and talked much upon the topics to be touched upon in the President's message. His views coincided entirely with those which I have so earnestly urged upon the President, excepting as to the Greeks, to whom he proposes, as if he was serious, that we should send two or three frigates to assist them in destroying the Turkish fleet, and a loan or subsidy of two million dollars. I told Gallatin that I wished he would talk to the President as he had done to me, upon everything except the Greeks; but as to them, I said, the President had asked me to see and converse with him on Saturday, which I had declined on account of the same proposition that he had made in a dispatch more than a year since, to send a naval force to fight with the Turks.

He spoke with extreme bitterness of Mr. Hyde de Neuville, who, he says, said to him in the presence of ten or twelve persons that if our claimants upon France failed of obtaining indemnity it was our own fault, in refusing to connect with it the claim of France under the eighth article of the Louisiana Convention; and that if we did not adjust that claim, it was his opinion France ought to take Louisiana, and that she had a strong party there.

I called at the President's, and found Mr. Gallatin with him. He still adhered to his idea of sending a naval force and a loan of money to the Greeks; and as he is neither an enthusiast nor a fool, and knows perfectly well that no such thing will be done, I look for the motives of this strange proposal, and find them not very deeply laid. Mr. Gallatin still builds castles in the air of popularity, and, being under no responsibility for consequences, patronizes the Greek cause for the sake of raising his own reputation. His measure will not succeed, and, even if it should, all the burden and danger of it will bear not upon him, but upon the Administration, and he will be the great champion of Grecian liberty. 'Tis the part of Mr. Clay towards South America acted over again. After he withdrew, the President read me his paragraphs respecting the Greeks, Spain, Portugal, and South America. I thought them quite unexceptionable, and drawn up altogether in the spirit that I had so urgently pressed on Friday and Saturday. I was highly gratified at the change, and only hope the President will adhere to his present views.

(Vol. VI, pp. 204-5) November 26, 1823

Received a note from the President, advising me to detain Mr. H. Allen here a few days, to peruse the later dispatches from R. Rush relating to South America. I sent him immediately for Mr. Allen, who called on me and agreed to wait a few days. I desired him to call at the office of the Department and read there Mr. Rush's dispatches.

I attended the adjourned Cabinet meeting at the President's, from half-past twelve-four hours. At the President's request, I read the statement of what has passed between Baron Tuyl and me since the 16th of last month, and then my proposed draft of observations upon the communications recently received from him. The President then read the draft of the corresponding paragraph for his message to Congress, and asked whether it should form part of the message. I took a review of the preceding transactions of the Cabinet meetings; remarking that the present questions had originated in a draft which he had presented merely for consideration, of an introduction to the message, of unusual solemnity, indicating extraordinary concern, and even alarm, at the existing state of things, coupled with two paragraphs, one containing strong and pointed censure upon France and the Holy Allies for the invasion of Spain, and the other recommending an appropriation for a Minister to send to the Greeks, and in substance recognizing them as independent; that the course now proposed is a substitute for that, and that it is founded upon the idea that if an issue must be made up between us and the Holy Alliance it ought to be upon grounds exclusively American; that we should separate it from all European concerns, disclaim all intention of interfering with these, and make the stand altogether for an American cause; that at the same time the answer to be given to the Russian communications should be used as the means of answering also the proposals of Mr. George Canning, and of assuming the attitude to be maintained by the United States with reference to the designs of the Holy Alliance upon South America. This being premised, I observed that the whole of the papers now drawn up were but various parts of one system under consideration, and the only really important question to be determined, as it appeared to me, was that yesterday made by Mr. Wirt, and which had been incidentally discussed before, namely, whether we ought at all to take this attitude as regards South America; whether we get any advantage by committing ourselves to a course of opposition against the Holy Alliance. My own mind, indeed, is made up that we ought thus far to take this stand; but I thought it deserved great deliberation, and ought not to be taken without a full and serious estimate of consequences...

(Vol. VI, p. 227) January 4, 1824

Called and saw Mr. Poinsett, and conversed with him upon Mr. Webster's resolution respecting the Greeks. I told him there was a person probably now at Constantinople upon his errand which might suffer by these movements in Congress. He said Webster would be satisfied if the Government would appoint Edward Everett as a Commissioner to go to Greece. There were objections to that. It would destroy all possibility of

our doing anything at Constantinople, and Everett was already too much committed as a partisan.

He said Everett was to be here this day, or in a day or two more. He said Clay was threatening to come out on the affair of the Greeks, and probably would suffer in public estimation by the course he would take on it.

Mr. Blunt spent the evening here. He gave me some information concerning the Hawkins Dauphin Island contract. Blunt spoke also in favorable terms of Mr. De Witt Clinton, and intimated that there were projects of coalition between him and Mr. Calhoun. I repeated what I had said to Mr. McRae on this subject, and hoped no friend of mine would make advances of any kind to Mr. Clinton, of whose talents I had a high opinion, with whom I had no personal misunderstanding, and with whose prospects I had neither community nor enmity.

(Vol. VI, pp. 324-25) May 10, 1824

Dr. Thorton called upon me this morning, to say that he had prepared a book to be deposited in the Congress library at the Capitol, to contain the subscriptions of all persons in the service of the United States, at Washington, for the Greeks. His project was that every individual would subscribe one day's pay. He had requested the subscription of the President, who told him he would consult the members of his Administration upon the propriety of subscribing. The Doctor hopes I should advise him to do it. The Secretaries of War and the Navy had said they would subscribe if the President and I did. Lord Eldon, the English Chancellor, had subscribed a hundred pounds sterling, and even the Quakers in England had subscribed upwards of seven thousand pounds. The Greeks were in great want of it, and in deep distress. There was a tremendous force of Turks going against them; but the Bashaw of Egypt had declared himself independent of the Sultan, and there was no doubt that, by the diversion he would make, the cause of the Greeks would be triumphant.

I told him he ought to have a subscription-book number two for the Bashaw of Egypt; at which he laughed, and said, yes, it would be very proper.

But, to answer seriously his question, I told him I should not subscribe for the Greeks, nor advise the President to subscribe. We had objects of distress to relieve at home more than sufficient to absorb all my capacities of contribution; and a subscription for all the Greeks would, in my view of things, be a breach of neutrality, and therefore improper.

The Doctor said he was very sorry to find in me, instead of an assistant, as he expected, an opponent, and urged all the arguments of the crusading spirit applicable to the case; but I was inflexible.

While he was flourishing for the Greeks and their cause, T. H. Benton Senator from Missouri, came in, and introduced the Reverend Salmon Giddings, of St. Louis, who had a subscription-book for building a Presbyterian church at that place. I subscribed for that instead of the Greeks.

(Vol. VI, pp. 364-65) May 28, 1824

My visitors this day at my house were a Mr. Crawson, D.P. Cook, R. Little, H. Clay, the Speaker, and J.R. Poinsett, of South Carolina, to take leave. At the office, John L. Sullivan, with Professor Silliman, and Messrs. Wadsworth and Terry, and E. Wyer. In the course of the morning I called at the President's.

Cook had not heard from N. Edwards; but Dunn, the messenger from the House sent to summon him, returned here this evening, having left Edwards at Washington, Pennsylvania, two hundred and thirty miles from hence, to come on by the next stage. Cook is in great anxiety, knowing that the majority of the committee remaining here are against Edwards, and aware of the prejudice against him in the public mind. He regretted greatly the absence of Owen, upon whose integrity and firmness he relied.

Clay said little upon public affairs; spoke with apparent coolness of the affair of Edwards and Crawford, and complained of having had, within these few days, a return of his dyspepsia.

Pointsett is going to New York, thence to Charleston, South Carolina, and proposes, between this and the next session of Congress, to make a voyage to Europe. He said he was willing to go to Naples, and see if anything could be done there with certain claims which had been the object of Mrs. William Pinkney's unsuccessful mission there. Pointsett said he would undertake nothing which would disqualify him for his seat in Congress, and of course should receive no compensation for what he might do. But if a frigate was going out to the Mediterranean, he would be glad to take passage in her, and to be the medium of any communication that the Government might wish to make at Naples. He said he had spoken of it this morning with the President, who had told him he would confer concerning it with me.

I asked Pointsett whether, if he should go, he could not extend his trip further, and give us some account of the condition of the Greeks. He said it would give him great satisfaction if he could, but he was afraid there would not be time. He was told the frigate would be ready to sail in three weeks, and in that case she might, without going out of

her way touch and take him up at Charleston. But he knew what three weeks meant in the fitting out of a ship of war, and he believed he could go to Charleston and return to New York before she would be ready.

I spoke of this to the President, who appeared to be desirous that Pointsett should go as proposed, and that, if possible, he should extend his excursion to Greece.

(Vol. VI, p. 414) August 30, 1824

. . . Mr. G.B. English came again to urge the necessity of appointing him to go out immediately to Gibraltar to negotiate with the Capitan Pasha to save the American property at Smyrna from seizure and confiscation by the Turks in consequence of the subscriptions from the United States in aid of the Greeks. I referred him to the President . . .

(Vol. VI, pp. 432-33) December 1, 1825

. . . The paragraph respecting Greece and South America was less energetic and vivid than that of the last year, but in the same spirit. That about General La Fayette distinctly recommended that some provision should be made for him by Congress . . .

## B. Eighteenth Congress, January 1824 The Greek Question on the Floor of the House of Representatives

### 1. *Daniel Webster's Speech on the Greek Revolution.*

[Editor's note: The original transcript of Webster's speech appeared in the Congressional Record, 18th Congress, January, 1824, under the title "Discussion of the Greek Question, in the House of Representatives," as reproduced in Robinson, pp. 75-88. The version reproduced in this edition is from a republication by Cummings, Hilliard & Co. in 1824.]

On the 8th of December, 1823, Mr. Webster presented, in the House of Representatives, the following resolution:

"Resolved, That provision ought to be made, by law, for defraying the expense incident to the appointment of an Agent or Commissioner to Greece, whenever the President shall deem it expedient to make such appointment.

The House having, on the 19th of January, resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, and this resolution being taken into consideration, Mr. Webster spoke to the following effect: .

I am afraid, Mr. Chairman, that, so far as my part in this discussion is concerned, those expectations which the public excitement, existing on the subject, and certain associations, easily connected with it, have conspired to raise, may be disappointed. An occasion which calls the attention to a spot, so distinguished, so connected with interesting recollections, as Greece, may naturally excite something of warmth and enthusiasm. In a grave, political discussion, however, it is necessary that that feeling should be chastised. I shall endeavor properly to repress it, although it is impossible that it should be altogether extinguished. We must, indeed, fly beyond the civilized world, we must pass the dominion of law, and the boundaries of knowledge; we must, more especially, withdraw ourselves from this place, and from the scenes which here surround us, if we would separate ourselves, altogether, from the influence of all those memorials of herself which ancient Greece has transmitted for the admiration, and the benefit, of mankind. This free form of government, this popular assembly, the common council, held for the common good, where have we contemplated its earliest models? This practice of free debate, and public discussion, the contest of mind with mind, and that popular eloquence, which, if it were now here, on a subject like this, would move the stones of the Capitol, whose was the language in which all these were first exhibited? Even the Edifice in which we assemble, these proportioned columns, this ornamented architecture, all remind us that Greece has existed, and that we, like the rest of mankind, are greatly her debtors. But I have not introduced this motion in the vain hope of discharging any thing of this accumulated debt of centuries. I have not acted upon the expectation, that we, who have inherited this obligation from our ancestors, should now attempt to pay it, to those who may seem to have inherited, from *their* ancestors, a right to receive payment. My object is nearer and more immediate, I wish to take occasion of the struggle of an interesting and gallant people, in the cause of liberty and Christianity, to draw the attention of the House to the circumstances which have accompanied that struggle, and to the principles which appear to have governed the conduct of the great states of Europe, in regard to it; and to the effects and consequences of these principles, upon the independence of nations, and especially upon the institutions of free governments. What I have to say of Greece, therefore, concerns the modern, not the ancient; the living, and not the dead. It regards her, not as she exists in history, triumphant over time, and tyranny, and ignorance; but as she now is, contending, against fearful odds, for being, and the common privilege of human nature.

As it is never difficult to recite commonplace remarks, and trite aphorisms; so it may be easy, I am aware, on this occasion, to remind me of the wisdom which dictates to men a care of their own affairs, and admonishes them, instead of searching for adventures abroad, to leave other men's concerns in their own hands. It may be easy to call this reso-

lution *Quixotic*, the emanation of a crusading or propagandist spirit. All this, and more, may be readily said; but all this, and more, will not be allowed to fix a character upon this proceeding, until that is proved, which it takes for granted. Let it first be *shown*, that, in this question, there is nothing which can affect the interest, the character, or the duty of this country. Let it be proved, that we are not called upon, by either of these considerations, to express an opinion on the subject to which the resolution relates. Let this be proved, and then it will, indeed, be made out, that neither ought this resolution to pass, nor ought the subject of it to have been mentioned in the communication of the President to us. But, in my opinion, this cannot be shown. In my judgment, the subject is interesting to the people and the government of this country, and we are called upon, by considerations of great weight and moment, to express our opinions upon it. These considerations, I think, spring from a sense of our own duty, our character, and our own interest. I wish to treat the subject on such grounds, exclusively, as are truly *American*; but then, in considering it as an American question, I cannot forget the age in which we live, the prevailing spirit of the age, the interesting questions which agitate it, and our own peculiar relation, in regard to these interesting questions. Let this be, then, and as far as I am concerned, I hope it will be, purely an American discussion; but let it embrace, nevertheless, every thing that fairly concerns America; let it comprehend, not merely her present advantage, but her permanent interest, her elevated character, as one of the free states of the world, and her duty towards those great principles, which have hitherto remained the relative independence of nations, and which have, more especially, made her what she is.

At the commencement of the session, the President, in the discharge of the high duties of his office, called our attention to the subject, to which this resolution refers. "A strong hope," says that communication, "had been long entertained, founded on the heroic struggle of the Greeks, that they would succeed in their contest, and resume their equal station among the nations of the earth. It is believed that the whole civilized world takes a deep interest in their welfare. Although no power has declared in their favour, yet none, according to our information, has taken part against them. Their cause and their name have protected them from dangers, which might, ere this, have overwhelmed any other people. The ordinary calculations of interest, and of acquisition with a view to aggrandizement, which mingle so much in the transactions of nations, seem to have had no effect in regard to them. From the facts which have come to our knowledge, there is good cause to believe that their enemy has lost, for ever, all dominion over them: that Greece will become again an independent nation."

It has appeared to me, that the House should adopt some resolution, reciprocating these sentiments, so far as it should approve them. More than twenty years have elapsed, since Congress first ceased to receive such a communication from the President, as could properly be made the subject of a general answer. I do not mean to find fault with this relinquishment of a former, and an ancient practice. It may have been attended with inconveniences which justified its abolition. But, certainly, there was one advantage belonging to it; and that is, that it furnished a fit opportunity for the expression of the opinion of the Houses of Congress, upon those topics in the Executive communication, which were not expected to be made the immediate subjects of direct legislation. Since, therefore, the President's message does not now receive a general answer, it seems to me to be proper, that in some mode, agreeable to our own usual form of proceeding, we should express our sentiments upon the important and interesting topics on which it treats.

If the sentiments of the message in respect to Greece be proper, it is equally proper that this House should reciprocate these sentiments. The present resolution is designed to have that extent, and no more. If it pass, it will leave any future proceeding where it now is, in the discretion of the Executive Government. It is but an expression, under those forms in which the House is accustomed to act, of the satisfaction of the House with the general sentiments expressed in regard to the subject in the message, and of its readiness to defray the expense incident to any inquiry for the purpose of further information, or any other agency which the President, in his discretion, shall see fit, in whatever manner, and at whatever time, to institute. The whole matter is still left in his judgment, and this resolution can in no way restrain its unlimited exercise.

I might well, Mr. Chairman, avoid the responsibility of this measure, if it had, in my judgment, any tendency to change the policy of the country. With the general course of that policy, I am quite satisfied. The nation is prosperous, peaceful, and happy; and I should very reluctantly put its peace, prosperity, or happiness, at risk. It appears to me, however, that this resolution is strictly conformable to our general policy, and not only consistent with our interests, but even demanded by a large and liberal view of those interests.

It is certainly true, that the just policy of this country is in the first place, a peaceful policy. No nation ever had less to expect from forcible aggrandizement. The mighty agents which are working out our greatness, are time, industry, and the arts. Our augmentation is by growth, not by acquisition; by internal development, not external accession. No schemes can be suggested to us, so magnificent as the prospects which a sober contemplation of our own condition, unaided by projects, uninfluenced by ambition, fairly

spreads before us. A country of such vast extent, with such varieties in soil and climate; with so much public spirit and private enterprise; with a population increasing so much beyond former examples, with capacities of improvement not only unapplied or unexhausted, but even, in a great measure, as yet, unexplored; so free in its institutions, so mild in its laws, so secure in the title it confers on every man to his own acquisitions; needs nothing but time and peace to carry it forward to almost any point of advancement.

In the next place, I take it for granted, that the policy of this country, springing from the nature of our government, and the spirit of all our institutions, is, so far as it respects the interesting questions which agitate the present age, on the side of liberal and enlightened sentiments. The age is extraordinary; the spirit that actuates it, is peculiar and marked; and our relations to the time we live in, and to the questions which interest them, is equally marked and peculiar. We are placed, by our good fortune, and the wisdom and valour of our ancestors, in a condition in which we *can* act no obscure part. Be it for honour, or be it for dishonour, whatever we do, is not likely to escape the observation of the world. As one of the free states among the nations, as a great and rapidly rising Republic, it would be impossible for us, if we were so disposed, to prevent our principles, our sentiments, and our example, from producing some effect upon the opinions and hopes of society throughout the civilized world. It rests probably with ourselves to determine, whether the influence of these shall be salutary or pernicious.

It cannot be denied that the great political question of this age is, that between absolute and regulated governments. The substance of the controversy is, whether society shall have any part in its own government. Whether the form of government shall be that of limited monarchy, with more or less mixture of hereditary power, or wholly elective or representative, may perhaps be considered as subordinate. The main controversy is that absolute rule, which, while it promises to govern well, means nevertheless to govern without control, and that regulated or constitutional system, which restrains sovereign discretion, and asserts that society may claim, as a matter of right, some effective power in the establishment of the laws which are to regulate it. The spirit of the times sets with a most powerful current, in favor of these last mentioned options. It is opposed, however, whenever and wherever it shows itself, by certain of the great potentates of Europe; and it is opposed on grounds as applicable in one civilized nation as another, and which would justify such opposition in relation to the United States, as well as in relation to any other state, or nation, if time and circumstance should render such opposition expedient.

What part it becomes this country to take on a question of this sort, so far as it is called upon to take any part, cannot be doubtful. Or side of this question is settled for us, even without our own volition. Our history, our situation, our character, necessarily decide our position and our course, before we have even time to ask whether we have an option. Our place is on the side of free institutions. From the earliest settlement of these States, their inhabitants were accustomed, in a greater or less degree, to the enjoyment of the powers of self-government; and for the last half-century, they have sustained systems of government entirely representative, yielding to themselves the greatest possible prosperity, and not leaving them without distinction and respect among the nations of the earth. This system we are not likely to abandon; and while we shall no farther recommend its adoption by other nations, in whole or in part, than it may recommend itself by its visible influence on our growth and prosperity, we are, nevertheless, interested, to resist the establishment of doctrines which deny the legality of its foundations. We stand as an equal among nations, claiming the full benefit of the established international law; and it is our duty to oppose, from the earliest to the latest moment, any innovations upon that code, which shall bring into doubt or question our own equal and independent rights.

I will now, Mr. Chairman, advert to those pretensions, put forth by the Allied Sovereigns of continental Europe, which seem to me calculated, if unresisted, to bring into disrepute the principles of our government, and indeed to be wholly incompatible with any degree of national independence. I do not introduce these considerations for the sake of topics. I am not about to declaim against crowned heads, nor to quarrel with any country for preferring a form of government different from our own. The choice that we exercise for ourselves, I am quite willing to leave also to others. But it appears to me that the pretensions of which I have spoken, are wholly inconsistent with the independence of nations generally, without regard to the question, whether their governments be absolute, monarchal and limited, or purely popular and representative. I have a most deep and thorough conviction, that a new era has arisen in the world, that new and dangerous combinations are taking place, promulgating doctrines, and fraught with consequences, wholly subversive, in their tendency, of the public laws of nations, and of the general liberties of mankind. Whether this be so, or not, is the question which I now propose to examine, upon such grounds of information, as the common and public means of knowledge disclose.

Every body knows that, since the final restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of France, the continental powers have entered into sundry alliances, which have been made public, and have held several meetings or Congresses, at which the principles of their political conduct have been declared. These things must necessarily have an effect

upon the international law of the states of the world. If that effect be good, and according to the principles of that law, they deserve to be applauded. If, on the contrary, their effect and tendency be most dangerous, their principles wholly inadmissible, their pretensions such as would abolish every degree of national independence, then they are to be resisted.

I begin, Mr. Chairman, by drawing your attention to the treaty, concluded at Paris in September, 1815, between Russia, Prussia, and Austria, commonly called the Holy Alliance. This singular alliance appears to have originated with the Emperor of Russia; for we are informed that a draft of it was exhibited by him, personally, to a plenipotentiary of one of the great powers of Europe, before it was presented to the other sovereigns who ultimately signed it.<sup>1</sup> This instrument professes nothing, certainly, which is not extremely commendable and praiseworthy. It promises only that the contracting parties, both in relation to other states, and regard to their own subjects, will observe the rules of justice and Christianity. In confirmation of these promises, it makes the most solemn and devout religious invocations. Now, although such an alliance is a novelty in European history, the world seems to have received this treaty, upon its first promulgation, with general charity. It was commonly understood as little or nothing more than an expression of thanks for the successful termination of the momentous contest, in which these sovereigns had been engaged. It still seems somewhat unaccountable, however, that these good resolutions should require to be confirmed by treaty. Who doubted that these august sovereigns would treat each other with justice, and rule their own subjects in mercy? And what necessity was there, for a solemn stipulation by treaty, to ensure the performance of that, which is no more than the ordinary duty of every government? It would hardly be admitted by these sovereigns, that, by this compact, they suppose themselves bound to introduce an entire change, or any change, in the course of their own conduct. Nothing substantially new, certainly, can be supposed to have been intended. What principle, or what practice, therefore, called for this solemn declaration of the intention of the parties to observe the rules of religion and justice?

It is not a little remarkable, that a writer of reputation upon the Public Law, described, many years ago, not inaccurately, the character of this alliance: I allude to Puffendorff. "It seems useless," says he, "to frame any pacts or leagues, barely for the defence and support of universal peace; for, by such a league nothing is superadded to the obligation of natural law, and no agreement is made for the performance of any thing, which the

1. *Vide* Lord Castlereagh's Speech in the House of Commons, February 3, 1816. Debates, in Parliament, vol. 36, page 355; where also the Treaty may be found at length.

parties were not previously bound to perform; nor is the original obligation rendered firmer or stronger by such an addition. Men of any tolerable culture and civilization, might well be ashamed of entering into any such compact, the conditions of which imply only that the parties concerned shall not offend in any clear point of duty. Besides, we should be guilty of great irreverence towards God, should we suppose that his injunctions had not already laid a sufficient obligation upon us to act justly, unless we ourselves voluntarily consented to the same engagement: as if our obligation to obey his will, depended upon our own pleasure.

If one engage to serve another, he does not set it down expressly and particularly among the terms and conditions of the bargain, that he will not betray nor murder him, nor pil- lage nor burn his house. For the same reason, *that* would be a dishonourable engage- ment, in which men should bind themselves to act properly and decently, and not break the peace."<sup>2</sup>

Such were the sentiments of that eminent writer. How nearly he had anticipated the case of the Holy Alliance, will appear from comparing his observations with the preamble of that alliance, which is as follows:

"In the name of the most Holy and Indivisible Trinity, their Majesties the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Russia,"—"solemnly declare, that the present act has no object than to publish, in the face of the whole world, their fixed reso- lution, both in the administration of their respective states, and in their political relations with every other government, to take for their sole guide the precepts of that holy reli- gion, namely, the precepts of justice, christian charity, and peace, which, far from being applicable only to private concerns, must have an immediate influence on the councils of princes, and guide all their steps, as being the only means of consolidating human institutions, and remedying their imperfections."

This measure, however, appears principally important, as it was the first of a series, and was followed afterwards by others of a more direct and practical nature. These mea- sures, taken together, profess to establish two principles, which the Allied Powers would enforce as part of the law of the civilized world, and the enforcement of which is measured by a million and a half bayonettes.

The first of these principles is, that all popular, or constitutional rights, are holden no otherwise than as grants from the crown. Society, upon this principle, has no rights of its own; it takes good government, when it can get it, as a boon and a concession, but can demand nothing. It is to live in that favour which emanates from royal authority, and if

2. Book ii, cap. 2.

it have the misfortune to lose that favour, there is nothing to protect it against any degree of injustice of oppression. It can rightfully make no endeavour for a change, by itself; its whole privilege is to receive the favours that may be dispensed by the sovereign power, and all its duty is described in the single word, *submission*. This is the plain result of the principal continental state papers; indeed it is nearly the identical text of some of them.

The Laybach circular of May, 1821, alleges, "that useful and necessary changes in legislation and administration, ought only to emanate from the free will and intelligent conviction of those whom God has rendered responsible for power; all that deviates from this line necessarily leads to disorder, commotions, and evils, far more insufferable than those which they pretend to remedy."<sup>3</sup> Now, Sir, this principle would carry Europe back again, at once, into the middle of the dark ages. It is the old doctrine of the divine right of kings, advanced now, by new advocates, and sustained by a formidable mass of power. That the people hold their fundamental privileges, as matter of *concession* or *indulgence*, from the sovereign power, is a sentiment not easy to diffuse in this age, any farther than it is enforced by the direct operation of military means. It is true, certainly, that some six centuries ago, the early founders of English liberty which secured their rights a *Charter*; it was, indeed, a concession; they had obtained it, sword in hand, from the king; and, in many other cases, whatever was obtained, favourable to human rights, from the tyranny and despotism of the feudal sovereigns, was called by the names of *privileges* and *liberties*, as being matter of special favour. And, though we retain this *language* at the present time, the principle itself belongs to ages that have long passed by us. The civilized world has done with the enormous faith of many made for one. Society asserts its own rights, and alleges them to be original, sacred, and unalienable. It is not satisfied with having kind masters; it demands a participation in its own government: and, in states much advanced in civilization, it urges this demand with a constancy and an energy, that cannot well, nor long, be resisted. There are, happily, enough of regulated governments in the world, and those among the most distinguished, to operate as constant examples, and to keep alive an unceasing panting in the bosoms of men, for the enjoyment of similar free institutions.

When the English revolution of 1688 took place, the English people did not content themselves with the example of Runnymede; they did not build their hopes upon royal charters; they did not, like the Laybach circular, suppose that all useful changes in constitutions and laws must proceed from those only whom God had rendered responsible for power. They were somewhat better instructed in the principles of civil liberties, or at least they were somewhat better lovers of those principles, than the sovereigns of Lay-

3. Annual Register, for 1821.

bach. Instead of petitioning for charters, they *declared* their rights, and, while they offered to the family of Orange the crown with one hand, they held in the other an enumeration of those privileges which they did not profess to hold as favours, but which they *demand*ed and *insisted upon*, as their undoubted rights.

I need not stop to observe, Mr. Chairman, how totally hostile are these doctrines of Laybach, to the fundamental principles of *our* government. They are in direct contradiction: the principles of good and evil are hardly more opposite. If these principles of the sovereigns be true, we are but in a state of rebellion, or of anarchy, and are only tolerated among civilized nations, because it has not yet been convenient to conform us to the true standard.

But the second, and, if possible, more objectionable principle, avowed in these papers, is the right of forcible interference in the affairs of other states. A right to control nations in their desire to change their own government, wherever it may be conjectured, or pretended, that such change might furnish an *example* to the subjects of other states, is plainly and distinctly asserted. The same Congress that made the declaration at Laybach, had declared before its removal from Troppau, "that the powers have an undoubted right to take a hostile attitude in regard to those states in which the overthrow of the government may operate as an example."

There cannot, as I think, be conceived a more flagrant violation of public law, or national independence, than is contained in this declaration.

No matter what the character of the government resisted; no matter with what weight the foot of the oppressor bears down on the neck of the oppressed; if he struggle, or if he complain, he sets a dangerous example of resistance,—and from that moment he becomes an object of hostility to the most powerful potentates of the earth. I want words to express my abhorrence of this abominable principle. I trust every enlightened man throughout the world will oppose it, and that especially, those who, like ourselves, are fortunately out of the reach of the bayonets that enforce it, will proclaim their detestation of it, in a tone both loud and decisive. The avowed object of such declarations is to preserve the peace of the world. But by what means is it proposed to preserve this peace? Simply, by bringing the power of all governments to bear against all subjects. Here is to be established a sort of double, or treble, or quadruple, or, for aught I know, a quintuple allegiance. An offence against one king is to be an offence against all kings, and the power of all is to be out forth for the punishment of the offender. A right to interfere in extreme cases, in the case of contiguous states, and where imminent danger is threatened to one by what is transpiring in another, is not without precedent in modern times, upon what has been called the law of vicinage; and when confined to extreme cases,

and limited to a certain extent, it may perhaps be defended upon principles of necessity and self-defence. But to maintain that sovereigns may go to war upon the subjects of another state to *repress an example*, is monstrous indeed. What is to be the limit to such a principle, or to the practice growing out of it? What, in any case, but sovereign pleasure is to decide whether the example be good or bad? And what, under the operation of such a rule, may be thought of our own *example*? Why are we not as fair objects for the operation of the new principle, as any of those who may attempt to reform the condition of their government, on the other side of the Atlantic?

The ultimate effect of this alliance of sovereigns, for objects personal to themselves, or respecting only the permanence of their own power, must be the destruction of all just feeling, and all natural sympathy, between those who exercise the power of government and those who are subject to it. The old channels of mutual regard and confidence are to be dried up, or cut off. Obedience can now be expected no longer than it is enforced. Instead of relying on the affections of the governed, sovereigns are to rely on the affections and friendship of other sovereigns. There are, in short, no longer to be nations. Princes and people no longer are to unite for interests common to them both. There is to be an end of all patriotism, as a distinct national feeling. Society is to be divided horizontally; all sovereigns above, all subjects below; the former coalescing for their own security, and for the more certain subjection of the undistinguished multitude beneath. This, Sir, is no picture, drawn by the imagination. I have hardly used language stronger than that in which the authors of this new system have commented on their own work. Mr. Chateaubriand, in his speech in the French Chamber of Deputies, in February last, declared, that he had a conference with the Emperor of Russia at Verona, in which that august sovereign uttered statements which appeared to him so precious, that he immediately hastened home, and wrote them down while yet fresh in his recollection. "The Emperor declared," said he, "*that there can no longer be such a thing as an English, French, Russian, Prussian, or Austrian policy: there is henceforth but one policy, which, for the safety of all, should be adopted both by people and kings. It was for me first to show myself convinced of the principles upon which I founded the alliance; an occasion offered itself; the rising in Greece. Nothing certainly could occur more for my interests, for the interests of my people; nothing more acceptable to my country, than a religious war in Turkey: but I have thought I perceived in the troubles of the Morea, the sign of revolution, and I have held back. Providence has not put under my command 800,000 soldiers to satisfy my own ambition, but to protect religion, morality, and justice, and to secure the prevalence of those principles of order on which human society rests. It may well be permitted that kings may have public alliances to defend themselves against secret enemies.*"

These, Sir, are the words which the French minister thought so important as that they deserved to be recorded; and I too, Sir, am of the same opinion. But, if it be true that there is hereafter to be neither a Russian policy, nor a Prussian policy, nor an Austrian policy, nor a French policy, nor even, which I yet will not believe, an English policy; there will be, I trust in God, an *American* policy. If the authority of all these governments be hereafter to be mixed and blended, and to flow in one augmented current of prerogative, over the face of Europe, sweeping away all resistance in its course, it will yet remain for us to secure our own happiness, by the preservation of our own principles; which I hope we shall have the manliness to express on all proper occasions, and the spirit to defend in every extremity. The end and scope of this amalgated policy is neither more nor less than this: to interfere, *by force*, for any government, against any people who may resist it. Be the state of the people what it may, they shall not rise; be the government what it will, it shall not be opposed. The practical commentary has corresponded with the plain language of the text. Look at Spain, and at Greece. If men may not resist the Spanish inquisition, and the Turkish scimitar, what is there to which humanity must not submit? Stronger cases can never arise. Is it not proper for us, at all times—is it not our duty, at this time, to come forth, and deny, and condemn, these monstrous principles. Where, but here, and in one other place, are they likely to be resisted? They are advanced with equal coolness and boldness; and they are supported by immense power. The timid will shrink and give way—and many of the brave may be compelled to yield to force. Human liberty may yet, perhaps, be obliged to repose its principal hopes on the intelligence and vigour of the Saxon race. As far as depends on us, at least, I trust these hopes will not be disappointed; and that, to the extent which may consist with our own settled, pacific policy, our opinions and sentiments may be brought to act, on the right side, and to the right end, on an occasion which is, in truth, nothing less than a momentous question between an intelligent age, full of knowledge, thirsting for improvement, and quickened by a thousand impulses, and the most arbitrary pretensions, sustained by unprecedented power.

The asserted right of forcible intervention, in the affairs of other nations, is in open violation of the public law of the world. Who has authorized these learned doctors of Troppau, to establish new articles in this code? Whence are their diplomas? Is the whole world expected to acquiesce in principles, which entirely subvert the independence of nations? On the basis of this independence has been reared the beautiful fabric of international law. On the principle of independence, Europe has seen a family of nations, flourishing within its limits, the small among the large, protected not always by power, but by a principle above power, by a sense of propriety and justice. On this principle the great commonwealth of civilized states has been hitherto upheld. There have been occa-

sional departures, or violations, and always disastrous, as in the case of Poland; but, in general, the harmony of the system has been wonderfully preserved. In the production and preservation of this sense of justice, this predominating principle, the Christian religion has acted a main part. Christianity and civilization have laboured together; it seems, indeed, to be a law of our human condition, that they can live and flourish only together. From their blended influence has arisen that delightful spectacle of the prevalence of reason and principle, over power and interest, so well described by one who was an honour to the age—

"And sovereign *Law*, the *world's* collected will,  
O'er thrones and globes elate,  
Sits Empress—crowning good, repressing ill:  
Smit by her sacred frown.  
The fiend, *Discretion*, like a vapour, sinks,  
And e'en the all-dazzling crown  
Hides his faint rays, and at her bidding shrinks."

But this vision is past. While the teachers of Laybach give the rule, there will be no law but the law of the strongest.

It may now be required of me to show what interest *we* have, in resisting this new system. What is it to *us*, it may be asked, upon what principles, or what pretences, the European governments assert a right of interfering in the affairs of their neighbours? The thunder, it may be said, rolls at a distance. The wide Atlantic is between us and danger; and, however others may suffer, *we* shall remain safe.

I think it is a sufficient answer to this, to say, that we are one of the nations; that we have an interest, therefore, in the preservation of that system of national law and national intercourse, which has heretofore subsisted, so beneficially for all. Our system of government, it should also be remembered, is, throughout, founded on principles utterly hostile to the new code; and, if we remain undisturbed by its operation, we shall owe our security, either to our situation or our spirit. The enterprising character of the age, our own active commercial spirit, the great increase which has taken place in the intercourse between civilized and commercial states, have necessarily connected us with the nations of the earth, and given us a high concern in the preservation of those salutary principles, upon which intercourse is founded. We have as clear an interest in international law, as individuals have in the laws of society.

But, apart from the soundness of the policy, on the ground of direct interest, we have, Sir, a duty, connected with this subject, which, I trust, we are willing to perform. What do *we* not owe to the cause of civil and religious liberty? to the principle of lawful resis-

tance? to the principle that society has a right to partake in its own government? As the leading Republic of the world, living and breathing in these principles, and advanced, by their operation, with unequalled rapidity, in our career, shall we give *our* consent to bring them into disrepute and disgrace? It is neither ostentation nor boasting, to say, that there lie before this country, in immediate prospect, a great extent and height of power. We are borne along towards this, without effort, and not always even with a full knowledge of the rapidity of our own motion. Circumstances which never combined before, have combined in our favour, and a mighty current is setting us forward, which we could not resist, even if we would, and which, while we would stop to make an observation, and take the sun, has set us, at the end of the operation, far in advance of the place where we commenced it. Does it not become us, then, is it not a duty imposed on us, to give our weight to the side of liberty and justice—to let mankind know that we are not tired of our own institutions—and to protest against the asserted power of altering, at pleasure, the law of the civilized world?

But whatever we do, in this respect, it becomes us to do upon clear and consistent principles. There is an important topic in the Message, to which I have yet hardly alluded. I mean the rumoured combination of the European continental sovereigns, against the new established free states of South America. Whatever position this government may take on that subject, I trust it will be one which can be defended, on known and acknowledged grounds of right. The near approach, or the remote distance of danger, may affect policy, but cannot change principle. The same reason that would authorize us to protest against unwarrantable combinations to interfere between Spain and her former colonies, would authorize us equally to protest, if the same combination were directed at the smallest state in Europe, although our duty to ourselves, our policy, and wisdom, might indicate very different courses, as fit to be pursued by us in the two cases. We shall not, I trust, act upon the notion of dividing the world with the Holy Alliance, and complain of nothing done by them in their hemisphere, if they will not interfere with ours. At least this would not be such a course of policy as I could recommend or support. We have not offended, and, I hope, we do not intend to offend, in regard to South America, against any principle of national independence or of public law. We have done nothing, we shall do nothing, that we need to hush up or compromise, by forbearing to express our sympathy for the cause of the Greeks, or our opinion of the course which other governments have adopted in regard to them.

It may, in the next place, be asked, perhaps, supposing all this to be true, what can *we* do? Are we to go to war? Are we to interfere in the Greek cause, or any other European cause? Are we to endanger our pacific relations? —No, certainly not. What, the, the

question recurs, remains for *us*? If we will not endanger our own peace; if we will neither furnish armies, nor navies, to the cause which we think the just one, what is there within *our* power?

Sir, this reasoning mistakes the age. The time has been, indeed, when fleets, and armies, and subsidies, were the principal reliances even in the best cause. But, happily for mankind, there has come a great change in this respect. Moral causes come into consideration, in proportion as the progress of knowledge is advanced; and the *public opinion* of the civilized world is rapidly gaining an ascendancy over mere brutal force. It is already able to oppose the most formidable obstruction to the progress of injustice and oppression; and, as it grows more intelligent and more intense, it will be more and more formidable. It may be silenced by military power, but it cannot be conquered. It is elastic, irrepressible, and invulnerable to the weapons of ordinary warfare. It is that impassible, unextinguishable enemy of mere violence and arbitrary rule, which, like Milton's angels,

Vital in every part,  
Cannot, but by annihilating, die.

Until this be appropriated or satisfied, it is vain for power to talk either of triumphs or repose. No matter what fields are desolated, what fortresses surrendered, what armies subdued, or what provinces overrun. In the history of the year that has passed by us, and in the instance of unhappy Spain we have seen the vanity of all triumphs, in a cause which violates the general sense of justice of the civilized world. It is nothing, that the troops of France have passed from the Pyrenees to Cadiz; it is nothing that an unhappy and prostrate nation has fallen before them; it is nothing that arrests, and confiscation, and execution, sweep away the little remnants of national resistance. There is an enemy that still exists to check the force of these triumphs. It follows the conqueror back to the very scene of his ovations; it calls upon him to take notice that Europe, though silent, is yet indignant; it shows him that the sceptre of his victory is a barren sceptre; that it shall confer neither joy nor honour, but shall moulder to dry ashes in his grasp. In the midst of his exultation, it pierces his ear with the cry of injured justice, it denounces against him the indignation of an enlightened and civilized age; it turns to bitterness the cup of his rejoicing, and wounds him with the sting which belongs to the consciousness of having outraged the opinion of mankind.

In my own opinion, Sir, the Spanish nation is now nearer, not only in point of time, but in point of circumstance, to the acquisition of a regulated government, than at the moment of the French invasion. Nations must, no doubt, undergo these trials in their progress to the establishment of free institutions. The very trials benefit them, and render them more capable both of obtaining and of enjoying the object which they seek.

I shall not detain the Committee, Sir, by laying before it any statistical, geographical, or commercial account of Greece. I have no knowledge on these subjects, which is not common to all. It is universally admitted, that within the last thirty or forty years, the condition of Greece has been greatly improved. Her marine is at present respectable, containing the best sailors in the Mediterranean, better even, in that sea. than our own, as more accustomed to the long quarantines, and other regulations which prevail in its ports. The number of her seamen has been estimated as high as 50,000, but I suppose that estimate must be much too large. They have probably 150,000 tons of shipping. It is not easy to state an accurate count of the Grecian population. The Turkish government does not trouble itself with any of the calculations of political economy, and there has never been such a thing as an accurate census, probably, in any part of the Turkish empire. In the absence of all official information, private opinions widely differ. By the tables which have been communicated, it would seem that there are 2,400,000 Greeks in Greece Proper and the Islands; an amount, as I am inclined to think, somewhat overrated. There are, probably, in the whole of European Turkey, 5,000,000 Greeks, and 2,000,000 more in the Asiatic dominions of that power. The moral and intellectual progress of this numerous population, under the horrible oppression which crushes it, has been such as may excite regard. Slaves, under barbarous masters, the Greeks have still aspired after the blessings of knowledge and civilization. Before the breaking out of the present revolution, they had established schools, and colleges, and libraries, and the press. Wherever, as in Scio, owing to their particular circumstances, the weight of oppression was mitigated, the natural vivacity of the Greeks, and their aptitude for the arts, were discovered. Though certainly not on an equality with the civilized and Christian states of Europe, (and how is it possible under such oppression as they endured that they should be?) they yet furnished a striking contrast with their Tartar masters. It has been well said, that is not easy to form a just conception of the nature of the despotism exercised over them. Conquest and subjugation, as used among the European states, are inadequate modes of expression by which to denote the dominion of the Turks. A conquest, in the civilized world, is generally no more than an acquisition of a new part to the conquering country. It does not imply a never-changing bondage imposed upon the conquered, a perpetual mark, and opprobrious distinction between them and their masters; a bitter and unending persecution of their religion; an habitual violation of their rights of person and property, and the unrestrained indulgence towards them, of every passion, which belongs to the character of a barbarous soldiery. Yet, such is the state of Greece. The Ottoman power over them, obtained originally by the sword, is constantly preserved by the same means. Wherever it exists, it is a mere military power. The religious and civil code of the state, both being fixed in

the Alcoran, and equally the subject of an ignorant and furious faith, have been found equally incapable of change. "The Turk," it has been said, has been *encamped* in Europe for four centuries." He has hardly any more participation in European manners, knowledge, and arts, than when he crossed the Bosphorus. But this is not the worst of it. The power of the empire is fallen into anarchy, and as the principle which belongs to the head belongs also to the parts, there are as many despots as there are pachas, beys, and visiers. Wars are almost perpetual, between the sultan and some rebellious governor of a province; and in the conflict of these despotisms, the people are necessarily ground between the upper and the nether millstone. In short, the Christian subjects of the sublime Porte, feel daily all the miseries which flow from despotism, from anarchy, from slavery, and from religious persecution. If any thing yet remains to heighten such a picture, let it be added, that every office in the government is not only actually, but professedly, venal;—the pachalics, the visierates, the cadiships, and whatsoever other denomination may denote the depository of power. In the whole world, Sir, there is no such oppression *felt*, as by the Christian Greeks. In various parts of India, to be sure, the government is bad enough; but then it is the government of barbarians over barbarians, and the *feeling* of oppression is, of course, not so keen. There the oppressed are perhaps not better than their oppressors; but in the case of Greece, there are millions of Christian men, not without knowledge, not without refinement, not without a strong thirst for all the pleasures of civilized life, trampled into the very earth, century after century, by a pillaging, savage, relentless soldiery. Sir, the case is unique. There exists, and has existed, nothing like it. The world has no such misery to show; there is no case in which Christian communities can be called upon, with such emphasis of appeal.

But I have said enough, Mr. Chairman, indeed I need have said nothing to satisfy the House, that it must be some new combination of circumstances, or new views of policy in the cabinets of Europe, which have caused this interesting struggle not merely to be regarded with indifference, but to be marked with opprobrium. The very statement of the case, as a contest between the Turks and Greeks, sufficiently indicates what must be the feeling of every individual, and every government, that is not biassed by a particular interest, or a particular feeling, to disregard the dictates of justice and humanity.

And now, Sir, what has been the conduct pursued by the Allied Powers, in regard to this contest? When the revolution broke out, the sovereigns were in Congress at Laybach; and the papers of that assembly sufficiently manifest their sentiments. They proclaimed their abhorrence of those "criminal combinations which had been formed in the eastern parts of Europe;" and, although it is possible that this denunciation was aimed, more particularly, at the disturbances in the provinces of Wallachia and Mol-

davia, yet no exception is made, from its general terms, in favour of those events in Greece, which were properly the commencement of her revolution, and which could not but be well known at Laybach, before the date of those declarations. Now it must be remembered, that Russia was a leading party in this denunciation of the efforts of the Greeks to achieve their liberation; and it cannot but be expected by Russia that the world shall also remember what part she herself has heretofore acted, in the same concern. It is notorious, that within the last half century she has again and again excited the Greeks to rebellion against the Porte, and that she has constantly kept alive in them the hope that she would, one day, by her own great power, break the yoke of her oppressor. Indeed, the earnest attention with which Russia has regarded Greece, goes much farther back than to the time I have mentioned. Ivan the Third, in 1482, having espoused a Grecian princess, heiress of the last Greek emperor, discarded *St. George* from the Russian arms, and adopted in its stead the *Greek two-headed black eagle*, which has continued in the Russian arms to the present day. In virtue of the same marriage, the Russian princes claimed the Greek throne as their inheritance.

Under Peter the Great, the policy of Russia developed itself more fully. In 1696, he rendered himself master of Azoph, and in 1698, obtained the right to pass the Dardanelles, and to maintain, by that route, commercial intercourse with the Mediterranean. He had emissaries throughout Greece, and particularly applied himself to gain the clergy. He adopted the *Labarum* of Constantine, "*In hoc signo vinces;*" and medals were struck, with the inscription, "*Petrus . Russo-Græcorum Imperator.*" In whatever new direction the principles of the Holy Alliance may now lead the politics of Russia, or whatever course she may suppose Christianity now prescribes to her, in regard to the Greek cause, the time has been when she professed to be contending for that cause, as identified with Christianity. The white banner under which the soldiers of Peter the First usually fought, bore, as its inscription, "*In the name of the Prince, and for our country.*" Relying on the aid of the Greeks, in his war with the Porte, he changed the white flag to red, and displayed on it the words, "*In the name of our God, and for Christianity.*" The unfortunate issue of this war is well known. Though Anne and Elizabeth, the successors of Peter, did not possess his active character, they kept up a constant communications with Greece, and held out hopes of restoring the Greek empire. Catherine the Second, as is well known, excited a general revolt in 1769. A Russian fleet appeared in the Mediterranean, and a Russian army was landed in the Morea. The Greeks in the end were disgusted by being required to take an oath of allegiance to Russia, and the empress was disgusted because they refused to take it. In 1774, peace was signed between Russia and the Porte, and the Greeks of the Morea were left to their fate. By this treaty the Porte acknowledged the independence of the khan of the Crimea; a preliminary step to the

acquisition of that country by Russia. It is not unworthy of remark, as a circumstance which distinguished this from most other diplomatic transactions, that it conceded the right to the cabinet of St. Petersburg, of intervention in the interior affairs of Turkey, in regard to whatever concerned the religion of the Greeks. The cruelties and massacres that happened to the Greeks after the peace between Russia and the Porte, notwithstanding the general pardon which had been stipulated for them, need not now be recited. Instead of retracing the deplorable picture, it is enough to say, that in this respect the past is justly reflected in the present. The empress soon after invaded and conquered the Crimea, and on one of the gates of Kerson, its capital, caused to be inscribed, "*The road to Byzantium.*" The present emperor, on his accession to the throne, manifested an intention to adopt the policy of Catharine II. as his own, and the world has not been right, in all its suspicions, if a project for the partition of Turkey did not form a part of the negotiations of Napoleon and Alexander at Tilsit.

All this course of policy seems suddenly to be changed. Turkey is no longer regarded, it would appear, as an object of partition or acquisition, and Greek revolts have, all at once, become, according to the declaration of Laybach, "criminal combinations." The recent congress at Verona exceeded its predecessor at Laybach, in its denunciations of the Greek struggle. In the circular of the 14th of December, 1822, it declared the Greek resistance to the Turkish power to be rash and culpable, and lamented that "the firebrand of rebellion had been thrown into the Ottoman empire." This rebuke and crimination we know to have proceeded on those settled principles of conduct, which the continental powers had prescribed for themselves. The sovereigns saw, as well as others, the real condition of the Greeks; they knew, as well as others, that it was most natural and most justifiable, that they should endeavour, at whatever hazard, to change that condition. They knew, that they, themselves, or at least one of them, had more than once urged the Greeks to similar efforts; that they, themselves, had thrown the same firebrand into the midst of the Ottoman empire. And yet, so much does it seem to be their fixed object to discountenance whatsoever threatens to disturb the actual government of any country, that, Christians as they were, and allied as they professed to be, for purposes most important to human happiness and religion, they have not hesitated to declare to the world, that they have wholly forborne to exercise any compassion to the Greeks, simply because they thought that they saw, in the struggles of the Morea, the sign of revolution. This, then, is coming to a plain, practical result. The Grecian revolution has been discouraged, discountenanced, and denounced, for no reason but because *it is a revolution*. Independent of all inquiry into the reasonableness of its causes, or the enormity of the oppression which produced it; regardless of the peculiar claims which Greece possesses upon the civilized world; and regardless of what has been their own

conduct towards her for a century; regardless of the interest of the Christian religion, the sovereigns at Verona seized upon the case of the Greek revolution, as one above all others calculated to illustrate the fixed principles of their policy. The abominable rule of the Porte on one side, the valour and the sufferings of the Christian Greeks on the other, furnished a case likely to convince even an incredulous world of the sincerity of the professions of the Allied Powers. They embraced the occasion with apparent ardour; and the world, I trust, is satisfied.

We see here, Mr. Chairman, the direct and actual application of that system which I have attempted to describe. We see it in the very case of Greece. We learn, authentically and indisputably, that the Allied Powers, holding that all changes in legislation ought to proceed from kings alone, were wholly inexorable to the suffering of the Greeks, and wholly hostile to their success. Now it is upon this practical result of the principle of the continental powers, that I wish this House to intimate its opinion. The great question is a question of principle. Greece is the only signal instance of the application of that principle. If the principle be right, if we esteem it conformable to the laws of nations, if we have nothing to say against it, or if we deem ourselves unfit to express an opinion on the subject, then, of course, no resolution ought to pass. If, on the other hand, we see in the declarations of the Allied Powers, principles not only utterly hostile to our own free institutions, but hostile also to the independence of all nations, and altogether opposed to the improvement of the conditions of human nature; if, in the instance before us, we see a striking exposition and application of those principles, and if we deem our own opinions to be entitled to any weight in the estimation of mankind; then, I think, it is our duty to adopt some such measure as the proposed resolution.

It is worthy of observation, Sir, that as early as July, 1821, Baron Strogonoff, the Russian minister at Constantinople, represented to the Porte, that, if the undistinguished massacres of the Greeks, both of such as were in open resistance, and of those who remained patient in their submission, were continued, and should become a settled habit, they would give just cause of war against the Porte to all Christian states. This was in 1821. It was followed, early in the next year, by that indescribable enormity, that appalling monument of barbarian cruelty, the destruction of Scio; a scene I shall not attempt to describe; a scene from which human nature shrinks shuddering away; a scene having hardly a parallel in the history of fallen man. This scene, too, was quickly followed by the massacres in Cyprus; and all these things were perfectly known to the Christian powers assembled at Verona. Yet these powers, instead of acting upon the case supposed by Baron Strogonoff, and which, one would think, had been then fully made out; instead of being moved by any compassion for the sufferings of the Greeks;

these powers, these Christian powers, rebuke their gallantry, and insult their sufferings, by accusing them of "throwing a firebrand into the Ottoman empire."

Such, Sir, appear to me to be the principles on which the continental powers of Europe has agreed hereafter to act; and this, an eminent instance of the application of those principles.

I shall not detain the Committee, Mr. Chairman, by any attempt to recite the events of the Greek struggle, up to the present time. Its origin may be found, doubtless, in that improved state of knowledge, which, for some years, has been gradually taking place in that country. The emancipation of the Greeks has been a subject frequently discussed in modern times. They themselves are represented as having a vivid remembrance of the distinction of their ancestors, not unmixed with an indignant feeling, that civilized and Christian Europe should not, ere now, have aided them in breaking their intolerable fetters.

In 1816, a society was founded in Vienna, for the encouragement of Grecian literature. It was connected with a similar institution at Athens, and another in Thessaly, called the "Gymnasium of Mount Pelion." The treasury and general office of the institution was established at Munich. No political object was avowed by these institutions, probably none contemplated. Still, however, they have, no doubt, had their effect in hastening that condition of things, in which the Greeks felt competent to the establishment of their independence. Many young men have been, for years, annually sent to the universities in the western states of Europe for their education; and, after the general pacification of Europe, many military men, discharged from other employment, were ready to enter even to so unpromising a service as that of the revolutionary Greeks.

In 1820, war commenced between the Porte and Ali, the well known pacha of Albania. Differences existed also with Persia, and with Russia. In this state of things, at the beginning of 1821, an insurrection appears to have broken out in Moldavia, under the direction of Alexander Ypsilanti, a well-educated soldier, who had been major-general in the Russian service. From his character, and the number of those who seemed disposed to join him, he was supposed to be countenanced by the court of St. Petersburg. This, however, was a great mistake, which the emperor, then at Laybach, took an early opportunity to rectify. The Porte, it would seem, however, alarmed at these occurrences in the northern provinces, caused search to be made of all vessels entering the Black Sea, lest arms or other military means should be sent in this manner to the insurgents. This proved inconvenient to the commerce of Russia, and caused some unsatisfactory correspondence between the two powers. It may be worthy of remark, as an exhibition of national character, that, agitated by these appearances of intestine commotion, the sul-

tan issued a proclamation, calling on all true musselmans to renounce the pleasures of social life, to prepare arms and horses, and to return to the manner of their ancestors, the life of the plains. The Turk seems to have thought that he had, at last, caught something of the dangerous contagion of European civilization, and that it was necessary to reform his habits, by recurring to the original manners of military, roaming barbarians.

It was about this time, that is to say, at the commencement of 1821, that the Revolution burst out in various parts of Greece and the isles. Circumstances, certainly, were not unfavourable, as one portion of the Turkish army was employed in the war against Ali Pacha in Albania, and another part in the provinces north of the Danube. The Greeks soon possessed themselves of the open country of the Morea, and drove their enemies into the fortresses. Of these, that of Tripolitza, with the city, fell into the hands of the Greeks, in the course of the summer. Having after these first movements obtained time to breathe, it became, of course, an early object to establish a government. For this purpose delegates of the people assembled, under that name which describes the assembly in which we ourselves sit, that name which "freed the Atlantic," a *Congress*. A writer, who undertakes to render to the civilized world that service which was once performed by Edmund Burke, I mean the compiler of the English Annual Register, asks, *by what authority* this assembly could call itself a *Congress*. Simply, Sir, by the same authority, by which the people of the United States have given the same name to their own legislature. We, at least, should be naturally inclined to think, not only so far as names, but things also, are concerned, that the Greeks could hardly have begun their revolution under better auspices; since they have endeavoured to render applicable to themselves the general principles of our form of government, as well as its name. This constitution went into operation at the commencement of the next year. In the mean time, the war with Ali Pacha was ended, he having surrendered, and being afterwards assassinated, by an instance of treachery and perfidy, which, if it had happened elsewhere than under the government of the Turks, would have deserved notice. The negotiation with Russia, too, took a turn unfavourable to the Greeks. The great point upon which Russia insisted, beside the abandonment of the measure of searching vessels bound to the Black Sea, was, that the Porte should withdraw its armies from the neighborhood of the Russian frontiers; and the immediate consequence of this, when effected, was to add so much more to the disposable force, ready to be employed against the Greeks. These events seem to have left the whole force of the Empire, at the commencement of 1822, in a condition to be employed against the Greek rebellion; and, accordingly, very many anticipated the immediate destruction of their cause. The event, however, was ordered otherwise. Where the greatest effort was made, it was met and defeated. Entering the Morea with an army which seemed capable of beating down all resistance, the Turks

were nonetheless defeated and driven back, and pursued beyond the isthmus, within which, as far as it appears, from that time to the present, they have not been able to set their foot.

In was in April, of this year, that the destruction of Scio took place. That island, a sort of appanage of the Sultana mother, enjoyed many privileges peculiar to herself. In a population of 130,000 or 140,000, it had no more than 2000 or 3000 Turks; indeed, it had by some accounts not near as many. The absence of these ruffian monsters, had, in some degree, allowed opportunity for the promotion of knowledge, the accumulation of wealth, and the general cultivation of society. Here was the seat of modern Greek literature; here were libraries, printing presses, and other establishments, which indicate some advancement in refinement and knowledge. Certain of the inhabitants of Samos, it would seem, envious of this comparative happiness of Scio, landed upon the islands in an irregular multitude, for the purpose of compelling its inhabitants to make common cause which their countrymen against their oppressors. These, being joined by the peasantry, marched to the city, and drove the Turks into the castle. The Turkish fleet, lately reinforced from Egypt, happened to be in the neighbouring seas, and learning these events, landed a force on the island of 15,000 men. There was nothing to resist such an army. These troops immediately entered the city, and began an indiscriminate massacre. The city was fired; and, in four days, the fire and the sword of the Turk rendered the beautiful Scio a clotted mass of blood and ashes. The details are too shocking to be recited. Forty thousand women and children, unhappily saved from the general destruction, were afterwards sold in the market at Smyrna, and sent off into distant and hopeless servitude. Even on the wharves of our own cities, it has been said, have been sold the utensils of those hearths which exist no longer. Of the whole population which I have mentioned, not above 900 persons were left living upon the island. I will only repeat, Sir, that these tragical scenes were as fully known to the Congress of Verona, as they are now known to us; and it is not too much to call on the powers that constituted that Congress, in the name of conscience, and in the name of humanity, to tell us, if there be nothing even in these unparalleled excesses of Turkish barbarity, to excite a sentiment of compassion; nothing which they regard as so objectionable as even the very idea of popular resistance to power.

The events of the year which has just passed by, as far as they have become known to us, have been even more favourable to the Greeks, than those of the year preceding. I omit all details, as being as well known to other as to myself. Suffice it to say, that with no other enemy to contend with, and no diversion of his force to other objects, the Porte has not been able to carry the war into the Morea; and that, by the last accounts, its armies were acting defensively in Thessaly. I pass over also the naval engagements of the Greeks, although that is a mode of warfare in which they are calculated to excel, and in

which they have already preformed actions of such distinguished skill and bravery, as would draw applause upon the best mariners in the world. The present state of the war would seem to be, that the Greeks possess the whole of the Morea, with the exception of the three fortresses of Patras, Coron, and Modon; all Candia but one fortress; and most of the other islands. They possess the citadel of Athens, Missolonghi, and several other places in Livadia. They have been able to act on the offensive and carry their war past the isthmus. There is no reason to believe that their marine is weakened; probably on the other hand, it is strengthened. But, what is most of all important, they have obtained time and experience. They have awakened a sympathy throughout Europe and throughout America; and they have formed a government which seems suited to the emergency of their condition.

Sir, they have done much. It would be great injustice to compare their efforts with our own. We began our revolution, already possessed of government, and comparatively, of civil liberty. Our ancestors had, for centuries, been accustomed in a great measure to govern themselves. They were well acquainted with popular elections and legislative assemblies, and the general principles and practice of free governments. They had little else to do than to throw off the paramount authority of the parent state. Enough was still left, both of law and of organization, to conduct society in its accustomed course, and to unite men together for a common object. The Greeks, of course, could act with little concert at the beginning; they were unaccustomed to the exercise of power, without experience, with limited knowledge, without aid, and surrounded by nations, which, whatever claims the Greeks might have had upon them, have afforded them nothing but discouragement and reproach. They have held out, however, for three campaigns; and that, at least, is something. Constantinople and the northern provinces have sent forth thousands of troops;—they have been defeated. Tripoli, and Algiers, and Egypt, have contributed their marine contingents;—they have not kept the ocean. Hordes of Tartars have crossed the Bosphorus;—they have died where the Persians died. The powerful monarchies in the neighborhood have denounced their cause, and admonished them to abandon it, and submit to their fate. They have answered the, that, although two hundred thousand of their countrymen have offered up their lives, there yet remain lives to offer; and that it is the determination of *all*, "yes, of ALL," to persevere until they shall have established their liberty, or until the power of their oppressors shall have relieved them from the burthen of existence.

It may now be asked, perhaps, whether the expression of our own sympathy, and that of the country, may do them good? I hope it may. It may give them courage and spirit, it may assure them of public regard, teach them that they are not wholly forgotten by the civilized world, and inspire them with constancy in the pursuit of their great end. At

any rate, Sir, it appears to me, that the measure which I have proposed is due to our own character, and called for by our own duty. When we shall have discharged that duty, we may leave the rest to the disposition of Providence.

I do not see how it can be doubted, that this measure is entirely *pacific*. I profess my inability to perceive that it has any possible tendency to involve our neutral relations. If the measure pass, it is not, necessarily, to be immediately acted upon. It will not be acted on at all, unless, in the opinion of the President, a proper and safe occasion for acting upon it shall arise. If we adopt the resolution to-day, our relations with every foreign state will be to-morrow precisely what they now are. The resolution will be sufficient to express our sentiments on the subjects to which I have adverted. Useful to that purpose, it can be mischievous to no purpose. If the topic were properly introduced into the Message, it cannot be improperly introduced into discussion in this House. If it were proper, which no one doubts, for the President to express his opinions on it, it cannot be, I think, improper for us to express ours. The only certain effect of this resolution is to express, in a form usual to bodies constituted like this, our approbation of the general sentiment of the Message. Do we wish to withhold that approbation? *The Resolution confers on the President no new power, nor does it enjoin on him the exercise of any new duty; nor does it hasten him in the discharge of any existing duty.*

I cannot imagine that this resolution can add any thing to those excitements which it has been supposed, I think very causelessly, might possibly provoke the Turkish government to acts of hostility. There is already the Message, expressing the hope of success to the Greeks, and disaster to the Turks, in a much stronger manner than is to be implied from the terms of this resolution. There is the correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Greek Agent in London, already made public, in which similar wishes are expressed, and a continuance of the correspondence apparently invited. I might add to this, the unexampled burst of feeling which this cause has called forth from all classes of society, and the notorious fact of pecuniary contributions made throughout the country for its aid and advancement. After all this, whoever can see cause of danger to our pacific relations from the adoption of this resolution, has a keener vision than I can pretend to. Sir, there is no augmented danger; there is *no danger*. The question comes at last to this, whether, on a subject of this sort, the House holds an opinion which is worthy to be expressed?

Even suppose, Sir, an Agent or Commissioner were to be immediately sent,—a measure which I myself believe to be the proper one,—there is no breach of neutrality, nor any just cause of offence. Such an agent, of course, would not be accredited; he would not be a public minister. The object would be inquiry and information; inquiry, which we have a right to make; information, which we are interested to possess. If a dismemberment of

the Turkish empire betaking place, or has already taken place; if a new state be rising, or has already risen, in the Mediterranean, who can doubt, that, without any breach of neutrality, we may inform ourselves of these events, for the government of our own concerns?

The Greeks have declared the Turkish coasts in a state of blockade; may we not inform ourselves whether this blockade be *nominal* or *real*? and, of course, whether it shall be regarded or disregarded? The greater our trade may happen to be with Smyrna, a consideration which seems to have alarmed some gentlemen, the greater is the reason, in my opinion, why we should seek to be accurately informed of those events which may affect its safety.

It seems to me impossible, therefore, for any reasonable man to imagine, that this resolution can expose us to the resentment of the Sublime Porte.

As little reason is there for fearing its consequences upon the conduct of the Allied Powers. They may, very naturally, dislike our sentiments upon the subject of the Greek Revolution; but what those sentiments are, they will much more explicitly learn in the President's Message than in this resolution. They might, indeed, prefer that we should express no dissent on the doctrines which they have avowed, and the application which they have made of these doctrines to the case of Greece. But I trust we are not disposed to leave them in any doubt as to our sentiments upon these important subjects. They have expressed their opinions, and do not call that expression of opinion, an *interference*; in which respect they are right, as the expression of opinion, in such cases, is not such an *interference* as would justify the Greeks in considering the powers as at war with them. For the same reason, any expression which we may make, of different principles and different sympathies is no *interference*. No one would call the President's Message an *interference*; and yet it is much stronger, in that respect, than this resolution. If either of them could be construed to be an *interference*, no doubt it would be improper, at least it would be so, according to my view of the subject: for the very thing which I have attempted to resist in the course of these observations, is the right of foreign interference. But neither the Message nor the resolution has that character. There is not a power in Europe that can suppose, that, in expressing our opinions on this occasion, we are governed by any desire of aggrandizing ourselves or of injuring others. We do no more than to maintain those established principles, in which we have an interest in common with other nations, and to resist the introduction of new principles and new rules, calculated to destroy the relative independence of states, and particularly hostile to the whole fabric of our own government.

I close, Sir, with repeating, that the object of this resolution is, to avail ourselves of the interesting occasion of the Greek revolution, to make our protest against the doctrines of

the Allied Powers; both as they are laid down in principle, and as they are applied in practice.

I think it right too, Sir, not to be unseasonable in the expression of our regard, and, as far as that goes, in a ministration of our consolation, to a long oppressed and now struggling people. I am not of those who would, in the hour of utmost peril, withhold such encouragement as might be properly and lawfully given, and when the crisis should be past, overwhelm the rescued sufferer with kindness and caresses. The Greeks address the civilized world with a pathos, not easy to be resisted. They invoke our favour by more moving considerations than can well belong to the condition of any other people. They stretch out their arms to the Christian communities of the earth, beseeching them, by a generous recollection of their ancestors, by the consideration of their own desolated and ruined cities and villages, by their wives and children, sold into an accursed slavery, by their own blood, which they seem willing to pour out like water, by the common faith, and in the Name, which unites all Christians, that they would extend to them, least some token of compassionate regard.

*2. Joel R. Poinsett's Response to Daniel Webster*

(Robinson, pp. 88–93)

To view this question calmly and dispassionately as a Statesman ought to do, requires us to exercise the utmost control over our feelings.

It is impossible to contemplate the contest between the Greeks and the Turks, so eloquently described by the gentleman from Massachusetts, without feeling the strongest indignation at the barbarous atrocities committed by the infidel oppressor, and the deepest interest in the cause of a brave people struggling alone, against fearful odds, to shake off the yoke of despotism.

Our sympathies are always with the oppressed—our feelings are always engaged in the cause of liberty. In favor of Greece, they are still more strongly excited by recollections, which the scholar cherishes with delight, and which are associated in our minds with every pure and exalted sentiment.

The descendants of that illustrious people, to whom we owe our arts, our science, and, except our religion, everything which gives a charm to life, must command our warmest interest: but the Greeks have other claims on our sympathies. They are not only heirs of the immortal fame of their ancestors—they are the rivals of their virtues. In their heroic struggle for freedom, they have exhibited a persevering courage, a spirit of enterprise, and a contempt of danger and of suffering worthy the best days of ancient

Greece. The enthusiasm and liberality manifested in their cause, by our fellow citizens throughout the Union, are, in the highest degree, honorable to their feelings. As men, we must applaud their generosity, and may imitate their example. But the duty of a statesman is a stern duty. As representatives of the people, we have no right to indulge our sympathies, however noble, or to give way to our feelings, however generous. We are to regard only the policy of a measure submitted to our consideration. Our first, and most important duty, is to maintain peace, whenever that can be done consistently with the honor and safety of the nation; and we ought to be slow to adopt any measure which might involve us in a war, except where those great interests are concerned. The gentleman disclaims any such intention. He does not believe that we run the slightest risk, by adopting the resolution of your table. He considers it as a pacific measure, and relies entirely upon the discretion of the President, to accept or reject our recommendation, as the interests of the country may require. The object of passing such a resolution, can only be to give an impulse to the Executive, and to instruct him, by an expression of the opinion of this House, to send a commission to Greece. I have as great a reliance upon the discretion of the Executive as the gentleman from Massachusetts. I believe that he would resist the suggestion of this House in favor of any measure if he thought the public interest required him to do so. But, unless we wish and expect him to act upon our recommendation, we ought not throw upon him, alone, the responsibility of resisting the strong public feeling, which has been excited on this subject. The question for us to consider appears to me to be, whether, if the power rested with us we would exercise it to this extent. I think we could not do so, without incurring some risk of involving the country in a war foreign to its interests. Let us suppose that these commissioners were to fall into the hands of the Turks; an event by no means impossible, in the present state of Greece—what would be their fate? The Porte has been remarkable for its strict observance of the laws of nations in its intercourse with the powers of Europe; and it is not probable, that such a court would be very scrupulous in its conduct towards a nation whose flag it has never acknowledged. Or, let us imagine, what is much more probable, that on the rumour of our having taken any measure in favor of Greece, the barbarous and infuriated Janissaries of Smyrna were to assassinate our Consul and fellow citizens residing there; might not a war grow out of such acts? The gentleman from Massachusetts said, yesterday, that we had already taken steps, which would offend the Ottoman Porte as much as the one he proposed. Money has been freely and publicly contributed in aid of the Greeks. What we have done in that respect is common to all Christian Europe. Large sums have been contributed for that purpose in England, in Germany, and even in Russia. He said too, that the Executive, in the Secretary's letter, to the agent of the Greek government, and subsequently in his message to Congress, has used

expressions calculated to irritate that court as much as if we were to send a commission to Greece. These expressions of ardent wishes for the success of the Greeks are honorable to the Executive, and will be echoed back by the nation. They may be so by the House with safety, and that expression of our interest in their welfare and success would have all the cheering influence the gentleman anticipates from the measure he proposes.

It appears to me, that in the consideration of this question, we have been misled by comparing this revolution with that of Spanish America. And I have heard it argued, that, as we sent commissioners to Buenos Ayres, without rousing the jealousy of any nation, and recognized the independence of those governments without exciting the hostility of Spain, we may do the same in relation to Greece, without offending any nation in Europe.

Independently of the different attitude it becomes us to assume towards America, there is no similarity in the two cases. When we adopted the first measure, Buenos Ayres had been independent, *de facto*, for more than eight years, and Spain had not, during the whole of that period, made the slightest effort to recover possession of that country. When we recognized the independence of the American governments south of us, they were all free, from the Sabine to the La Plata. The tide could not be rolled back; but, in whatever light Spain may have regarded our conduct on those occasions, the situation of the internal concern of that country prevented any manifestation of its resentment. No, Sir! It is to Europe that we must look for a case parallel to that of Greece. Let us suppose, that the Italian states had made an attempt to shake off the iron yoke of Austria, would there be any doubt as to the course of policy this country ought to pursue in that case? Or, if Poland were again to make a desperate effort to recover its liberties, and to re-establish its political existence—that gallant nation would have a claim to our sympathies. Yet I apprehend we should hesitate before we took any step which might offend the Emperor of Russia. Is there a country on earth in whose fate we feel a deeper interest than in that of Ireland? A braver or more generous nation does not exist. Her exiled patriots have taken refuge here, and are among our most useful and distinguished citizens. They are identified with us, and the land which gave them birth must always inspire us with the warmest interest. But, if the Irish were to make a general effort to separate themselves from England, we should pause before we adopted a measure which might be interpreted by Great Britain as an interference with her domestic policy. And yet the Turks are more regardless of the laws of nations, more violent in character, and more reckless of consequences, than any power in Europe. It has been said, that when we exercise an undoubted right, we ought not to regard consequences. This may be magnimonious language to hold, but would such conduct be prudent in this case? We may despise the power of Turkey, and Egypt, and Barbary, united, but can we be cer-

tain, in the event of a war, we should have only to contend with them? The conduct of Great Britain and the allies, in relation to the contest, which has been so fully dealt upon, and so ably exposed by the gentleman from Massachusetts, ought to convince us, that they would discourage any change in the present state of possession of the great European powers, among which Turkey holds a station which might strengthen one, or lessen the security of another: and that they would discountenance any act calculated to call forth a new order of things, the issue of which it would be impossible to predict. The reasons for these declarations are obvious. Every power in Europe balances between its terror of revolutionary principles, and its dread of the augmenting power of Russia. The independence of Greece alarms their fears in both these respects. The first revolutionary movement in that country was supported by, if it did not emanate from, an association in Germany. The succours afforded by the Philhellenic Societies in Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, have contributed largely to the success of the Patriots. The revolution of Greece broke out simultaneously with that of Piedmont; and the agents of the Greek government have, most impudently, boasted of the effect which the liberties of Greece would be likely to produce on the neighbouring states. And there is no doubt that the establishment of free institutions in Greece would have a powerful influence on the minds of the enthusiastic Italians and Germans.

For these reasons, among others even more selfish, Austria has been hostile to this revolution from its commencement. France is opposed to any change in the present state of possession of the great European powers, which might grow out of the dismemberment of Turkey. Such an event could not augment her strength, and might lessen her security. For obvious reasons, that power, in common with all others on the continent of Europe, is averse to the establishment of any new Republic. Great Britain, throughout this contest, has evinced a desire to preserve the integrity of the Turkish Empire. The Ionian Islands, which are under her dominion, have not only been prohibited from taking a part in the war, and the inhabitants disarmed, but the ports of those islands have been made places of deposit for grain and other supplies for the Turkish fleets. The only act of Great Britain which can be regarded as at all favorable to the Greeks, is the acknowledgment of their blockades; an act of justice which could not be refused to the relative position of the two parties. The prevailing opinion appears to be, that, united by the bond of one common religion, Greece, as the ally, or as the dependent of Russia, would, by means of her formidable marine, render irresistible that already colossal power. Great Britain appears to have regarded the dismemberment and partition of Turkey, as a necessary consequence of rupture between that power and Russia. To prevent this, all her influence has been exerted, and no reasonable doubt exists, that, if negotiation had failed to effect an accommodation between them, Great Britain would have appeared in arms as an ally of the Porte.

The course of policy pursued by Russia, on this occasion, has been so fully developed by the gentleman from Massachusetts, that it is unnecessary for me to dwell upon it. The sacred obligations of that power to protect the Greeks, and even its long conceived projects on aggrandizement, appear to have yielded to the dread of encouraging revolution. In whatever light we may regard a policy which sacrifices to its selfish views the rights of humanity and justice, and the claims of a suffering Christian people, in matters relating exclusively to Europe, we ought not to interfere. We cannot do so without departing from those principles of sound policy which have hitherto guided our councils, and directed our conduct. Any interference on our part, in favor of a cause which not even remotely affects our interests, could only be regarded in the light of a Crusade, and might injure the Greeks by alarming the fears of the Allied Powers. They already dread the moral influence of our republican institutions; let us not make it their interest, and give them a pretext, to attack us, by going forth to disturb the integrity of their possessions, or the security of their monarchical governments in Europe. The distinction drawn by the President in his last message, marks the true and only safe course of policy for this country to pursue. Mr. P. quoted here the Message:

A strong hope has been entertained, founded on the heroic struggle of the Greeks, that they would succeed in their contest, and resume their equal station among the nations of the earth. It is believed that the whole civilized world takes a deep interest in their welfare. Although no power has declared in their favor, yet none, according to our information, has taken part against them. Their cause and their name have protected them from dangers, which might, ere this, have overwhelmed any other people. The ordinary calculations of interest and of acquisition, with a view to aggrandizement, which mingle so much in the transactions of nations, seem to have had no effect in regard to them. From the facts which have come to our knowledge, there is good cause to believe that their enemy has lost for ever all dominion over them; that Greece will again become an independent nation. That she may obtain that rank, is the object of our most ardent wishes."

[Mr. P. then referred to the Letter of the Secretary of State, communicated to Congress.]

The letter of the Secretary of State to the Agent of the Greek Government, corroborates this view of our policy, and, if taken together, clearly shews the views of the Executive in relation to our foreign policy.

In this hemisphere we have already taken the station which it becomes us to hold. We have been the first to recognize the free states of North and South America, and the honor and safety of this country require us to defend them from the attacks of the confederated monarchs of Europe. We are called upon, by every consideration, to resist

them should they attempt to extend their plans of conquest and legitimacy to America; for, if they succeed in that unhallowed enterprise, the independence of nations will be but a name.

That there are indications of such intentions, no one will deny. The King of Spain has proclaimed his determination to employ force to recover his American dominions. Even he is not weak enough to undertake an enterprise of such magnitude with the resources of Spain alone. The Envoy of the Emperor of Russia, sent to congratulate Ferdinand on his restoration to the fulness of his legitimate authority, or, in other words, to the right of tyrannizing over his subjects without control, expresses the wishes of his august master that the benefits now enjoyed by his subjects may be extended to his dominions in America. In reply to our call for information upon that subject, the President indirectly tells us, that some combined movement against America is to be apprehended. Indeed, we may see the storm gathering in all signs of the times.

And at this portentous crisis, when we may be compelled to take up arms to defend our rights and liberties on this side of the Atlantic, shall we extend our operations to the remotest corner of Europe? When, to preserve our political existence, we ought to concentrate our strength, shall we diffuse and weaken it by engaging in a distant war? Shall we, in short, so give way to feelings of mere charity and generosity, as to lose sight of the higher obligations of prudence and self-defence?

The gentleman from Massachusetts has painted in true colours the fearful combination of sovereigns against the liberties of mankind. But, if there is danger, and I agree with him that it is imminent and appalling, it is here that we ought to meet it. A very slight examination of our resources, of the nature and character of our government and institutions, will convince us, that, in a distant war, foreign to our interests, this nation is as weak as an infant. For purposes of defence, in a war that would unite all our resources, and rouse the energies of the people, we are as strong as Hercules.

I repeat, that if there is danger to be apprehended from the avowed principles of the Holy Alliance, it is in America that we must resist them. Like the generous animal which is the emblem of this country, let us not go forth to seek enemies. If they threaten us, let us warning be heard over the waves, in the voices of millions of freemen, resolved to maintain their liberties. If they approach our shores with hostile intent, we may arise in the collected strength of a great nation, and hurl destruction on the foes of freedom and of America.

I think, Sir, that any resolutions we may pass on this subject ought to be expressive of our policy and of the position we occupy, in relation to Europe, and that which we are resolved to assume in relation to America; and, with that view, I propose the following

resolution as a substitute for those offered by my friend from Massachusetts: "Resolved, that this House view with deep interest, the heroic struggle of the Greeks to elevate themselves to the rank of a free and independent nation; and unite with the President in the sentiments he has expressed in their favor; in sympathy for their sufferings, in interest in their welfare, and in ardent wishes for their success."

### 3. John Randolph's Opposition to Daniel Webster's Resolution

(Robinson, pp. 93-94)

Mr. Randolph said, that this was perhaps one of the finest and the prettiest themes for declamation ever presented to a deliberative assembly. but it appeared to him in a light very different from any that had as yet been thrown upon it. He looked at the measure as one fraught with deep and deadly danger to the best interests and to the liberties of the American people; and so satisfied was he of this, that he had been constrained by that conviction to overcome the almost insuperable repugnance he felt to throwing himself upon the notice of the House, but he felt it his duty to raise his voice against both the propositions. He would not at this time go at length into the subject; his intention, in rising, was merely to move that the committee rise, and that both of the resolutions might be printed. He wished to have some time to think of this business—to deliberate, before he took this leap in the dark into the Archipelago, or the Black Sea, or into the wide mouth of the La Plata. He might be permitted to add one or two other views. He knew, he said, that the post of honor was on the other side of the House, the post of toil and of difficulty on this side, if indeed, any body should be with him on this side. It was a difficult and an invidious task to stem the torrent of public sentiment when all the generous feelings of the human heart were appealed to. But sir, said Mr. R. I was delegated to this House to guard the interests of the People of the United States, not to guard the rights of other people; and if it was doubted, even in the case of England, that land fertile above all other lands (not excepting Greece herself) in great men—if it was doubtful whether her interference in the politics of the Continent, though separated from it only by a narrow frith, were either for her honor or advantage, if the effect of that interference has been a monumental debt that paralyzes the arm that might now strike for Greece, the arm that certainly would have struck for Spain, can it be for us to seek in the very bottom of the Mediterranean for a quarrel with the Ottoman Porte? And this while we have an ocean rolling between? While we are in that sea without a single port in which to refit a ship? And while the powers of Barbary lie in succession in our path? Shall we open this Pandora's box of political evils? It has been wisely and truly said, that it is possible the mere rumour of our interference may produce at Constantinople or at Smyrna that which will drive us at once into a war. We all know the connexion that subsists

between the Barbary States and what we may denominate the mother power. Are we prepared for a war with these Pirates? (Not that we are not perfectly competent to such a war, but) does it suit our finances? Does it, Sir, suit our magnificent projects of roads and canals? Does it suit the temper of our people? Does it promote their interests? Will it add to their happiness? Sir, why did we remain supine while Piedmont and Naples were crushed by Austria? Why did we stand aloof, while the Spanish peninsula was again reduced under *legitimate* government! If we did not interfere then, why now? Sir, I refer you to the memorable attempted interference of that greatest of statesman, when he was in the zenith of his glory—when all his dazzling beams were unshorn. You know I mean Mr. Pitt; and I refer you, as a commentary of that attempted interference, to the speech of Mr. Fox, a speech fraught with the wisdom of a real statesman. [Here Mr. Randolph paused. When he resumed, he said,] I perceive, sir, I have overcalculated my strength. I feel that I am not what I was. The effort of speaking is too much for me. The physical effort has suspended, (as when physical effort is violent, it always does,) the intellectual power. What I wished to say, was, that this Quixotism in regard either to Greece or to South America, or, I will add, to North America, (so much of it as lies without our own boundary, you know I mean Mexico;) that this Quixotism is not what the sober and reflecting minds of our people require at our hands. Sir, we are in debt as individuals, and we are in debt as a nation; and never, since the days of Saul and David, of Cæsar and Cataline, could a more unpropitious period have been found for such an undertaking. The state of society is too much disturbed. There is always, in a debtor, a tendency either to torpor or to desperation—neither is friendly to such deliberations. But he would suspend what he had further to say on the subject. For himself, he saw as much danger, and more, in the resolution proposed by the gentleman from Kentucky, as in that of the gentleman from Massachusetts. The war that may follow on the one, is a distant war; it lies on the other side of the ocean. The war that may be induced by the other, is a war at hand; it is on the same continent. He was equally opposed to the amendment, as well as to that which had since been offered to the original resolutions. Let us look a little further at all of them. Let us sleep upon them, before we pass resolutions which, I will not say, are mere hooks to hang speeches on, and thereby, commit the nation to a war, the issues of which it is not given to human sagacity to calculate.

#### 4. *George Cary's Opposition to Daniel Webster's Resolution*

(Robinson, pp. 94–98)

Mr. Cary of Georgia, rose, and said that he felt himself under some embarrassment, in reconciling the circumstances in which he was placed, with the sentiments he was about to utter. If he should say to the committee, that the circumstances, and nature, of the pre-

sent subject of debate, pregnant with the most important consequences, had pressed with peculiar weight upon his mind, he feared that he should be laughed at, because he had rushed into the debate with all the precipitate ardor of an ancient Lacedæmonian. But, after the subject had been debated, day after day; when the discussion of it had elicited the most splendid talents of this House, and of the nation; when the subject of the Grecian struggle for liberty occupied the whole country—when taste, when letters, when beauty and fashion have all enlisted in the subject, and evinced the most ardent zeal on behalf of Greece—it was not surprising that he should feel, very sensibly, his won inadequacy, and his need of the indulgence of the committee, while he expressed his decided dissent to the policy of the resolution now proposed, notwithstanding the very high source from which it had proceeded. When the distinguished mover of that resolution, at the close of the speech, in which he had supported it, took his seat, surrounded with all the splendor of genius and all the glories of eloquence, the concluding sentences of that speech had powerfully impressed Mr. C's mind. The gentleman had said, that whatever might be the issue of the present struggle of Greece, it would be to him a theme of no regret, that he had asked in the name of seven millions of suffering freemen, one word from this House, of cheering and of sympathy. No, sir, he need not regret it; he had advocated the cause of Greece in the spirit of Greece; he had spoken, as if the mantle of Pericles had fallen upon him, and in the finest language of the Saxons he had evinced the spirit of the Saxon race. While he was speaking, Mr. C. could not but think, that even if he failed, it would be glory enough to have made such an effort to succeed. Sir, that gentleman has engrafted himself on the imperishable column of Grecian eloquence—but that my conscience tells me I shall evince, upon this floor, the spirit of my own country: that I feel as an American, and that I speak as one.

In endeavouring to support those views which I entertain on this subject, it will be necessary to direct myself chiefly to what has been advanced by the gentleman from Massachusetts, since he stands the solitary Corinthian pillar in the Grecian cause, and supports, with so much ability and dignity, the arch on which rests our finest literature, and so many of our most valuable social blessings; and I will therefore proceed to show, out of that gentleman's own mouth, that the measure he proposes to this House ought not to be adopted. In the opening of his speech, that gentleman had said, that the subject was one on which it was difficult to avoid being carried away by an enthusiastic ardour: a single glance of his experienced and well disciplined mind was sufficient to tell him, that, in legislating on this question, feeling was not to be our guide. He knew, as a statesman, though not as an orator, that a corporate or a deliberative body has no soul—that it has, so to speak, no heart—that it must deliberate with sternness, with precision, on all the relation of the country. The gentleman conceded this when he said that

our feelings would need to be "chastised." And what was that chastisement? It was in the nature of a sort of duel, in which the judgment fought down the feelings till it brought them to submit to an exact, sober, mathematical estimate of our relations with the rest of the world. In that spirit, Mr. Cary said, he should endeavour to investigate the present question, and would present his views of it in as concise and simple a manner as he was able.

The gentleman from Massachusetts had gone into an able, a minute, and an attic examination of the principles of that combination of crowned heads, which threatened the safety of popular liberty in Europe; and he showed, in a forcible manner, the ominous and dark forebodings to which that combination led every thinking mind. He said, that the spirit of the Stuarts, (I, Mr. Chairman, would rather call it the spirit of power,) had again appeared and claimed the right to tyrannize over man, by a divine delegation. He connected, in a most elegant manner, with the development of these principles, the fall of that military ruler who trampled for so long a period upon the world, and had jostled the earth from its equilibrium: he said, that society had its origin in a sort of family compact, in which the independence of each nation was secured by a combination to prevent the strong from oppressing and swallowing up the weak; but that, in the principles of this confederacy all these securities were merged and lost by an admirable and impressive figure. He represented society (if I understood him rightly) as divided, not perpendicularly, into nations, but *horizontally*—all the monarchs being above, and all the people below. Well, be it so. Such was, unhappily, the state of the fact. But, Sir, does it result because this is the fact, that it augurs any danger to us? I say no, Sir; and if you ask me where is my authority for such a denial, I answer, in the gentleman's own declaration. He said, that, ever since the diffusion of that light in Europe which had produced the French Revolution, that vast political *Ætna*, whose every eruption made Europe tremble and turn pale, and the furious tide of whose burning lava threatened to overwhelm every nation of the continent, there had been an intelligence at work at the root of society, an inextinguishable spark thrown among its elements, which rendered it impossible that men should long submit to a system so monstrous, both in theory and practice, as that of the Holy Alliance. Sir, we believe this. It cannot last, Sir. That horizontal division of society, of which the gentleman had so strikingly spoken, must and will be broken up: those glittering pageants who now appear in the upper section, rely upon it, sir, are more formidable in appearance than in reality. The materials are already in existence; they are present in the lower section, which must ultimately blow up this state of things, and prostrate these high dignitaries into proportionate degradation. Whenever we see a combination of bad men, (whether monarchs or others,) we may always conclude, on the general principles and history of human things, that the combi-

nation will ultimately be crushed. The alliance of these confederated monarchs is a rope of sand—it rests on principles false and selfish, and its continuance will, of necessity, be temporary and transient. As soon as one of the confederated powers becomes overgrown, the combination will split to pieces—and when that happens, Europe will have too much work at home to look elsewhere.

Sir, the speech of the gentleman from Massachusetts was a string of truisms; each of these was incontrovertible, each of them made a mellow and deep impression on my own mind; but, sir, I differ wholly from that gentleman in the application that he made of them. It does not follow, because I felt and acknowledged the truth of each of the facts and opinions he stated, that the whole, as combined, produced an equal conviction. Mr. Chairman, I am a common-place man—I can boast of no effect of inspiration—I have not dived far into the wells of science, nor have I been touched by the wand of any of the magicians of learning or genius—I am of those who believe that there is no mode to receive light from heaven but that which is common to mankind; and that, as in the physical world, the orb of day illumines alike the various districts of our country, shines equally on the South as he does on the North, and on the West as the East, so does the great Orbit of uncreated Light illumine alike the world of intellect. But, sir, this is a question that has a native tendency to unbase the mind, to throw it completely off its balance; and its discussion is therefore to be approached and conducted with the utmost caution. And, Sir, let us not forget that this Government is one calculated not for to-day, or to-morrow, but that its benefits and effects are to endure, and to diffuse themselves ultimately over the whole world. I listened with interest to the historical detail, so ably and beautifully given by the gentleman from Massachusetts, respecting the treatment of the Greek nation by the monarchs of Europe. The story was interesting, from its manner; but, sir, it was not new. We all know that power cares nothing for right; that it treads on every thing; that, in its eagerness for acquisition, it grasps at more than it can hold, and, by grasping at too much, unnerves itself by its own cupidity. But, Sir, let it go on to grasp; let it go on to accumulate; let it continue to pursue its crooked, transverse, and contracted policy; it is now nothing to us. We have got through all that; we fear it no longer. But, Sir, is it therefore, necessary or proper for us to do even what the modest and very moderate resolution of the gentleman from Massachusetts proposes? Are we called to step out of our character and mingle again in the turmoil of European politics? Above all, Sir, shall we approach the struggling Greeks with fair words and a smiling countenance, but with nothing in our hand to aid them? I know, Sir, that there is much in manner. I know, that the great orator of antiquity, when he was asked what was the first requisite in an orator, answered "manner," and when asked what was the second, answered "manner;" but I fancy, Sir, if that immortal example and teacher of

eloquence were an auditor of our present discussions, and should be asked what was chiefly required in the intercourse of this nation with Greece, he would answer something else than "manner;" he would advise some *proof* of our sincerity. What is the language of Mr. Luriottis? He tells you that he looks to this country for friendship and assistance. Surely he means substantial assistance. He does, indeed, with the politeness of a cultivated man, intimate that even one word of encouragement will be received with gratitude; but, if I understand him, he does not seem to understand our principles of neutral policy. But, Sir, admitting him to mean what he says, would it not be disgraceful to this country and government to take for our standard of action the modest and stinted demands of a polite correspondent, instead of granting the measure of full and manly aid? But, Mr. Chairman, this is not all. I did once think that we might open a commercial intercourse with that country; but I am now more than ever convinced, that even this would be a dangerous intercourse. Sir, if Greece be indeed so lovely, so beautiful, so exquisitely touching in her distress, who can approach her with the tears upon her cheek, and not be carried away by his pity into every extreme of imprudent zeal in her cause? Sir, the measure now proposed will only prove an entering wedge to more: if we once go a wooing up the Archipelago, we shall ere long find ourselves where it will be too late to stop. If we look at the history of our country thus far, we find no precedent to justify it; we find nothing in the writings of any of our greatest and wisest men. That immortal man who save the republic by his valor in the field, and saved it a second time by his wisdom in the cabinet, he who seemed to possess a mind formed for the whole universe, even Washington himself, seemed to have had a foreboding that one day a case like this might present itself, and, in his parting address, warns us against the danger. Was he not right? Yes, surely. We had won our independence by arms: a wide ocean separated us from the old world: he knew that we were a peculiar people and peculiarly situated—that we live alone; and he advised us to keep ourselves free from embarrassing connexions with the governments of Europe (all of which had their origin in the dark ages, and still bear the impress of that origin) and to cleave to the ark of our own liberties. Was this unbenevolent? Was this too little a conduct for Washington to recommend? No, sir; we had bought our freedom with our won blood—and we were surely doing enough for the world, if, while we surrounded the temple of our liberty with a wall of fire from all enemies, we made an opening in that wall to receive whoever would come to us as a friend. Yes, sir; I repeat it—this government, by its example alone, has conferred a benefit on the whole human family. that example brooded over the mind of France till it produced a revolution which threatened, and had, at one time nearly accomplished, the downfall of tyranny: that same example is still impregnating the mind of continental Europe, and it will sooner or later bring forth freedom. Surely, Sir,

if we open this fair land, which all its signal privileges, as a refuge for the oppressed from every land, we do, on that subject, all that we are called to do. Should we, in a spirit of vain adventure, attempt to do more, may not the oppressed have reason, some day, to say to us, you left your home and let your house burn down, where not only you might have remained safe, but we too found a refuge?

Mr. Cary in concluding, said, that he trusted and believed he had now expressed the sentiments which became an American. Let us, in our private capacity as men, as freemen, as Christians if you please, feel for them, cheer them, and aid them too; but as a nation, as a government, let us not mingle ourselves with the embroiled policy and the endless disputes of Europe. He had not, he said, troubled the committee with historical details—yet there were some lessons on this subject to be learned from the history of the Greeks themselves. When Demosthenes was labouring to shave the Athenian state, he advised his fellow citizens, instead of running about the Forum, asking where is Philip? what is Philip doing now? is Philip dead?—to look after their own affairs. The affairs of Europe are to us this Philip; and the advice of the immortal orator is for us to pursue. He trusted neither the resolution nor the amendment would prevail—the latter, he said makes a promise to the ear, but breaks it to the understanding. In the name of candor and (he felt inclined to add) in the name of God, if you do not intend to go farther, give nothing that may be welcomed as a pledge.

### *5. Henry Clay "On the Greek Revolution"*

(*The Life and Speeches of Henry Clay*, pp. 185–93)

[The resolution of Mr. WEBSTER, looking to a recognition of the independence of Greece, and making an appropriation to send thither a Political Agent, with the amendment of Mr. POINSETT, disclaiming such recognition, but proposing instead a declaration of the sympathy of the United States with the Greeks in their struggle for Independence, being under consideration, Mr. CLAY said:]

In rising, let me state distinctly the substance of the original proposition of the gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Webster,) with that of the amendment of the gentleman from South Carolina, (Mr. Poinsett.) The resolution proposes a provision of the means to defray the expense of deputing a commissioner or agent to Greece, *whenever* the President, who knows, or ought to know, the disposition of all the European powers, Turkish or Christian, shall deem it proper. The amendment goes on to withhold any appropriation to that object, but to make a public declaration of our sympathy with the Greeks, and of our good wishes for the success of their cause. And how has this simple,

unpretending, unambitious, this harmless proposition, been treated in debate? It has been argued as if it offered aid to the Greeks; as if it proposed the recognition of the independence of their government; as a measure of unjustifiable interference in the internal affairs of a foreign state, and finally, as war. And they who thus argue the question, whilst they absolutely surrender themselves to the illusions of their own fervid imaginations, and depict, in glowing terms, the monstrous and alarming consequences which are to spring out of a proposition so simple, impute to us, who are its humble advocates, quixotism, quixotism! Whilst they are taking the most extravagant and boundless rage, and arguing anything and everything but the question before the Committee, they accuse us of enthusiasm, of giving the reins to excited feeling, of being transported by our imaginations. No, sir, the resolution is no proposition for aid, nor for recognition, nor for interference, nor for war.

I know that there are some who object to the resolution on account of the source from which it has sprung—who except to its mover, as if its value or importance were to be estimated by personal considerations. I have long had the pleasure of knowing the gentleman from Massachusetts, and sometimes that of acting with him; and I have much satisfaction in expressing my high admiration of his great talents. But I would appeal to my republican friends, those faithful sentinels of liberty with whom I have ever acted, shall we reject a proposition, consonant with our principles, favoring the good and great cause, on account of the political character of its mover? Shall we not rather look to the intrinsic merits of the measure, and seek every fit occasion to strengthen and perpetuate liberal principles and noble sentiments? If it were possible for republicans to cease to be the champions of human freedom, and if federalists become its only supporters, I would cease to be a republican; I would become a federalist. The preservation of the public confidence can only be secured, or merited, by a faithful adherence to the principles by which it has been acquired.

Mr. Chairman, is it not extraordinary that for these two successive years the President of the United States should have been freely indulged, not only without censure, but with universal applause, to express the feelings which both the resolution and the amendment proclaim, and yet, if this House venture to unite with him, the most awful consequences are to ensue? From Maine to Georgia, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico, the sentiment of approbation has blazed with the rapidity of electricity. Everywhere the interest in the Grecian cause is felt with the deepest intensity, expressed in every form, and increases with every new day and passing hour. And are the representatives of these people alone to be insulated from the common moral atmosphere of the whole land? Shall we shut ourselves up in apathy, and separate ourselves from our country, from our constituents, from our chief magistrate, from our principles?

The measure has been most unreasonably magnified. Gentlemen speak of the watchful jealousy of the Turk, and seem to think the slightest movement of this body will be matter of serious speculation at Constantinople. I believe that neither the Sublime Porte, nor the European allies, attach any such exaggerated importance to the acts and deliberations of this body. The Turk will, in all probability, never hear of the names of the gentlemen who either espouse or oppose the resolution. It certainly is not without a value; but that value is altogether moral; it throws our little tribute into the vast stream of public opinion, which sooner or later must regulate the physical action upon the great interests of the civilized world. But, rely upon it, the Ottoman is not about to declare war against us because this unoffending proposition has been offered by my honorable friend from Massachusetts, whose name, however distinguished and eminent he may be in our own country, has probably never reached the ears of the Sublime Porte. The allied powers are not going to be thrown into a state of consternation, because we appropriate some two or three thousand dollars to send an agent to Greece.

The question has been argued as though the Greeks would be exposed to still more shocking enormities by its passage; as if the Turkish scimeter would be rendered still keener, and dyed deeper and yet deeper in Christian blood. Sir, if such is to be the effect of the declaration of our sympathy, the evil has already been produced. That declaration has already been publicly and solidly made by the Chief Magistrate of the United States, in two distinct messages. It is this document which commands at home and abroad the most fixed and universal attention; which is translated into all the foreign journals; read by sovereigns and their ministers; and, possibly, in the divan itself. But our relations are domestic, for home consumption, and rarely, if ever, meet imperial or royal eyes. The President, in his messages, after a most touching representation of the feelings excited by the Greek insurrection, tells you that the dominion of the Turk is gone forever; and that the most sanguine hope is entertained that Greece will achieve her independence. Well, sir, if this be the fact, if the allied powers themselves may, possibly, before we again assemble in this hall, acknowledge that independence, is it not fit and becoming in this House to make provision that our President shall be among the foremost, or at least not among the last, in that acknowledgment? So far from this resolution being likely to whet the vengeance of the Turk against his Grecian victims, I believe its tendency will be directly the reverse. Sir, with all his unlimited power, and in all the elevation of his despotic throne, he is at last but man, made as we are, of flesh, of muscle, of bone and sinew. He is susceptible of pain, and can feel, and has felt the uncalculating valor of American freemen in some of his dominions. And when he is made to understand that the executive of this government is sustained by the representatives of his people; that our entire political fabric, base, column, and entablature, rulers

and people, with heart, soul, mind, and strength, are all on the side of the gallant people whom he would crush, he will be more likely to restrain than to increase his atrocities upon suffering and bleeding Greece.

The gentleman from New Hampshire (Mr. Bartlett) has made, on this occasion, a very ingenious, sensible, and ironical speech—an admirable *debut* for a new member, and such as I hope we shall often have repeated on this floor. But, permit me to advise my young friend to remember the maxim, "that sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof;" and when the resolution<sup>1</sup> on another subject, which I had the honor to submit, shall come up to be discussed, I hope he will not content himself with saying, as he has now done, that it is a most extraordinary one; but that he will then favor the House with an argumentative speech, proving that it is our duty quietly to see laid prostrate every fortress of human hope, and to behold, with indifference, the last outwork of liberty taken and destroyed.

It has been said, that the proposed measure will be a departure from our uniform policy with respect to foreign nations; that it will provoke the wrath of the holy alliance; and that it will, in effect, be a repetition of their own offence, by an unjustifiable interposition in the domestic concerns of other powers. No, sir, not even if it authorized, which it does not, an immediate recognition of Grecian independence. What has been the settled and steady policy and practice of this government, from the days of Washington to the present moment? In the case of France, the father of his country and his successors received Genet, Fouchet, and all the French ministers who followed them, whether sent from king, convention, anarchy, emperor, or king again. The rule we have ever followed has been this: to look at the state of the fact, and to recognise that government, be it what it might, which was in actual possession of sovereign power. When one government is overthrown, and another is established on its ruins, we have ever acknowledged the new and actual government as soon as it had undisputed existence. Our simple inquiry has been, is there a government *de facto*? We have had a recent and memorable example. When the allied powers returned from Madrid, and refused to accompany Ferdinand to Cadiz, ours remained, and we sent out a new minister who sought at that port to present himself to the king. Why? Because it was the government of Spain, in fact. Did the allies declare war against us for the exercise of this incontestable attribute of sovereignty? Did they even transmit any diplomatic note, complaining of our conduct? The line of our European policy has been so plainly described, that it is impossible to mistake it.

1. The resolution, offered by Mr. Clay, declaring that the United States would not see with indifference any interference of the holy alliance in behalf of Spain against the new American republics.

We are to abstain from all interference in their disputes, to take no part in their contests, to make no entangling alliances with any of them; but to assert and exercise our indisputable right of opening and maintaining diplomatic intercourse with any actual sovereignty.

There is reason to apprehend that a tremendous storm is ready to burst upon our happy country—one which may call into action all our vigor, courage, and resources. Is it wise or prudent, in preparing to breast the storm, if it must come, to talk to this nation of its incompetency to repel European aggression, to lower its spirit, to weaken its moral energy, and to qualify it for easy conquest and base submission? If there be any reality in the dangers which are supposed to encompass us, should we not animate the people, and adjure them to believe, as I do, that our resources are ample; and that we can bring into the field a million of freemen, ready to exhaust their last drop of blood, and to spend the last cent in the defence of the country, its liberty, and its institutions? Sir, are these, if united, to be conquered by all Europe combined? All the perils to which we can possibly be exposed, are much less in reality than the imagination is disposed to paint them. And they are best diverted by a habitual contemplation of them, by reducing them to their true dimensions. If combined Europe is to precipitate itself upon us, we cannot too soon begin to invigorate our strength, to teach our heads to think, our hearts to conceive, and our arms to execute, the high and noble deeds which belong to the character and glory of our country. The experience of the world instructs us, that conquests are already achieved, which are boldly and firmly resolved on; and that men only become slaves who have ceased to resolve to be free. If we wish to cover ourselves with the best of all armor, let us not discourage our people, let us stimulate their ardor, let us sustain their resolution, let us proclaim to them that we feel as they feel, and that, with them, we are determined to live or die like freemen.

Surely, sir, we need no long or learned lectures about the nature of government, and the influence of property or ranks on society. We may content ourselves with studying the true character of our own people; and with knowing that the interests are confided to us of a nation capable of doing and suffering all things for its liberty. Such a nation, if its rulers be faithful, must be invincible. I well remember an observation made to me by the most illustrious female<sup>2</sup> of the age, if not of her sex. All history showed, she said, that a nation was never conquered. No, sir, no united nation that resolves to be free, can be conquered. And has it come to this? Are we so humbled, so low, so debased, that we dare not express our sympathy for suffering Greece, that we dare not articulate our

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2. Madam de Staël.

detestation of the brutal excesses of which she has been the bleeding victim, lest we might offend some one or more of their imperial and royal majesties? If gentlemen are afraid to act rashly on such a subject, suppose, Mr. Chairman, that we unite in an humble petition, addressed to their majesties, beseeching them that of their gracious condescension, they would allow us to express our feelings and our sympathies. How shall it run? "We, the representatives of the *free* people of the United States of America, humbly approach the thrones of your imperial and royal majesties, and supplicate that, of your imperial and royal clemency"—I cannot go through the disgusting recital—my lips have not yet learned to pronounce the sycophantic language of a degraded slave! Are we so mean, so base, so despicable, that we may not attempt to express our horror, utter our indignation, at the most brutal and atrocious war that ever stained earth or shocked high heaven; at the ferocious deeds of a savage and infuriated soldiery, stimulated and urged on by the clergy of a fanatical and inimical religion, and rioting in all the excesses of blood and butchery, at the mere details of which the heart sickens and recoils!

If the great body of Christendom can look on calmly and coolly, whilst all this is perpetrated on a Christian people, in its own immediate vicinity, in its very presence, let us at least evince that one of its remote extremities is susceptible of sensibility to Christian wrongs, and capable of sympathy for Christian sufferings; that in this remote quarter of the world, there are hearts not yet closed against compassion for human woes, that can pour out their indignant feelings at the oppression of a people endeared to us by every ancient recollection, and by every modern tie. Sir, the committee has been attempted to be alarmed by the dangers to our commerce in the Mediterranean; and a wretched invoice of figs and opium has been spread before us to repress our sensibilities and eradicate our humanity. Ah! sir, "what shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul," or what shall it avail a nation to save the whole of a miserable trade, and lose its liberties?

On the subject of the other independent American States, hitherto it has not been necessary to depart from the rule of our foreign relations, observed in regard to Europe. Whether it will become us to do so or not, will be considered when we take up another resolution, lying on the table. But we may not only adopt this measure; we may go further; we may recognise the government in the Morea, if actually independent, and it will be neither war nor cause of war, nor any violation of neutrality. Besides, sir, what is Greece to the allies? A part of the dominions of any of them? By no means. Suppose the people in one of the Philippine isles, or any other spot still more isolated and remote, in Asia or in Africa, were to resist their former rulers, and set up and establish a new government, are we not to recognise them in dread of the holy allies? If they are going to

interfere, from the danger of the contagion of the example, here is the spot, our own favored land, where they must strike. *This* government, you, Mr. Chairman, and the body over which you preside, are the living and cutting reproach to allied despotism. If we are to offend them, it is not by passing this resolution. We are daily and hourly giving them cause of war. It is *here*, and in our free institutions, that they will assail us. They will attack us because you sit beneath that canopy, and we are freely debating and deliberating upon the great interests of freemen, and dispensing the blessings of free government. They will strike, because we pass one of those bills on your table. The passage of the least of them, by our free authority, is much more galling to despotic powers, than would be the adoption of this so much dreaded resolution. Pass it, and what do you do? You exercise an indisputable attribute of sovereignty, for which you are responsible to none of them. You do the same when you perform any other legislative function; no less. If the allies object to this measure, let them forbid us to take a vote in this House; let them strip of every attribute of independent government; let them disperse us.

Will gentlemen attempt to maintain that, on the principles of the law of nations, those allies would have *cause* of war? If there be any principle which has been settled for ages, any which is founded in the very nature of things, it is that every State has the clear right to judge of the *fact* of the existence of other sovereign powers. I admit that there may a state of inchoate initiative sovereignty, in which a new government, just struggling into being, cannot be said yet perfectly to exist. But the premature recognition of such new government can give offense justly to no other than its ancient sovereign. The right of recognition comprehends the right to be informed; and the means of information must, of necessity, depend upon the sound discretion of the party seeking it. You may send out a commission of inquiry, and charge it with a provident attention to your own people and your own interests. Such will be the character of the proposed agency. It will not necessarily follow, that any public functionary will be appointed by the President. You merely grant the means by which the executive may act when *he* thinks proper. What does he tell you in his message? That Greece is contending for her independence; that all sympathize with her; and that no power has declared against her. Pass this resolution, and what is the reply which it conveys to him? "You have sent us grateful intelligence; we feel warmly for Greece, and we grant you money, that, when you shall think it proper, when the interests of this nation shall not be jeopardded, you may depute a commissioner or public agent to Greece." The whole responsibility is then left where the constitution puts it. A member in his place may make a speech or proposition, the House may even pass a vote, in respect to our foreign affairs, which the President, with the whole field lying full before him, would not deem it expedient to effectuate.

But, sir, it is not for Greece alone that I desire to see this measure adopted. It will give to her but little support, and that purely of a moral kind. It is principally for America, for the credit and character of our common country, for our own unsullied name, that I hope to see it pass. What, Mr. Chairman, appearance on the page of history would a record like this exhibit? "In the month of January, in the year of our Lord and Savior, 1824, while all European Christendom beheld, with cold and unfeeling indifference, the unexampled wrongs and inexpressible misery of Christian Greece, a proposition was made in the Congress of the United States, almost the sole, the last, the greatest depository of human hope and human freedom, the representatives of a gallant nation, containing a million of freemen ready to fly to arms, while the people of that nation were spontaneously expressing its deep-toned feeling, and the whole continent, by one simultaneous emotion, was rising, and solemnly and anxiously supplicating and invoking high Heaven to spare and succor Greece, and to invigorate her arms, in her glorious cause, while temples and senate houses were alike resounding with one burst of holy and generous sympathy;—in the year of our Lord and Savior, that Savior of Greece and of us—a proposition was offered in the American Congress to send a messenger to Greece, to inquire into her state and condition, with a kind expression of our good wishes and our sympathies—and it was rejected!" Go home, if you can, go home, if you dare, to your constituents, and tell them that you voted it down—meet, if you can, the appalling countenances of those who sent you here, and tell them that you shrank from the declaration of your own sentiments—that you cannot tell how, but that some unknown dread, some indescribable apprehension, some indefinable danger, drove you from your purpose—that the spectres of cimeters, and crowns, and crescents, gleamed before you and alarmed you; and that you suppressed all the noble feelings prompted by religion, by liberty, by national independence, and by humanity. I cannot bring myself to believe that such will be the feeling of the majority of the committee. But, for myself, though every friend of the cause should desert it, and I be left to stand alone with the gentleman from Massachusetts, I will give to his resolution the poor sanction of my unqualified approbation.

### *6. Sam Houston's Speech Supporting Recognition of Greek Independence*

(*Writings of Sam Houston, 1823–1825*, vol. I, pp. 21–24)

Mr. HOUSTON was aware that he might be trespassing upon the patience of the House, in protracting this debate, as it was not the first or the second day of the discussion; but still he felt so deeply impressed with the importance of the subject, that he hoped every

member, who wished it, would be allowed time to express his opinion. If he could see the evil consequences which gentlemen had anticipated from the adoption of this resolution, he certainly would not have risen to advocate it. But as he did not perceive that such difficulties could result from it, and as he did not see its incompatibility with the policy of this or other nations, he was disposed to give his feeble aid to the subject. Some gentlemen seem to think, that if we recognize the Greeks in the manner proposed by this resolution, it would have a tendency to stimulate the European Powers to hostility against them. He could not believe that so far as this proposition goes, it could have any such effect. If it were the policy of the European nations to aid Ottoman Power, they will pursue that course without reference to us. And can it be supposed that the passage of this resolution will bare another Turkish scimeter against the Greeks? No. The Greeks are struggling for their liberty, and the Turk is determined to exert all his power to prevent it, all the force of his empire is at his disposal, and it will all be turned against that devoted people. They have determined to stand manfully, and perish before they submit. Let us, then, as far as we can, consistently with our relations with foreign nations, hail them as brethren and cheer them in their struggle. The screams of this agonized and suffering people have reached us, and penetrated from one end of the continent to the other. So far as our policy will allow, let us encourage them. What sentiment has the President expressed upon this subject? Does he say that we should not interest ourselves for the Greeks? Does he not, rather, express the deepest solicitude concerning their affairs? Is there not a spontaneous feeling in their behalf among the people? And shall this House, which represents the people be silent on the subject? and for fear of offending the crowned heads of Europe, shall we not act? We should not be disposed to regard them much. If they have determined to crush the Greeks, will they not do it in defiance of us? And we have little need to care for the Porte. Has he ever paid any regard to us? Has he ever rendered us any service as a nation? Does our flag protect our property upon the Bosphorus? Has not our commerce rather been protected by the Greeks? Will he who has totally disregarded the laws of nations care for any policy but his own? We can expect no justice from that quarter, but what we acquire from their fear.

Mr. H. said if he could believe that this resolution would bring war upon our country, he would be the last member to support it. No one could deprecate the horrors of war more than he did. He did not wish to provoke war with the Ottoman Power, nor with the crowned heads of Europe. If it was the policy of the other nations to oppose or support the power of the Porte, they would do it. The Allied Powers have sufficiently proved that they are not very solicitous to preserve the rights of other nations. The Chesapeake proclaimed to us that one of them was not more careful of those rights than even the Ottoman.

Are we to expect any advantage from not expressing our opinions? It is declared that we should not enter into an alliance with the Greeks. Nor should we wish to do it; we wish to preserve our regard for the rights of other nations. It is said that this measure would be of no advantage to the Greeks. Mr. H. said he differed from this conclusion. It would be an advantage to show them they are not an isolated people. It will be telling them that America, the freest and happiest country in the world, has heard of Greece, and sympathizes with her, in the midst of her misfortunes. It will be encouraging them to stand like freemen, and to fall, if they must fall, like men. And there is yet Grecian blood left to thrill with joy and quicken its circulation at this cheering reflection. Hearts that have bled for years, under oppression, will be touched with sympathy. It will tell to Greece, that, while the Holy Alliance is standing, with hands off, and the Porte is butchering her armies, her venerable sires, borne down by the weight of years, her matrons, her unviolated virgins, and helpless infants, it will tell her, by the declaration of Congress, that we regard their situation; and that, although our own policy interdicts us from acting on her behalf, yet we recognize her among the nations of the earth. Were we not the first to acknowledge the independence of South America? Did we wait until the Holy Alliance had authorized us to do that? Or did we extend a helping hand, like men, towards those States? Why may we not pursue the same policy now? The principle is the same. Principle remains unchanged and eternal. The distance of the people from us does not alter the principle.

If this resolution is adopted, the President will be left free to exercise his sound discretion on the subject. He will be able to compare and analyze the business, and to act as circumstances may require. The House is not about to say to him that he must dispatch an agent to the Greeks to-morrow, but that he must use his judgment on the subject. If the resolution is rejected, it will seem like a want of confidence in the Executive. By his long experience he is amply entitled to this confidence; and we may rest assured that he will not exercise it inconsiderately, nor do any thing to involve the country in a war.

Then, if there is nothing hostile in the resolution, we may venture to give this authority to the President. Mr. H. said he entertained a high regard for the Greeks, and felt as much zeal in their cause as was consistent with the purposes of legislation. He wished that she should know that the American nation felt for her. He would not that this Government should send her munitions of war, for that would amount to an open act of aggression; but no such construction, he thought, could be put upon this resolution. The people of Greece had expressed a wish to alter their Government, and according to the fundamental principles of our institutions, they have a right to do it. If they rise, in their majesty, and determine to be free, will an American Congress say that they must

wait for our acknowledgment of her independence until the Allied Powers have seen fit to acknowledge it? They will not be disposed to do it soon. It is this very dissemination of freedom that is planting thorns in their pillows. We can pursue principles of justice, independent of all their alliances.

We have been told that we should have a care how we look for glory—that glory is the deathwatch of liberty. Mr. H. said he did not know how this remark was meant to be applied. If he understood what was the true meaning of glory, it was that noble attribute of man that appealed to the whole community to give force to heroism and patriotism. If that were the deathwatch of liberty, he wished to hear it resound throughout the country. It was false glory that bade a man seek self-aggrandizement; and this description of glory was indeed to be dreaded.

Mr. H. apprehended no danger from the crowned heads of Europe, on the subject before the House. He considered it a very important expression of sympathy in favor of a people that held the strongest claims upon us. After the principle we had adopted in regard to South America, he thought we could not be regardless of the cause of Greece. He did not expect an unanimous expression of this opinion; but as it could be productive of no evil consequences, he hoped the resolution would pass the House.

### *7. Statements by Other Congressmen*

(Booras, pp. 171–79)

DANIEL P. COOK of Illinois

On the principles of the American Declaration of Independence Greece has dared to act; she has broken her chains and set up for herself a free government; in recognizing that government we break no international law.

HENRY W. DWIGHT of Massachusetts

No, Sir, not to England, but to America, did Greece appeal from the Senate in Calamata in language we cannot refuse to hear: "That having deliberately resolved to live or die for freedom, they were drawn by an irresistible sympathy to the people of the United States." . . .

The descendants of those heroes, who first conquered freedom, and of the sages who first taught civil liberty to mankind, are now struggling under the yoke of barbarian bondage; it is to us who have partaken of their arts and sciences, their literature and religion, their forms of political power, and their notions of civil liberty that they appeal for sympathy.

FRANCIS BAYLIES of Massachusetts

Unaided and alone the Greeks have nobly sustained their ancient character. They had been subjected to the greatest hardships—they had beheld their infant children torn from their embrace—their wives and daughters consigned to the outrages of a brutal soldiery, and no hand had been extended to rescue them. But in due time a noble principle of resistance was awakened in their souls—they rose in the majesty of their strength and confounded those men of blood. . .

Who could have expected that such noble virtues and true bravery would have sprung up among an enslaved people, as has been exhibited by the Greeks? Every attempt to assert their rights has been met with violence; their implements of resistance have been wrested from their hands; the sabre has been applied, where any disaffection was manifested. Under all circumstances, it was natural enough that they should be distrustful of their own powers; but it is truly wonderful that their character should have showed out so splendid.

PATRICK FARRELLY of Pennsylvania

The President tells you the Greeks are gone, forever gone, out of the hand of the Turk; may we not even notice them?

WE are not sending an agent to Greece to excite her to begin a rebellion against the Turk; that is begun already, and more than half finished too, sir. For one, I believe they are able to maintain their independence, and well maintain it; they will not forget their ancestors. And, as a confirmation of this opinion, I pray you, sir, look at the last news from there. The coincidence of their modern and their ancient spirit is striking indeed, Sir, the selfsame act has now been performed in Attica that was done two thousand five hundred years ago—the inhabitants of Athens have all migrated to Salamis, to avoid subjection.

### C. Afterword

#### *1. Appointment of William C. Sommerville as First Agent of the United States to Greece*

(Robinson, pp. 187–88) To William C. Sommerville

*Secret*

Department of State  
Washington, Sept 6, 1825.

Sir:

The very deep interest which the people of the United States naturally feel in the existing contest between Greece and Turkey has induced the President to appoint you an

Agent for the government of the United States to proceed to Greece. You will accordingly embark on board the United States frigate, *Brandywine*, which is to carry General Lafayette to France, and upon your arrival there, you will thence continue in that vessel or proceed without delay in such other manner as may appear to you most eligible, to the point of your destination.

Upon reaching Greece you will repair to the actual seat of government and communicate to the existing authorities your arrival and your appointment.

You will let them know that the people of the United States and their government, through the whole of the present struggle of Greece, have constantly felt an anxious desire that it might terminate in the re-establishment of the Liberty and Independence of that Country and that they have consequently observed the events of the war with the most lively interest, sympathizing with Greece when they have been unfortunately adverse and rejoicing when they have been propitious to her cause. Nor ought any indifference, as to its issue, on the part of the United States, to be inferred, from the neutrality which they have hitherto prescribed, and probably will continue to prescribe, to themselves. That neutrality is according to the policy which has characterized this government from its origin which was observed during all the Revolutionary wars of France and which has been also extended to the contest between Spain and her American Colonies.

It is better for both, the United States and Greece, that it should not be departed from in the present instance.

It is a principal object of your agency to collect and transmit from time to time, to this Department information of the present state and future progress of the war by land and at sea, the capacity of Greece to maintain the contest, the number and the condition of her armies; the state of her marine; of the Public Revenue, the amount, dispositions and degree of education of her population, the character and views of the chiefs, and, in short, whatever will tend to enable the government of the United States to form a correct judgement, in regard to the ability of Greece to prosecute the war, and to sustain an independent government.

Without any officious interference in their affairs, or obtruding your advice upon them, you will, whenever applied to, communicate all the information which may be desired, as to this country and its institutions and, you will, on suitable occasions lend your friendly office to deal with any difficulties or soothe any angry passions in the way to that harmonious concert between the Grecian functionaries and commanders without which their cause cannot prosper.

You will also render any aid that you can to our commerce and seamen, in the ports and harbours of Greece. Information which it is hoped is not correct has reached this Department of one or two American merchantmen having engaged in the Turkish service, to transport military men or means. If any such instances should fall within your observation, you will acquaint the parties concerned with the high displeasure of the President at conduct so unworthy of American citizens, and so contrary to their duty, as well as their honour; and that if they should bring themselves, in consequence of such misconduct, into any difficulties, they will have no right to expect the interposition of this government in their behalf.

The compensation which the President has determined to allow you is at the rate of four thousand five hundred dollars per annum. Your commission as charge d'affaires to Sweden, will be considered as terminating on your arrival in Europe, and as the salary which it carried along will then cease with it, the above compensation will begin on that day.

I have the honour to be your obedient servant

(Signed) H. CLAY [Secretary of State]

## *2. The Commodore John Rodgers Mission*

(Speliotakes, pp. 157-163)

U.S. Ship N. Carolina  
Smyrna 30th August 1825

Sir

I have to inform you that I arrived here on the 20th inst: with this ship, the Constitution, Erie and Ontario; having on my passage touched at Tunis, and the Island of Paros where I remained five days for the purpose of filling up the water of the squadron, and affording the officers an opportunity of examining the relicks of Antiquity still to be met with in it, and the adjacent Islands of Anti Paros, Delos, and Naxia.

Judging from the flattering reception the squadron has met with here, by every class of people, from the Pacha down to the meanest individual, I am led to believe that our visit will be attended with much benefit to our commercial relations, and at the same time be a means of producing the most favorable impressions concerning the strength and character of our country, and the justice, magnanimity and impartiality of its Government. For notwithstanding almost every person of intelligence in the place seems to be acquainted with all that has been said in our public prints in abuse of their unrighteous war against the Greeks, yet they appear sensible of our disposition to act so far impartially, as not to compromit our neutrality. There is now stationed in the Archipel-

ago an English a French an Austrian and a Dutch squadron; belonging to each of which, there is one or more ships anchored in this Port. The Austrians have had in the course of the present summer, (as I have been told by Como(dor)e Hambleton the Commander of the British Squadron) upwards of seventy sail of merchant vessels captured by the Greeks, laden with stores and munitions of war for the Turks; he informed me at the same time, that he had just received instructions from the Lords of the Admiralty, not to protect from the Greeks British vessels that might be found similarly employed. The Austrian Government by its policy in permitting its merchant vessels to be engaged in the transportation of stores, and even troops in the service of the Grand Seignor, has brought upon itself the detestation of the Greeks and this too (from what I have heard) without gaining the good will of the Turks.

In relation to the Greek Cause, the British and French Commanders appear each to be pursuing a policy adverse to the supposed interest and wishes of the others Gov(ernmen)t and neither permits the other to know what he is doing, or means to do, further than he can't avoid. The general impression here is, that the British Commander has been instructed so to regulate his proceedings, as to induce the Greek Gov(ernmen)t *formally* to solicit the protection of England; and that the French Commander Rear Admiral Rannier has been directed by his Government to pursue that course which he may consider the most likely to weaken the physical energies of the Greeks, by producing distraction and disunion among them, with the expectation it is said in the event of producing such a result, that the territory they now possess, will fall an easy conquest to the Vice Roy of Egypt; to whom it appears the Porte has guaranteed the occupation and possession of the Morea, until the Vice Roy shall have indemnified himself for all the expences that may attend the conquest of it. It is currently reported here, that the French Government has been in the habit for some time past of sending to the Vice Roy of Egypt, through the hands of Admiral Rannier, presents, of the most splendid and costly kind, and that various compliments of a similar description have been lavished upon Ebrihim Pascha his son, Commanding the Egyptian Fleet and Army in the Morea now employed against the Greeks. It is impossible to say with certainty what France means by this crooked kind of procedure, but the most prevalent opinion is, that she wishes to increase the power of the Vice Roy of Egypt, to an extent that will render him independent of the Ottoman Empire; with a view ultimately of diminishing the wealth and power of England by depriving her of her East India possessions; and that this attention to the Vice Roy of Egypt is meant as the first step toward paving the way for a continental expedition against her possessions in that quarter. From the policy that Austria is pursuing toward the Greeks, it is thought by the best informed persons here, that

an understanding exists between her and France; and that both are watching the movements of the British, for the purpose of counteracting any measures they may adopt in relation to Greece.

The reports here respecting the various battles and rencontres between the Greeks and Turks in the course of the present summer, are so various and contradictory, that it is impossible to come at the truth. It is pretty certain however, that the Greeks are in a worse condition than at the opening of the present campaign; for notwithstanding the Turkish Army and Fleet that besieged Misolongi have been repulsed, and the former with great loss, still the Army of the Vice Roy of Egypt, (nominally under the command of Ebrihim Pascha his son, but actually commanded by French Generals) is in possession of the whole of the Morea with the exception of Napoli di Romania, or at least it is so in effect, for after besieging and taking Navarin it marched to Tripolitza almost without opposition; and has there, in the very centre of the country established its head quarters. In consequence of the occupation of Tripolitza by Ebrihim Pascha, it is said the Greeks of the Morea have very generally fled to the mountains, and have become so disheartened at the superior skill shown by their enemies at Navarin, in tactics and the science of war; so dismayed, that even at the sound of their drums they are ready to fly. The Greeks have within the last ten days received a loan of £40.000 from England, but notwithstanding this, they will be unable to continue the war much longer it is thought without possessing a larger amount of funds than they are likely to obtain. The vessels composing their Fleet are rapidly decaying, and I had it from one of their agents that they would be unable to contend much longer at sea, unless England or the United States furnished them vessels more efficient than those they now possess. Indeed from what I have seen myself, and heard from others, I am induced to think their cause so desperate, that nothing short of a miracle can sustain them much longer. In fine from what I have seen myself and learnt from those whose opportunities of obtaining correct information were better than my own, I have come to the conclusion that without the interposition of some one or more of the European powers, they will be unable to sustain themselves twelve months longer.

Some few of the American adventurers that came out here to their aid, have behaved well but the greater part have done their cause no good; among the latter there is a Mr. W(illia)m. T. Washington, who has passed himself off as the nephew of our venerated General; he is now here under the protection of the French Admiral. The Greeks, as well as the French appear to have attached some importance to the name of this young man, as will be seen by the enclosed proceedings of the Greek Gov(ernmen)t and the protest of Gen(era)l Roche and himself.

This foolish young man, who calls himself an expatriate American, is permitting the

French to make a tool of him, and no excuse can be offered for his inconsistent conduct unless he is insane, and which many persons believe. The proceedings of the Greek Government and the protest of General Roche and himself, I will thank you to send to the Secretary of State, as I have been frequently asked since my arrival in this quarter whether Mr. Washington was not really an agent of our Government, and to which I have as often replied he positively was not, either directly or indirectly.

It is the opinion of our Consul and the American Merchants here, that our Commerce at this time would be unsafe without protection. There are at present three American vessels in the port and another with a very valuable cargo, is expected hourly from the East Indies, belonging to Baltimore. I shall in consequence leave the Ontario here to afford them convoy clear of the Islands, with orders to join me at Gibraltar or Mahon towards the last of November, provided her presence here, can be dispensed with. I expect to leave here in five or six days; but as I wish to make myself acquainted for the information of the Government with what is going on in this quarter, I shall probably take an opportunity of putting myself in the way of seeing the Grecian and Turkish Fleets before my return, and in this event I shall probably not reach Gibraltar before the last of October or first of November.

Our crews have continued very healthy until within a fortnight past; we have had several cases of bowel complaints, although none as yet have proved fatal except in one instance, and that one I regret to say was Mid(shipman) Charles M. Hopkins nephew of Com(mande)r Morris who, poor fellow, died after an illness of only six days.

With the highest Respect  
I have the honor to be  
Sir your Ob(edien)t Serv(an)t  
John Rodgers

The Hon.  
Samuel L. Southard  
Secretary of the Navy of the U. States

(Speliotakes, pp. 164-166)  
Secret

U.S. Ship North Carolina  
Smyrna 31st August 1825

Sir,

This will inform you of my having left Gibraltar on the 10th ultimo on a cruise of observation among the Greek Islands, having for its object the protection of our commerce, and the attainment of an interview with the Captain Pashaw of the Turkish fleet, in the discharge of certain duties entrusted to my execution by the Department of

State, and of which, on entering upon the duties of that office, you no doubt Sir became acquainted with.

At the time of leaving Gibraltar I was led to believe I should find the Capt. Pashaw at the Island of Mitilina, but on entering the [Aegean] Archipelago I found he was with the whole fleet at Mislengi, at the entrance of the Gulf of Patrasso, engaged in besieging that place by sea, in cooperation with the Pashaw of Scutari, commanding the Albanian forces by whom it had been invested by land. Finding the Captain Pashaw so situated I deemed it impolitical to attempt an interview so long as he continued thus employed, and accordingly put into this port for refreshments, with the intention of continuing here until a more favourable moment presented itself of communitating with him than I should have had any prospect of, had I gone directly to Mislengi.

Since my arrival here, I have heard of the failure of the expedition against Mislengi, and of the raising of the siege with great loss on the part of the Albanian forces, and the destruction of two brigs and several boats of the Captain Pashaw, and that after this disaster he has sailed for the Port of Souda in the island of Candia, where he is now said to be, and where it is reported he has gone to wait the arrival of five or six thousand Egyptian troops under the escort of a division of the fleet of the Vice Roy, which, on their arrival there, he means to join and carry to the Morea, to reinforce the army of Ebrahim Pashaw, who may already be said, if the reports in circulation be true, and of which there is but little doubt, to be in possession of every place of importance in that part of Greece, with the exception of Napoli di Romania, the present seat of the Greek Government.

The force of Ebrahim Pashaw now in the Morea is stated to be about twelve thousand strong in regular troops, trained and disciplined by French officers, and when the reinforcement just mentioned joins him it is believed the Greeks will be obliged to abandon the Morea entirely, and in that event he has only to reduce the garrison at Mislengi (and this it is said he will find no difficulty in doing, having a battering train of cannon with him) to make himself master of all that part of Continental Greece now at war with the Porte.

The Greek cause really appears to be in a hopeless condition. Indeed so much so that I should think it impossible with their extremely limited resources, to sustain themselves much longer, unless they should very soon receive aid from some one or more European powers, but which is by no means likely unless the British Government should take them under their protection, as it has the people of the Ionian Islands.

The British Government at this time (in secret it would seem) appears to be holding out inducements to them to place themselves under its protection whilst the Agents of

France and Austria are clandestinely assisting the Porte, and the Vice Roy of Egypt to effect their destruction. What will grow out of the different schemes now practising by the Agents of the British Government, and those of the Governments of the last named Continental powers, it would be difficult to foretell. Many persons here, and some too who are well informed, think it not unlikely in the jawing of so many different interests it may produce a war between England and the Continental powers, for they say that all the most powerful sovereigns of the Holy Alliance are jealous of the power of England and have sworn, *in secret*, never to forgive her following our example in acknowledging the Independence of South America without their consent, and that a Union of their strength is now forming with a view to her future reduction.

Previous to my return to Gibraltar I intend, if circumstances will permit, to call at Souda to communicate with the Captain Pasha and at Napoli di Romania to obtain, if possible, such intelligence concerning the affairs of Greece, and the situation of its Government, as may be relied on, in doing which, however, I shall take especial care to effect my purpose without giving the slightest cause for offense to either party.

A party composed as well of individuals belonging to the Executive as to the Legislative Branch of the Government of Greece, has deliberately and solemnly offered to place their Country under the protection of the British Government; some of the particulars of which transaction you will be able to gather from a copy of their Declaration and of a protest signed by a General Rouch and a Mr. Washington in the name of their respective nations. General Rouch, it is said, is actually a *private* Agent of the French Government, and those in the interest of France wish to have it believed that Mr. Washington is possessed of the same powers from his. Indeed I have frequently since my arrival been asked if he was not an agent of our Government, and to which I have always replied that he positively was not either directly or indirectly. Mr. Washington is now here, and says, I understand, that having expatriated himself, and being no longer an American citizen, he has placed himself under the protection of the French. This I presume he does not tell to every body, altho he has said it before some of the officers of this ship. To answer some purpose of the French they are now making use of him on account of his name, for you understand that he is mentioned in the papers of this quarter as being the nephew of venerated Washington.

With the highest respect, etc., etc., etc.

John Rodgers

The Hon. Henry Clay  
Secretary of State

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(Speliotakes, pp. 167-172)

U.S. Ship N. Carolina  
Gibraltar Bay, Oct. 14th 1825

Sir,

By my letter to you of the 31st of August last, I gave you reason to suppose that I should in all probability obtain an interview with the Captain Pashaw of the Ottoman Fleet before I left the Archipelago. In this however I was disappointed, for in reaching Napoli di Romania, the present seat of the Greek Government (for which place I sailed from Smyrna a few days after I wrote to you) extraordinary as it may appear it was not known to that Government at the time of my arrival where he was. This at that period I did not consider of much consequence however, as had I learnt where to find him, his situation, wherever he was, would have been such, in all probability as to have precluded a communication without giving rise to a variety of speculations and conjectures which however absurd they might be, it was desirable to avoid giving the slightest grounds for consequently instead of making any further attempt to obtain a personal interview. I determined at once that the most prudent course left for me to adopt now would be to communicate by writing, and which I accordingly did by forwarding to him through the hands of Mr. Offley, our Consul at Smyrna (in whose secrecy and prudence I could confide) a letter of which the enclosed is a copy.

The present Captain Pashaw has hitherto been a favourite of the Sultan, and has enjoyed his confidence to a greater extent perhaps than any other individual has ever done before, but such is the superstition and the caprice of the Sultan it is supposed, judging from the character of all who have preceded him, that in the event of his failure to capture Mislongi before his return to Constantinople, no excuse he will have it in his power to offer will be sufficient to save him from disgrace, for notwithstanding he has hitherto been so far successful in all his operations against the Greeks as to secure the approbation of the Sultan, it is said that in the present instance, when most was expected of him, he has actually done nothing, whilst at the same time Ebrahim Pashaw, commanding the Egyptian forces, has succeeded in every enterprize he has undertaken from the day of his first arriving in the Morea, and in a manner, too, that will appear little short of a *miracle* at *Constantinople*.

Instead of the Pashaws being at Souda, in Candia, with his fleet, as I had been led to believe before I left Smyrna; I have reason to conclude, from what I afterwards heard, that he was on the 18th of last month (the time of my departure from Napoli di Roma-

nia) at Prevesa, near the entrance of the Gulf of Arta, where he had gone, it was supposed, after his repulse at Mislongi, to collect reinforcements with the intention of renewing the attack on that place, which notwithstanding his having retired from before it with his fleet, still remained besieged by land by the Albanian forces under the command of the Pashaw of Scutari.

In this peculiar state of things, I doubt not but that before he attempts to return to Constantinople, he will make a desperate effort to destroy Mislongi, particularly as it is said by those who profess to be acquainted with the topography of that country (Lavadia) it is only necessary in its present condition to dispossess the Greeks of that fortress to insure a speedy termination to the war. Should [he] be successful in his next attempt it will without doubt be the means of securing to him still the favour of the Sultan. But in the event of a different result, it is thought by those who profess to know the temper of the Sultan best, that he will not only lose his favour but his head also.

I have been thus particular in mentioning the situation in which the Capt. Pashaw now appears to be placed in order that you may be apprised of the uncertainty of his retaining hereafter the power of furthering the wishes of our Government, in securing a treaty with the Porte, affording to our merchant vessels the ingress and egress of the Black Sea, and at the same time to suggest for your consideration whether, in this apparent state of uncertainty it might not be advisable to take advantage of the existing perturbed state of the political relations between the Porte and several of the principal European powers, particularly with England and France, to consummate such a treaty as our Government may desire. That such an one might be made at this time I have not the least doubt, and I feel no hesitation in saying it is my confident belief that as long as the same state of things continues at Constantinople, and we have as respectable naval force *here* as we have at present that any person our Government might think proper to empower to conclude such a treaty would, if aided by a judicious display of our squadron at the Island of Tenedos (near the entrance of the Dardanelles) *pending the negotiation*, meet with no difficulty whatever and what strengthens further this belief, is the favourable impression which our squadron is known to have made in the minds of the people of Smyrna, in its late visit there, from the Bashaw (of 3 tails) down to the meanest individual, occasioned, I presume, as well by the apparent superiority of our ships over those of other nations, which they have been accustomed to see, as the strict neutrality we have uniformly observed between them and the Greeks, whose respect and good will I have reason to believe that we also possess in an equal degree at least. Indeed in every port in the Archipelago where the squadron has been, whether among the Greeks or the Turks, we have experienced nothing but respect, kindness and hospitality.

During my stay at Smyrna I had ample proof of the friendly disposition of the Capt. Pashaw towards our country, and of our being greatly indebted to his influence and good offices for the uniform protection, for several years past, that our merchant vessels have enjoyed in their intercourse with that port. Permit me, Sir, therefore to say that in recommending that some person should be here invested with power to conclude a treaty with the Porte, that I do not mean to be understood as intimating that I think its negotiation ought to be commenced in any other way than through him, as has already been proposed, provided he should still continue to retain the Sultan's favour.

Judging from the extraordinary accounts I have lately seen in our newspapers of the various victories and successess of the Greeks, I am strongly inclined to believe that their real situation is not known in the United States, for with the exception of their defence of Mislongi they have been unsuccessful *by land* in every other affair of importance from the commencement of the present campaign up to the date of my leaving Napoli di Romania on the 18th ultimo. Their ships of war during the same period have been more fortunate, yet owing to the superior size and more approved construction of the ships of their enemy, added to their having been of late somewhat better managed than they were formerly, the advantages they have been to gain have been comparatively only partial.

The cause in which they are engaged is one that naturally enlists the sympathies of the whole civilized world, but judging from what I have seen of them of late, I am led to fear that they have very little else to interest any one in their favour, for if we have a right to form an opinion of their character from the jealousy, distrust and malignancy of feeling that the most prominent and enlightened men among them are in the habit of cherishing, and in the constant practise of giving vent to against each other, we should at once be led to conclude that they possessed all or most of the vices of their ancestors with but few of any of their virtues.

The enclosed declaration of the Greek Government will show the lamentable condition in which that country is now placed.

I was induced to believe at the time I wrote you from Smyrna that that Government had been led through the persuasion of certain British agents to propose to England to take Greece under her protection. It has since come to my knowledge, however, that this was not the case, for while at Napoli di Romania, and speaking on this subject, Prince Mavrocordate, the Secretary of State told me himself that it was the spontaneous act of his own Government, and on my asking whether he believed the British Government would accede to their proposition, his answer was that he thought it very doubtful.

What will ultimately grow out of the struggle that Greece has been making to gain her independence no one can foresee, yet it would seem certain, in her present distracted

and helpless situation, without friends, without unanimity among the people, and without men of sufficient talent and energy to direct her councils, next to impossible that she should be able to sustain herself much longer without the aid of some [one more] powerful than her own; and it is not likely that the British Government will risk the consequences of acceding to the proposition contained in the enclosed declaration, as should she do so, France and Austria, and most probably Russia also, would oppose it, for it is known that the Austrian Government would prefer that, under certain restrictions, she should again be subjected to the dominion of the Porte, whilst the Government of France would oppose as far as it dare do, any change in her condition that would not be likely to benefit her commercial interests.

Being but an indifferent scribe at all times, and having at present a lame hand will I hope be considered a sufficient apology for the roughness and informality of this communication.

With great respect etc.

J(oh)n Rodgers

The Hon. Henry Clay  
Secretary of State, Washington

(Speliotakes, pp. 173-175)

Copy U.S. Ship Ontario  
Off Milo, Oct. 30 1825

Sir

I waited until the 17 for the convoy consisting of Ship Sally Ann, Brig Rambler and a Dutch Brig who asked to be permitted to go in company. In consequence of a strong head wind I was compelled the day after I left port to bear up to Mytilene and went into the port of Oliver where we remained two days; upon coming out I came through the Straits of Scio and looked into Chesmai where an American Brig had gone for fruit. She had however sailed; upon getting off Milo we were again met with a strong head wind, which compelled the convoy to seek a harbour, and shortly after Twenty Sail of the Greek Squadron which were cruising off, likewise came in for shelter.

From the Admiral I learnt that they had heard that three Turkish Frigates and thirteen Brigs were seen off Rhodes, and that the rest of the Fleet were about sailing with strong reinforcements for Candia and the Morea from Alexandria; the Greeks have several look out vessels watching their movements, and are in hopes of doing something with the Fire Ships. They have now out including Fireships near one hundred Sail.

The Greeks have done but little since you left this; at Miselongi about 300 Turks were destroyed by blowing up of an outwork which they occupied. A guard with prisoners were attacked and a thousand Greeks were liberated between Tripolitza and Modon.

Capt. Hamilton succeeded after much opposition from the Pashaw of Egypt in making an exchange and brought to Smyrna one hundred and seventy Turks.

In consequence of your honoring the constituted authorities of the Greek Gov(ernmen)t with a salute, the French Admiral as well as the Austrian Commadore thought it advisable to do the same. The American Squadron Capt. Hamilton informs me stands high at Napoli for the politeness and attention with which they were attended to on board the several ships.

During the last month several cases of Piracy have been reported on the Austrian and French trade with one on the English in the Straits of Scio. I cannot but hope Sir our trade will remain unmolested altho' I am confident to make it respected in by keeping a competent force among the Islands to give it protection.

I am now on my way to Serigo with the Convoy, off which I intend to leave them, as I apprehend no molestation; as they have a fair wind and bids fair to increase. I shall then look into Napoli and endeavour to get some information and will do myself the honor to keep you informed as often as opportunity offers.

I am happy Sir to inform you that my Crew and officers continue to enjoy their health.

With sentiments of respect

I remain y(ou)r ob(edien)t S(er)v(an)t

(signed) John B. Nicholson

Commander

To Com(modore) John Rodgers

Comg U.S. Naval Forces

Mediterranean

(Speliotakes, pp. 175-179)

Copy

U.S. Ship Ontario

Off Port Mahon

Dec. 21. 1825

Sir

I do myself the honor to inform you of my arrival off this port in obedience to your orders; having left Smyrna on the morning of the 3d and having only one American Brig in port, which arrived on the 2d; as she was not immediately to be loaded for the

U. States, nor a convoy requested or thought absolutely necessary by the owner, I deemed it necessary to hasten my departure to rejoin the Squadron.

My communication of the 30 Oct<sup>r</sup>. informed you of my intention to visit Napoli di Romania after seeing my convoy safe through the Archipelago. Upon my arrival at this port, I waited on the heads of the Government and found that all their ulterior hopes of success depended much upon the arrival of Lord Cochrane and the force which it was supposed would accompany him; an attack was expected to have been made upon Hydra and Spezzia from the combined Turkish and Egyptian Fleets, which it was understood had put into Rhodes. Since they had the honor to receive your visit with the Squadron, nothing of moment had transpired; they however strengthened their Government, by placing a portion of the regular force at Athens, and augmented the number to near two thousand effective men. I regretted however to see that a strong feeling existed among the Militia, against the regulars, and faction instead of being soothed by their critical situation, had rather augmented, which I fear will ultimately be the rock on which they will split.

In my cruise after leaving Napoli, I called off Spezzia and Hydra; the latter place appeared capable of making a defence, so long as they could command supplies from the main; Spezzia, if attacked with the slightest vigour, must fall, as it is accessible upon most points. From thence I proceeded to Athens, and regretted to see the Acropolis in the hands of the partisans of the chief Goura (he being with his division of irregulars at Salona, which place had just surrendered to his arms). The regulars under the Command of Col. Fabier, and the Com<sup>t</sup> of Cavalry Count d'Angely, had possession of the town with about 500 men, but was not allowed to visit the Citadel without a passport from its Governor. From observation of the Country made between Athens and Corinth I saw but little reason to believe that the struggle could be long maintained with a prospect of success, should the Government be left upon its own resources. The country is uncultivated and its few inhabitants most miserable; their villages in ruins, their flocks and herds have fallen a prey to their enemies. Corinth itself is but a name. Its roofless houses, dilapidated walls still and silent streets, overgrown with weeds and whitened with the bones of its defenders, offer a sad spectacle to a visitor. The castle cannot be taken with any force, if those who hold it will but supply themselves with provisions and do their duty.

I visited several Islands and showed our flag which met with that attention and consideration which is its due.

Upon my return to Smyrna, I found no American vessels had arrived since my departure, but regretted to hear that several vessels under the English and other flags, had

been met by pirates and plundered. So far we have escaped but it is impossible to foresee how long this forbearance will exist. Your wisdom will no doubt apply as far as in your power the only safeguard for the protections of our valuable commerce in that sea. After leaving Smyrna, owing to southerly winds I was compelled to make Cape D'Oro passage and when off Hydra on the 7 inst: sent in an officer to procure information. He informed me that a courier had but just arrived from Napoli bringing intelligence that a partial engagement had taken place between a small force of the Greeks, consisting of a few hundred, under command of Cecinia against a body of Turks said to contain 5000 under Ebrihim Pacha near Gastouni, which resulted in the loss of 70 Greeks and 150 Turks; nothing however of advantage to either party was the result. About the 1st inst: an attempt was made by the Greeks with their fire ships, which was unsuccessful, having lost one, by a grenade thrown by the Turkish Fleet; the crew however were saved.

The Turks with Ebrihim Pacha were advancing upon Miselongi, which place they are determined if possible to reduce as their force consists of 115 sail, of which 15 are Frigates, 30 Sloops, the rest Brigs, Schooners and a small steam boat. Should the Turks succeed in reducing Miselongi, their whole force, will be exerted against the Morea and the Islands. Hydra antl Spezzia it is supposed will be attacked among the first. To oppose these measures the Greek Gov(ernmen)t had increased its regular force to about 3000 men; and Colokotroni and Goura, were endeavouring to collect a force of irregulars to threaten Tripolitza, where 5000 Turks had been left in garrison. The proclamation of the English Gov(ernmen)t had damped the feelings of the friends of liberty; yet were they in hopes to hold out for another campaign, or until some favorable change in the opinion of the European powers, who, it was believed could, nor would not, see them swept from the face of their long oppressed and injured country.

On the 12 inst. off Navarrine, I fell in with and spoke two of the Greek Fleet, from off Miselongi, which place they left on the 7th inst: They confirmed the loss of the fire ship as well as the report of the action between Cecinia and Ebrilhim Pacha, which however resulted in favour of neither party.

The Greek Fleet had disperset and was on its way to Hydra to provision and augment their fire ships not deeming an attack practicable at this time with any prospect of success.

They left at Patras 70 sail of the Turkish Fleet, the remainder it was supposed had gone against Miselongi as they had lost sight of them.

I take leave to state that I have on board as passengers, Mr. Scott the Master of the Brig Chillian of New York, and two of the Crew, who were unfortunately capsized in the

Gulph of Lyons from Genoa bound to Tampico South America. They were taken off the wreck by a French vessel and brought into Smyrna by a Schooner of the Navy of France, and treated with that attention and humanity which their unfortunate situation required.

I have the honor to be  
Respectfully, Sir  
Your ob(edien)t S(er)v(an)t  
(signed) John B. Nicholson  
Commander

To John Rodgers Esq.  
Com(mande)r in Chief of the  
U.S. Naval Forces  
Mediterranean

(Speliotakes, p. 172 fn)

Commodore Rodgers' Covering Letter of the Nicholson Reports

U.S. Ship N. Carolina  
Port Mahon, 22 Dec(embe)r 1825

Sir

The Ontario has this moment arrived from the Archipelago, and for your information relative to the State of things in that quarter, as well as the manner in which the Ontario was employed while in that Country, permit me to refer you to the Copies of Capt. Nicholson's reports herein enclosed.

As the Ontario would have to perform 30 days quarantine at this place, I am about to send her to Gibraltar for such letters as may have reached there for the Squadron. On her return here, I shall send her or the Erie to the Archipelago for the protection of our trade and shall continue to keep one of the smaller Vessels there, as long as danger is to be apprehended.

A Schooner would be of great service, for the small boats (which alone are as yet employed in acts of piracy) frequent such nooks and bye places among the Islands, as would often forbid the pursuit of a larger Vessel.

The Hon<sup>e</sup>  
Sam(ue)l L. Southard  
Sec(retar)y Navy U. States

I have the honor to be  
With great Respect  
Your Obt Servt  
J(oh)n Rodgers

(Speliotakes, pp. 179-180)

U.S. Ship N. Carolina  
Port Mahon, Dec<sup>r</sup> 25th 1825

Sir,

By the arrival of the Ontario from Smyrna I have received a letter from Mr. Offley our Consul, of which I enclose a copy for your information. Mr. Offley you will perceive by the information it contains, is intimately acquainted with the policy and feelings of the Turkish Government and people, and this he has acquired by a residence of fourteen years in Smyrna, the greater part of which time, I believe he has discharged the duties of Consul, and in a manner too, judging from the estimation in which he appears to be held by the public authorities of that place, and the different European Consuls as well as American merchants residing there, not only creditable to himself, but beneficially for the commercial interests of his country. As his statement so fully corroborates that contained in my letter to you on the same subject, under date the 14th of October last, feel it unnecessary to say more at present, than that I shall be at Gibraltar with the Squadron some time towards the last of March or first of April next, in readiness to execute any further commands you may see fit to honor me with.

For information concerning the changes that have taken place in the political relations of Greece since I left Napoli Di Romania in September last, permit me to refer you to Mr. Southard the Secretary of the Navy, to whom I have sent the official report of Capt. Nicholson, who has just arrived from the Archipelago, last from the Island of Hydra, where he saw Prince Mavrocordato the Secretary of State, and Tricoupi, a leading member of the Greek Senate, both of whom spoke to him of their situation in terms of despondency, intimating that their further hopes of success depended entirely upon the speedy interference of some of the powers of Europe.

With great respect etc. etc.  
J(oh)n Rodgers

The Hon. Henry Clay  
Secretary of State, Washington

(Speliotakes, p. 181)

Extract from Commodore Rodgers' Report, July 19, 1826

The second day after my arrival at that Island, a division of the Turkish fleet, commanded by the Capudan Bey, consisting of two ships of the line, four frigates and several corvettes and brigs, amounting in all to twenty three sail, passed on its way to

Candia, as was then said, for the purpose of forming a junction with the Egyptian fleet, previous to proceeding against Napoli di Romania and Hydra. From this officer I learned that the Capudan Pacha would leave the Dardanelles with the second and principal division of the fleet in eight or ten days from that time . . . The Capudan Pacha reached Tenedos on the 5th instant.

...

The success of the Campaign against Missolongi has made him [the *kapudan pasha*] a greater favourite than ever with the Grand Seignor, and it is said that on his return from the present cruise, should it prove successful, that he will most probably be appointed Grand Vizier.

(Speliotakes, pp. 182-183)

U. S. Ship N. Carolina  
Malta, February 14th 1827

Sir,

Very much to my surprise I have not yet received the communication of the Capudan Pacha of the Ottoman fleet which he promised to make on his return to Constantinople, and I know not how to account for his not having complied with his promise, unless it is to be attributed to the unfriendly reports which have lately been circulated by the agents of certain European powers in relation to the Frigate Hope, in which they have represented to the authorities of the Porte, that large quantities of arms, and naval and military stores had been transmitted to in Greece for the use of their enemies, and that this had been done with the knowledge and sanction of our Government.

I have taken pains to counteract as far as possible the injurious effect which such reports are calculated to have on our commercial interests, and I still am induced to think that in long I shall receive the Pasha's promised communication.

The Pacha, not more than ten or fifteen days before the arrival of the Hope, sent me a splendid portrait of the Sultan which he, the Sultan, sat for at his, the Pacha's request, knowing at the time, it was to be presented to me; and I mention this as a proof of the friendly feelings entertained by the Sultan and himself towards our Government and country, previous to the arrival of the before-mentioned frigate, for before that time it had been acknowledged, not only by the authorities of the Porte, but by every body else that we had maintained a strictly neutral character.

(Other nations, and particularly England, I find, is becoming jealous of our increasing commerce in the Archipelago, and her agents will leave nothing undone that lying and

discrimination can effect to prevent our participating in the trade of a section of the Globe of which she had not long since almost the exclusive monopoly).

The Capudan Pacha since his return to Constantinople, is reported to be more popular than ever, and it is said that he is to be appointed Grand Vizir, that the present Pacha of Smyrna is to be appointed Capudan Pacha.

In justice to myself permit me, Sir, to say that if I should fail before my return in executing the business which led to my communicating with the Capudan Pacha, it will not be my fault.

With the highest respect etc.

J( oh )n Rodgers

The Hon. Henry Clay  
Secretary of State

### 3. *Estwick Evans, Extracts from "Views of Greece"*

*New-Hampshire Gazette*, April 25, 1826 (I)

. . . . Most of the accounts from that country are fabrications, or egregious misstatements. Having been upon the ground I know them to be so, and shall, in the course of my remarks notice some striking discrepancies. Besides the system of deception acted upon by the Greeks themselves, persons from this country have misstated some things and managed with respect to others in order to favor themselves or their friends there, in order to acquire fame without deserving it, and to draw funds from the American people of which they did not stand in need, and which they knew would be useless, as it respected rendering any service to the Greeks, I state facts and do not fear contradiction; particulars shall be noticed in due time.

It may be said, how did the writer acquire all the information he intends to give us? He remained but a few months either in Greece, or in the vicinity of that country. My answer is, that I adopted a systematic plan in relation to this subject, and spared no pains to make myself acquainted with every thing concerning it . . . .

June 6, 1826 (VI)

. . . With what people then do the Greeks compare ?—in form and feature, —in air and gait, and generally in complexion, —in modes of dress, —in fondness for ornament, —in the manner of wearing the hair —in disposition, —in intellect, —in elocution, — in modes of warfare, —in all their virtues and vices, —and in every other particular which can be

mentioned? I answer, the North-American Indian. Both of these races of men did, in my opinion, proceed from a common stock. Besides a hundred reasons that I could give for this opinion, I am influenced by a powerful consciousness of the truth of this idea, which was impressed upon my mind whilst in Greece by a great many circumstances, the force of which I could feel, but cannot fully express. Those who may think there is nothing in this idea should be reminded, that the Apollo Belvidere at Rome is a very striking likeness of the North-American Indian. This fact, although not exactly in point, goes to support the general principle upon which the position is grounded.

Whilst Cecrops was establishing himself at Athens, some ancestor of Powhatan might have been making a settlement upon the shores of Virginia . . .

June 27, 1826 (VIII)

. . . Upon entering the seat of Government I soon perceived the injurious effects of the loans and donations which had been sent to Greece. Although the Greek soldiery are high minded, and will, in the course of time, be prepared for liberty and free institutions, the great mass of them have, at present, but little idea of national pride, of patriotism, or in any particular form of government. In actually contending with the enemy their first object is mere personal security, and beyond this their whole heart is set upon gain. For this they looked, in the early stages of the revolution, to the plunder of the Turks. This gave them a great impetus, and was one principle cause of their success. Although the people of other nations might have assisted and might still assist them in certain ways which I shall soon mention, yet the interference of strangers, as far as related to pecuniary aid, has been very pernicious. The Greek captains and soldiers once sought for wealth in the enemy's camp, and whilst they pursued their own private interest, advanced the freedom of their country;—now they endanger that freedom and jeopardize that country by resorting to the government alone for the supply of their pecuniary wants . . .

The Greeks have been corrupted by loans and donations. The captains draw upon the Government for pay due to themselves and their followers, usually rating their followers at three or four times the number which they really have; and even then, the soldier, who is actually following his leader, sometimes receives but one month's pay out of two or three; . . . All loans and donations for assisting the Greeks should have been appropriated through certain agents for the purpose of raising and maintaining a well disciplined military force. With such a force the enemy could always have been resisted, and with the example of such a force the Greeks themselves would, in time, have become disciplined. The Greeks might also have been assisted by a few large ships, which are absolutely necessary for them and of which they are entirely destitute. The campaign of

1825 of which I shall in some future number give an account, inasmuch as it illustrates several important particulars in the present condition of the Greeks, shows how essential a well regulated military force and a more efficient navy are to the success of the Greek cause . . .

July 11, 1826 (IX)

. . . Upon my arrival in Greece I found nothing deserving the name of army—The troops, if troops they might be called, came and went when and where they pleased. They would follow a leader to-day and leave him to-morrow. The captains would destroy their soldiers, or their soldiers their captains in the most open manner, and always with impunity. The Greeks have never employed the bayonet, and were totally unacquainted even with the idea of the first principles of military organization. Their mode of fighting was precisely that of the North-American Indian. They would not stand in a body in the open field, but every man must be permitted to choose his own ground. They must not be circumscribed,—they must not be confined,—they must make their own calculations, and always have a way open for a retreat in case they should find one necessary, and above all, they must have a hill, or a rock, or a tree in order to shelter themselves from the fire of the enemy..... In about all the rencounters between the Greeks and Turks the parties have fought at a great distance from each other; and, generally, after a vast deal of noise and smoke both parties have retired with a very trifling loss— The result, however, has, in almost every case, been in favor of the Greeks, because the Turks are themselves not only destitute of discipline, but are far less vigorous and active than the Greeks. They have also far less native courage. The Greeks, however, it must not be denied, had much rather, Indian like, find the enemy asleep, and destroy them at once than to meet them wide awake in the field. The Greeks, if hemmed in, will fight to desperation; but they are not very fond of fighting, and they consider it rather disgraceful than otherwise to fall in battle;—they suppose it a proof of a want of ingenuity. To destroy the enemy and remain unhurt themselves is considered by them the height of courage. This fact remains one of the ancient Spartans who attached the idea of crime to theft, if the individual were detected, but if after sometime had elapsed, he informed of it himself, he was praised for his cunning. The Greeks generally pride themselves in their management, and are by no means ashamed of their duplicity. This is a native characteristic of theirs, but the inherent purity and greatness of their souls enable them sometimes to correct this vice, and to become, what men ever should be, perfectly sincere in all their words and actions.

August 1, 1826 (XII)

. . . I have advanced these principles and ideas in order to show, that the nature of

things, the course of events, and the spirit of the age are all in favor of the position that the Greeks will regain their liberties. But there is another circumstance which still further strengthens their cause. No people ever inherited from nature a more free and untamable spirit than the Greeks. They are high-minded, proud, and republican. That they are a degenerate people is altogether a groundless assertion;—that they are not equal to their ancestors in the days of Agamemnon, or Lycurgus, or Pericles would be saying too much. It is true that Greece was conquered; but it was by an eruption—an inundation of barbarians. The flood broke down her walls and spread over her vallies; but the spirit of the Greeks was never subdued. Thousands of them retired to the fastnesses of their mountains, and from sire to son, and from generation to generation they have warred with their invaders, and at length, have kindled a flame, which, although at this moment exhibiting a half-smothered light, will, in time consume the whole Ottoman power. Yes, this spirit dwells among their mountains, and will never submit to foreign or domestic tyranny . . .

Notwithstanding all the difficulties with which the Greeks have to contend they will not, nay cannot be conquered. Their genius is decisive and peculiar. They cannot be merged in any other people. They are all that they once were in originality and force of character, and the great mass of the people are far more enlightened than in ancient times. Then they were surrounded by barbarous nations, but now and for many ages past, by civilized and polished communities . . .

August 22, 1826 (XV)

. . . The Greeks are all christians and all republicans. These circumstances render their cause doubly interesting to the people of the United States;—these circumstances render their cause doubly important to the world. Until religion and liberty go hand in hand neither the honor nor the happiness of man can be secure. Corrupt religion produces corrupt government, and corrupt government produces corrupt religion . . . The position of the United States in relation to this subject involves great moral grandeur and high responsibility. She is a light set upon a hill,—a chart for infant republics to sail by. To the world she should always be able to present herself as a pattern of public virtue and of private worth . . .

September 5, 1826 (XVII)

. . . With all the Americans in Greece I am more or less, personally acquainted. They are How[e], Jarvis, Washington, Miller, and Allen.

How[e] is a Bostonian. I should think him twenty-five years of age or more. he is of small stature, but of middling height, and if I mistake not, possesses talents and resolu-

tion— He is very usefully employed in Greece, and I presume will meet with much success. I have never known him to pretend to have gone to that country from disinterested motives. I believe his principal objects were to improve his health by living in a warmer climate than that of New England in winter, and to increase his knowledge of Surgery by an extensive practice.

Jarvis, I understand, was born in the United States, but, at any rate, has from early life, resided in Germany. He is of common stature, or a little below the usual height, and his age, I presume, upwards of thirty. Howe's description of him in one of his letters, is altogether fanciful. The personal appearance of Jarvis is rather ordinary, and his mode of dress, etc. extremely so. He is a man of much native shrewdness and his habit truly a Greek—He has been in Greece about five years, and has, I believe, displayed courage. He is very attentive and useful to Americans who arrive in that country.

Washington is, I learn, twenty-two years of age, but has the appearance of being thirty. He is a Virginian; —a tall and elegant man, and possesses great and brilliant talents. It is not necessary that I should speak of him any further.

Miller it is said, is from Vermont. His is about thirty-five or forty years of age, rather below the common stature, and of ordinary personal appearance. He has native talents, but they have not been extensively improved, nor well regulated. He possesses enthusiasm in that refinement, and a fondness for applause which arises from an erroneous estimate of himself. I from supposing that he does not possess courage: and were he still in military life, should expect him to display some degree of it. In Greece, however, he has exhibited nothing of the kind, worth mentioning.

Allen is from New-York, and was formerly a midshipman in our Navy. His age is, perhaps twenty-seven or eight and he a tolerable good looking man. He sailed on several cruises with Miaulis and other Greek commanders, and they became attached to him. With respect to this young man I believe the trump of fame has never been sounded in the United States. But let every one have his due. Allen fought manfully—fought valiantly in several engagements with the Turkish fleet off Missolonghi, and was two or three times severely wounded. The first men in Greece mention him with much applause . . .

. . . If any one asks why I have written so much, I reply, because the subject possesses great importance to the people of the United States . . .

4. *A Letter from Albert Gallatin to Henry Clay, Secretary of State*

(Tozes, 14) [London] October 16, 1826

Honorable H. Clay

Secretary of State

Sir,

The attention of the European Powers is now principally turned towards Spain and Turkey . . .

It is generally acknowledged that the late Emperor of Russia, in his anxiety to preserve his influence in Europe and to prevent revolutions in every quarter, interfered in questions in which he had no concern and neglected those objects in which he had the most immediate interest. The internal administration of Russia was hardly attended to, gross abuses suffered to pass unheeded and the whole left in a chaotic state. Whilst the real weight and respectability of that country was lessened by the recall of Strogonoff from Constantinople in the first instance and afterwards suffering the relations between Russia and Turkey to remain in the most ambiguous state. Whether from the bias of his mind or taught by the conspiracy of the necessity of paying some respect to the public opinion of his Country, Nicholas has taken different ground.

He avowed from the first his extreme desire to preserve peace with Turkey and a good understanding with the European Powers, but his determination also to put an end to the long protracted *indirect* negotiations with that country and to propose an ultimatum, which if not accepted to, he would enforce by arms. The moment this was understood, Metternik, who had been the principal cause of the delays, yielded: and, Turkey, through the interference of the Austrian Internuncio, agreed to the conferences of Aker-man. The great outlines of the ultimatum have been correctly stated in the newspapers. It is not, so far at least as relates to the Asiatic fortresses, founded in strict justice; and the conditions respecting Moldavia, Valachia and Servia, though they will tend to give a better protection to the inhabitants that heretofore against Turks and Hospodars, have for immediate object to place those provinces more immediately under Russian influence. Yet, considering the relative situation and strength of the two Empires, that ultimatum may be considered as moderate: it has been acquiesced in and is supported by Great Britain. And, if it should be rejected by Turkey, the immediate occupation of the provinces by Russia and consequent hostilities will not at this time disturb the general European peace. It is impossible, however, to foresee the effect which may be produced by the progress of the war and the new pretensions which success may induce the Russian Cabinet to advance.

On any questions not relating to Spain or Turkey, reasoning from what is the obvious interest of a country, some rational conjecture may be formed of the course its Government may pursue. On this occasion, it is indeed believed and hoped that the Sultan, having destroyed the only force which had heretofore defended Turkey, and thereby weakened the spirit which animated the Musulmen, must be sensible that, however necessary to his safety and perhaps to the preservation of his Empire those violent measures may have been, he is at this moment unable to sustain a foreign war; that time is absolutely requisite for the organization of a new modelled army; and that the Russian ultimatum must at once be accepted. But that he shall thus reason and act there is no certainty: and his answer to the demands of Russia is anxiously expected.

What is not a little remarkable is that, since the death of Alexander and notwithstanding the more decisive like of conduct adopted by his successor towards Turkey, there is better understanding than heretofore, indeed an evident approximation between Great Britain and Russia. One of the first results of this has been an arrangement on the subject of Greece. Of this you may have received more detailed and correct information from St. Petersburg than I can to give you. The object is not the absolute independence of the Greeks, but to preserve them from extermination and to give them protection and security against Turkey, still however recognizing her sovereignty (*suzeraineté*). How this is to be done, whether this sovereignty is to be purely nominal, as with the Barbary powers, or to be on the model of the Hospodar government of Valachia and Moldavia, I have not been able to ascertain, and is not perhaps finally agreed on. What I understand is that by Greece are meant *at least* Morea and the Islands, that within those limits there shall be no Turkish troops or authorities, and that the Greeks there shall be governed by a Greek Prince; though Prince Gustavus, the son of the Exking of Sweden has also been spoken of. What grounds there are for believing that the consent of Turkey will be obtained I do not know: but it is intended to compel if necessary the Pacha of Egypt to withdraw from the contest; a step which he is believed not to be indisposed to take, as, notwithstanding his successes, his treasures are exhausted and he has gained nothing but Greek heads and slaves. The measures to be adopted will vary according as peace or war may take place between Russia and Turkey. And although Canning is sincere and feels strong on the question, many delays and difficulties may still occur.

This arrangement was made exclusively between Great Britain and Russia, and afterwards communicated to France. She was not pleased with it and less so with its having been made without her being consulted; but she has, on the whole, concluded within a few days to accede and become a party to it. If this circumstance proves that France is not treated with much respect, it must be allowed that her internal situation is more

prosperous than that of any of the other great European Powers, and that she now governs herself free of any foreign influence whatever . . .

Although I may have erred in some details, I think that you may rely on the correctness of this general outline of European politics.

I have the honor etc.  
(Albert Gallatin)

(Booras, pp. 219-21)

*5. Resolution by Edward Livingston, Representative from Louisiana*

January 2, 1827

Resolved, that the committee of Ways and Means be instructed to prepare and bring in a bill making an appropriation of \$50,000, to be expended under the direction of the President, in the purchase and transportation of provisions for the suffering inhabitants of Greece.

*6. Third National Assembly and Count Capo D'Istrias  
Thank the People of the United States*

May 5, 1827

To His Excellency,  
The President of the United States.  
Excellency,

In extending a helping hand towards the Old World, and encouraging it in its march to freedom and civilization, the New World covers itself with increased glory, and does honor to humanity.

Greece, Sir, has received with gratitude the signal testimonies of the philanthropic sentiments of the people of North America, as well as its generous assistance. Commissioned to express to Your Excellency the sincere feelings of my nation, I esteem myself happy in being the organ of communication between free communities which, although separated by space, are nevertheless drawn towards one another by the principles of morals, and by whatever is truly beneficial to human society.

I am with respect,

(Signed) S. SISSINIS  
President of the Third National Assembly at Greece.  
N. SPILIADI, Secretary

June 18, 1827.

To His Excellency

The President of the United States.

Excellency:

The President of the General National Congress of my nation has just transmitted to me a letter, addressed to Your Excellency, in which he expresses the sentiments of gratitude with which the liberal conduct of the American nation has filled the nation over which he presides.

I deem myself exceedingly happy in having been selected as the organ of this communication; and I pray God, the Protector of America and Greece, to afford me in the future other opportunities of witnessing the reciprocal sentiments of two nations, to one of which I belong, and offer to the other the sentiments of my admiration and the homage of my gratitude.

I take great pleasure in availing myself of the honor afforded me by this opportunity of presenting to Your Excellency the homage of my own sentiments of profound respect.

Your Excellency's most humble and devoted servant,

COUNT CAPO D'ISTRIAS

7. *Extract from the Presidential Message of John Quincy Adams  
Twentieth Congress, First Session*

(Robinson, p. 126.) December 4, 1827

. . . From the interest taken by this sovereign [the Emperor Nicholas of Russia] in behalf of the suffering Greeks, and from the spirit with which others of the great European Powers are co-operating with him, the friends of freedom and humanity may indulge the hope, that they will obtain relief from that most unequal of conflicts, which they have so long and so gallantly sustained; that they will enjoy the blessing of self-government, which by their sufferings in the cause of liberty they have richly earned; and that their independence will be secured by those liberal institutions, of which their country furnished the earliest examples in the history of mankind, and which have consecrated to immortal remembrance the very soil for which they are now again profusely pouring forth their blood. The sympathies which the people and the Government of the United States have so warmly indulged with their cause, have been acknowledged by their government, in a letter of thanks, which I have received from their illustrious President, a translation of which is now communicated to Congress, the Representatives of that nation to whom this tribute of gratitude was intended to be paid, and to whom it was justly due.

## THE FRIGATE AFFAIR: ON VALUES AND INTEREST

### A. Some Press Reports and a Comment by President James Madison

*The New York Enquirer*, October 12, 1826: The Greek Cause

The expose relative to the building of the two frigates for the Greeks is the subject of much controversion. We shall not meddle with the question at present, but merely refer to some recent remarks in the Evening Post.

The editor expresses an opinion in favor of our government openly espousing the cause of the Greeks in preference to this secret aid, and thinks it would be more manly, independent and fearless. There is probably no severer duty we can impose upon ourselves as a nation, than to take care of ourselves; that is, to guard ourselves against an impetuosity of feeling—against a hectic desire to mingle in every contest having freedom for its object. This feeling is a natural—is honorable; but its loose gratification is dangerous. “Charity begins at home” is a good proverb. It may be carried too far individually, but not in a national point of view. Our feelings, our interests, our anxieties, our desires were all with South America in her contest with Spain, yet we were prudent and correct in maintaining our neutral position, which probably saved us from an European war. How can we, in justice to South America, and in accordance with the settled principles of our government, come out openly in favor of the Greeks and form an alliance with that crude government?

But there may be something done for the Greeks without compromising this neutrality; and here let it be understood, that we have no fears from Turkey, or from any other European power, should we take sides with the Greeks. We have to fear the effect of surrendering a principle intimately connected with our own safety and welfare: still we can do something beneficial to the cause, and yet not compromise the government. A sum of money was sent to the United States to build two frigates for the Greeks. Owing to the

mismanagement of the agents, one of the ships was sold to the United States government (in other words pledged) to enable the other frigate to sail. Now, it is proposed in the Post to give the other frigate to the Greeks. To this proposition there is no objection, excepting that the act is manifestly a violation of our neutrality. But there is another, and it strikes us, a better mode of reaching the point. Let the frigate be fitted for sea, and sent to the Greek government, taking the obligation of the government to repay to the United States the amount of her cost when in funds. This would be a credit sale; an act of justice, rendered somewhat necessary by the bad faith of our citizens entrusted with the Greek funds. The ship may be eminently useful to the Greeks, and, in time, we may receive the amount of her cost and outfits. There is an additional inducement to take this step, as the ship is useless for our navy—her timber is green—she will do well in the smooth Mediterranean, but will rot and go to pieces at our navy yard long before we can have any use for her.

An authority, therefore to sell her to the Greeks, leaving the payment at convenience, will cover the proposed object, and meet the assent of the people.

*The New-York Statesman*, October 16, 1826

"A vindication of the conduct and character of Henry D. Sedgwick, against certain charges made by the Hon. Jonas Platt; together with some statements and inquiries intended to elicit the reasons of the award in the case of the Greek frigates. New-York, printed by J. Seymour, John-street."

A pamphlet of 24 pages, under the above title, was put into our hands this morning, and we find the same in the Boston Daily Advertiser of Saturday. As it might appear somewhat singular that it should have found its way into a Boston paper, before it was published in any of the papers of this city, we state upon direct authority, that such was not the intention of the author. A pledge to give an expose of the whole transaction, after the frigate Hope had sailed, was published some weeks since. A copy was forwarded to his friend, the editor of the Boston Daily Advertiser, with permission to use it when the Hope had left the waters of New-York. To the premature notice of her departure, inserted in one of the evening papers, is to be attributed its appearance at an earlier day than was expected or intended. We shall publish it entire in to-morrow's Statesman.

*The New-York Statesman*, October 17, 1826: Vindication of Henry D. Sedgwick, with some Inquiries respecting the award in the case of the Greek Frigates

...

From the Boston Daily Advertiser of Saturday October 14.

[*Last paragraph of the article*]

The reckless expenditure, the wild waste of these sacred funds, devoted to the cause of liberty and religion, I fear will be deemed a blot on the fair fame of this free and Christian country. Reproaches from abroad, if such be made will be unjust. The fault in no degree attaches to our natural character or sentiment. It has been one consolation which has cheered me in performing the unpleasant task to which I am compelled, that I should give an opportunity for such an expression of public sentiment as will vindicate the honor of the country.

For the present I take my leave of this subject, calling again on Judge Platt for the long promised reasons for his award . . .

H.D. Sedgwick

New-York, September 21, 1826

*New-York Statesman*, October 19, 1826: The Greek Controversy

We owe an apology to our readers for having admitted into our columns such portions of statements of either party in the controversy relating to the building and equipping of the two frigates intended for the Greeks, as are exclusively of a personal character, which have no bearing on the real merits of the case, and which prove nothing on either side. A statement has been promised, and was expected by the public, but they have no interest in any unhappy occurrences growing out of momentary excitement. If we had used our usual precaution, we should have excluded every thing of that character. As it is, we can only express a hope, that, whatever may thereafter appear, will be exclusively confined to the merits of the case. But, having unfortunately published from both sides, what should have been omitted, we can now only stop at the point of equal justice—and there we will stop, confident that our readers take as little interest in such matters as we do, and that they will judge from the facts of the case and from nothing else.

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[*Also in the same issue*] (Communication)

Messrs. Editors—I shall make no reply to the scurrilous letter published in your paper yesterday. Circumstances have rendered it my duty to expose the conduct of Judge Platt to public reprobation. I have, besides, another and a higher object. The matter should not rest wholly in words, but something should be done to repair the wrongs which have been done to Greece, and to efface the stain upon the reputation of our own country. The Liberator has been fully paid for, and should be sent to Greece.

I shall not suffer my own attention, or that of the public, to be diverted from these objects by any collateral quarrels. Most assuredly I shall not enter into no controversies with young Mr. Platt, whose christian name is Zephaniah. The following letter from

Mr. Robinson will convince the public that his veracity is quite on a par with his delicacy and good manners. So much, and no more, for Mr. Zephaniah Platt.

H.D. Sedgwick

*The American Quarterly Review*, March/June 1827

Philadelphia, March 1827

. . . We have now arrived at the end of an examination which we felt it our duty to undertake, not with a view of ministering to passions which appear to have been strongly excited, but for the higher object of endeavoring to relieve our national character from imputations which in other countries might be cast on it. We believe we hazard nothing in asserting, that the general sentiment of our country is that of dissapprobation and regret. No American journal has uttered a word in extenuation of the obliquity; many of our public writers have stigmatized it; not a voice has pronounced a favorable sentence, but from the circle of the parties. The only instance in which we could render to the Greeks any substantial service, has manifestly been perverted by private cupidity to unwarrantable emolument; a profit of 80,000 dollars made out of their distresses by their mercantile correspondents . . .

James Madison letter to Lafayette, November, 1826

(Madison, *Writings*, p. 264)

. . . It appears [that] the ample fund for two Frigates at an early day has procured but one which has but recently sailed. The indignation of the public is highly excited; and a regular investigation of the lamentable abuse is going on. In the meantime, Greece is bleeding in consequence of it, as is every heart that sympathises with her noble cause.

## B. A Review of the Pamphlets Published Relating to the Frigate Affair.

*North American Review*, July 1827

1. *Vindication of H. D. Sedgwick, with some Inquiries respecting the Award in the Case of the Greek Frigates.*
2. *A Narrative of the material Facts in Relation to the Building of the two Greek Frigates* By ALEXANDER CONTOSTAVLOS, an Agent of the Greek Government. Second edition. *With a Postscript.*
3. *Report of the Evidence and Reasons of their Award between Johannis Orlandos and Andreas Luriottis, Greek Deputies, of the one Part, and Le Roy, Bayard, & Co. and G. G. & S. Howland, of the other Part.* By THE ARBITRATORS.

4. *And 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 Mr Alexander Contostavlos.* By WILLIAM BAYARD.

5. *Refutation of the Reasons assigned by the Arbitrators for their Award in the Case of the Greek Frigates.* By H. D. SEDGWICK.

6. *An Examination of the Controversy between the Greek Deputies and two Mercantile Houses of New York; together with a Review of the Publications on the Subject, by the Arbitrators, Messrs Emmett & Ogden, and Mr William Bayard.* By JOHN DUER and ROBERT SEDGWICK.

THE subject of the series of pamphlets just named is too important to be wholly pretermitted in this journal. We took an early opportunity to endeavor to awaken an interest in the cause of Greece, among our fellow citizens, and have never ceased to watch, with solicitude, the progress of the great struggle, of which that singular and interesting land is the theatre. Before bringing to a close the remarks, which we intend at this time to offer to our readers, we shall state some circumstances which justify and prompt a continued sympathy with the Greeks, in this their anxious struggle for freedom. But we deem it a preliminary duty to make a few observations on the subject of the pamphlets before us.

It is not our purpose to enter into an analysis of the contents of these pamphlets, nor to relate the history of the controversy of which they are the vehicle. An extensive circulation has brought them, no doubt, directly to the knowledge of many of our readers, and an able digest and examination of their contents, has already been submitted to the public, in the pages of a contemporary journal of the highest respectability, the American Quarterly Review. Inasmuch, however, as the transactions connected with the Greek frigates, are of a nature to produce an effect on the American character abroad, and have already attracted the attention and become the subject of the comments of the foreign press, it is proper that the American press, in its various departments, should not pass them without notice. If we, as Americans, condemn the transactions which form the subject of these pamphlets, it is proper we should say so, and put it out of the power of foreign detractors to allege that such things occurred among us unnoted and uncondemned.

And yet it is not without embarrassment and pain, that we give utterance to our feelings and impressions on this subject. In the construction of the Greek frigates, two mercantile houses of the first respectability, in New York, were employed. To either of them, we should, if called upon, have implicitly confided the management of much more extensive transactions; and to any impeachment of the good faith and liberality of either of them, we should have turned an incredulous ear. The transactions, moreover, were vari-

ous and complicated; and the agency of the two houses not in all respects the same. To one of them may be justly ascribed the lead and governing spirit of these transactions; as from that house also has emanated a peremptory defence of them, even in those particulars, at which the public sentiment of the country has most revolted. It is scarcely possible, in speaking of the matter, to avoid confounding the two houses, although we apprehend the public feeling has justly make a decided discrimination between them, as to the share of censure, which belongs to each. At the same time, events, to which we are not justified in making more particular allusion, have occurred, since the termination of this affair, of a nature to disarm much of its severity the temper, in which we should otherwise pass sentence on its character.

We have never, for a moment, listened to an imputation of fraud. A looseness and irregularity in some important transactions, as the insurance item from Georgetown, we have indeed noticed. It also seems difficult to resist the conclusion, that various persons employed by the houses to work or furnish supplies, were allowed by the houses an enormous pay and compensation, the commission on which, charged by the houses in their own favor, is certainly not reconcilable with the rules of a delicate morality. Farther than this, however, we are not willing to go. We apprehend that nothing fraudulent, in the common acceptance of that term, was practiced or intended; and that the whole transaction was designed to be brought within the bounds of ordinary commercial honesty, where every party is expected to take care of itself.

The great charge against the houses is, that after having in substance solicited the employment (considering Messrs Bayards as representing the two houses), after having held out to the Greek deputies the promise of economy, after having furnished them with estimates (which, if not designed to regulate the expectations formed of the necessary expense, were worse than useless,—were a positive imposition), after having abandoned a plan of building by contract, and adopted, *as cheaper* that of day's work (a mode of building, which we believe to be without a precedent in our ship yards), the houses should, nevertheless have run up the expense of each of these white oak frigates, fifty per cent above that of a live oak ship of the line of the first order; should have charged an excessive commission on these their monstrous disbursements; should have pursued a harsh and unfriendly course to compel the payment of demands, afterwards pronounced, by the arbitrators, unfounded; should have thrown obstacles in the way of the Greek agent, sent out to extricate the affair from the difficulties into which it plunged; and wound up with the atrocious libels on all those who had acted against them, as the opposite parties in the transaction, and passionate appeals to the public for sympathy, as wronged and suffering men.

The only reply attempted to any part of this charge, is, that no fraud has been committed,—no monies have been charged as paid which were not paid; and that the work has been well and faithfully done. We will admit all this to be the case, notwithstanding the very large sum of money which was needed to send the *Hellas* to sea, after she came from the hands of the houses, and notwithstanding the certificate of Captain Gregory, as to the state in which he found the vessel. The charge is, that, after soliciting this employment from motives of sympathy in the cause of the Greeks, and parading an expression of feeling towards this people, the transaction should have been made the occasion of the very highest rate of commercial profit, and that charges to the amount of over a hundred thousand dollars should have been made, of such a character as to be disallowed by arbitrators, who certainly will not be accused of abandoning the interest of the houses. By one of the houses, that agency was invited; it was accepted with warm protestations of zeal for the Greek cause. And yet we find charges of ten per cent commissions on disbursements made of cash already in bank to meet them; we read of enormous damages on protested bills, not authorized to be drawn, not sold in this country, and not required to meet any expenditure which had taken place; and worse than all, we meet with a *talk* of commission on the sale to the government of the United States of one of these frigates; a sale, which the party, who talked of charging the commission, had done nothing to effect, and much to obstruct. If, in all this, it be said there is no fraud, we answer, be it so; but we must add, at the same time, there is no liberality, no love for struggling liberty, none of the fine sentiment which had been professed.

We should however, have been less concerned, if our censures could have been confined to the houses. But we are obliged to add, that we deem the conduct of the counsel for the houses, in some respects, and that of the arbitrators, throughout, equally open to exception. As the great error of the houses was, after making professions of sentiment, to come down and turn the whole affair into an ordinary business of money making, so we conceive it the error of the highly respectable counsel for the houses, that they could not emancipate themselves, on this occasion, from the influence of mere professional maxims of conduct, as commonly understood and practiced. Messrs Ogden and Emmett received each a fee of fifteen hundred dollars, as counsel for the two houses before the arbitrators, as we are informed by the arbitrators themselves. We believe that professional duty, as commonly understood, obliges counsel to engage in any cause, in which their assistance is asked. Counsel, it is said, must not undertake to prejudge a cause. Once engaged, we believe it is the duty of the counsel to say, not what they think, feel, or know, as individual men; but anything, and everything, which can be urged, with plausibility, on the side for which they are retained. All this may be very well. In most cases litigated, the great cause of humanity, liberality, and of conscience, in which all

lawyers, and all good men, ought to consider themselves as retained, may remain unaffected, in the conflict of opposite counsel plausibly arguing the pro and con of the issue. But we conceive that this cannot be said of the course pursued by at least one of the eminent counsel employed by the houses. If that gentleman is not misreported (and he cannot blame us, if we take for admitted the correctness of an uncontradicted report made by responsible gentlemen), he urged on the arbitrators to award in favor of the houses, on the ground, that Greece was not interested in the award; that it was the affair of speculating agents; that Greece was already sacrificed; and that the clamor raised by her pretended friends, was that of foul birds, screaming for their portion of the carcass. Was this liberal? Was it merciful? Was it true?

Mr Emmett, may tell us, indeed, it was a forensic flourish; that he meant merely to produce an effect on the minds of the arbitrators, which it was the duty of the counsel for the Greek deputies to counteract; that he left it to the latter gentlemen to state the fact that Greece *was* most deeply interested in the award; that an award in favor of the houses would deprive that country of almost its last hope; and that the parties which now appeared in behalf of Greece were not (as unjustly represented by the gentleman with the fee of fifteen hundred dollars in his pocket) mercenary harpies, clamoring for a portion of the plunder of their country, but patriotic and honorable citizens, contending in a foreign land, against fearful odds and most high handed injustice. We say, all this does not satisfy us; and we do not admit that it was right or becoming for the counsel of the houses, to indulge in insinuations against the honesty of the opposite party. They had reason to be content with acting on the defensive there. Still less, in our humble judgment, did it become the senior counsel for the houses, in a portion of the joint address of himself and his colleague, which he published on his individual responsibility, to wage war on the unprotected stranger entrusted with the affairs of Greece in this country, with allusions to worn out proverbs and idle traditionary calumnies. It seems that when ancient Greece had been overrun and subjugated by the Romans, and its inhabitants reduced, from the condition of an independent to that of a tributary people, groaning under tyranny at home and slavery in the land of their new masters, the Romans, with equal liberality and knowledge of human nature, thought fit to propagate the maxim, that there was "no faith in a Greek." With the Romans, this ingenious device of damning the conquered Greeks, in an adage, had not even the merit of novelty, for they had already found out, under the same circumstances, that Punic faith was also suspicious. They were in both cases the plagiarists of honest Æsop, whose fable placed the lion wounded and abject, at the hunter's feet. In the pages of Juvenal these sarcasms are in place. He did not treat Greeks worse than he did Romans, or the human race in general. But what shall we say of sober jurists, after a lapse of two thousand years, long

enough, one would think, for the prejudices of nations to die away, reviving these stale Roman proverbs, as grave topics of argument in a practical question, at the present day; casting suspicions on Mr Contostavlos's veracity, because he is a Greek, and because the Romans could not trust the Greek slaves, whom they had dragged from their homes in Attica, and chained to their door posts and work benches? What shall we say of this when done, not merely in the course of argument at bar, in which, as already observed, counsel are not understood to speak in their individual capacity; but in an address to the public, through the columns of a newspaper, with the sanctions of a name; against a foreigner, partially acquainted with our language, and friendless, except so far as his cause has gained him friends; when done, in fine, by an individual, himself a foreigner, himself in exile from a wronged, oppressed, insulted, country; himself obnoxious to the stale national sneers and the proverbial sarcasms, of all who can find it in their hearts to indulge in this species of warfare?

With regard to the arbitration, we have no wish to revive the recollection of that burst of feeling, which pervaded the continent, on the subject, especially when it was heard, that although the award was against the houses to an enormous extent, the arbitrators has assigned themselves out of the Greek fund alone, and for a few days' service, a handsome year's salary. On the supposition, that the arbitrators were all men of very high respectability in the community, we can point to men as respectable, all over the United States, whose annual salary, in offices of trust, honor, and responsibility, does not exceed what these gentlemen awarded to each of themselves, for about twenty days' service on this arbitration. We well remember when the tidings of this award reached our humble metropolis of the north, with what feelings it was heard. Not a man believed it; the report was universally treated as a libel; the friends of Greece were cautioned against taking up slanders, which would react on themselves. Such, however, was the charge; fifteen hundred dollars to each of the arbitrators, *as such*, for so they express themselves. Risk they ran none; they could not, from the nature of things; and were fortified against any, by a written release from the opposite party.

But we conceive that this is far from being the most unpleasant feature of the arbitration. In the course of the proceedings before the arbitrators, one of those gentlemen fell into an altercation with one of the counsel of the deputies, and the offensive remarks made by the former were retorted by the latter. This proved the signal for the son of the arbitrator (who with other spectators was present) to attempt to strike Mr Sedgwick, which he was prevented from doing, solely by the interference of the gentleman near. After ineffectually repeating his attempt, he was checked by his parent, the senior arbitrator, with the intimation that "he had done enough." Enough for what? Enough, in the

opinion of the young gentleman, to made it necessary for Mr Sedgwick to send him a challenge; which Mr Sedgwick having the firmness not to do, drew upon himself a fresh visitation of insult in the newspapers, in which it was apparently hinted that any other mode of proceeding, than that by wilful murder, would be deemed out of taste in New York, on such an occasion. Whether the young man was thought by his father, to have done enough in this way also, does not appear. These are occurrences to which we allude with pain. But they are of more dangerous tendency, than any other connected with the whole transaction. Notoriety and the public press will afford a remedy for the original evil of the case; but if respectable citizens, husbands, fathers, and Christians, ably and honorably discharging a professional duty to a helpless stranger, are to be first assaulted, and then involved in the necessity of murdering or being murdered, the press itself will be intimidated; men of peace struck dumb, and injustice and oppression left without check. Of the persons who conduct we now censure, we privately know nothing and say nothing. Of their deportment before the public we take leave to speak in the language due to truth and justice. We deem it not the less due to truth and justice, to bear witness to zeal, fidelity, and success, with which a most arduous duty was discharged by Messrs Sedgwicks and their associates, Messrs Duer and Robinson. They have deserved will of the cause of humanity, to an extent, which it is rarely in the power of the most benevolent and active to go, in their efforts to do good.

But we forbear to dwell on theses painful transactions. It has been our duty to unite our voice to that of the American press in general, in pronouncing a sentence of unqualified reprobation of them. We repeat, however, what we have already hinted, that we are disposed to make great favorable discriminations between the conduct of the two houses; on one of which, perhaps, no other blame rests, than that of partial acquiescence; a blame mitigated by a commendable deference to public opinion, as substantially expressed.

A far more important, though closely connected topic, is, the probable fortune of the country and the cause, for the deference of which this ill starred enterprise was undertaken. With what prospects are the Greeks pursuing their present struggle? and what is the duty of the uncivilized world toward them?

If we argued on the prospects of the Greeks merely *a priori*, we should pronounce it impossible, that so small and feeble a portion of the Turkish empire could succeed, in a conflict with the government. But this reasoning is not out of season, in reference to the present contest. It might have been expected that the Greeks would have been crushed in the first, second, or third campaign. A longer period than this, it could scarcely require, to bring the whole power of the government into its most concentrated and

efficient action against them. Three campaigns, however, passed, and the insurrection was no nearer being crushed than at its commencement. It was the case, however, that in these campaigns the Porte had not brought its whole power to bear on the Greeks. The peculiar nature of the Turkish government,—substantially that of viceroys almost independent of the nominal head, makes it difficult to put at once into motion the entire amount of the reputed force of the empire. It was not until the fourth campaign, that the Porte was able to bring into the field the most powerful of its subject princes, the bey of Egypt. This skilful ruler, it would seem, took time to deliberate, before he permitted his son to embark with the strength of his principality, in the doubtful enterprise of invading Greece. But when, at length, the first Egyptian expedition was fairly landed in the Morea, it must be conceded that the Porte had made as great an effort, as it could possibly make, to crush the revolt. The Egyptian troops were composed of veterans, trained in the recent wars against the Wechabites and the chiefs of the Upper Nile. They were led, in part at least, by European officers; and every thing that could be effected by a preponderating military strength, ought to have been, and in fact was effected by Ibrahim Pacha, in his first campaign. But at the close of this and two succeeding campaigns, and after five successive reinforcements from Egypt, the war is no nearer a probable termination, than on the first day the hostilities commenced. The Egyptians are able to march at pleasure, through open country; but, except in the single case of Missolonghi, have effected nothing without the bounds of the Morea, and within it, they have not found themselves in strength to attempt the reduction of Napoli.

Meantime, what has been the effect of this protracted conflict upon the Egyptian forces? Not a man surely has returned to Egypt, and after five reinforcements, it does not appear, that Ibrahim is in greater force than when he landed. The support of his army must be a dead weight, principally, on his father's treasury. The system of the Porte does not know of such a thing, as the payment of troops from the Sultan's coffers. The Pacha, who leads them to the field, must provide for them as he can. The soil of Greece herself can, in the present state of the country, yield scarcely anything, toward the force of an invading army. Egypt is not in a condition to export provisions to any extent; and no resource remains to the Egyptian army, but to direct purchase from the neutral powers, principally the Austrians. What means can the bey of Egypt have of supporting, for any considerable number of years, this war of dollars, for such it has now become, as far as the Turks are concerned? Their invading armies have made no effectual impression; their fleets are unable to hold the brave little squadrons of the Greeks in check; the partisans and guerillas of the patriots hang upon the flanks and rear of the Egyptian army, wherever it moves; the old men, the women, and the children have been transported to the islands or to the fastnesses of the mountains, where, with the sustenance derived from

their sheep and goats, they have as yet to bid defiance, not merely to the barbarian enemy, but to the still more pressing approach of famine; and no way, in fact, remains, by which the country can be subdued, by the unaided powers of the Turkish government, but starvation; and this weapon, thank Heaven, they will not be permitted to employ.

It was a propitious circumstance, connected with the revolution in Greece, that the year before it commenced, an attack was made by the Porte, on its most powerful vassal, the Pacha of Yanina. Had events precipitated the commencement of the revolution in Greece, so that it should have burst forth, before the rupture of Ali Pacha with the Porte, there is scarce a doubt, that this powerful prince would have been wielded as an instrument, for the effectual suppression of the insurrection. His interest and policy would have enlisted him in the cause. That of the Sultan would not less strongly have dictated the employment, in this difficult and exhausting service, of a chieftain, too powerful for quiet submission; and though the event might have been, in the first instance, the severance of Greece from the jurisdiction of the Porte, and the erection of a new monarchy, under Ali Pacha, yet the revolt could not probably but have been promptly crushed and terribly punished. The Morea, in 1775, was all but desolated, by letting loose upon it twenty-five thousand Albanians, after its desertion by the Russians; and a like catastrophe would have been of most probable occurrence, had the turn of affairs permitted the Porte to employ Ali against the rebellious Greeks. The patriots, however, who led on the hazardous movement of the revolution, watched their time with greater sagacity, than they have generally had credit for. They had for more than five years mediated the project of emancipation. A secret fraternity had spread its branches through Greece. Its remotest provinces were in concert; what was maturing in Moldavia and Wallachia, was known in Constantinople, in the Morea, and in Albania; and with all the multitudes that must have participated in these dangerous counsels, the explosion, though in reality at last accidental and unconcerted, did not take place till a propitious crisis had arrived, and Ali Pacha, instead of being at the disposal of the Porte, to take the field against the insurgents, occasioned himself the most embarrassing diversion of the Ottoman forces. To this cause, no doubt are to be traced the languor and inefficiency of the military operations of the three first campaigns.

Bereaved of the aid of their great vassal of the west, at a moment when it was most needed, and convinced by trial, of the impossibility of crushing the insurrection by the employment of ordinary pachas, the Porte, as a last resort, called in the bey of Egypt; doubtless on the calculation, that if it did not regain a revolted province, it would embarrass and exhaust a dangerous subject. It appears to us, that the inefficacy of the Egyptian invasion has by this time been shown; that Ibrahim cannot put an end to the

war, merely by continuing the military occupation of a small part of the soil; and that the expense of this occupation must shortly exhaust his finances, and compel him to return.

We do not, therefore, for ourselves, see what can be done by the Turkish government, which has not already been done to no purpose, to effect the subjugation of the Greeks. There are no other powerful pachas, whose military skill and force can be brought into action. An experiment, indeed, has been made, and is now in progress, conceived in a bolder spirit, than usually animates the counsels of the Porte, which, could it be crowned with success, might threaten worse consequences to the Greeks, than anything they have as yet had to fear. We refer, of course, to the disbanding of the Janissaries, and the organization of a regular army on the European system. Could this be effected; could all the population of the Turkish empire; of armsbearing age, be enlisted in an army, organized, disciplined, and led like the armies of France and of England, it would indeed make the Porte formidable, not merely to the Greeks, but to the leading powers in Europe, who are now able to look, with stoical calmness, at the feeble and ineffectual blows aimed by Turkey at a people who stand on the frontier of Christendom. We have, however, no faith whatever, in the success of this experiment, and this for reasons, with all which we will not trouble our readers. It will be sufficient to remind them, that precisely the same experiment, attempted by the most accomplished and able of all Sultans, who, for a century and a half, have succeeded to the throne, cost him his life, not more than twenty years ago. We see no reason, why a change of policy which brought Selim to the bowstring, should succeed in the hands of the present Sultan, a man of unpopular manners and moderate capacity. In the next place, the institution of the Janissaries is not a mere arbitrary thing, which can be taken up and laid down at pleasure; but it is a part of the social existence of the people; an organization which has existed for two centuries, ever since, in fact, the firm establishment of the Turkish power in Europe. It approaches, in its nature, the organization of our militia; and the attempt to disband the Janissaries and introduce a regular force, is very nearly the same as an attempt would be in Europe, to establish a regular army by conscription, in a country where both army and conscription were wholly unknown before. Could a regular army be organized in Turkey, there is great doubt if it could be maintained in the field. Hitherto the civil and the military service under the Turkish government has been ordered, substantially, on the feudal principle, which, in the main, is the principle of the oriental world, as far back as our accounts run. The empire is divided into provinces, which are committed, almost in full sovereignty, to the government of the pachas. These pachas pay an annual sum to the Sultan; and indemnify themselves from the inhabitants of the provinces, in which they defray the expenses of their own government. When called to take the field

with their contingents, the pachas must defray the expenses of their troops, which are made as light as possible by a system of free quarters alike on friend and foe. Now in a government where the military has long been on this footing, a government, moreover, confessedly in its decrepitude, to attempt to disband the great feudal militia of the country, and enlist a standing army, seems to us a very doubtful experiment.

Nor does it appear that any success, at all deserving the name, has attended this experiment, during the three years that it is understood to have been going on. The most the Porte has been able to do, is to quell the revolt of the Janissaries at Constantinople, nor has this been done without immense bloodshed. It does not appear, that a single regiment of the new army has reached Greece; and as far as our information, at this distance, extends, the only effect of the experiment, hitherto, has been to paralyze the old military organization, and excite a general discontent at its suppression, without substituting any other in its place.

If, indeed, (which we grant to be not impossible, though in a high degree unlikely to happen) the Porte succeed, by dint of spasmodic and fanatical effort, on the one hand, guided by observation of the systems of western Europe, on the other, in organizing an efficient army on the European system; should she be able so to improve her financial system, as to pay and support this army, and with it conquer Greece and return as she would from that conquest, a regenerated military power of the first rank, essentially hostile, and as formidable as hostile, to the political system of Europe, it would present a curious commentary on the course which has been pursued by the leading European powers, by Russia, England, and France, in reference to the present struggle. All general principles of politics dictated to these powers, to take advantage of the present convenient opportunity, to drive from Europe a government, necessarily at war with the civilization of Christendom, and never established within its limits, by any better title, than military occupation. To justify themselves for disregarding these dictates of sound general policy, the leading powers have urged the inconvenience and danger at the present moment, of allowing the peace of Europe to be disturbed, of building up a new power of very uncertain relations toward the rest, or of aggrandizing, in doubtful proportions, by a partition of European Turkey, the older powers, which might take part in a general war against the Turks. Now avoid these dangers and inconveniences, what are the leading powers of Europe doing? They are sitting quietly by, while the Porte is making the experiment (and, as the government party in almost every portion of Europe anticipates, the successful experiment) of organizing in Turkey an efficient military establishment on the European footing, and thus converting that power of the first order intrenched in Europe in a position chosen by the eye of Constantine, and wisely chosen,

as commanding Europe and Asia. In exchange for the risk of building up a feeble republic in Greece, the leading powers think it wise to recall into being, that power which once threw its legions within the walls of Otranto and knocked at the gates of Vienna. The cabinets which dread the disproportionate aggrandizement of Russia, contemplate without alarm the regeneration of a power, whose principles must ever be at war with those of Europe, whose position is far more dangerous, whose means of annoyance more to be dreaded. One needs but to consider the injuries, which the petty regencies of the Barbary coast have inflicted on the states of Christendom, to be able to estimate the effect on the peace and intercourse of Europe, of the restoration of Turkey to a state of vigorous political and military activity. To effect and to countenance this restoration has been the policy of the cabinets of Europe, since the commencement of the Grecian revolution. And this is called preserving the tranquility of Europe! But for ourselves, we apprehend no such danger. We have no faith in the successful accomplishment of the great transformation, which is attempted in the Turkish system, and we are unable to perceive, after the most diligent scrutiny, under the best lights at our command, where the Porte is to find, or how it is to make, the means of bringing to bear upon the Greeks, a greater military pressure, than it has hitherto effected; and without a much greater pressure, we see no possibility of crushing the revolt.

It is necessary then to contemplate the position of the Greeks, as they are likely to be affected by the continuance of the present state of things; on the supposition, that the Porte, although unable to make an effort sufficient to bring the war to a close, may yet, for a number of years, preserve in the present or a similar system of hostilities. Have the Greeks anything to hope from the interference of the powers of Europe?

If the designs of the cabinets could be judged of, by the declaration of those designs, we should unhesitatingly pronounce, that, in the way of direct, friendly interference, the Greeks have nothing to hope from the powers of western Europe. Russia is by religion the natural ally of Greece. No jealousy, but a strong friendly feeling subsists between the Greeks and the Russians. Extensive commercial and family connexions exist between them. Greeks who succeeding in amassing wealth retired habitually to Moscow. Individuals, who became obnoxious to the Turkish government, fled to Russia. Many of the young men, particularly those of the ancient families, entered the Russian army; not a few rose to honorable posts in the Russian civil service. In a word, no national association in Europe is older or more intimate than that of the Greeks and Russians. It dates from the very dawn of civilization in Russia in the middle ages, and is cemented by all the ties, which can bind nations together, except that of language. Such was the feeling of Russia toward Greece, as between the people on both sides. The late emperor

Alexander had every reason to share this feeling, both as a Russian and a ruler of Russians. The hereditary policy of his family looked to extension of the Russian influence, if not of the Russian empire, on the side of Greece; and all the lessons of his renowned grandmother dictated a watchful policy in that direction. Unfortunately for the Greeks, at least in the first instance, Alexander's feelings and policy, as a Russian prince, were controlled by his position in the general system of Europe. The occurrences in Naples, Piedmont, and Spain presented a dangerous coincidence with the revolution in Greece. Alexander was not able, or was not permitted, to draw a line of distinction between the two cases, and the Porte was permitted to enjoy the advantage of the decree, which went out against all movements of the people against their rulers. But for this untoward coincidence, there is scarce room for a doubt, that the differences between Russia and Turkey, founded on long established hatred between the countries, aggravated by the breach of the last treaty between them, in reference to the protection to be enjoyed by Moldavia and Wallachia, and exasperated by the personal insults offered to the Russian minister at Constantinople, and by the massacre of the patriarch, would have ended the war. In fact, the Russian armies were on the Pruth, and the slightest additional provocation, not to say the merest accident, would have carried them over it. But the turn of events in the south of Europe disheartened Alexander; difficulties since arising with the Persians have occasioned a diversion of the Russian power, on the eastern flank of the empire; and an accommodation has been made with the Porte. This accommodation, although securing substantially the privileges of the Christian population of Moldavia and Wallachia, has been made at the sacrifice of the privileges of the Greek families, which Russia for more than a century has guaranteed, and which, it is reasonably to be expected, will, at some future period, and in a change of circumstances, again be matter of contention between Russia and the Porte.

But the policy of England is perhaps still more important, in its bearing on the struggle in Greece, not merely on account of the actual ability of England to promote or prevent a successful issue of the struggle, but on account of her supposed interest as the rival and antagonist of Russia. This rivalry, as we have on former occasions been led to state, has, in more than one instance, been an effectual shield to the feebleness of the Ottoman empire. To all appearance, it will for some time so continue; and perhaps it is the tendency of the present state of things, rather to confirm than to weaken the policy of the English cabinet, in maintaining the Sultan against the Czar. England is now vulnerable in two characters; characters, in principle, diametrically opposite to each other; but in which she stands, in consequence of a coincidence of circumstances, of which it is in vain to seek a parallel in the history of the world. She is a mistress of a mighty empire in the east; in population second only to that of China; in the despotic frame of its govern-

ment on the same footing as China, Turkey, and Russia. Of the four great despotisms of the modern dispensation, England, in her Indian empire, is one. She fills a link in the chain of absolute rule, which binds the earth in subjection, from the east of Asia to the west of Europe.

Now it so happens, that Turkey, another of these great despotisms, intervenes between the British empire, which is extensively exposed, and the Russian, which is essentially militant, and which is notoriously growing up into some great development of power, of which no one undertakes to foretell the character or direction, but of which we all feel a foreboding dread. Turkey herself is passive; her power depends on quiescence; her antiquated machinery of government can sustain no competition with the political double-speeders of this revolutionary age. She has a few ships built by French engineers in her ship yards, but no seamen, except her revolted Greeks. An effective, disposable military power she has not, and for the reasons we have already ventured to state, cannot have. She is therefore to England a perfectly safe neighbor, in reference to the British possessions in the east. But, on the other hand, she presents, on the side of Russia, a barrier not easy to pass. In any state of things, in which British India should be threatened from Russia, England would find and would employ the means of entangling Russia with the Porte; to say nothing of the natural effect of the geographical position of the two powers. These relations are perfectly understood by all the parties concerned, and by none better than by Turkey and England. The Porte well knows, that it is in the interest of Great Britain to preserve the integrity of the Ottoman empire, against the advances of Russia; and Great Britain feels that any essential change in the present position toward each other of Turkey and Russia, might be a very hazardous experiment, in reference to her eastern dominions. She has not forgotten that thirty years have not elapsed, since the Turkish empire, on occasion of the French invasion of Egypt, afforded England the most seasonable aid in warding off a blow, which was ultimately aimed at India, and which was, in the chapter of political accidents, much less likely to be struck, than any to be feared from Russia. If Turkey, in time of need, has so lately proved an useful ally to England against France, it is not to be supposed, that the importance of her position, as a barrier on the side of Russia, will ever be lost sight of.

Such is the state of things, which must govern the policy of England in this contest, considered as one of the great despotisms now subsisting. In the other capacity in which she presents herself to the world, we again behold her in opposition to Russia, but it is in her quality as champion of liberal principles and representative governments in Europe, against the system of the continental alliance, with Russia at its head. In this view, many things are adverse to an interference of either of these powers, of a nature

friendly to Greece. England could not acquiesce in any measures, which would aggrandize Russia, or powerfully extend her influence, on the side of Turkey. The expulsion of the Turks from Europe would inevitably add to Russia Moldavia and Wallachia (consequently the mouth of the Danube), and probably Bulgaria and ancient Thrace, and with them Constantinople, and the entire communication of the Black sea with the Mediterranean. Is this an event, the remotest approach to which would be endured by England, at the time when the fear of Russia ascendancy is becoming a panic fear in the south and west of Europe? Certainly not. On the other hand, as we have already said, Russia herself cannot, from political reasons, now favor the movement in Greece, being deeply pledged to the antirevolutionary policy, in all its forms.

No important influence, on the affairs of Greece, distinct from the influence of Russia and of England, can be exercised by any of the other great powers of Europe. It is true, Austria has an important and extensive frontier on Turkey, which she is obliged to watch by a very large and expensive border garrison, which has an organization and establishment of its own, distinct from that of the rest of the Austrian army. One or two Turkish provinces would round out the Austrian dominions very handsomely, on the Danube and on the Adriatic. We are not sure, in fact, that Austria does not, as successor to the doge of Venice, claim to be the legitimate sovereign of the kingdoms of Morea, of Candia, and Cyprus. The three flagstaffs on which the banners of these kingdoms waved, still stand in place of St Mark's. But Austria, like Turkey, is a quiescent power. She moves only when impelled; and owes her own safety to the undisturbed maintenance of what has been and what is. France, by national character and manners, by intimate association with the Greeks, since the commencement of the French revolution, and by the military passion of the present generation, possesses the means of interfering to great effect in the contest. France is, however, entirely controlled by her own political situation, and can exercise no independent influence, either in reference to the revolution in Greece, or any other question of international politics. Had Napoleon continued to live and reign, some radical changes would unquestionably have taken place, in the southeastern corner of Europe. He informs us, that he often conferred with Russia on the subject of the partition of European Turkey, but that they never could agree about Constantinople. Napoleon, however, had his way of settling these points with other powers, in cases of disagreement.

If the foregoing speculations are correct, it follows, that no powerful interference is to be expected, on the part of any one of the leading powers, in favor of the Greeks. Is it equally unlikely, that these powers may, by union of counsels, effect a termination of the contest on favorable terms? Rumors to this effect, have circulated too long and too exten-

sively, to be set down as wholly groundless. The groundwork for such a concert between at least three great powers, Russia, Austria, and England, already exists. They are all frontier powers as respects Greece, all concerned in giving a direction favorable to their own interests, to the events of which Greece is the theatre. Should the Turkish government be removed from Europe, it would still remain in sufficient force in Asia, to satisfy all the demands of the British policy, in reference to her Indian empire. The partition, which we have above suggested in reference to Austria and Russia is obvious, and might be compensated to the queen of islands, by as many of the gems of the Levant, as she might choose to set in the coronet of her ocean empire; while the central portion of Greece, the real seat of the revolution, presents every advantage for the establishment of an independent government, under the guaranty of the great powers. Such an arrangement between the leading powers of Europe, would certainly be in no degree novel, in an age, which has witnessed the transactions of the Congress of Vienna, to say nothing of the events connected with the French revolution, and with the erection of the Spanish American provinces into independent states. Nature is evidently struggling for relief, from the oppression of the Turkish despotism in Europe. The presence, in a Christian region, of a Mahometan power; the rule of a barbarous government, over a race of men belonging to the family of European civilization, is an anomaly, at once too afflicting and too monstrous to become permanent.

It is indeed to be deplored, that reasons of state have, on this occasion, sealed up the tongue and palsied the hand of him, who of all living men could the easiest apply the remedy to this grievous disease. There is an individual, who sits on no throne, in whose veins no aristocratic blood runs, who derives no influence from amassed or inherited wealth, but who, by the simple supremacy of mind, exercises, at this moment, a political sway, as mighty as that of Napoleon at the zenith of his power. Indebted for his own brilliant position to the liberality of the age, which is shaking off the fetters of ancient prejudices, this literal ruler by the grace of god, can feel no real deference for most of the maxims, by which the neutrality of England, in the wars of Grecian liberty, is justified. How devoutly is it to be wished, that the pure and undying glory of restoring another civilized region to the family of Christendom, could present itself in vision to the mind of this fortunate statesman; that, turning from his fond but magnificent boast, that he had called into existence a new world in the Indies, he would appropriate to himself the immortal fame, which could not be gainsaid, of having recalled to life the fairest region of Europe. He has but to speak the word, within the narrow wall of St Stephen's, and the Sultan trembles on his throne. He has but to speak the word, and all the poor scruples and hypocritical sophistries of the continental cabinets vanish into air. Let him then abandon the paltry chase of a few ragamuffin Portuguese malecontents, and follow a

game, which is worthy of himself and the people whose organ he is. Let him pronounce the sentence of expulsion from Europe of the cruel and barbarous despotism, which has so long oppressed it. The whole civilized world will applaud and sanction the decree; out a sum of human good, which the revolutions of ages scarcely put it within the reach of men or governments, to avert or effect. He will encircle his plebian temples with a wreath of fame, compared with which the diadem of the monarch whom he serves is worthless dross.

But we suppose it must not be; the Greeks must be left to work out their own emancipation, by their own resources, aided by a single, ad that we trust an all sufficient ally, to which, before closing these remarks, we shall more particularly allude. Unless some concerted action in her favor, on the part of the leading powers takes place, present appearances authorize the expectation, that the war, as at present carried on, will continue for years. Neither party is in force to it to a decisive close. It has abundantly appeared, from six years' experience, that the Turkish government cannot command the means of crushing the insurrection. It is not less plain, that the Greeks do not possess the means of expelling the hostile forces now in the country and preventing further invasion. Nothing therefore remains, supposing foreign powers to continue to stand aloof, but that the contest should continue, till the one side or the other is fairly exhausted or disabled. Is this likely to be the Turks or the Greeks? Obviously the former, from the nature of the case, and manifold causes growing out of the relative position of the two parties. The Turks are invaders. The stationary Turkish population, resident in those parts of Greece, which are the scene of the revolution, did not exceed at the opening of the war, one twentieth of the whole population. On the breaking out of hostilities, these Turks fled for safety to the garrisons, or joined the armies, and their hold upon the country was entirely cut off. Difference of language, religion, and political position, prevented the formation of a party in favor of the government, which usually exists in civil wars. It is impossible, then, that that the Turkish force should be kept up, either as to numbers or supplies, but by continual effort from without. The country furnishes nothing to it. Men and provisions must be constantly poured in, at vast expense, if further operations are to be carried on; or even if things are to be kept as they now stand. The Turkish government has no credit. We suppose that even the Jews of the stock exchange, who lend all, would not lend to the Turk. Where the resources have been found, to carry on the war thus far, is a financial problem, which we confess ourselves unable to solve; and which the accounts that continually reach us from Constantinople, of Armenian bankers bowstringed, the coin debased, and the ornaments of the mosques transferred to the mint, do but partly explain.

The Greeks, on the other hand, act upon the defensive. They have no regular armies to raise, transport, and subsist in foreign lands. It is true, they need money to keep their militia in the field, and the war languishes and is protracted from this very cause. But the population of the country is just able to subsist, in the present state of things. The Egyptian army does not follow them into their mountain retreats, where their flocks, and such rude agriculture as they can pursue, afford them a pinched subsistence; while their countrymen in the seaports and nearer the coast have been prevented from starving, by the benevolence of the friends of humanity in foreign climes. We do not say that all this is prosperous, is comfortable, is desirable. God forbid; but we say it can be borne; and will be borne, rather than come again under the accursed yoke of the Turks, or encounter the fate, which has been repeatedly denounced, and which, if not denounced, would most surely befall them,—indiscriminate extermination, by military execution or sale into slavery. At any rate, it seems plain to us, that the Greeks can no longer subsist on the defensive, in their present situation, than the Turks can find the means of meeting the enormous pecuniary burden of their establishments.

A considerable part of the Greek population is scattered among the islands and islets of the Archipelago, and subsists by the plunder of the enemy; and we are sorry to add, by indiscriminate piracy on the navigation of the Levant. This evil indeed will go on increasing, as the war is protracted. Starved out at home, they will take to the sea; and will prey upon the nations whose policy preys on them. Every way to be regretted, this consequence of the state of things existing in Greece, is particularly unfortunate, from its effect, in creating a prejudice against the Greeks. The American merchant, who is invited to contribute for the relief of the Greeks, excuses himself, on the ground, that his last letters from Smyrna inform him, that he has had a valuable ship plundered, and the crew beaten, by Greek pirates. It ought, however, in charity to be remembered, first, that this state of things unavoidably takes place, where a war is carried on by a feeble government. The Grecian government has not the physical means to coerce the unprincipled part of its subjects, into an observance of the law of nations. In the next place it should be allowed, that some of the Christian powers have afforded the Greeks the most irritating provocation, in lending their flag to the Turks. What Greek, that saw the Austrian transports standing into Missolonghi, could be expected to be very scrupulous, as to the law of nations, at least as far as Austrians are concerned? Nor should it finally be forgotten, in reference to the present piracies in the Grecian seas, that they are the acts, not of Greeks merely, but of a *colluvies* of all tongues and nations, the outcasts of every country. To adventurers of this description, the Grecian islands have, in every age, from the time of Julius Caesar, furnished a covert; and we have no doubt that every *mistic's* crew of pirates, whose nefarious deeds are set down to the account of Greece,

contains a full representation from every Christian people bordering on the Mediterranean. If it does not, the population of the Archipelago is improving, which we certainly did not suppose to be the case.

If we can but bring ourselves to a well grounded belief, that the Greeks will be able to ride out, for a considerable time to come, as they have for six years already past, the terrible storm which is beating upon them, we can trace some beneficial consequences from this prolongation of their fiery trial. Starting up from abject political subjection, not to say personal slavery; rallying together without any previous association in the community; composed of individuals from the most remote extremes of society (for what can be more remote than the manners and character of the mountaineers of Suli, the merchants of Hydra, and the gentry of the Fanar); and all bringing with them the social vices, which a tyrannical government engenders in every class of society, the phalanx of the Grecian patriots has certainly not yet exhibited all the necessary qualifications for self government. They have most wanted that, which, indeed, wherever it is enjoyed, is rightfully acknowledged to be, not so much a signal advantage of the ordinary kind, as an undoubted gift of heaven. Strike out the name and agency of Washington from the American revolution, and you have the elements of a very different result of labors and sacrifices. The Greek revolution has exhibited no defect so prominently, as the want of a brave, skilful, patriotic leader, equal to the momentous crisis of his country's fortunes.

As the influence of such a leader is in nothing more conspicuous than in repressing and compromising the feuds, and conciliating the tempers of the men of weight and activity below him, it may safely be ascribed to the want of such a leader, that faction has been permitted to proceed to such alarming lengths, in the conduct of the revolution. Could all parties, from the first, have been cordially united, in an intelligent co-operation against the common enemy, it is probable though by no means certain, that the war might already have been brought to a close. Time, however, has been wasted, opportunities lost, and money thrown away, from the clashing of rival chieftains, and the war of interests, partly personal, partly geographical, partly of political principle. While these factions last, however much to be deplored, they prove they prove that the cause is not *in extremis*. If they show the indiscretion of the Greeks, they show the inability of the Turks to apply the sovereign remedy for domestic feuds, an overwhelming foreign force. It does not appear, moreover, that there is any ground for permanent and fatal dissension among the different classes of the population. There is no even such dissimilarity as exists, on many important points, between various members of our federal union. In short, we perceive no obstacle, to prevent the hearty union of all Greece under the guidance of any leader, suited for the vocation, who shall arise among them.

Till such an individual shall appear, paradoxical as the remark may seem, the cause of the revolution, in spite of all the horrors and suffering of war, stands safer now, than it would in the event of a premature pacification. Every one, who reflects on our own history, will feel, that, blessed though we were with statesmen and leaders of unbounded influence, the cause of American liberty was in greater peril from 1783 to 1789, than during the continuance of the war. In the exigencies of the war, a leader is more likely to be formed. If the Greeks should succeed in making peace with the Turks, on the basis of independence, before the appearance of any individual of paramount influence, and before their political organization is matured, they would stand in a more critical position than at present. Whether we look, therefore, to the probability that the character so much wanted will arise among them, under the strong urgency of the times, or that the common peril will gradually draw their counsels into harmony, and effect a mature organization, the continuance of the contest, notwithstanding the misery incident to it, must be regarded as a part of the necessary education of the people, in the school of liberty.

At all events, there they are, a gallant race, struggling single handed for independence; an extraordinary spectacle to the world! With scarcely a government of their own, and without the assistance of any established power, they have waged, for six years, a fearfully contested war against one of the great empires of the earth. When Mr Canning lately held out the menace of war, against those continental nations, who should violently interfere with the English system, he sought to render the menace more alarming, by calling it "a war of opinions," in which the discontented of every other country would rally against their own government, under the banner of Great Britain. On this menace, which, considering the quarter from whence it proceeds, comes with somewhat of a revolutionary and disorganizing tone, we have now no comment to make. The war now raging in Greece, is, in a much higher and better sense, a war of opinion, which has actually begun; and in which the unarrayed, the unofficial, and we had almost said the individual efforts and charities of the friends of liberty, throughout Christendom, are combating, and thus far successfully, the barbarous hosts of the Turk. Deserted as they have been by the governments to whom they naturally looked for aid; by Russia, who tamely sees the head of the Russian church hung up at the door of his own cathedral; by England, the champion of liberal principles in Europe, and the protectress of the Ionian isles; by the holy alliance, that takes no umbrage at the debarkation of army after army of swarthy infidels, on the shores of a christian country, the Greeks have still been cheered and sustained by the sympathy of the civilized world. Gallant volunteers have crowded to their assistance, and some of the best blood of Europe has been shed in their defence. Liberal contributions of money have been sent to them across the globe; and,

while we write the sentences, supplies are dispatched to them from various parts of our own country, sufficient to avert the horrors of famine for another season. The direct effect of these contributions, great as it is (and it is this, which has enabled the Greeks to hold out thus far), is not its best operation. We live in an age of moral influences. Greece, in these various acts, feels herself incorporated into the family of civilized nations; raised out of the prison house of a cruel and besotted despotism, in to the community of enlightened states. Let an individual fall in with and be assailed by a superior force, in the lonely desert, on the solitary ocean, or beneath the cover of darkness, and his heart sinks within him, as he receives blow after blow, and feels his strength wasting, in the unwitnessed and uncheered struggle. But let the sound of human voices swell upon his ear, or a friendly sail draw nigh, and life and hope revive within his bosom. Nor is human nature different in its operation, in the large masses of men. Can anyone doubt, that if the Greeks, instead of being placed where they are, on a renowned arena, in sight of the civilized world,—visited, aided, applauded, as they have been, from one extreme of Christendom to the other,—had been surrounded by barbarism, secluded in the interior of the Turkish empire, without a medium of communication with the world, they would have been swept away in a single campaign? They would have been crushed; they would have been trampled into the dust; and the Tartars, that returned from the massacre, would have brought the first tidings of their struggle.

This is our encouragement to persevere in calling the attention of the public to this subject. It is a warfare, in which we all are or ought to be enlisted. It is a war of opinion, of feeling, of humanity. It is a great war of public sentiment; not conflicting (as it is commonly called to do) merely with powerful, barbarous, and despotic government. The strength and efficacy of the public sentiment of the civilized world are now therefore to be put to the test on a large scale, and upon a most momentous issue. It is now to be seen, whether mankind, that is, its civilized portion,—whether enlightened Europe and enlightened America will stand by, and behold a civilized, Christian people massacred *en masse*; whether a people that cultivate the arts which we cultivate,—that enter into friendly intercourse with us,—that send their children to our schools,—that translate and read our historians, philosophers, and moralists,—that live by the same rules of faith, and die in the hope of the same Savior, shall be allowed to be hewn down to the earth in our sight, by a savage horde of Ethiopians and Turks. For ourselves, we do not believe it. An inward assurance tells us, that it cannot be. Such an atrocity never has happened in human affairs, and will not now be permitted. As the horrid catastrophe draws near, if draw near it must, the Christian government will awaken from their apathy. If governments remain enchained by reasons of state, the common feeling of humanity among men will burst out, in some effectual interference. And if this fail,

why should not Providence graciously interpose, to prevent the extinction of the only people, in whose churches the New Testament is used in the original tongue? It is not a pertinent subject of inquiry with those, who administer the religious charities of this and other Christian countries, whether Greece and her islands shall be Christian or Mahometan, a more important question, than any other, in the decision of which we have the remotest agency? Might not a well devised and active concert among Christian charitable societies in Europe and America, for the sake of rescuing this christian people, present the most auspicious prospect of success, and form an organization adequate to the importance and sacredness of the object? And can any man, who has humanity, liberty, or Christianity at heart, fell justified in forbearing to give his voice, his aid, his sympathy to this cause, in any way, in which it is practicable to advance it.

Small as are the numbers of the Greeks, and limited as is their country, it may be safely said, that there has not, since the last Turkish invasion of Europe, been waged a war, of which the results, in the worst event, could have been so calamitous, as it must be allowed by every reflecting mind, that the subjugation and consequent extirpation of the Greeks would be. The wars, that are waged between the states of Christendom, generally grow out of the disputed titles of princes, or state quarrels between the governments. Serious changes no doubt take place, as these wars may be decided one way or the other. Nations, formerly well governed, may come under an arbitrary sway; or a despotic be exchanged for a milder government. But, inasmuch as victor and vanquished belong to the same civilized family; and the social condition, the standard of morality, and the received code of public law are substantially the same, in all the nations of Europe; no irreparable disaster to the cause of humanity itself can ensue from any war, in which they may be engaged with each other. Had Napoleon, for instance, succeeded in invading and conquering England (and this is probably the strongest case that could be put), after the first calamities of invasion and conquest were past, which must in all cases be much the same, no worse evils would probably have resulted to the cause of humanity, than the restoration of the Catholic religion, as the religion of the state, the introduction of the civil in place of the common law, and the general exclusion of the English nobility and gentry from offices of power and profit; an exclusion, which the English government itself, since the year 1688, has enforced toward the Catholic families, among which are some of the oldest and richest in the kingdom. Whereas, should the Turks prevail in the present contest, an amalgamation of victor and vanquished would be as impracticable now, as when Greece was first conquered by the Ottoman power. The possession of the country has been promised to the bey of Egypt, as the reward of his ser-

- vices in effecting its conquest. The men at arms have already been doomed to military execution of the most cruel kind, and the women and children would be sold into Asiatic and African bondage.

We are not left to collect this merely from the known maxims of Turkish warfare, nor the menaces which have repeatedly been made by the Porte, but we see it exemplified in the island of Scio. On the soil of Greece, thus swept of its present population, will be settled the Egyptian and Turkish troops, by whom it shall have been subdued. Thus it will have been cut off, obliterated from the map of Europe, and annihilated by the operation of whatever is most barbarous and terrific in the military practice of the Turkish government, and entire people; one those distinct social families, into which Providence collects the sons of men. In them will perish the descendants of ancestors, toward whom we all profess a reverence; who carry in the language they speak, the proof of their national identity. In them will be exterminated a people, apt and predisposed for all the improvements of civilized life; a people, connected with the rest of Europe, by every moral and intellectual association; and capable of being reared up into a prosperous and cultivated state. Finally, in them will perish one whole Christian people; and that the first, that embraced Christianity; churches, actually founded by the apostles in person, churches, for whose direct instruction a considerable part of the New Testament was composed, after abiding all the storms of eighteen centuries, and surviving so many vicissitudes, are now at length to be razed; and in the place of all this, the uncivilized Mahometan horde is to be established upon the ruins. We say it is a most momentous alternative. *Interest humani generis*. The character of the age is concerned. The impending evil is tremendous. To preserve the faith of certain old treaties, concluded we forget when, the parliament of England decides by acclamation to send an army into Portugal and Spain, because Spain has patronized the disaffection of the Portuguese ultra royalists. To prevent a change in the governments of Piedmont, Naples, and Spain, Austria and France invade those countries with large armies. Can these great powers look tamely on, and see the ruin of their Christian brethren consummated in Greece? Is there a faded parchment, in the diplomatic archives of London or Lisbon, that binds the English government more imperiously, than the great original obligation to rescue an entire Christian people from the scimitar? Can statesmen, who profess to be, who are, influenced by the rules of a chaste and lofty public morality, justify their sanguinary wars with Ashantees and Burmans, and finds reasons of duty for shaking the petty thrones of the interior of Africa; and allow an African satrap to strew the plains of Attica with bloody ashes?

If they can, and if they will then let the friends of liberty, humanity, and religion take up this cause, as one that concerns them all, and each, in his capacity as a Christian and a

man. Let them remember, what ere now has been done, by the perseverance and resolution of small societies, and even individual men. Let them remember how small a company of adventurers, unpatronized, scarcely tolerated by their government, succeeded in laying the foundations of this our happy country, beyond a mighty ocean. Let them recollect, that it was one fixed impression, cherished and pursued in the heart of an humble and friendless mariner, through long years of fruitless solicitation and fainting hope, to which it is owing, that these vast American continents are made part of the heritage of civilized man. Let them recollect that, in the same generation, one poor monk dismembered the great ecclesiastical empire of Europe. Let them bear in mind, that it was a hermit, who roused the nations of Europe in mass, to engage in an expedition, wild, indeed, and unjustifiable, according to our better lights, but lawful and meritorious in those who embarked in it. Let them, in a word, never forget, that when, on those lovely islands and once happy shores, over which a dark cloud of destruction now hangs, the foundations of the Christian church were first laid, it was by the hands of private, obscure, and persecuted individuals. It was the people, the humblest of the people, that took up the gospel, in defiance of all the patronage, the power, and the laws of the government. Why should not Christianity be sustained, in the same country and by the same means, by which it was originally established? If, as we believe, it is the strong and decided sentiment of the civilized world, that the cause of the Greeks is a good cause, and that they ought not to be allowed to perish, it cannot be, that this sentiment will remain inoperative. It will make itself felt, by a thousand manifestations. It will be heard in our senates, and our pulpits; it will be echoed from our firesides. Does any one doubt that the cause of America was mightily strengthened and animated by the voices of the friends of liberty in the British parliament? Were not the speeches of Chatham and Burke worth a triumphant battle to our fathers? And can any one doubt that the Grecian patriots will hold out, so long as the Christian world will cheer them with its sanction?

Let then the public mind be disabused of the prejudices, which mislead it on this question. Let it not be operated upon by tales of piracies at sea, and factions on land; evils, which belong not to Greeks, but to human nature. Let the means of propagating authentic intelligence of the progress of the revolution be multiplied. Let its well wishers and its well hopers declare themselves in the cause. Let the tide of pious and Christian charity be turned into this broad and thirsty channel. Let every ardent and high spirited young man, who has an independent subsistence of two or three hundred dollars a year, embark personally in the cause, and aspire to that crown of glory, never yet worn by him, who so lately triumphed in the hearts of the entire millions of Americans. Let this be done, and Greece is safe.



*Samuel Gridley Howe*  
Portrait by John Elliott  
*Courtesy The John Hay Library, Brown University*

## VI

# TANGIBLE SUPPORT: PHILHELLENES, WARRIORS AND PHILANTHROPISTS

### A. Popular Appeals and Contributions

(Robinson, p. 157) *New York Commercial Advertiser*, December 6, 1823: *Greek Committee*

At a meeting last evening of the committee of the "Greek Fund," Wm. Bayard, Esq. was called to the chair and Charles King was appointed Secretary.

The meeting being organized, the following letter from N. Biddle Esq., which enclosed a donation of three hundred dollars, was read and ordered to be entered on the minutes, and published.

Philadelphia, Dec. 4

Sir:

Allow me to request that you will have the goodness to add the enclosed to the contribution in favour of the Greeks.

To that unfortunate people, I owe something for personal kindness and hospitality; but I am much more grateful to them for the high spirit with which they are struggling to sustain their country against the worst enemies of civilized freedom. God grant that the sympathies and the humble aid of even this distant nation may not be wholly unavailing. With very anxious wishes for their success, and great respect for the gentlemen of your city who are generously engaged in promoting it, I am, very sincerely yours,

N. Biddle

*Niles' Weekly Register*, January 3, 1824

THE GREEKS. Much is doing in the states of New York and Pennsylvania, especially in their chief cities, to raise funds for the aid and relief of the Greeks; and means have been prepared to effect a general contribution in the state of Massachusetts. Liberal donations have been made by individuals and companies in other sections of our country, and it is

probable that a very handsome fund will be raised, and perhaps reach them in time to assist in opening the next campaign for freedom. We hope that some one, who has opportunity and leisure, will keep a record of the liberal acts of our fellow citizens, that it may be preserved, in honor of those to whom honor shall be due.

*Niles' Weekly Register*, January 10, 1824

THE GREEKS go on bravely and with glorious success. They have beaten the Turks at every point, and destroyed and put to flight three armies of the barbarians, under the pacha of Adrinople, Jussef pacha and Mustapha pacha, all whom have lost great numbers of men, and the pursuit after the survivors was hot. They have also defeated their enemies at sea, and captured or destroyed many of the Turkish ships—LAUS DEO.

The spirit to assist them begins generally to prevail in the United States. Public and private bodies and individuals, are contributing handsomely: at the colleges, academies and schools, and in the churches—at the theatres, museums and other places of amusement or instruction—in the great cities and the small towns, much is doing, and the aggregate cannot fail to be of service to the Grecian cause. A Barber at New York, to shew his opposition to the barbarous Turks, opened his shop for two days to shave and dress hair, to aid the “Greek fund”—his receipts were fourteen dollars and fifty cents, which he paid over. This will support a soldier for a month, and if the example should become general, the effect will be powerful.

(Robinson, pp. 166–71) *New York Commercial Advertiser*, January 25, 1827: The Suffering Greeks

We have been favoured with the following extracts from a letter, written by the Rev. Jonas King, (late a Missionary in Palestine, but now in France,) to Mr. Evarts, Corresponding Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. We take this occasion to remind our readers, that eleven Greek youths, five of them members of Colleges in New England, are now receiving and education in his country, with a view to their future usefulness when they shall return to the land of their ancestors.

If the people in America could see unhappy Greece, sitting in the dust, in the midst of the ruins of her ancient grandeur, stretching out her hands, as it were, towards happy America;—could they hear her sighs,—could they behold the sorrows of her thousands and ten thousands in captivity;—I am sure they would extend the helping hand. But alas—the sufferings of a distant nation make but a slight impression on the heart! The sighs, that are borne along the eastern gale across the wide Atlantic, die away before they reach the western world; or light but feebly on the ear of

those, who, in that happy country, sit peacefully and quietly under their own vine and fig tree, without any to molest or make them afraid!

That twelve millions of freemen, who justly hailed Lafayette, with unexampled joy, because, in his youth he left his country, and joined our immortal Washington, in the cause of freedom, should contribute no more, than forty thousand dollars, to aid a nation, struggling for the dearest rights of man—for liberty, for life;—that two frigates, (which, were they sent, might even now save Greece), should be left upon the stocks, or one be sold to defray the expenses of the other, is to me a matter of surprise.

A remark was made to me, a few months since, by a very respectable gentleman. ‘What,’ said he, ‘is the object of your Bible Societies? Is it not to distribute the word of God among Mussulmans and Pagans, to bring them to the knowledge of the truth, and to embrace Christianity? How few are you able to distribute among Mussulmans? But here you see fifty or a hundred thousand Greeks, women and children, led into captivity, to be taught the Koran, to be trained up as Mussulmans—who are ready to receive the sacred Scriptures,—who already believe in Christ—who now sigh to return to the religion of the Gospel; and you stand and look on, and no one appears to redeem them. It is the duty of the friends and patrons of Bible Societies, to pour out their treasures, for the redemption of those captives, if they wish to do good!’ ”

I must confess, that there is something in this remark, that looks like reason; and I am astonished, that Christians and freemen feel so little—or, if they feel, do so little—for a suffering nation.

“It is said, “The Greeks are all pirates.” That there are piratical Greeks, I have abundant evidence, in the loss of my own property. But that they are all pirates, is not true. The Greek government does not approve of piracy. But how can Greece, when struggling for life, not only against the Turks, but Austrians;—I say, how can she spare vessels from her little navy, to go and destroy pirates? It seems to me a thing not to be expected—a thing impossible.

It is said, “The Greeks are divided!” That they are not united as they should be, I am ready to grant. But it appears to me that there must have been a bond of unity somewhere, to enable them to withstand, for more than five years, the united strength of Turkey, often aided by Austria.

It is said, “The Greeks are faithless—much more so than the Turks!” This comes from mercantile men, who are the best judges in point of trade. The Turk is the master; and has not, perhaps, the same inducement to overreach in trade, as the Greek has, who is the slave, and obliged to devise every means in his power, to gain subsistence. But, in a civil and political point of view, I do not think there is a more hypocritical, faithless nation under heaven, than the Turkish. Had I time, I could adduce a multitude of facts to prove it.

But allowing the Greeks to be ever so bad: What, I would ask, can be expected from a nation that has borne the Turkish yoke for four hundred years? I wonder that they have so many virtues as they possess, rather than that they have so few. Whatever they may be, they possess genius and talents in a high degree. This, their bitterest enemies readily admit: and they are ready to receive the two grand means, and I might say, perhaps, the only means which can render a nation civilized, noble and happy—the light of science and the light of the gospel. The Greeks are everywhere ready to receive the sacred scriptures, and to establish schools for the instruction of their children. The Greeks seek after knowledge. Now, with their genius and talents, their desire for

instruction, and their readiness to receive the word of God, what might not be expected from such a nation in twenty of thirty years, if they had their liberty? Where should the tree of science best thrive, if not in the soil which first produced it? Where should the fine arts flourish more than in the land which gave them birth? Where should the religion of Jesus find a more welcome abode, than in the hearts of those, who, with all their errors, are ready to die as martyrs for his name? For the Greek has only to say, 'there is no God, but God, and Mohammed is the apostle of God,' and he is free—he is pardoned—he has all the rights of a Mussulman. But rather than deny their God and Saviour, they welcome the poignard, that pierces to the heart, and bow under the scymetar which separates their heads from their bodies. Is there nothing noble in such a nation? Is there nothing that can excite the sympathy of the Christian, the compassion of the philanthropist? Can the scholar, the painter, the sculptor, the poet, the orator, the lawgiver, the advocate, the divine, all of whom must feel their obligation to Greece, stand and look on coolly, and see her butchered? *A war, ferocious, horrible, exterminating, has been lighted up in Greece, and it has gone so far that she must now be butchered or be free.* A little band of men, poorly furnished with arms, without money, without discipline, have for more than five years, braved the fury of the storm of war, and they are determined still to resist. The courage of Leonidas, and the fortitude of the first martyrs, dwells in their breasts. The children and the sucklings swoon in the streets; they cry to their mothers for food, which is not to be found. The beautiful and delicate woman seeks death, as a favour, from the compassionate hand of her husband, rather than be left to fall into the hands of a brutal Turk, whose garments are stained with the blood of her kindred. What eye does not weep at the remembrance of Ipsara, and Scio, and Missolonghi? What heart is so adamant as not to feel, at seeing thousands of beautiful damsels, with tears in their eyes, bidding farewell to their native land, wet with the blood of their fathers and brothers, going to drag out a wretched life in a Mussulman harem?

If Greece falls, it will be an everlasting shame to every Christian nation.

I ask not for war; I ask that it may be prevented. I desire not that streams of human blood should flow more copiously, but that the fountains already opened should be stopped. The gospel of Jesus Christ certainly breathes peace. But does it command me to look quietly on, and see my brother's blood shed by the hand of an assassin, when I might interfere and rescue him?

## B. Letters of Edward Everett

(Robinson, pp. 144-46) Washington, February 4, 1827: [To the New York Greek Committee.]

Gentlemen of the Executive Committee for the Relief of the Greeks:

Your favor of 31 reached me yesterday, at an hour too late to be answered by return of mail. I have given the important subject of it the best consideration in my power. Taking into consideration the habits of the people and the mildness of the climate in the Southern portions of Greece, which are the great field of distress, I should think a larger

proportion of your funds should be expended in food than in clothing. I would say  $\frac{2}{3}$  in the former and  $\frac{1}{3}$  in the latter, but this proportion I suggest from no better rule than general impression of the relative want of the two kinds of supply. The coarser and plainer the articles of clothing the better and perhaps equal proportion of the cotton and woollen fabrics named by you would make the best assortment. For articles of food I should incline to rice, dried fruit, salted beef and pork, rather than to flour exclusively. It will be warm weather by the time your first vessel reaches the country and the summer is long and sultry. It would be desirable therefore not to have more flour than might immediately go into consumption. Shipbread, I should think might be sent to great advantage. Rice is a favorite article of food; beef and pork are very little eaten by the Greeks, as indeed animal food in general is scarcely known to the poorer classes of them. What they consume is principally mutton and lamb. Still, however, I presume, salted beef and pork are a very economical form in which a considerable quantity of food may be transported to a distance. I should think  $\frac{3}{4}$  of all the provisions should be rice, bread and flour in perhaps equal quantities, the other  $\frac{1}{4}$  to consist of about equal proportions of the different kinds of animal food named.

2) Napoli di Romania would be the proper port to sail for unless the fortune of war shall have thrown it into the hands of the Turks. It might as a matter of greater precaution be expedient to touch at Hydra which will probably (if Greece must fall) be the last spot that yields. Our Squadron could not I think be instructed to convoy the vessel. But as she will probably take a regular clearance as an unarmed American ship, she will no doubt have the advantage of convoy whenever the squadron may be cruising in the same direction.

3) I incline to the opinion that an agent or agents should accompany the vessel you send out, that this agent or agents have the control of the surplus with instructions however to consult the executive Government of Greece. One agent associated with the Captain of the vessel will probably be sufficient. It might be expedient to direct them to confer with General Jarvis of New York and Dr. Howe of Boston, who are in Greece and are men of excellent character and entitled in my opinion to full confidence. an election will have taken place before the vessel arrives; in fact it has already taken place and who will compose the executive Government of Greece is of course unknown. It would perhaps be well for your committee to authorize their agents in general terms to address themselves to such persons as they shall find in the possession of the General Government. Who these are will readily and safely be learned from Howe and Jarvis, and will indeed be matter of public notoriety. as piracies are getting to be too common the vessel I think should not go without the means of protecting herself and cargo from capture.

If your Committee adopt the plan of associating an agent with the Captain, I venture to recommend Mr. J. P. Miller, of Vermont, as a very suitable person. He has lately returned from the country where he served 2 years under the auspices of the Boston Greek Committee. He returned because we were unable to continue his frugal stipend of \$200.—per an. I have no doubt he would do in your service at that rate of pay. He knows the language, the principal men and the country. He is faithful, zealous, honest and trustworthy and in my opinion exceedingly well qualified for the task. By associating the Captain with him you would have a proper check upon him.

I would particularly recommend a supply of medicines to form a part of this store. I am incompetent to say what articles or in what quantities. Your intelligent physicians will be abundantly able from their knowledge of the diseases of warm climates to say what is most wanted in this department. Bark is the great specific for the most prevalent malady of the region and I doubt not a quantity of it would be one of the most acceptable things you could send. When Dr. Howe went to Greece, the Boston Committee expended a very small sum (\$35) in the purchase of surgical instruments for him. As he has been in full practise for 3 years that money has doubtless done as much good as was ever effected by a like sum.

I have taken the liberty to enclose your letter to Mr. Miller deeming him very competent to advise on several of the subjects. I have, however, dropped no hint to him that I have recommended him to you as an agent. I have merely requested him to furnish you his views in reply to your interrogation. His address is J. P. Miller, Randolph, Vermont.

When your vessel is ready to sail, I shall be desirous of forwarding letters to one or two of the members of the Greek Government, and to the Americans in Greece. I beg leave to add that if, by any further suggestion, or in any other way, I can promote the benevolent work in which you are so honourable and successfully engaged, I shall feel most happy to receive your commands.

I am, Gentlemen, with the highest respect  
Your faithful, humble servant

[To:] Messrs. Lynde Catlin, Stephen Allen, Preserved Fish,  
Geo. Griswold, F. Vanderburgh, James I. Jones, Frederick Sheldon, Hiram Ketchum

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(Robinson, p. 58) Washington, House of Representatives, March 3, 1827: [To Commodore Rogers]

Dear Sir:

The benevolent citizens of New York, hearing of the sufferings of their fellow men and fellow Christians in Greece for want of food and clothing have generously fitted out a

vessel loaded with articles for their relief. She is (with all her cargo) the property of American citizens, consigned to Messrs. Howe and Jarvis, American citizens in Greece. A confident assurance is felt, that, should the vessel fall in with the squadron under your command, you will extend to her all the protection which the rules of the service and the neutral relations of the country permit.

I have the honor to be,

Dear Sir, with the highest respect  
Your faithful, humble servant

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(Robinson, p. 58) Winter Hill, June 25, 1828: [To Samuel Gridley Howe]

. . . I think the first effectual impulse to the efforts made in the cause of Greece in this country was given by the article in the N. A. R. for October 1823. I know that this article suggested to Mr. Webster the idea of his movement in Congress which first gave importance and dignity to the proceedings.

The start was given to the last movement (that of sending supplies to Greece) by the publication of Colocotroni's letter followed up by the indefatigable exertions of Mathew Carey.

The enlistment of yourself, Miller, and others and the correspondence of the Americans in Greece (or rather your correspondence) kept the cause alive in this country.

### C. American Philhellenes in Greece: Letters, Excerpts from Reports on Conditions and Philanthropic Activities.

#### 1. *Excerpts from Col. Jonathan P. Miller, Letters from Greece.*

In the month of July last, Mr. J. P. Miller of Vermont made application to the Committee for the relief of the Greeks in Boston, for assistance in repairing to Greece, to engage in the military service in that Country. Mr. Miller was strongly recommended as a man of piety, resolution, and enterprise, and was personally known to one of the Committee, under whom he had served in the army of the United States. The Committee believed that they could not better appropriate a portion of their small fund, than by aiding Mr. Miller to fulfil his design. He was accordingly fitted out for Greece, and furnished with testimonials to its Government. The following letters have been received from him, in that country, together with a letter from the Prince Alexander Mavrocordatos at present Secretary of State for foreign affairs; and a letter from Col.

Jarvis, and American citizen who has been for three years in the Greek service. These letters are made public, not only to communicate the intelligence which they contain, but as throwing light on the character and prospects of the Greeks. It is believed that they furnish a more authentic testimony to the merits of this gallant and suffering People, than has yet been presented to the public. It is also believed that they suggest a very practicable and obvious mode of powerfully contributing to the success of the war, which is now waged in that country, for liberty and Christianity. The extremely frugal style in which it appears the Greek soldiery is subsisted; the practice of enlistments by the Captains of as many men, as they can find in bread; and the circumstance that two American citizens of character, perseverance, and principle are now actually in that country, unite to produce the belief, that even a very small sum may be rendered immediately and very essentially serviceable to the cause. These documents are, therefore, offered to the benevolent and reflecting, in the conviction that a very wide and encouraging field for doing good (the only object worth pursuing) is here opened to them.

Boston, May 21, 1825

FROM MR. MILLER TO THE GREEK COMMITTEE.

*Misolonghi, Dec. 11, 1824.*

GENTLEMEN,—After being detained at Malta for nearly two months, I have at length, by the blessing of God, arrived safe at this place. I arrived at Zante, after a passage of eight days from Malta, and remained there but one day. From Zante to Misolonghi, I had a passage of two days, in a fishing boat. On my arrival, I was conducted to the seat of the provincial government of Misolonghi, which is held in the same house where Lord Byron died. I had learned Greek enough at Malta, to let them know who I was; and the officers of government sent for a Greek who could speak a little English. The officers, through this man, expressed to me the high sense of honour they entertained for the American character, and bade me welcome to Greece. At 3 o'clock dinner was announced, which to me was very welcome, as I had eaten but little for two days. We had dinner at the palace of Prince Mavrocordatos. The palace is equal in style to our best log houses. The dinner was good, and served in European style. The Governor (Mavrocordatos) being ill, it was not thought best to disturb him, as his health is quite feeble, being slowly recovering from a dangerous illness. I therefore returned to the government house, and lay down upon a couch, after the fashion of the country. I had been here but a few minutes, when I saw a soldier enter the door hastily. He asked me if I was an American; I answered in the affirmative. He grasped my hand in ecstasy, exclaiming at the same time, that he also had the honor to belong to that country; that his name was George Jarvis; that he was a native of the state of New York, and being at Bordeaux in 1822, thence, by the approbation of his father, came *via* Marseilles to

Hydra, and engaged in the Greek navy, in their glorious struggle with the Turks. He made thirteen voyages with the Hydriots, and since that time he has been employed in the army, with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. He has been in a number of engagements, and has distinguished himself as a brave officer. From him I have learned much of the state of Greece. Their success against the Turks, and the sacrifices which they have made this year for their liberty, are greater than any recorded of Greece in the days of her ancient glory. But what must be the feelings of a man, who looks with a philanthropic eye on the scenes of misfortune, to see soldiers who have been fighting the enemy all summer, now coming to their commander to keep them alive. But such is the sight to which my eyes are every hour witness, as I have taken lodgings with Col. Jarvis. The Europeans who have come to Greece have most of them come with sounding titles. Most of them, I am informed, instead of assisting the Greeks, have only lived upon them, until reduced by poverty, sickness and death; and there now remain but few of them in Greece. An officer here cannot expect any thing from the government of Greece, for it has nothing to pay, even the soldiers of the army; no—not enough even to provide them with bread. Yesterday I had an audience with Mavrocordatos. I was accompanied to the palace by Col. Jarvis. The Prince received me with much politeness, and expressed his satisfaction at the conduct of our government, in regard to the interest it takes in the sufferings of Greece. He asked me many questions, in reference to the views which were entertained by the Americans of the character of the Greeks. To all his questions I endeavoured to give as correct answers as possible. I told him that all the exertions, which the different committees were making in America, were for the liberty of Greece; and that it was my opinion that nothing further would be done by the Americans, if the Greeks should consent to accept of a foreign king. He replied that nothing but a foreign force would ever place them under a king. I told him I was willing to bear arms in Greece as long as there was a prospect of her being free, but no longer. With this reply he appeared to be well pleased; told me to make myself acquainted with the language as soon as possible; and that I should have a station of some importance in the army. While we were consulting, a Courier arrived with news of a recent victory, gained by sea, over the Turks. There were two engagements. The first took place about the 9th of November, between the Islands of Samos and Nicaria; the second in the Channel of Candia and the Island of Caso. The fleet of the Pacha of Egypt has been entirely defeated and dispersed. Seven ships of war were burned or sunk, and twelve transports taken; most of which were under European colours. On board these transports were twelve hundred Egyptian soldiers, all of whom fell into the hands of the Greeks. This is the Fifth decided engagement, which has terminated in favour of the Greeks, this year, by sea. The Turks have retired into their fortresses at Lepanto and

Arta. Lepanto is about twenty miles, and Arta about fifty, from Misolonghi. I have proposed to Col. Jarvis the storming of the fortress at Lepanto; in which expedition, if it is undertaken, I shall act as a volunteer. But I fear that the want of bread will render the plan abortive. Col. Jarvis enjoins it upon me to say to the various committees, that no young man should be sent out, or that none ought to come at their own charge, whose income is not, at least equal to two hundred dollars per year, as this is the least they can live and clothe themselves upon. He further observes, that he has never received from the Greek government a single para, and that he has expended nearly four thousand dollars, which he has received from Europe, in the cause of Greece. If any young men should come from America, let them come well armed; but as for clothes, they must have the Greek costume; and tactics are all out of the question here.

Thus, gentlemen, I have endeavoured to give you all the information which I have been able to gather. As to my own wants, I shall only add, that I had sixty dollars on my arrival here. I shall use all possible economy, and leave the gentlemen of the committee, from whom I have already received so many favours, to act their pleasure concerning me. My health is good. I am in the hands of God; and by his blessing I hope to do yet much for Greece. But should it be otherwise, I wish to be content.

May you, gentlemen, and my beloved country continue to receive the smiles of heaven. Let my friends in Vermont know that I am well; and exhort the friends of liberty in America, to remember Greece

With respect, I subscribe myself, Gentlemen, your humble servant,

J. P. MILLER

FROM PRINCE A. MAVROCORDATOS TO THE  
SECRETARY OF THE GREEK COMMITTEE.

[TRANSLATION.]

SIR—I have just received the letter, which you did me the honour to write me, under the date of August 1st, 1824, to recommend your young countryman, Mr. J. P. Miller, and I hasten to reply to it, in order to manifest how much I am pleased with this circumstance, which places me in correspondence with you.

You know Greece; but you know it is as oppressed by the Turkish yoke. Every thing is now changed. We too, in imitation of the Americans, have resolved to recover our liberty and assume a place among civilized nations. God grant that we may be as fortunate as you in the result. The success which the Greeks have obtained both on land and at sea, in the campaign just closed, inspires us with confident hopes; and there is now no one as formerly, who will pretend to question our independence.

As to Mr. Miller, you must feel no concern.—Your recommendation will not be without effect, and he assured I shall not forget it. I doubt not that he who has already fought against the enemies of his own country, will be useful to our cause.

Please to express to the Greek Committee of Boston my thanks for employing themselves on the subject of the Greeks and taking an interest in their success, and accept the assurance of the esteem and high consideration, with which I have the honor to be, &c.

A. MAVROCORDATOS.

Misolonghi,  $\frac{30 \text{ Nov.}}{11 \text{ Dec.}}$  1824

FROM MR. MILLER TO THE GREEK COMMITTEE, BOSTON.

*Misolonghi, Jan. 14, 1825.*

GENTLEMEN—Hoping that my letter of the 11th Dec. has met with a safe conveyance, in which I mentioned my arrival at Misolonghi, and a few facts relative to the state of affairs here, I shall now attempt to give you a more general account of the state of Greece. Col. Jarvis whose name I mentioned in the letter above alluded to, is a man, as far as I am capable of judging, of great abilities. He has been three years in Greece, and is well versed in the language, moral, political and military manners and customs of the country. From him I have obtained much information relative to the state of affairs, as they exist. In the first place, I would give it as my real opinion, that the Greeks will be free. My reasons for thus thinking are the following. 1. Amidst all the distress (and greater, I am persuaded, never existed in any country) it is the general response, not of the men only, but of the women and children, that they will all die, before they will again come under the power of the Turks. If the enemy were at a distance, I should not take much notice of such expressions, but as they are only about twenty miles off, it is a strong evidence of the determination of the Greeks. 2. The aversion which the Greeks have to the Franks, (i. e. Europeans) will never permit them to receive a king from the powers of Europe. I am aware, that it is in the power of the Holy Alliance to do Greece harm; but in my opinion, they would prove unable to force a king permanently upon this country. 3. The gradual strength, which government is daily gaining over those Greeks, who though not exactly in favour of a monarchy, are nevertheless seeking their own rather than the public good. The prospect is fair, I think for the speedy settlement of all internal dissensions. The fourth reason, which I shall give for my opinion, is the order and regularity, with which the Congress of the different departments of Western Greece was held at Anatolico, Dec. 16, 1824. I was present at the Congress. It was composed of the principal inhabitants and generals of the several districts, and held its

session for ten days, during which time, all the affairs of Western Greece were amicably settled, though the officers and soldiers who have defended the country for the last six months had not received either rations, clothes or money. There were two thousand soldiers in the town, who came with their different commanders; yet there was no riot or disturbance, and the Congress, for its order and regularity, would have done honour to any nation. When I see a hundred men and the most of them armed, coolly deliberating concerning the affairs of their country, for ten days, without discord, though having every reason to complain, I readily conclude that they are able to accomplish much. Mavrocordatos is unquestionably the first man in Greece, in point of talent and influence. He has defended his province for the last year without a para, and yet his officers are attached to him, though he feeds them only with hopes. The Greeks have had such wretched examples of the morals of the Franks, with the exception of a few Englishmen, that they hate them almost as much as they do the Turks. There have been so many vain attempts made to establish discipline among the troops, that I have thought best to say nothing about tacticks. It is in vain to tell a Greek soldier, that it is better to learn to meet the enemy with order, when he replies, that if he is wounded, he must take care of himself; there being neither surgeons nor medicine in the army, nor any such thing as a hospital for the sick and wounded in all Greece. I have therefore packed up my books, and am expecting to march to-morrow, as a volunteer with Col. Jarvis, in an expedition against Lepanto. What will be the result, is known only to God. I hope, at least, not to fall into the hands of the Turks. Patras is to be attacked at the same time by troops from Napoli. You may desire to know my opinion in reference to young men, who may wish to embark in the cause of Greece. I would say, that young physicians, who are properly supplied with medicine, may be of use, and may by their profession keep themselves from starving. Young men also of fortune, who wish to do good, will find an ample field for action in Greece; but for those who are without resources of their own, by all means, I should advise them to remain in America. Hundreds of adventurers have already perished in Greece, and have done little or nothing for the cause of liberty or Greece. As for myself, I came to Greece, with my eyes open. At Malta, I heard all this, but my word was given, and I neither could nor wished to go back. I think that by the blessing of God, I may be of use to the Greeks; with this hope I cheer myself amid the general distress, which surrounds me. In my first letter I mentioned the sum of two hundred dollars, which Col. Jarvis thinks indispensably necessary for a man in a military capacity, per year. I do not mention this sum as having any claims upon the committee for it, but simply state facts as they are. From the Greeks, in case of misfortune, such as sickness or being wounded, I have nothing to expect. For the misery of the country is so great, that individual sufferings are not

regarded. If you, Gentlemen, should see fit to make me any remittances, it can be done by way of London, to the house of Samuel Barff, at Zante, who is my friend, and will forward me, whatever is delivered to him, for that purpose. Be pleased, Gentlemen, to receive my best wishes for your prosperity, and the prosperity of my country. My health is good, and to-morrow, by the blessing of God, I march against the Turks.

J. P. MILLER.

P.S. Remember me to the friends of Greece in A. tell them I see distress daily, which can never be described. Women and children flying from the hands of the Turks, without clothes to cover them, or bread to eat. If there was ever a country, that called for the charities of the Christian world, that country is Greece.

FROM MR. MILLER TO COL. S.D. HARRIS, BOSTON

*Misolonghi, Jan. 5, 1825.*

DEAR FRIEND—The ocean is crossed, and I am in Greece;—in the land so much famed in classic story for the valor of its warriors and its love of freedom.

Though my mind was made up, before coming to Greece, for all events, yet I cannot say but that I have, in some measure, been disappointed.

I expected, at least, to find something like regiments formed, without being obliged to furnish my own bread; but this is not the case. The Greeks, in their tactics, resemble very much our Indians. Each captain obtains what men he can support with bread and a little money, and leads them against the enemy. After the campaign is finished, the captains present their several accounts to the government and receive promises of pay. But this circumstance, though it in some degree disappoints my hopes, is by no means against the Greeks. We should not expect, that even in America, troops could be paid and clothed, if there was nothing to pay and clothe them with. The truth is this,—there is but little money in Greece. The English loan, and what has been sent from America is now all the pecuniary assistance, which the Greek government has to depend upon, to give energy to its operations. It is therefore perfectly right that they should spend as little as possible. Col. Jarvis, at my request, has given a general account of affairs, as they have been, and are, conducted in Greece. He appears to have very considerable influence in Greece. I think him a man of integrity, and consider myself fortunate in having fallen in with him. I have been so disgusted with the appearance of those Franks who are constantly importuning the government for pay, that I have made no application to it at all, but only showed my letters to the governor Mavrocordatos.

Greece, as you will see by Col. J.'s letter, has been overrun with foreigners, whose characters have given the Greeks the most unfavourable impressions respecting their different

countries. From seeing the manner in which the Greeks view these men, I have, with the advice of Col. J come to the resolution of marching to the camp as a volunteer.

My money, I hope, with economy, will hold out until I hear from the Committee; but God only knows what would be my lot, if I should be sick or wounded. But I hope for the best. There is a secret pleasure in adversity which makes me reconciled to my lot; and I am, as yet, not sorry that I came to Greece. I have assumed the costume of the country, as far as my resources will allow; and if you should see me you would doubt whether I was ever under your command. It is a mistaken idea that is prevalent in America in regard to the profligacy of the Greeks. I have been, for ten days, amidst 2000 soldiers, and have never seen one of them drunk; nor indeed have I seen one drunken man in Greece.

The beauty, modesty, simplicity and virtue of the females, are, I am sure, without a parallel in any quarter of the world. The mountains are now covered with snow; but the vallies and plains are green with herbage. The Greeks have no waggons or carts. Like the Turks, they carry all their burdens on the backs of horses, asses and mules. The plains in Western Greece, which I have seen, are very fertile. Wine of a good quality is only sixteen cents a gallon. If the country obtains its freedom, of which I think there is no doubt, a most advantageous commerce can be opened between Greece and America.

I hope, dear Sir, that if the Turks do not gain head, I may have the pleasure of receiving a letter from you as soon as possible. Remember I am your old soldier, and therefore have some claims for this favour.

I can get on pretty well in learning the language of the country. The Greeks talk much about Mr. Webster.

Be good enough, Dear Sir, to remember me to my kind friends in America, and believe me,

Yours sincerely, J. P. MILLER

FROM COL. JARVIS TO THE GREEK COMMITTEE, BOSTON.

*Misolonghi, Western Greece, 6-18 Jan. 1825.*

GENTLEMEN,—Without having the honor of being personally known to you, I take the liberty to open a correspondence with the Greek Committees in the U. S. My duty and the urgency of the cause are my excuse. Even before this, I ought to have written; but the certainty of the letters being read by the English or Austrian Government parties, and the fear of their miscarrying, have hitherto restrained my doing so. Now, on the arrival of Mr. Miller, and at his request, I write,—and hope this may safely reach you.

During three sad and gloomy years that I have witnessed the unexampled exertions of the brave and patriotic Greeks, I have joined with them, and have been present at several of their principal achievements. Being an officer in the Grecian Navy, I was, the first two years, with them at the different enterprises at Scio, Mytilene, along the coasts of Asia Minor, Syria, Candia, Cyprus, in the Archipelago and Peloponnesus.—I made thirteen different expeditions with, in which we burned several ships of the line, and smaller ones, captured others, took and defended fortresses, and rendered all possible assistance to the fugitive Christians. The modern Greeks resemble, in many particulars, their forefathers. The same men who fight as seamen, when returned, enter as landmen. I thus was present at the siege of Athens, Napoli, the defence of Misolonghi, and in the engagement with Churshid Pasha, in the Morea. After Lord Byron's arrival, I attached myself to him, and officiated as Adjutant General to his Brigade, until his lamented death; when, after having terminated, agreeably to his will, the fortifications of Misolonghi and Anatolico with the engineer, Mr. Cushing, I received, in August last, the order to march with a separate body of Grecian soldiers, towards the enemy's camp at Caravansera and Macrinoros in Western Greece—We were encamped about five months, under the orders of Alexander Mavrocordatos, Governor of Western Greece.—After the retreat, (upon Arta,) of the Turks, we returned to Misolonghi, and then it was that I had the pleasure to meet, in Mr. Miller, a countryman and a friend.

It is gratifying to see our Country take a part in this honourable cause.—If they have hesitated, and not precipitately entered into any operations, it is not the worse for that—Others may have set the example before us, it is for us to do the good; and we may and ought to do the more, as we have the advantage of experience; which, hitherto, by every one, individual or community, has been dear bought; but no one has grown wiser by it. Every one has acted, separately and without taking the experience of his forerunners for a guide, nor willing to learn any thing from their sufferings. They have also, one by one, been subdued, not by the Tartars, but by more formidable foes; by want of knowledge of the language and customs of this country;—by poverty and unbounded misery. Pride was not the worst of their vices. They made dupes of the Greeks. The natives are grown shy of foreigners, and with good reason; they ought ever to keep off from their shores, to prevent the Franks from grafting their vices upon the innocence of the Greeks. What good do they expect to do, without setting a good example at least?—Greece is not in want of soldiers. The tenth part of the armed Greeks is quite sufficient, if united, to subdue all the provinces of the present Turkish empire in Europe. But *bread* we want, and *money*, to buy it, and to provide shoes and capots for the starving shivering soldiers. A large waste, a country, where, except a few remaining towns, not a house is standing, and even the olive and orange tree has been cut down by the Tartars;

a rich desert, where no animal affords us nourishment;—this is the theatre of war in Greece.

Shame to those men who have been and lived in Greece; who know, or ought to know, the real state of affairs; and who, instead of a proper statement, have filled all quarters of the world with falsehood, to mislead others, to the disadvantage of Greece, and to the misery and ruin of every real friend of that country, with no other view than to forward their own sinister plans.—What good do we expect from such men? They come under pretence of helping Greece,—but in fact they want to be helped themselves. It is for their own, and *only for their own* interest they are here. These upstarts have been followed by new comers;—they have appeared and vanished,—they have one by one been precipitated into that gulf of misery, into which, by them misled, the different committees have followed them up.

The first who formed Committees were the Swiss and Germans; the French cannot be named under this head. The Germans and Swiss sent out several ship-loads of officers, all of different descriptions and colours; every one with a different object, with different principles, different regimentals, from different provinces and kingdoms. These Crusaders were more or less provided for,—but having eventually failed, and finding, at last, that every man in Greece must depend upon himself, and that Greek soldiers are never to be commanded by such officers, the Committees tried to rectify their error, by sending out a body of soldiers, who were at the same time, artizans and labourers. This was the famous expedition under Gen. Kephalas. Their object was certainly good, but they failed: they did not know Greece or Grecians. The exertions of the brave Swiss and Germans in their own country were certainly great. I have witnessed their efforts in trying to assist, and to bring money together for this noble cause: many of them struggling against the impediments and obstacles thrown into their way by the Governments of Prussia, Hanover, Austria, and the petty princes. I have, on foot, traversed parts of Denmark, through Germany, Switzerland, and France, to embark for Greece, and have witnessed their enthusiasm for the cause. But what thanks can the Greeks owe them, if they never rendered any real service to Greece? The poor, misled, soldiers have all fallen a burden upon the Greeks, who themselves are starving for want of bread. I have seen even bakers and butchers sent out. The first never baked bread in Greece, and died, literally starving for want of it. The latter have left Greece without ever having tasted a piece of beef. In fine, the results of the noble exertions of the German and Swiss Committees have been, notwithstanding their best motives, bringing misery upon every one who has been engaged to come out here; and have been of expence, but of no service, to Greece.

With respect to what the English Committee have done for the good of Greece, the motives of the donors cannot but be praised; but any one who has, the last year, been at Misolonghi must have been sickened at every thing he saw, and have pitied the use that has been made, or rather, the abuse of the sums so generously contributed by the subscribers. The exertions of Lord Byron and of Lord Charles Murray have made a brilliant appearance in this darkness of misery, and among the clouds of want and misfortune. Both nobly devoted their minds and knowledge, their wealth, their health and their lives for Greece.—Lord Byron was in a fair way of succeeding; for with a good will, he joined resources. His memory remains in the hearts of the Greeks.

These remarks I have made, it being my duty; that America may take an example at the follies of the Europeans, and may not be misled. My statements are true. I have rather repressed the bad, and if I have failed, it is in giving a still too flattering picture. But knowing the different languages and men; and having been at the head of Lord Byron's affairs after his death, and honoured with the confidence and friendship of the principal Greek Chiefs, you may place full confidence in it. I have never received a single *para* (400 to a dollar,) pay, since I have been in Greece, neither from any Committee whatever, nor from Greece, but have even paid my own money over. I have therefore no reason to flatter any party, but I shall proclaim the truth whenever I can.

There have never been above twenty-four Englishmen in Greece, including the labourers and artizans. Two lords and a mechanic died; two gentlemen cut their throats. None of them fell, or fought against the Turks, except Captain Hastings and two others, who have been engaged in this warfare more or less. About five are still in Greece; all the others have returned. Of the German and Swiss, about sixty fell against the Turks, but more than this number fell victims to malignant fevers, diseases, and died in misery, or by duels. Frenchmen, Italians—about thirty may have perished altogether. There are about twenty-five Germans remaining in Greece, most of whom are nearly starving. Three of them have married at Misolonghi, and get on well. One of them, a Swiss Doctor, Mr. Meyer, has rendered considerable service; but the reason is, he has become a complete Greek.

As to what has been done toward disciplining the Greeks; a Greek soldier first likes to be sure of finding bread (and only dry bread,): giving him that and prospect of pay, at a future day, may attach him to you; but as for forming lancers or dragoons in the rocks, it is out of the question. My own soldiers, who are of expense to me, have, after returning from a fighting campaign, neither received money, bread, nor even quarters; and they are now marching against Lepanto, with only the little assistance I have been able to give them of my own. We have lived the greatest part of six months upon dry bread;

and that very often wanting, have supplied our hunger, by roasting in the ashes some wild herbs, which, for want of water, we could not boil. Can it be expected that a foreigner will voluntarily submit to these hardships? I say a *soldier* even; but an officer,—will he not desire his roast beef—his different dishes, his comforts and his pleasures?—I feel it my duty therefore to discourage adventurers from coming out here, and beg you, gentlemen, to advise all young men, who have not the following qualifications, to desist from coming out, viz.

1. They ought *either* to be men of independent fortunes, and completely at their ease,
2. Or men of strong, tough constitutions, born to hardships, and accustomed to fatigues and misfortunes, and of frugal and temperate habits.
3. Their manners must be pure, and their minds open and prompt for all good undertakings.
4. They ought to attach themselves entirely to the Greeks, learn their language, wear their dress, and eat their frugal fare.
5. They must be men who embrace this *sacred* cause, regarding it as such: of a religious disposition, who willingly suffer, and give up all their private interest for the prosperity of Greece.

As for the cause, it is the noblest perhaps that man ever fought for; and the Greeks,—do they not do honour to it? Their conduct and their bravery—is it not an example to all the world?—And why shall we sicken them with tacticks, and with discipline, for which the country is not yet ripe? Why endeavour to make them believe, that the profligate European manners are better than their own frugal habits? One hundred Greeks, (excepting the article of bread,) will live on less than ten Franks, for any given time; and they will suffer and perform much,—while Franks, in this country will do no good at all.

In regard to character and manners, justice has not yet been done to the Greeks. Their marriages, and their treatment of the female sex may be quoted for a model throughout the world. Prostitution is scarcely known; and marriage is celebrated with a religious view. The female is at full liberty at home; a queen in her own house. What law is more benevolent for human society, and for domestic comfort, than that whereby the brothers in the family are bound to get all the sisters married, before they are permitted to marry themselves? This law produces infinite good, and keeps their manners pure. There is no force to bind them to keep it;—but never has it been broken during the revolution. The Greeks are very devout, and do everything with a religious view. So do they fight;—and every one here regards the cause as a religious one. After obtaining victories, the Te

Deum is always performed;—and every Sunday, and other great holydays, prayers are offered to Heaven for the success of their arms, and for the welfare of the country. It is true, they think their Saints, of whom they have a great number, intercede for them with almighty God; and thus they address their prayers through them. This is an erroneous idea, which must, at first, shock us Protestants; but the progress of liberty and science must soon open their minds. In every other way, their religious conduct ought to be praised, as it tends to make them lead a frugal, devout and humble life: and their religion is far more tolerant than, and appears to have great advantages over, the Popish belief.

No nation has declared in favour of Greece—neutrality has not even been kept:—and some have, and are still, assisting and helping the Turks. Mercantile interest may induce them to practices, which the law of nations has hitherto hindered us from punishing:—but they are not the less detestable for that. Above all the Austrian is the declared friend of the Turk. Imperial ships and men of war carry Turkish despatches, and perform the duties of spies. Their merchantmen embark Turkish troops and provisions. They have done more mischief and real evil to the Greeks, than the open enemy.

The loan opened in England is not sufficient for Greece: another, we hope, may be opened soon. I do not know if any could be made in the United States. Whatever America can send will be thankfully received, and may be of great use, if sent soon. I myself should recommend to send money: and to send it directly to the hands of the Greek government; but always to have a certain sum deposited, either at Malta or Zante, or to make a proviso, when sending the money to the government, so that Americans, who may be in, or come to, Greece, (as they receive no pay or remuneration whatever,) may fall back upon that, and be saved from starving. A sure correspondence must be opened: then many advantageous points for Greece, and, hereafter, for both countries, might be settled. I might propose to the Committee several plans for the benefit of Greece, but shall avail myself of another occasion hereafter. I beg you not to judge of the Greeks by those that come over to America. The real Greeks, if ever so miserable, will rather voluntarily suffer for, and in their country, than quit it now: and *here* they ought to be assisted. Greece will be free, or not exist:—Greeks will be free, or must be extirpated from the earth. Here is a wide field for doing good.

I beg here to remark how happy I am that Mr. Miller has fallen in with me. He is a man who seems exactly fit for Greece; having been accustomed to hardships; his manners being pure, and regarding the cause with that religious idea every one ought to. I own, that, except Lord Charles Murray and Capt. Hastings, Mr. Miller is the only one of the Franks to whom I have attached myself in Greece. By all that I can judge, he will be of

great use to the cause; particularly as soon he shall know the language; and has accustomed himself to the manners, &c. At the same time I feel it in my duty to inform you what the Greeks say to foreigners who come to act and fight for the cause, particularly to those who come out with recommendations, that if their respective countries honour them, (the foreigners,) they ought to provide for them too, as Greece is not yet able to do it. Thus no American has any thing to expect from the Government; and for our national honour's sake, no American must starve here; nor must a person like Mr. Miller be in want; and, instead of exerting himself for the cause, be obliged to do so for his own existence.

I might propose to form a small colony of five or six Americans of respectable character, of knowledge and experience, to whom the Greeks would attach themselves: this might form, and hold, and preserve, a centre, for both parties hereafter. Navarino, (Pylus,) Modon, or Coron, (as soon as these two latter are taken,) might be most suitable, on account of their salubrious air. We then may, by uniting to the patriarchal purity of Greek habits, the moral and liberal ones of free America, show them the practical advantages of arts, sciences, and agriculture; and the benefit of the exertions of the missionaries will imperceptibly gain upon the Greeks, without acting, as if otherwise commenced, in direct opposition to the priests, who are not unmanageable, but may be gained over by practical example and conviction, sooner than by opposition. Thus infinite good may be done, and spread throughout this country. Greeks want to be certain of the benefit, and with their own eyes to see it, before they enter into speculations. But when they take any thing to heart, they will persist; and their strong sense, as men, will sooner or later, elevate them to that station where they belong, that of one of the first states in the world.

I shall, after marching my soldiers to Lepanto go down with prince Mavrocordatos to the seat of Central Government, (at Napoli.) I must here stop. Mr. Miller will write you more. I close with saying, that the external, as well as internal, affairs, are going on with a fair appearance of success.—You will give, if you think proper, the necessary publicity to these my remarks.—May God grant success to our cause; protect all its friends, especially the Americans; and may their well-meant exertions be crowned with success.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

GEORGE JARVIS

*2. Excerpts from Col. Jonathan P. Miller, The Condition of Greece.*

(pp. 11–14) New York, March 8, 1827

I received this morning from the Greek Committee of New York the following INSTRUCTIONS

Mr. Johnathan P. Miller,

Sir: The Executive Committee for the relief of the Greeks, in the city of New York, having appointed you their agent for the distribution of the provisions and clothing composing the cargo of the ship Chancellor, Barker, master, now lying in the port of New York, herewith encloses a copy of the invoice and Bill of lading of said cargo, and begs leave to call your attention to the following instructions:

You are aware, that this cargo is the result of contributions made by benevolent individuals and association in this country. These contributions have been received by the Executive Committee, under the distinct pledge that their best intentions should be used to appropriate them, without diminution or abatement, to the sole object of feeding, and clothing the necessitous inhabitants of Greece. As it is not the object of the Executive Committee to take part in any controversy between the Greeks and Turks, these provisions and clothing are not designed to supply the garrisons of the former, but are intended for the relief of women, children and non-combatants of Greece.

Believing that the donations entrusted to their care would not reach the objects for whose relief they were made, without an agent of known intelligence and fidelity to superintend, as far as practicable, their distribution, the Executive Committee, relying upon your knowledge of the country of Greece and your intimate acquaintance with the condition of its inhabitants, derived from many months residence among them and, above all, upon the highly honourable testimonials, to your private worth, which they have received, have deputed you to the execution of this high trust.

The Chancellor has cleared for the port of Napoli di Romania, because it is believed that this port would be found, on the arrival of the ship, in possession of the Greeks, and that by landing the cargo there, superior facilities would be afforded to its distribution, agreeably to the wishes of the Committee. Should it appear, however, from information you may receive on your passage out, at any of the intermediate ports at which the ship may touch for information or refreshment, that these objects would not be best answered by making the port of Napoli di Romania the port of discharge, you are at liberty to alter her destination to any other port in the Morea, or Grecian islands, where the cargo can most easily be distributed among the destitute women, children, and old men, and all other Grecians not actually engaged in the war.

Captain Barker will, under your direction, touch at Cerigo, Hydra, or any other places that you may designate as the most suitable for acquiring information relative to the object of your mission.

On arrival at your port of discharge, you will immediately, if practicable, consult with our countrymen, Dr. Howe and Mr. Jarvis, and such other individuals of known intelligence and fidelity to the cause of liberty in Greece, as may be within your reach, upon the most feasible method of distribution, in conformity with the views of the committee; and after such consultation, you will proceed, without delay as to the distribution, giving to it as much of your personal attention as is practicable. You will, of course, avail yourself of every facility the existing government of Greece may be disposed to lend you in the execution of your trust; but it is recommended to you to preserve at all times, if practicable, a controlling interest over the property intrusted to your care, until it reach the sufferers for whose relief it was designed. The Committee are aware that you may find it difficult to pursue, in the distribution of these provisions and clothing, that distinction which might commend itself to the fastidious observance of national neutrality, but they do not wish to limit your discretion by anything beyond reasonable diligence.

The Committee would impress on you the importance of keeping a detailed account of all your proceedings, after your departure from the port, noting the plans adopted by you, the advice received, and the agents you may find it necessary to employ; this request is made with the more earnestness, as the Committee are desirous of laying before the donors who have intrusted to them the sacred fund for the relief of a suffering people, a minute account of the mode of its distribution.

As the Executive Committee expect to dispatch a second cargo of provisions to Greece within a few days, they have to request that you will remain in that country until further advised by them; and in the meantime, they hope to receive intelligence from you by every opportunity for communication.

Wishing you entire success in the discharge of the interesting and important trust which you have nobly assumed, and hoping that your voyage may be as pleased as its object is benevolent, the Executive Committee have the honour to subscribe themselves, most respectfully,

Your obedient servants

(Signed) Lynde Catlin, Stephen Allen, Preserved Fish, Peter Sharpe,  
George Griswold, James I. Jones, Fred'k Sheldon, F. Vandenburg, Hiram Ketchum

(p. 35) May 14/26, 1827: LETTERS FROM THE GOVERNMENT

*Commission of Government of the Republic of Greece*

To Mr. J. P. Miller,

Sir:

We bid you a welcome return to Greece. As the Gen'l Government is actually here, and as you ought to address yourself to it, according to the instructions which you have received from the Philanthropic Society of Philadelphia\* we invite you to come here, as soon as possible, with your vessel, without discharging any part of the cargo at Napoli.

Go. Mavromichalis, I. Nakos, J. M. Milaitis, Go. Glarakis, *Secretary of State*

\* [Author's Note] The Tontine from Philadelphia, having arrived before me, they presumed I came from the same place, and under the same instructions.

(p. 39) May 29, 1827

We arrived at Poros in the afternoon, when I immediately addressed the following letter to the Government:

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE AND EXECUTIVE  
DEPARTMENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF GREECE:

Gentlemen: I received your letter of the 14th inst. and have lost no time in repaireing to Poros, and laying before you the instructions of the Executive Greek Committee of the city of New York, whose agent I have been appointed. In doing this, I beg leave to call your attention to a few remarks on the feeling of my countrymen towards your cause, and the more fully to unfold to you my responsibility for a faithful application of the property committed to my care, to the objects for which it has been raised in the United States. At this late period of your contest there exists a most lively interest in your behalf on the other side of the Atlantic. Among the many in that quarter of the world, who have heard of your manlike resistance against the combined forces of the Ottoman Empire and the unprecedented state of wretchedness to which a most barbarous warfare has reduced many of your countrymen, the Executive Greek Committee of New York are not the least conspicuous. Belonging, however, as they do, to a neutral power, the policy of whose government is never to be the first aggressor, the Committee have confined themselves to the object of relieving the sufferings of the women, children and old men, noncombatants of Greece. My instructions are strictly to this effect; and I have pledged myself to fulfil them to the utmost of my power. However urgent may be my own wishes to relieve the wants of those brave men with whom I have passed so many days in the camp, or however well I may be convinced of the present need of the

Government to have provisions placed in their hands, and at their disposal, yet I can by no means listen to any other disposition of the provisions and clothing in my charge than that contained in my instructions, in the execution of which, Gentlemen, I trust that I shall have your support and approbation. No pleasure of an earthly nature can be greater than that which I enjoy, in again visiting your country, and of having it in my power to administer in some measure towards relieving the suffering of its inhabitants. I am rejoiced to find things in relation to your country's salvation looking more prosperous than when I left Greece a year ago. Who knows but a few more showers of blood poured from the hearts of your sons and your daughters shed by infidel hands, may not thaw the icy policy of Europe, so far as to compassionate your sufferings. But if this fails, let not your friends in Europe and America, ever have the mortification of hearing of your having again submitted to the Turks. Imitate your brethren of Scio, Ipsara and Missolonghi, and if your independence is not achieved, your extinction will at least be glorious; and your reward in heaven that of martyrs for the religion of Christ and the liberty of your country.

With respectful consideration, I am your humble servant .

J. P. MILLER, *agent, etc.*

(pp. 33-34) May 26, 1827

At twelve o'clock, I called upon General Colocotroni, delivered to him two letters which were sent from the U. States, read to him my instructions from the Greek Committee in New-York, and explained the manner in which the provisions had been raised in the United States, for the suffering inhabitants of Greece. The old general bade me again welcome to Greece, and expressed a wish, that He who governs the fates of all men, would reward those who do not forget their fellow-beings in distress.

As there are several thousand Greeks in the mountains which separate Argos from old Arcadia, we judged it best to place sixty barrels at the Mills of Napoli, for the use of the sufferers in that quarter, and to ship one hundred barrels on board an Ionian vessel, for those women and children who escaped from Missolonghi before its fall. These (one hundred barrels) we shall consign to the English resident at the island of Calamos, and request him to attend to their distribution.

(p. 45) June 3, 1827

Good God! What were my feelings when at evening I saw seven women and three children, who escaping from Ibrahim Pacha at Gastouni, arrived at this place in such a

state of distress and wretchedness as cannot with modesty be described. The three children were as naked as when they were born, and their mothers but a little better off. When I first saw them, I involuntarily raised my hands to Heaven. Alas! said I, why were these wretches brought into existence? But it is not for me to arraign the wisdom of the Almighty. I hastened to my lodgings, and soon clothed them all from donations sent from Newark, in New-Jersey, blessing God, who in his providence had put it in my power to do them so great a service.

(p. 49) June 6, 1827

I proceeded to examine the case of hats of which there were four. On one of them the donor had been careful not to interest his name. It was composed of damaged unfinished hats, in such a state that they would rather hasten the march of death upon the bearer of one of them, than serve either as a protection against heat or cold. Every man has a right to select his own donations, but to make others pay freight upon useless articles is neither manly nor honest.

(p. 52) Poros, June 10, 1827

*Informed of many distressed Families*

— In the morning I received a message from the Government, requesting me to call upon them, which I did immediately, and was presented with a catalogue of eight hundred and three families, the heads of which have either been killed, or have died in the service. The widows and orphans they have collected, and are to send them to me in the afternoon, to receive clothes, shoes, and whatever else I may chance to have, to relieve their wants .

I sent ninety-five barrels of Indian meal to Col. Hydeck at Corinth, according to previous arrangement, to be applied by him in the best manner to meet the views of the committee . . .

(pp. 54-56) [Poros, June 10, 1827]

*Distribute to a Multitude in Distress.*

The remainder of the afternoon was spent in the laborious occupation of distributing personally to those of whom a list was delivered to me in the morning by the Government.

Opened the box of clothing from Orange, New Jersey, and began distributing to those who were nearly naked. In half an hour, there were collected around my quarters, at least a thousand women and children. In order to prevent any deception on the part of

those to whom I should give, I placed several soldiers outside of the door, who selected those who were nearly naked, and passed them into the house, where, with the assistance of two old women, they were clothed and passed out, the soldiers taking care that they did not come a second time.

I was a novel sight to see the young Hellenes rigged out in the Frank dress. Some of them were so much pleased with the checkered cotton dresses, that they would fairly laugh out when we were putting them on. The Greeks, amid all their distresses, are ever fond of jokes; and many pleasantries occurred to alleviate my feelings in witnessing so much misery . . .

*A beautiful Athenian*

The gown pattern, presented to some fair Miss of Greece, by two young men of New-Jersey, I gave to an Athenian girl, who had lost her father and all her property in the recent fall of Athens. She was indeed beautiful; and if the young men who contributed to cover her nakedness, and shield her from the glare of sensuality, had seen her in her new costume, I doubt if there would not have been a contest for her favour. I believe her charms would have produced a simultaneous expression in the words of Byron:—

Maid of Athens! ere we part,  
Give, oh! give me back my heart.

I finished the distribution of all the ready made clothing in the boxes from Orange, in New-Jersey, and the boxes of shoes from Newark.

(pp.55–56) [June 10, 1827]

*Difficulties in Distributing*

The wretched state in which this country is at present, renders it almost impossible to do business with any great degree of exactness. I have found it impossible to keep a detailed account of all the articles as I gave them out, or to describe the individuals to whom I gave them. Many of the bundles and articles of clothing contained sentiments, and directions with which it was entirely out of my power to comply. The man of business will understand me, and I hope all will excuse me for not being more particular, when they are informed that I have no one to write in English but myself, and this I do while sitting on a mat with my desk upon my knees, and often surrounded by a hundred beings of the grade between the pretending gentlemen and the downright knave, more ravenous in their disposition than Virgil's Harpies—too lazy to work, and too cowardly to fight, and who are constantly laying plans to induce the Government to persuade me to fill their maws with food designed for honest men. Twice I have detected these fellows, just as they were on the point of deceiving both the Government and myself.

*More Distressed Families.*

June 11, 1827—Received a message from the Government this morning, requesting me to call on them. On presenting myself, I found that they had prepared another catalogue of ninety-five widows and orphans, belonging to the island of Poros, whose husbands and fathers had been killed in this revolution. To these, the government wished me to give two-thousand okas of flour, equal to twenty-six barrels and two-thirds (an oka being about two pounds and a half).

After stating to the Government my views in respect to an equal distribution of the flour, they presented the widows and orphans, whose tears I could not withstand, and so I gave them my word that as soon as Col. Hydeck should return, we would deliver them the flour. I took this precaution for fear they might also draw upon the Colonel, after I had given them their share.

*Supply the Hospital*

I delivered to the Superintendent of the Hospital at Methana, two hundred shirts ready made, and one roll of sheeting from the cargo of the Tontine, from Philadelphia; and one hundred and forty-one pair of men's shoes, from the boxes sent from Newark, New-Jersey, and from Fairhaven, by the Chancellor, from New-York. For these, Dr. Chiriachidessetti gave a receipt.

(p. 61) [June 12, 1827]

A Greek Priest, bowed down with age, and nearly naked, called late in the evening for the purpose of getting something to relieve his wants. I gave him cloth to make him a suit of cloths and a shirt. The old man shed tears, and was on the point of prostrating himself at my feet, after custom of the East, when I prevented him. I informed him that I was only the almoner of my countrymen's charity to the distressed of his nation, and that it becomes men to bow themselves before their Creator only, from whose hand comes every good gift.

(p. 67) June 16, 1827

In the evening I took a long walk on the Peloponnesian side of the Island. After walking some distance in the mountains, I found a family under a tree, the mother of which was sick with fever, with four children around her. Having nothing else with me, I gave the mother two dollars, at the same time telling her that it was a donation from the ladies in America. The poor creature was overwhelmed with joy. She called upon God to bless the souls of those who had so liberally supplied her wants.

(p. 71) June 20, 1827

At eleven o'clock what was my delight to find an officer who was approaching my quarters to be Lieut. Hudson, of the U. S. ship Warren, which had just arrived from Smyrna. Capt. Kearney, her commander, had, on his arrival at Poros, politely sent on shore to inquire if there was any thing which he could do for me in order to secure the safe delivery of the American donations, and also to offer me any assistance which might be in his power.

My heart swells with gratitude towards my gallant countrymen, for their kindness to me. I went on board the Warren, where I met with a most kind reception from Capt. Kearney and the officers under his command. The officers and all on board expressed the greatest desire for the success of this unfortunate people. As the wind was contrary, Capt. Kearney concluded it best to bring his ship to anchor, and remain until the morrow.

On leaving the Warren, the officers of the ward-room presented three barrels of flour, to be distributed as I should think proper among the widows and orphans of Poros. Several of the officers accompanied me to shore, and among the number was lieut. Sawyer, from Burlington, Vermont, with whose family I have been a long time acquainted . . .

(pp. 71-72) June 21, 1827

There arrived at this place last evening six females, who had just escaped from the Arabs. Early this morning they were brought to my quarters. On going out, O, God of mercy! what a sight was presented to my view!! A girl of eleven or twelve years of age stood before me, with her nose cut off close to her face, and her lips all cut off, so that the gums and jaws were left entirely naked. All this had been done more than a year ago, and the poor creature was yet alive. Her refusal to yield to the embraces of an Arab was the cause of this horrid and shocking barbarity.

This girl I was determined to exhibit on board the Warren, but Capt. Kearney arrived on shore just as I was on the point of putting off for this purpose. To that gentlemen I would refer the inquirer concerning this shocking sight. Capt. Kearney gave the poor creature two dollars.

*Hear from Jarvis at Cenchrea*

(pp. 82-83) Sunday, July 1, 1827

I spent several hours yesterday and to-day in looking out the sick, who were on the other

side of the harbour, some in the open air, some under trees, and other in huts. I placed them all in a hut which I hired, and gave them regular rations of rice.

Gave several gown patters, and other articles of dress to the poor creatures who are daily arriving from all quarters, suffering from nakedness and starvation. In the afternoon received the following letter from Jarvis:

*Cenchrea, June 30th, 1827*

MY DEAR MILLER.—I send by the Captain of the boat, a cargo of empty barrels which I wish you to take and store in the best manner possible . . . I have distributed within four days, ninety barrels of meal and twenty-two tierces of rice to above five thousand souls, most of whom have escaped from the Turks.

They thank God and the good people of the United States, for this which prolongs for a short time their existence. I am not able to detail the whole affair for want of time. Though I have spent two or three most troublesome and laborious days, yet they have been the most satisfactory to my feelings, on account of the happiness of distributing the bounty of Americans, and the heart-felt gratitude with which it was received.

I can assure you that Corinth is in great danger, the dervans (or passes) being open, and the soldiers in great want of bread.

If it please God I shall see you within two or three days, and referring you to that time, I remain your sincere friend.

GEORGE JARVIS

*Fourth of July in Greece.*

(p. 85) July 4, 1827

All eyes at Poros, were turned towards me this morning, as the birth-day of my nation. I therefore concluded to make a small dinner party, and close it by drinking a few toasts. Germans, Englishmen, Greeks, and Americans composed our party. We had many patriotic toasts, and the afternoon passed away agreeably.

July 5—Being attacked in the morning by a fever, I was bled, and took other precautions to throw it off. Continued, however, quite unwell for several days.

*Another vessel with supplies from the United States.*

(pp. 85-87) July 9, 1827

I had so far recovered as to set up and walk about a little, when about noon I was informed that there was an American vessel off the harbour. I took a boat and was going on board, when I met another coming on shore, in which was my friend Dr. Howe, accompanied by Mr. Stuyvesant, from New-York. By the latter gentlemen I received the following letter from Lynde Catlin, Esq. Chairman of the Executive Greek Committee in New-York.

*To Mr. J. P. Miller.**New-York, May 12, 1827*

DEAR SIR,—Since your departure for Greece, our committee have been diligent in procuring means in aid of the sufferers of that country, and have succeeded in making up a second cargo, which they now send forward by the ship *Six Brothers*. About one third of this cargo has been collected at Albany, and this shipment is a joint one by Albany and New-York. The canals are but just opened, and there will yet come forward the contributions of the inland towns. We shall therefore have another shipment to make, either by taking another whole ship, or uniting with Philadelphia or Boston for that purpose. This cargo, by the *Six Brothers*, is consigned to Mr. John R. Stuyvesant, who goes as Supercargo, and yourself. I enclose a copy of the Committee's letter of instructions, and a duplicate bill of lading.

You will recollect that, at your departure it was our expectation to have sent Lieut. Carpenter, as Supercargo, but his peculiar situation in the Navy prevented his going. The Committee then made an engagement with Lieut. Breese, also of the Navy, to go in the same capacity, but we have been deprived of his services, by his being ordered, yesterday to go on board the *Lexington* sloop of war, under sailing orders for the Mediterranean. This greatly embarrassed us, the *Six Brothers* being laden and ready to depart, but Mr. Stuyvesant very promptly acceded to our request to accompany the shipment, and to be associated with you as consignee and distributor.

Mr. Stuyvesant is a descendant of Governor Stuyvesant, (one of the original settlers of this place.) His family and connections are most respectable and estimable. His stay with you will be no longer than is necessary for your aid in landing and putting the cargo in train for distribution, and rendering you such assistance as you need. Your stay may be prolonged, as the Boston Committee may ask your aid, in relation to the cargo to be sent from that port. With my best wishes for your health and happiness in Greece, I am most respectfully yours,

LYNDE CATLIN, Chairman,  
Ex. Gr. Com. N. York.

*Summary of the Bill of Lading of the Six Brothers.*

1213	barrels Corn meal,
50	tierces of Rice,
52	" Pease,
105	barrels of Bread,
200	half barrels of Bread,
100	barrels of Mackerel,
121 1/2	" Beef and Pork,
229 1/2	" Flour,
4	" Medicine,
5	boxes "
2	bundles "
2	barrels of dried Fish,
14	boxes "
40	" Clothing
5	bales "
1	bundle "

(pp. 266–71) *REPORT Of the Executive Greek Committee of 1827.*

The Executive Greek Committee of the city of New-York, appointed in 1827, in conformity to the pledge given at the time of their appointment, of rendering an account of the trust reposed in them, now have the pleasure of communicating such information as will satisfy all the donors to the sacred fund (for the relief of the Greeks), that their best exertions have been used to apply the donations to the relief of the *old men, women and children*, and that they have been principally so applied.

It will be recollected that the meeting of Citizens, from which they derived authority, was held at the City Hotel in Broadway, on the 6th January, 1827, of which meeting Stephen Allen, Esq. Secretary. More than fifty individuals were appointed to constitute the *New-York Greek Committee*. At a subsequent meeting of this Committee, it was deemed advisable to constitute an *Executive Committee*, to perform the whole Committee. The Executive Committee accordingly commenced the duties enjoined upon them by issuing the following Address, which was published in the papers, and distributed in the form of a circular.

#### ADDRESS

*New-York, January 10, 1827.*

The Committee for the relief of the Greeks, appointed at a meeting of Citizens, convened in this city on the evening of the 6th instant, take the liberty of addressing you on the subject of their appointment. You are, no doubt, aware of the information received some weeks since in this country, from the most authentic sources, that the barbarous foe of Greece has left her no agriculture, no commerce, no arts. That while her able-bodied men are keeping at bay an enemy, the fruits of whose final success will be brutal violence and indiscriminate massacre; her women, and children, and old men are feeding on acorns in the mountains, and unless promptly relieved by their Christian brethren of other nations, will be driven to experience the horrors of famine.

Impelled by circumstances of this urgent character, the inhabitants of Greece appeal to all Christian nations, not for arms, nor munitions of war, but for a grant of the bare necessities of life. They who make this appeal are Christians, who have been subjected to the most arbitrary and capricious tyranny for centuries, because they would not abandon their own religious faith, and adopt that of their masters. They are contending for civil and religious liberty. The exertions they have made, the sufferings and sacrifices to which they have submitted in a war, nearly as long already as our own revolutionary struggle, prove them worthy the object for which they contend; and, above all, they are hungry and naked.

In applying to their Christian brethren of this republic, they appeal to a people whose liberty was won by exertions and sacrifices of the same character with those they are now making, but of far less amount—to a people, who, as a consequence of the freedom thus won, abound in all the necessities and comforts of social existence. Shall this appeal be in vain?

You will please to give this subject as much publicity as you conveniently can; and the propriety of calling a public meeting in your city or town, in aid of the main object, is respectfully submitted to your consideration.

The committee hope to have it in their power, within a short time, to despatch one or more vessels to Greece, laden with provisions and clothing, as it is not their intention to send any money out of the country. Should you think proper to forward to the undersigned, or any of the, a contribution of provisions, clothing, or money, they pledge themselves to use their best exertions to appropriate it, without diminution or abatement, *to the sole object of feeding and clothing the necessitous inhabitants of Greece.*

The effect of this appeal was immediate and sensible, for in the course of the month of January more than six thousand dollars were collected, principally in the city of New-York, and information was received that exertions were making in all parts of the country to raise contributions in provisions, clothing, and money. They were therefore led to believe that there would soon be means at their disposal to load a vessel with provisions and clothing to be sent to the suffering inhabitants of Greece.

It was an object of solicitude with the Committee to have the donations properly applied to the suffering women, children, old men, and non-combatants of Greece, and not delivered to the government nor the military. With this view it was necessary to send out the donations in charge of an agent, who should attend to the personal distribution, and be able to satisfy the Committee and the donors on his return, of the faithful application of their gifts. The Committee addressed themselves to the Hon. Messrs. Webster and Everett of Boston, then in Congress at Washington City, and in addition to information touching the points of inquiry about supplies for Greece, they received a strong recommendation in favour of J. P. Miller of Vermont, to be requested to undertake the agency.

The Committee accordingly applied to Mr. Miller, and in the latter part of February received his reply, accepting the invitation. He arrived in New-York on the 5th March, and sailed in the ship Chancellor, as supercargo, on the 10th.

A second vessel was despatched on the 12th May, 1827. This was the brig Six Brothers, in which Mr. John R. Stuyvesant, of New-York, went out as supercargo, and to act conjointly with Mr. Miller in the distribution.

The brig Jane sailed with the third cargo on the 14th September, 1827. Mr. Henry A. V. Post, of New-York, went supercargo of the Jane with instructions to act conjointly with the other agents.

These agents have all returned, and Mr. Miller who acted as principal and remained in Greece longer than the others, and who also assisted in the distribution of the cargoes sent from Philadelphia and Boston, has kept and presented a detailed account of his proceedings in the form of a journal, which gives a satisfactory account of the time, place, and manner, in which the provisions and clothing were distributed.

The Committee being highly pleased and satisfied with the various reports from their several agents, and with their faithful performance of the difficult and delicate trust reposed in them, take this opportunity of expressing their thanks and the thanks of the donors, to the said agents generally and severally.

Mr. Miller having been advised to publish his journal, this Committee take pleasure in recommending it to all who have contributed to the Greek fund, as it will thereby become evident to them, that this Committee has been fortunate in the selection of their agents, and that the dona-

tions shipped from New-York to the suffering inhabitants of Greece, have been mainly distributed to the *women, children, and old men*, as far forth as the agents were able to accomplish their instructions; and that for the exceptions they are by no means censurable.

Having now settled all the expenses attendant upon their trust, the Committee have closed their accounts by paying over the balance in their hands to the Greek Committee of 1828, of which Mr. George Griswold is Chairman.

For the satisfaction of the contributors to the Greek fund of 1827, the Committee hereunto annex an account current of the receipts and expenditures, and also a particular list and statement of the contributions in money, clothing and provisions, from different parts of the country.

Before closing, it is but justice to add, that they owe an acknowledgment to the proprietors of some of the Canal boats, on the New-York Canals, for the gratuitous transportation of donations from the interior, and of the steam boats on the Hudson river, of transportation from Albany to New-York. The Committee owe a similar obligation to several gentlemen in New-York, for the free use of their stores in storing the donations in goods until they were shipped: and also to the Editors of the several papers in the city, for advertising without charge. The expenses which would have occurred, if charges had been made, would have amounted to several hundred dollars, and may be considered as so much added to the donations.

Respectfully submitted,

LYNDE CATLIN, STEPHEN ALLEN, GEO. GRISWOLD, JAMES I. JONES, PRESERVED FISH,  
PETER SHARPE, HIRAM KETCHUM, F. VANDENBURGH, FRED. SHELDON.

[*Editor's note: There follow, (a) the bank statement of the Greek Committee; (b) an expense statement; and (c) a detailed statement of donations in money and kind (pp. 271-90)*]

#### (pp. 291-300) DONATIONS

The following letters show with what spirit the donations were contributed, and the feelings of reciprocation by the Greek Committee.

TO LYNDE CATLIN, ESQ.

*Chairman of the Executive Greek Committee.*

*New-York, 17th February, 1827.*

SIR,—I send you the following extract of a letter which I have received from a gentleman in Boston.

"If a vessel should sail from New-York with provisions for the Greeks, I wish some one would put on board 10 barrels of flour, for which I will pay immediately on knowing the cost. Now I shall rely on your seeing that this commission is executed; for the request comes from ten ladies, who wish to send a barrel a-piece to feed the hungry and relieve the oppressed."

Messrs. De Forest and Son have kindly offered to put the ten barrels spoken of on board without delay.

Yours respectfully,

J. C. BRIGHAM,  
*Assist. Sec. Amer. Bib. Soc.*

*U. S. Military Academy, West Point, Feb. 21, 1827.*

SIR,— Enclosed you will receive a check for \$515, which sum was collected by us, a committee appointed by the corps of Cadets, to obtain subscriptions for the relief of the Greeks. Sympathising as much as we do for the sufferings of the gallant people, our charity has been limited alone by our circumstances. Such as it is, we place it at your disposal, with the hope that it may be *speedily* and *profitably* invested for their benefit.

We are, with high consideration,

Your obedient servants,

J. A. J. BRADFORD, of Ky., G. W. HUGHES, of N. Y., W. B. GUION, of Miss.,  
ROBT. E. TEMPLE, of Vt., CHARLES MASON, of N. Y. (*committee*.)

TO STEPHEN ALLEN, ESQ.  
*Chairman, Greek Committee, New-York.*

*Colchester, Conn., February 28, 1827.*

DEAR SIR,— A number of the citizens of the 1st Society, in Colchester, Conn. sympathising with the distressed Greeks, and being desirous of contribution to their pecuniary wants, have, by subscription, collected a small box of-clothing, cloth, &c. for their benefit, which we take the liberty to transmit to you, with a request that it may be forwarded to Greece, by the first conveyance. An invoice of the articles contained in said box the value amounting to \$116.61, estimated by a disinterested committee, is enclosed. We regret that it is not in our power to forward an amount commensurate with the importance of this benevolent object, and the dignified charity which appears to be animating the citizens of our sister states in behalf of the oppressed and suffering Greeks.

In behalf of the Greek Committee  
Of the 1st Society in Colchester, Con.

I am, very respectfully, yours,  
JOHN TURNER Ch'n

STEPHEN ALLEN, ESQ.  
*Chairman of the Greek Committee, N. Y.*

*Lansingburgh, March 6, 1827.*

DEAR SIR,— As Chairman of a Committee appointed by a public meeting of the inhabitants of this village, to call into action their sympathies for the suffering Greeks, I have great pleasure in announcing a collection, in money, to the amount of \$531, besides some small donations in provisions, &c. &c. The money, in a draft on the City Bank of New-York, is herewith enclosed, and the other articles will be forwarded to the Executive Committee in New-York, on the opening of the navigation.

It may not be improper to add, for we deem it highly creditable to the character of the people here, that their contributions were made up in less than two days from the time their Committee entered upon the duties assigned them. Our best wishes accompany them, with a fervent prayer, that the good intended may be fully realized, and the Greeks come speedily into the enjoyment of liberty and independence.

I am, very respectfully,  
Dear sir, your ob't. servant,  
GERRIT PEEBLES

TO LYNDE CATLIN, ESQ.

*Brooklyn, L. I. 12th March, 1827.*

SIR,— The inhabitants of the town of Brooklyn participating largely in the general sympathy for the sufferings of the oppressed and destitute Greeks, held a public meeting on the 16th January last; and appointed a Committee to receive contributions for their relief; and to invite the inhabitants of other towns on Long Island to co-operate in this work of benevolence.

The result of their exertions enables us to transmit, herewith, as the donation of Long Island, a check on the Long Island Bank, for \$2,675.

An order on Mr. Robert Speir for five barrels of navy bread.

An order on Mr. William Thompson, waterman, for a supply of water to the vessel or vessels taken up for the purpose of conveying food and clothing to the Greeks.

An order on Mr. James Titus, butcher, for a barrel of beef.

A quantity of ready-made linen; and a package of dry goods.

Collected in the following towns, viz.

In Brooklyn,	Cash	1857.76
	5 bbls. navy bread,	
	A supply of water to ships,	
	1 barrel of beef,	
	A quantity of ready-made linen,	
	A package of dry goods.	
Flatlands,	Cash	50.75
Graves End,	do	70.00
Flat Bush,	do	167.12
Oyster Bay,	do	10.00
South Hampton,	do	83.50
East Hampton,	do	142.26
West Hampton,	do	30.06
Sag Harbour,	do	78.00
Bridge Hampton,	do	98.63
Setaulket,	do	31.00
River Head,	do	68.18
Smith Town,	do	7.00
Islip,	do	5.00
		<hr/>
		2699.26

Deduct for printing, postage, &c. 24.2

Amount of check,

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\$2675.00

By order of the Executive Committee of Brooklyn,

FANNING C. TUCKER, DAVID LEAVITT.

TO LYNDE CATLIN, ESQ.

*Chairman of the Executive Committee, New-York.*

*Cherry Valley, 20th December, 1827.*

GENTLEMEN,— A few inhabitants of this village casually assembled this evening, in talking over the cheering news of the destruction of the Turkish fleet in the harbour of Navarino, formed themselves into a meeting, by choosing a Chairman and Secretary, and appointing the undersigned a Committee to address you on the subject of the glorious, and now hopeful struggle of Greece for independence; and to inform you that, should you deem it expedient to make further efforts in the cause of humanity, and send out to that devoted country another ship freighted with supplies of provisions, you can draw on A. St. John, Cashier of the Central Bank, and one of the Committee, for \$150. The sum is small; but the pittance will, it is hoped, be attended with the blessing promised the donation of the cheerful giver. Your draft on him for the amount will be honoured at sight. Accept the felicitations of the undersigned on the heart-cheering prospect that the sufferings of that gallant people are fast approaching a close; and their prayers that the classic soil of Greece may soon cease to be stained by the bloody footsteps of infidel and relentless tyrants.

With great respect,  
Your obedient servant,  
LEVI BEARDSLEY, Ch'n

*To the Chairman and Secretary of the Greek Committee, New-York.*

*To the Scholars of Messrs. Borland and Forest's School, New-York.*

YOUNG GENTLEMEN,— The Committee for the relief of the Greeks have the greatest pleasure in acknowledging your very acceptable contribution.

Your generous spirit gives to your fellow citizens a gratifying assurance of your continuing to emulate the glorious examples of self-devotion your Committee so fitly mention. The appropriation of your means of amusement to the relief of suffering humanity is worthy of all imitation. You have thus connected yourselves most honourably with a cause of the greatest interest in Christendom, and you will surely reflect on this act with ever increasing satisfaction.

As parents, this Committee would exhort you to cherish the generosity of temper which has thus brought you before your fellow citizens, and to remember that no true greatness in public, nor endearing excellence in private life, can ever be attained without it. It is the very soul of that high ambition, which ever aims to be most eminently useful in promoting the welfare and happiness of the whole human race.

Uniting with yourselves in the wishes that animate you in the cause of the suffering Greeks, and acknowledging as this Committee does the very handsome manner with which your Committee have fulfilled the duty assigned them, this Committee renew their pledge of faithful application of your gift to the interesting objects of your gratitude and commiseration.

By order of the Committee,  
STEPHEN ALLEN.

*To the Students of Union Hall Academy, at Jamaica, Long-Island.*

YOUNG GENTLEMEN,— The Greek Committee of the City of New-York, have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your very generous donation for the relief of that distressed people.

By the appropriation of your private funds to this benevolent object, rather than apply them to the purposes of your amusement, you have performed an act worthy of all praise, and associated yourselves with a cause of increasing interest and importance, not only to the Christian world in general, but to all the friends of liberal principles in particular.

The Committee have viewed this pledge of your disposition to do good, as a proof of your future usefulness in the several stations you may hereafter be called to fill, and they sincerely hope, that the generous sentiment which has prompted your young minds to the performance of this noble act, so honourable to yourselves, so reputable to the respectable principal and teachers of your academy, and so grateful to all your connections, as well as to this Committee, may continue to be cherished by all of you during life.

With our best wishes that your health may be preserved, your studies completed, and the anxious hopes of your parents and friends realized, I have the honour to subscribe myself, in behalf of the

Committee, your friend,  
And humble servant,  
STEPHEN ALLEN, *Ch'n.*

*To James A. J. Bradford, Geo. W. Hughes, Walter B. Guion, Robert E. Temple, and Charles Mason, Esqrs. a Committee of the corps of Cadets at the United States Academy, West Point.*

*New-York, Feb. 24, 1827.*

GENTLEMEN,— It is with the purest satisfaction that I have the honour of acknowledging the receipt of your munificent donation of five hundred and fifteen dollars, collected by you, as a committee appointed by the corps of Cadets, for the relief of the Greeks.

The important studies you are prosecuting, considered in a national point of view, together with the fact of your coming from several different states in this union, gives to this transaction a greater degree of interest than it otherwise would, inasmuch as it furnishes additional evidence, that the study of the art and science of war is by no means incompatible with the softer sensations of pity and compassion for the distressed; and that this amiable quality of the mind is not confined to any one section of our country, but equally pervades the whole.

By appropriating your private funds to the relief of these heroic but suffering people, you have performed an act that will ever redound to your honour, and ultimately to the advantage of objects worthy of your commiseration; and you may reflect on it with pride, and so it will be viewed, as connected with a cause in some respects similar to that in which our father bled and died, in order to secure to us the inestimable boon of freedom and independence, the preservation of which, it may be our peculiar province to preserve sacred and undefiled.

Be pleased to convey to your colleagues in this beneficent transaction, the sincere and unfeigned thanks of the Committee, of whom I have the honour to be the chairman, and assure them, that no care or exertions shall be spared on our part to have the proceeds of this liberal charity properly invested; and as speedily and as safely conveyed to the shores of Greece as time and circumstances will permit.

Accept, Gentlemen,  
My most respectful consideration,  
STEPHEN ALLEN.

REV. WILLIAM S. HEYER, *Fishkill-landing, N. Y.*

REV. SIR,— I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your very interesting letter of the 12th instant, together with the donation of 40 dollars from the Female Benevolent Society of your congregation, for the relief of the suffering inhabitants of Greece.

In the progress of our duty as a Committee, we have had frequent occasion to notice with appro-

bation, the honourable feelings of sympathy which this subject had excited in all classes of our fellow-citizens, and there is no portion of them so much entitled to our respect and admiration as the females of our highly favoured land; for we have found in every instance, that the extent of the relief afforded by them has only been limited by their ability to perform and to give.

In the present instance the Committee feel great pleasure in recording this additional proof of the benevolent and philanthropic disposition of their fair countrywomen; and they beg that you will assure them, that the liberal donation they have intrusted them with shall be invested with the utmost economy, in articles of food and raiment for the distressed wives and children, and the aged sires, of the heroic Greeks, who are contending for civil and religious liberty, against a foe who is equally the enemy of God and man.

With unfeigned respect,  
I am your obedient servant,  
STEPHEN ALLEN.

### 3. *Excerpts from The Journals and Letters of Samuel Gridley Howe.*

(pp. 160-63) Athens, Dec. 19th, 1825

Dear William:—My last was dated in the month of September, and from the island of Candia; since which time I have been so hurried about from one part of Greece to another, and so continually agitated in mind on account of the distressing state of public affairs, that leisure has not been left me to address any of my friends in America. Having finished the campaign with the army, I have come to enjoy a few days of ease at Athens. Doubtless you will start at the name of Athens, and expect from me a long and interesting account of it, but I have not heart for this now. I am an admirer of ancient, but a lover and friend of modern Greece. All travellers have described the feelings of melancholy which pervaded them when wandering among the remnants of the gigantic buildings on the Acropolis, or gazing upon the beautiful and still perfect temple of Theseus; but how much is that melancholy increased at this moment, when, recalling to mind the proud state of Greece in the age of Pericles, one compares it with her present situation—exhausted by a desperate struggle, and in danger of coming again under the yoke of the barbarian. I speak of Missolonghi, now in imminent danger. This season has been important for the Greeks; it has taught them that an army without order or discipline is a curse to itself and to its country. They were so proud of having battled successfully more than three years with their former masters, that they would not listen to the solicitations of foreigners to organize their army. But things are now changed. Formerly it was merely one herd of men struggling against another herd, with this difference, that the one was inspired by the spirit of liberty and a thirst for vengeance, and [therefore] they were the conquerors. But now, science and discipline regulate the

Turks, and the Greeks find them irresistible; the army of Ibrahim Pasha goes where it will.

[. . .]

If you compare the Greek regulars to our militia, and their irregulars to our Indians, you will come near the truth. In fact, their way of making war is not dissimilar; they prefer to wait the attack of an enemy, and to surprise by ambuscades. Then they pitch upon some defile through which the enemy must pass, hide themselves among the rocks and stones, and patiently await his coming. If they decide to await open attack, they encamp upon some rocky hill, where they build their little tambouris, or breastworks about three feet high, behind which they lie down, and when the enemy advances pour in their fire. They depend principally upon their musquets, or rather do their principal execution with those, though every Greek soldier thinks it necessary that he should have a pair of pistols and a yataghan stuck in his belt. The yataghan is a short, crooked sword, curved inward like the blade of a scythe, and is one of the clumsiest weapons in the world; the same may be said of their pistol, the handle or stock of which is perfectly straight. The principal use of either is for show, for they seldom come near enough to the enemy to use them.

[. . .]

The Turkish cavalry is most formidable. They are mounted upon the finest Arabian horses, which they manage with great dexterity, and they never fail to attack whenever the nature of the ground will admit. The Greeks fear the cavalry as much as the Turks dread a fire-ship.

(pp. 166–69) Napoli di Romania, Dec. 29th, 1825

My Dear Father:—I have let a longer time pass without writing you than I ever meant to have done, but for the last three months I have been so driven about from one part of the country to another, and from one island to another, that really I had neither time, place, nor opportunity; sleeping now in a hut, another night in a cave, the third in open air, I have never been stationary long enough to write at ease. This must plead my excuse to you for my silence.

As for my health, I have reason to be thankful that it has been excellent. This is very strange, too, for out of perhaps one hundred foreigners whom I know here, there is but one save myself who has escaped the fever of the country. All the Americans have had it; Mr. Miller very ill, but now recovered. Lieutenant W— now lies under my care in a dangerous state. Mr. Evans also was sick, but I hope that before this time he has called on you, and given you the things I sent by him. He left months ago.

[. . .]

The affairs of the country do not go on so well as could be wished. We could beat off the Turks, let them come on as thick as they pleased, but this season they have sent an army of disciplined Arabians from Egypt, before whom the Greeks cannot stand. But we are now raising rapidly a corps of tacticians, which now amounts to three thousand men, and by next spring will be seven or eight thousand, with which we can meet these Egyptians, who have gone just where they pleased this summer. They are now besieging Missolonghi, a very important town (fortified mostly by poor Lord Byron), and if they take it things will go badly.

(pp. 170–74) Napoli, April 30th, 1826

Dear William:—I write you with an almost breaking heart. Missolonghi has fallen! Her brave warriors have thrown themselves in desperation upon the bayonets of their enemies; her women and children have perished in the flames of their own dwellings, kindled by their own hands; and their scorched and mangled carcasses lie a damning proof of the selfish indifference of the Christian world. Christian, do I say? Alas! I fear Christianity has fled from the world. You send missionaries to the east and to the west, and from pole to pole; millions are annually paid for the support of pampered priests, or of overendowed institutions, while the poor Greeks are left to worse than slavery and death. For ten months have the eyes of Christian Europe been turned upon Missolonghi. They have seen her inhabitants struggling at enormous odds against the horrors of war and famine; her men worn out, bleeding and dying; her women gnawing the bones of dead horses and mules; her walls surrounded by Arabs, yelling for the blood of her warriors, and to glut their hellish lusts upon her women and children. All this have they seen, and not raised a finger for their defence, and at last they have seen the catastrophe. You may talk to me of national policy, and the necessity of neutrality, but I say, a curse upon such policy! It is contrary to Christianity and humanity; it is a disgrace to our age, that millions of Christians should be left to the sabre and yoke of the Turk. Pardon me! Perhaps my language is too strong; but when I think of Missolonghi, when I think of the protracted sufferings of her inhabitants, many of whom I knew, I cannot restrain my feelings. Jarvis, too, poor fellow, I fear was there. I have before mentioned him to you, the young American who ranked so high in the army. I heard a few days ago that he had entered the place, and been twice wounded; if this is true he is lost, for he could not cut his way out. Well, peace to his ashes! He has fought often for the cause, and at last sealed his love of it with his life.

[. . .]

On the first part of this month deputies were assembled from every part of the nation at Epidaurus to consider the state of affairs, and the deputies agreed that for energy and despatch, the present provisional Government should be annulled and the power vested in twelve men who should have absolute control of affairs until September next. The assembly then dissolved: The newly elected supreme commission arrived here this day; the old Government quietly resigned its power, and to-morrow the commission will begin operations. Greece is in imminent danger, but I don not yet despair. I shall have an opportunity of writing you again in a few days, and then can give you a more correct opinion on the probability or improbability of her success.

Till then adieu!

S. G. Howe

(pp. 179–81) Napoli di Romania, June 8th, 1826

My Dear Will:—Your kind letter of March 18th must be answered this afternoon, as there is a vessel for Smyrna this evening, and pressed as I am for time, I would not neglect doing it were I to go without eating a week. I wrote to Prof. Edward Everett yesterday by way of Malta, and detailed to him the state of public affairs; you will see by the letter that things look rather blue. Foreigners begin to hang tail and skulk off; not all,—for there are many noble spirits who despise the thought of quitting the country in an hour of danger, because she cannot pay them. There are several Frenchmen and Germans who will stick it out to the last. I hope my fears may not be realized, that Greece may not be lost, but if she is, it will be a long time before the conflict is over; a partisan warfare will be continually kept up, and the enemy harassed in every possible way. Many chiefs begin to make their preparations for this. In case regular opposition is over, I am determined to join some young French officers who are here, and who have agreed to form a little band of twelve, to be mounted on fleet horses, hover round the enemy, and dart in upon him and pick off stragglers on every occasion. A good example set by Franks may be useful to the Greeks, and a guerrilla warfare may become to the Turks more harassing than the present one. They will be obliged to relax in their caution; small bodies of men must be moving about the country, and will give a good chance to gentlemen land-corsairs. I have become so attached to Greece, so confident that she will eventually triumph, that I shall not quit her while there is a prospect of being useful. . .

[. . .]

I shall attempt to go in one of the Cochrane's vessels; I shall not only see fun but escape what I dread more than Turks, the fever of this town. It has brought me once so low that I had some idea of what kind of a process dying was, and I have no appetite for

lying on my back fifty days upon the stretch again! However, if the government orders me to stay here I shall not murmur, nor will I quit the place if it should be besieged. I am not fond of making but one meal a day, and that one on a steak cut from a jackass, but what is to be done? I have put my hand to the plough, and cannot look back. I have thought often of what I used to tell you, that my chance of returning to America was as one in two, and I think so still. I may get popped off by a ball or the yataghan of a Turk, but hope still whispers me that I shall see home once more, and that you and I will have some more of our moonlight strolls and while away the time by the relation of past events. But if it is not so,—if we are not to meet again,—may God give you many friends who will love you as I do; greater blessing than this can no man desire.

I remain yours sincerely,

Sam'l G. Howe

(pp. 182–83) Napoli, July 8th, 1826

My Dear William:— . . . I assure you that, entirely as I have got rid of those foolish romantic ideas with which my head was once stuffed, I have one which clings closely to me: honour and fame I have done sighing for, but not the hope of making my friends proud of me, and being worthy of it; more particularly to make my good father feel that his pains with me have not been useless.

You will see by my letter to Professor Everett that public affairs are at a most interesting crisis. The Greeks now begin to rouse from the stupor into which they seemed to have fallen since the loss of Missolonghi. Yesterday, in accordance with a notice stuck up previously, calling all Greeks to meet in the public square to consider the state of the country, a large part of the inhabitants assembled, when there came forth a man to address them. He was of good character and education, and universally marked for his patriotism. He painted in glowing colours the dangerous state of the country; called upon the people in the name of all that was dear to them, to lay aside their party feeling and disputes, to unite one and all against the enemy, to contribute every cent they could spare to feed the starving soldiery. "And that you may know, my dear countrymen," said he, "that I am not a man of mere words—behold my purse! It is all, all I have in the world, but I give it to my country, and swear to devote to her as freely my service and my blood."

The effect of his simple and pathetic speech was astonishing. The crowd was in tears. Then, as if moved by one common impulse, each rushed forward to contribute his uttermost. A committee was chosen, and each one, even the poor soldiers, who had no money, gave in something, a gold or silver ornament, etc.; others [gave] their horses, their jewels. Prince Ypsilanti sent in the golden scabbard and mounting of his sword, of

immense value. Poor fellow, he has done his uttermost, and he has become destitute. Had Greece many such sterling patriots [as he], she would not now be so low. I hope this newly awakened enthusiasm may spread over the country, and be productive of some good. It was in this way that they (the Greeks) hewed down so many armies in the commencement. All were animated with a burning zeal to rush foremost upon the enemy, and distinguish themselves by saving their country. But latterly it has been sadly otherwise. The sordid spirit of gain, and what is worse, the spirit of party, has sprung up to blast the hopes of the friends of liberty. It is affecting to talk with those few Greeks who have uniformly and steadily fought for the good of their country; [to see] how they lament the change of public spirit, and with what fervour they dwell on the first year of the Revolution, when, like a band of brothers, they fought the sacred battles of their country, and were each animated with that zeal that made all things common; when he who had gave freely to him who had not. Sainted spirits of Botzaris, Giorgaki, Rhiga! what must be your emotions if you look down upon your country, and behold it neglecting the cause you died to maintain! An expression in your last letter pained me much. You say: "Many who were formerly enthusiastically attached to the Greek cause, now say they believe the Greeks less entitled to sympathy than the Turks." This is doing them much injustice, though I am forced to say that many of them justify such an opinion. But there are redeeming spirits; there are men who would honour any cause, any country. Do not believe those who may denounce the [whole] nation as wanting honour and patriotism! Such persons do not know the Greeks, or from disappointed hopes detract from their merits. They judge the nation by those they meet with in Napoli and the seaports; men who, having spent their lives in Europe, have adopted European vices. They do not look at the character of the peasantry, of the mountaineer; they do not take into consideration that Greece has for four hundred years been crushed under the weight of a despotism more grinding than that of the West Indian slave system. But I say, and without fear of contradiction, that the modern Greek, notwithstanding his life of slavish oppression, is a more virtuous, pleasing character than the Sicilian, the Italian, the Spaniard, or the Russian, and that he has more shrewdness and quickness, and as much talent, as the native of any other part of Europe. It is curious to hear the relation of the wanderings of our comrades. There is in the same house with me an old Greek whom I delight much to talk with. He is a man of tried courage, and covered with wounds. He has fought with the Mamelukes in Egypt; he served as a Cossack, and fought with the Russians; followed them to Paris; wandered in every corner of Europe; knows the character of every nation, and has been a most keen observer of men and manners. Such a man is a precious volume, out of which one may glean much valuable matter. It is his pride and boast that neither he nor his father ever paid tribute

to the Turks; that he has killed them on every occasion; and that he left a major's commission in the Russian army to come and fight as a common soldier for his country.

Perhaps I weary you with these details, but I assure you, could you hear them from his mouth, you would never tire. Last night, talking over with him the clouded prospects of the country, I said to him: "Well, we will stand it out to the last, and when all is over we will go together to America." The old man's eyes flashed fire, then melted; a tear obscured it. "No," he said. "Save yourself! Go and live beloved in that happy land of liberty. But I—I have drawn my sword for my country, and I swear that when she falls, I will sheathe it in my own bosom."

Remember me to all worth remembering, and believe me to be your sincere friend,

Sam'l G. Howe

(pp. 197–98) *Ægina*, Friday, Jan. 5th, 1827

Went to visit the ship built for the Greeks in New York, and was astonished indeed at her size, beauty, and strength. Her upper deck, an immense plain as it were, flush fore and aft, without obstruction to the eye, presents a range of thirty-two guns on each side, all of 32-pound calibre and of the finest quality; the slender but perfectly proportioned masts, the beautiful brass capstan, are almost the only objects that arrest the eye in its sweep over the vast deck. The lower gun deck presents a battery still more formidable, of thirty-two 42-pounders, all in perfect order. And so large, yet perfect are the dimensions of the ship that, though mounting but sixty-four guns, she would be a match for any seventy-four that swims. She is perfectly fitted out in every respect, and her accommodations for the officers are excellent; beautiful, yet simple and useful.

What to me was more interesting was my finding Kanaris on board, a man who has justly acquired as much fame as any other during this Revolution. On entering into the great cabin I found a small man sitting there, quite ordinary and modest looking, dressed plainly, almost coarsely, and when I was introduced to him as the famous Kanaris, I in vain tried to catch something remarkable about his appearance, but there was nothing except perhaps his full protuberant eyes, which, without beauty or fire, were yet full of intelligence when raised and looking at you. I paid him my compliments on his gallant deeds, which he received as a thing he had been perfectly accustomed to. Yet, after all, we contrive to twist a man's appearance into something of that which it should be from his mind, and perhaps we ought to expect from a man of Kanaris's quiet, unpretending calm, nay, indifferent appearance, that sort of cool, determined courage which his deeds have manifested in him. I shall long remember his appearance,—his slight but well-proportioned figure, his protuberant forehead and eyes, black eyebrows, hair and moustache, his nose a little turned up; not a pert, cock-up nose, but

as though it has been flattened and bent up. At ten a.m. Miaulis came on board. The old fellow looks ruddier and fresher, but not fatter, than when I last saw him. Gave him a salute of eight guns when he went off.

4. *Letters by Howe and Miller Reporting on the Situation in Greece,  
and by Gregory Perdicari, a Young Greek Studying in the U.S.*

(Editor's Note: The writings in this and the next part were appended to the "Mazro" account, presumably in an effort to reinforce the credibility of his narrative. See p. 111, above)

(Turkish Barbarity. An Affecting Narrative of the Unparalleled Sufferings of Mrs. Sophia Mazro, a Greek Lady of Missolonghi. Providence: Printed for on behalf of the author, March 28, 1828)

ISLAND OF POROS, June 9th, 1827.

God of Mercy! what were my feelings, when I saw seven women and three children, who had just escaped from the Turks, arrive at this place.

Oh! Mercy dispel

Yon sight, that it freezes my spirit to tell.

The children were entirely naked, and the women but a little better off, one of them had three wounds in the arm, which she had received from an Arab, her brutal ravisher. I immediately clothed them from the charitable donations of the ladies from New-Haven. The distribution at Napoli is nearly finished, but as it has been managed under the direction of Dr. Howe, who will give me a detailed account of all his proceedings, I shall defer the particulars of the distribution at that place until another opportunity occurs of writing. I have distributed all the ready made clothes from the boxes, sent from Orange, New-Jersey, to beings all but naked. Many a time, when a daughter of the mountains has presented herself for charity, modesty has prevented me from looking at her, while she, trembling like a forest leaf, gathered her rags around her in order to hide her nakedness. I have distributed ninety-five barrels of Indian meal here, and have now catalogues of more than a thousand families of widows and orphans to whom I shall distribute flour in a few days. The largest Turkish fleet that has ever been employed against Greece is nearly ready to sail from Alexandria. My hope for her salvation rests only in the God of battles. I might write a volume of my own troubles and difficulties, but they look so small in the midst of a nation on point of being sacrificed, that I shall mention none of them."

In another account Mr. M. speaking of the fall of Missolonghi, observes:

The women and children as well as the soldiers suffered extremely during the siege of Missolonghi, and so did those, afterwards, who escaped. Many chose death rather than be captured. They deprecated above all other evils, the falling into the hands of their unfeeling and cruel enemies. The wants of most of the inhabitants of the Morea are extreme, and those captured are treated in a most brutal manner. In Attica the people are in a destitute condition. But nothing will induce them to submit to their cruel oppressors.—They are entirely devoted to free themselves

from the Turkish yoke, or to be sacrificed in self defense. They do not fear death—it is only the power of the infidel foe which they dread.

The present state of Greece is inconceivably wretched. Not only are thousands of its inhabitants destitute of clothing sufficient to protect them from the inclemency of the approaching winter, but are in want of provisions to enable them long to support life. The standard of the cross was raised in the Peloponnesus more than five years ago—since which time the Greeks have shewn a determination worthy of their origin, and, in many a hard fought battle, have fully demonstrated, that they will live free of the Turks or die in arms.—They have committed great mistakes, but no greater, than one, acquainted with their condition, might have expected. During my residence among them, instead of being surprised at their crimes, I have often been astonished in seeing so much virtue, amidst such misery and confusion. The result of their struggle, I think is uncertain—but any thing which can be done to relieve their present wants will be a deed of charity, worthy of those who rejoice in lessening the aggregate of human misery.

There is indeed, enough of misery in every part of the world, but that of which I now speak is of a peculiar kind, and which must reach the heart of every American. The Greeks are struggling, as our fathers did, for freedom and independence—though not from a Christian but a Mohometan power. The sacrifices they have made, I believe, are greater than were ever made by any other people. They cannot submit at discretion, without jeopardizing their lives, and exposing their wives and daughters to the lustful passions of a beastial soldiery. The history of former Turkish treaties teaches them what they may expect, if they submit or capitulate. What can they do? Tell me not of Turkish mercy or of Turkish faith. They are merciful only when there is fear of retaliation, and keep their promise only when it is not for their interest to break it. This is the unhappy state of Greece. For my own part, after having seen much of the nature of the present struggle, and learnt something of the character of the modern Greeks, I have no hesitation in saying, that I consider them deserving the sympathy and aid of the Christian world.

The following is an extract of a letter from DR. HOWE, to the Chairman of the Greek Committee in Boston, dated Poros, Sept. 20.

Sir—Yours of the 26th June, was handed me by Dr. Russ, who arrived safely at this place with the statesman on the 11th. I accept, with cheerfulness, the honourable part of the coadjutor with Dr. Russ and Mr. Miller, in the distribution of this noble gift of the inhabitants of Massachusetts, to the wants of the suffering Greeks—it is indeed a noble gift—it will feed and clothe thousands of the hungry and naked, and beget for the donors their gratitude and their prayers. It will be my endeavor, with the consent of my coadjutors, to push these provisions as much into the interior of the country as possible, and not to continue the distribution along the sea shore, where the people are more demoralized—it is true, to get them into the interior is more difficult, but still is practicable; and it is there that scenes of human woe and wretchedness present themselves in worse forms than elsewhere—for three years I have been familiar with such scenes, and have seen every year the misery augmenting, if any augmentation were possible. To present individual cases is enough to move the stoutest heart—to see a woman, who, after having had her husband and children butchered before her eyes, herself violated, her nose and lips cut off, and then set forth to wander friendless, houseless, and half naked, is indeed dreadful! but when we make the case of the individual that of the mass—when we see the inhabitants of villages, towns and provinces, flying from

the ruthless Turk, their path lit up by the blaze of their homes—when we contemplate them months after, wandering among the mountains, their shoes worn out, their clothes ragged, sleeping in caves, living upon grass and snails, rarely tasting bread, and never meat—the cup of woe seems full—and when we add weakness and sickness it runs over—human nature can endure no more, and the poor Greek, abandoned by those who have no possible means of assisting him dies without a roof above his head. Think not that I colour the picture too highly, or that I repeat to you the tales of others—all this I have seen, and not in one place only, or in one instance. I thank the committee for their consideration in granting me \$500; and I desire that, should any thing happen to me, one hundred of it may be given to my Sciote boy Christophe, and the rest to the hospital for the poor at Napoli, if it should be continued.

☛ Since the preceding letter was written, the writer, (Dr. HOWE) a gentleman of the first respectability, has arrived among us, and has furnished the public with a more minute account of the shocking deprivations and sufferings of the unfortunate Greeks—his narrative follows:

#### DR. HOWE'S NARRATIVE

I left America for Greece in November, 1824, filled with that strong enthusiasm for her cause which was then so prevalent, there was every thing to charm a young enthusiast. Greece, the land of Leonidas and Themosticles, was up, and struggling for political existence; the descendants of ancient heroes were fighting for freedom in that land, covered with the broken columns, and the still splendid ruin, of former greatness; above all, Byron, the generous and noble bard had joined them, and young men were flocking from Europe to serve as volunteers. On my arrival in the Morea, I found every thing as the friends of Greece could wish it; Government had just put down the rebellious chiefs, and had them prisoners; a loan of ten millions dollars had been negotiated, regular troops were organizing; Lancasterian schools were establishing every where; Greeks were coming in from Asia Minor; frigates were building in America, and steam vessels in London. The Morea, the islands, and the Romelia were tranquil; every part was cultivated, and the villages began to swarm with happy peasantry, who then drew the first breath of freedom; I joined an expedition which was destined to attack Patras, and drive the Turks from their last strong hold in the country; but the attention of the expedition was directed to the south of the Morea, where Ibrahim Pacha, with 22,000 disciplined Arabs had just landed—and we marched to meet him full of confidence and hope—for the Greeks for four years had continually beaten the Turks, driven them from one strong hold to another, till the country was almost free of them. What was their dismay then, on approaching Navarino, to meet small parties carrying off the wounded, others straggling singly, next considerable bodies of soldiers, all flying with evident marks of mortification, defeat and despair. It was in vain to try to persuade them to turn back, or talk of the re-enforcement's coming up.—“These are not Turks,” said the soldiers, “they are European tacticians, who beat us without fighting.” In fact, the poor fellows had, by scientific movements, been driven from their positions; and it looked fatal, indeed, to Grecian liberty, to see the newly arrived troops moving about on the plain below us, with cavalry, artillery, and every appurtenance with regular army: while the Greek soldier was gazing from the mountain side at manoeuvres which he could not comprehend, and was astonished at the glitter of the bayonet, which he had never before seen. In a few days Navarino fell, and the Arabs prepared to

make a dash upon Trippolizza, then the capital of the Morea, with a population of 30,000. There was no means of defending it, and the inhabitants, unable to save their effects, set fire to it, and fled toward Napoli. The situation of the Morea was then terrible; the roads were thronged with men, women and children—old and young—all who could walk, were hastening away; the very old and feeble, and the sick, were left behind; the confusion was indescribable; women got separated from their husbands—children from their parents—the feeble sank down and died, or were overtaken and beheaded—and many women were seized with the pangs of labor by the roadside. Nearly one hundred thousand persons were driven from their homes and were flying to the sea-shore, before the Arabs, who, laying waste the country, burning the villages, and slaughtering all they met, pursued their bloody march across the Peloponnesus, their course marked by the plains of Calamata, Trippolizza, and Argos; and it was only under the walls of Napoli that they were stopped. From that time to this the Peloponnesus has been one wild waste, and the pleasant villages and fruitful valleys that three years ago were to be found in every part of it, are only now to be recognized by the ruins of the houses, and the bones of the inhabitants. Thousands and tens of thousands were taken prisoners, and their fate was horrible indeed; at first Ibrahim Pasha, in the hope of inducing the inhabitants to submit, treated his prisoners with some mercy, but finding it ineffectual, he gave loose to his own fury, and the brutality of his soldiers. Should I detail to you what I know of Turkish cruelty, you might deem it fable; you might think it impossible that in the 19th century such depravity exists. The men have the best fate, they are generally massacred on the spot, though often with torments; many have had sharp pointed stakes driven through the whole length of their body, and been left to writhe and die upon them with all "impalements and lengthened pangs;" those kept for slaves have their noses and ears cut off, and sometimes their tongues cut out.

Such has been the fate of thousands who have fallen into their hands: And what has become of the rest of the people? why one half of the inhabitants of the Peloponnesus and of Romelia have taken refuge in the mountains, or in the islands, or on the sea shore about strong towns; some few of them saved money enough, perhaps, to eke a scanty subsistence; the rest, without houses or other clothes than those they had upon their backs have for three years, lived as they could. The situation of these refugees, principally women and children, is indeed deplorable, and not to be conceived of by comparison with any miseries seen in this country. Perhaps I can give you the best idea of it by describing one particular place—say Napoli di Romania.—Around the town besides its own numerous poor, are collected about 6000 miserable refugees who have fled from their devastated villages and live upon the sea shore in small huts or wigwams, built of bushes or mud, on in holes dug in the ground. In one of those huts you will find, perhaps a widow and three or four children, without a table, chair or bed; sallow from long exposure, pale from famine, and with hardly sufficient clothing to cover their nakedness. I have often seen children going about with nothing on but a shirt—and that, too, ragged—I have known young women to keep themselves hid away all day, because their ragged clothes would not hide their limbs. These people have lived in this way for more than two years, partly upon charity, partly by selling one after another, the little valuables they might have saved from their houses, (for they were once comfortably off,) and buying a little bread to eat with the roots which they pick up. You may ask, how can they live? I answer, that American women could not live—but give to a Greek two pounds of bread and a dozen olives, and he will subsist on them a week; but they cannot always

get this, and they, many of them, die—from hunger and exposure. It is no high coloured picture which I hold up to you—nay, I do not, perhaps, put it in a strong light enough. I could tell you of families with no other shelter than the shade of an olive tree; of emaciated half-famished orphans, who go round to pick up the most offensive substances for food; of many a wretch whom I have seen lying by the road side upon the bare ground, parched up with fever, and with no other subsistence than perhaps a draught of water brought by the passenger; but it is not cases of individual misery that you want to hear of; it is that wide spreading general suffering, which, in this enlightened age, the Christian world has tamely looked on, and seen inflicted on a Christian people, by that nation which outrages the most sacred rights of man, and openly scoffs at our holy religion. The unprovoked butchery of the Patriarch and of all the Bishops at Constantinople; the wide spreading massacres at Scio, Ipsara, Candia, and Cyprus where more than fifty thousand were put to death in cold blood, were looked upon by Christian Europe and America, almost with indifference. Nor this alone, but that long oppressed and degraded people when they did rise, and begin the struggle for liberty, in the fond hope of being assisted by Europe, were frowned on and discouraged; and the anathemas thundered at them from Laybach and Verona, were re-echoed by every court in Europe. Their policy has been most vexatious. They have not even observed the cold blooded neutrality which they professed. Austrian vessels brought the Arabian troops to the Morea, and have always served as transports to bring them provisions. Austrian ships of war have convoyed Turkish vessels and protected them from the Greek brigs; they have even fired upon Greek towns upon the slightest provocation. I was at Spezzia last summer, while the Austrian admiral was bombarding the place, and attempting to burn the shipping in the port; and Greek women and children were killed by shot fired from under a Christian flag.—France too, and England have helped their good friend the Turk. The Greeks were refused permission to build ships in the ports of France, while frigates and corvettes were going up for the Pacha of Egypt—officers were refused their passports for Greece, while every facility was offered to those who were abandoned enough to go and discipline the Arabs; and, they are disciplined and instructed by European officers encouraged by their most Christian Majesties. Ammunition and supplies could not be sent from England; and the cannon and shells made for Greece in London, were obliged to be brought to America, and were shipped to Greece from this very port. The battle of Navarino itself, was merely the result of accident, and doubtless its news caused as much astonishment in the Cabinets as in the Divan.—But while the governments of Europe were pursuing this ungenerous, and unmanly line of conduct, the people have not failed to proclaim aloud their sentiments, and in every country committees have been organized for the avowed purpose of relieving the Greeks. Much has been done in America, but nothing in comparison to what is doing in France, Switzerland and throughout Germany; the generous and unwearied exertions of the Philanthropists of Europe have been the means perhaps, of continuing the struggle; for Greece could not have done it without the provisions, ammunition and money sent them.

The contributions sent out from the United States, though, as I observed, trifling in comparison with those sent from Europe, yet went much farther to remove individual suffering; for almost all the European contributions were applied to the support of the war, and the people only heard of them; and it is natural that a barrel of flour, and a garment or two, given to a family, would impress it with a livelier feeling of gratitude, than hearing about a whole cargo sent to the govern-

ment. This was the case with your provisions, they were distributed among thousands and tens of thousands miserable women and children, and made glad the hearts of many who had not tasted bread for several days. I attended to the distribution of a large portion personally; and perhaps it may be interesting to you to know the manner in which it was done—we would hire small coasting vessels and load them with provisions and go to the small ports and thence penetrate into the interior and find the distressed, to every one of whom we would give an order for a certain number of pounds of flour, according to their number and wants: they would take these orders and run down to the seashore to get their portions from the vessel.—I have known them to go thirty miles for ten pounds of flour, and sometimes returning from the interior, after giving out the orders, I would meet crowds trudging cheerily home with their bags of flour, and as they passed me they would cry out 'long live the Americans,' 'God bless the Americans,' and would often try to kiss my feet!—Whenever we were expected we found crowds of ragged women and children waiting on the beach—it was a general rule to give nothing to the men.

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Extracts from the letters of Mr. J. P. Miller, the agent employed by the late Greek Committee to distribute the provisions and clothes sent to Greece.

Poros, June 2, 1827.

We arrived at Poros on the evening of the 29th. I called upon the government soon after my arrival, and explained to them my instructions. The tears flowed copiously from the eyes of Glarakies, who is now Secretary of State, when mention was made of the suffering women and children and old men. The Government expressed the warmest gratitude for this expression of American sympathy for the sufferers of Greece.

Thousands of women and children are living on grass and snails; two-thirds of the population of the country are in holes and caves of the earth, like the wild beasts of the forest. Many families in this vicinity are living in the open air, with only one olive tree to shelter them.

I have distributed in this island one hundred and seventeen barrels of flour, which has been equally divided among 1900 widows, orphans, old men, and the sick. The clothes and shoes, with the exception of those which I gave to the hospital, I have mostly given from my own hands to individuals almost naked. My quarters, from morning to night, are constantly surrounded with the naked and starving, among whom are often some mutilated wretches, who have lost their ears and noses.

Jarvis goes to-morrow to Cenchrea, a small port on the Isthmus of Corinth, from which place he has just arrived, and informs me that thousands of women and children are there, who have fled from Livadia and Megara, Eleusis and the surrounding villages before the victorious army of Reschid Pacha. He informs me that he saw several die before his face for want of food, and that every day puts a period to one or more lives.

No pen can ever describe the misery of this devoted country. No scene in the bloodiest days of Christian persecution could have presented a more appalling spectacle, than what is daily before our eyes now in Greece. Thousands there are who now are living on herbs and snails, whose beds are the rocks, and whose covering is the heavens.

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## Generosity of the American Females in favour of the Suffering Greeks.

[☛ The following letter is a literal transcript of one written to a lady in Boston, by GREGORY PERDICARI, one of the Greek young men, who, under the patronage of the American Board of Missions, are pursuing a classical education at Amherst, in Massachusetts.]

Amherst, Nov. 7, 1827.

Madam—Yours of the 25th of Oct. is before me. It forcibly reminds me of the immense debt of gratitude, which rests upon Greece and her sons, towards the benevolent and patriotic of this land, where the genius of liberty loves to dwell. Would to heaven she might rebuild her temple in the “desolate places of her own Greece!” The interest of my beloved, oppressed country will never cease to be an object worthy the attention of the friends of liberty and humanity—never—unless she herself shall sink into the wide grave of the nations that are not.

It affords me great pleasure, Madam, to know that you are making exertions in behalf of my country. Your influence, so far as it is consecrated to the sacred cause of the regeneration of Greece, will tell in that volume of Heaven’s records, where the philanthropic zeal of those that live to bless, will remain as an everlasting memorial. I beg you to present to the patriotic Ladies associated with you, this expression of my warmest gratitude. “There is a place in the Heavens,” said the Roman Tully, “for those who fight for the liberties of their country.” The Christian Scriptures assign a place at the right hand of God, to him, who giveth a cup of cold water to the suffering in the name of a disciple; much more to those who pray and labor for the salvation of the dying. The sons and daughters of Greece are wading through their own blood to the sepulchres of their fathers; and unless such efforts and prayers as yours, accompanied by the strong arm of the mighty, and the redeeming spirit of the God of Hosts, and, at this awful crisis; the death-dirge of that land of the gifted and heroic will come to us from the mouldering towers of the Acropolis, and the mourning waves of the Egean, and waken, when it is too late, the lamentation—“The fair and the beautiful have fallen—the valiant in battle are laid low, and there is none to help.”

I would avert my eyes from the dark storm that lowers, and blackens, and bursts upon the land of my childhood. Destruction cometh. My country seeketh peace, but there is none. Her persecutors are swifter than the eagles of heaven. Her warfare is that of the undying spirit of freedom, with the demon of tyranny. Her appeal, therefore, is to the patriotic. Would to God it might go forth as the voice of many waters to the patriotic of the world’s entire population. Shall the angel of Freedom revisit the graves and battle grounds of her heroes, but to weep at the tomb of her Achilles, her Karaiskakis, her Gouras? or sighing in sackcloth among the desert solitudes of her once beautiful Athos, look out on her fields, scathed by the ravages of war—upon her whole land sending to Heaven the one agonizing prayer of the oppressed and enthralled!

O, my country! The warfare of Greece is that of gifted intellect with the tiger that prowls with ferocious luxury around the funeral pyres of genius. Her appeal, therefore, is to the scholar. Shall the halls of the Academy remain for ever a court of owls—a place for the beasts of prey to dwell in? Shall silence reign in the mountains of song, and the laurel of poesy fall from the brow that should wear it as immortal?

O, my country! Her warfare is that of the cross with the crescent—of Christianity with the principalities of the powers of darkness. Her appeal therefore is to the Christian. Shall the buried altars of the Seven Churches moulder with the bones of the slain in battle?

O, my country! I seem to look through the portentous cloud, which is ready to discharge its magazines of wrath upon thee. I see the angel of thy brighter destiny descending from heaven. Behold he cometh! From the vales of Morea to the mountains of Thracia—the voice that summoneth to battle is heard—Onward! Onward! to the conflict! the redemption of Greece draweth nigh!—The voice is heard in this land of the Pilgrims of Freedom. Their Christian daughters assemble with the weapons of spiritual faith. Shall I look abroad over this fair country in vain for the marshalled host of the powerful of their sons?—But I cannot reproach a people to whom my country oweth so much. No—already have the "Statesman" and the "Six Brothers," like the "Mayflower of a forlorn hope," which succored the infancy of this mighty nation, waked the song of rejoicing in the dwellings of Greece. Is there a Christian who will refuse to co-operate in this holy struggle? I remain silent—moveless, lifeless objects of Nature answer, No.

The political regeneration of Greece will be as life from the dead to the religion of the Eastern world. It will be accompanied by a new and powerful era of Christian enterprise. Even now, I behold the standard of true faith, with the cross upon its summit, just rising upon the shores of Greece. The crescent hides itself in the blackness of darkness. I behold all Asia and Europe shaking themselves from the slumbers of a corrupt Christianity, and the angels of the Seven Churches rekindling the fire of their altars, and writing upon their walls, Salvation. Shall Christians, then,—shall patriots—scholars fail to feel a common interest in the holy struggle of my country? God forbid!—I am happy, Madam, that I may mingle my prayers with yours for the redemption of Greece.

G. PERDICARI

### *5. Establishment of the Greek School Committee, New York City*

(Booras, pp. 233–34) *Boston Recorder*, May 14, 1829

From the latest intelligence, it appears that there is still much suffering, especially among the sick poor in Greece. . . A similar state of things will no doubt continue to exist for several years to come. . .

In the opinion of Drs. Howe and Russ, no method is likely not be so efficient and economical for the relief of this distress as the maintenance of a hospital and the training of Greek physicians.

. . . Dr. Howe expressed the intention of taking a small class of students, who in attendance at the Hospital should be learning something both of the theory and practice of medicine.

It is expected that a company of teachers and others will sail for Greece sometime in the approaching autumn. Under their charge supplies of clothing and provisions might be

sent for the use of the Hospital already established, as well as for the orphan institutions and schools which are in contemplation. Will not the friends of Dr. Howe, and those who have felt for the missions of that country to which he has so generously devoted himself, come forward with contributions for his support as a medical teacher in Greece

*6. Plan for Promoting Common School Education in Greece*  
*Adopted by the Greek School Committee*

[Pamphlet Published in New York, May, 1829]

PLAN.

The Committee appointed at a late meeting of Gentlemen, at the rooms of the New-York Historical Society, to prepare a plan to promote education in Greece, respectfully present the following to the public.

It is proposed to establish in that country—

I. A HIGH SCHOOL OR NATIONAL ACADEMY, at which young men may be trained for superintending elementary Schools, and for the study of the useful professions.

II. A HIGH SCHOOL FOR FEMALES, designed primarily for the instruction of those who may become teachers.

III. SEVERAL ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, as models of the most approved methods of instruction.

To give efficacy to these measures, and to promote the general object, means should also be provided for preparing and publishing, and perhaps, to some extent, distributing gratuitously, school-books in the Greek language, and other works relating to education.

The details in the execution of this plan, it was resolved to commit to the following gentlemen, to be designated

THE GREEK SCHOOL COMMITTEE

The Honorable Albert Gallatin, Chairman.

MR. ARTHUR TAPPAN, Treasurer.

Rey. M. BRUEN, Corresponding Secretary.

Mr. KNOWLES TAYLOR, Recording Secretary.

SETH P. STAPLES, Esq.

ELEAZER LORD, Esq.

Dr. SAMUEL AKERLY.

Mr. RICHARD T. HAINES.

## TO THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES.

The Greek Committee believe that the cause of Common School Education needs no advocate in this enlightened nation. The miseries of the southern half of our continent have been prolonged by the want of good common schools. It will be universally admitted, that the deep sympathy excited in these United States, in behalf of Greece, cannot expend itself better than in efforts to diffuse there our rich stock of common knowledge. Knowledge and morals constitute a fund of individual and national worth, which may accumulate from generation to generation. By a recent survey, known to this Committee, the common schools of Greece are found to be in that dejected state, which might be anticipated from her long subjugation, and the wars attending her late revolution. American efforts upon that soil have been greeted with the warmest gratitude; and the parents who fed their children with our bread, last year, will rejoice to have them enriched with the intelligence of a country, whose philanthropy is its glory. Already the government of Greece has applauded the first attempt to improve their common schools, and lends the most favorable countenance to our countrymen, embarked in the enterprise. If *ten or twelve thousand dollars* can be collected here, annually, for a few years, the present plan will be crowned with complete success.

Two learned Greek Professors, already possessed of the confidence of their countrymen, united with several men from the United States, competent to instruct in our best Colleges, and acquainted with all the recent improvements in science and education, can at once open in Greece a Seminary for School-masters; and, as the result, other Institutions will soon be formed, which will diffuse and perpetuate their blessings, co-extensively with the Greek language. In a few years, these Institutions, it may be hoped, will all be assumed and supported by the Greeks themselves.

The Committee beg leave to express their confident persuasion, that, in no crisis of past centuries, could the same amount of good to the human race ever have been purchased at so moderate an expense. And this Circular is issued, that the inquiry may be answered by donations in money, to what extent the plan meets the concurrence of the friends of Greece and of mankind.

Its advantages are,

1. That it is simple and practicable. The proposed field is now a free country, where the whole population, thirst for improvement, and where common school education, and all the useful arts, are waiting to receive the impulse of the age.
2. It is cheap. Few things are so dear as a bad school-master; want of practical acquaintance with teaching is the most obvious deficiency, with those who enter upon this

important office; model schools, with superior schools for teachers, are now very earnestly called for by the spirit of improvement among ourselves. At the expense of a few thousand dollars, provision may be made in Greece for a system, which will never after need our nursing care.

3. It is timely. The Greeks, exhausted by a terrible war, with most of the institutions which existed before the revolution destroyed, cannot, for years to come, relieve themselves from that state of ignorance and degradation which threatens the rising race.

4. It promises great results: not only upon Greece, but ultimately upon the whole region of the ancient Roman Empire. If this appeal meets the co-operation which is confidently anticipated, four or five able Instructors will be sent out in the coming Autumn. We invite the formation of Greek Committees, in different cities and towns, to correspond with this Committee; and especially do we cherish the hope, that *Associations of Ladies*, for the support of the Female High School, and for the general improvement of the sex, will be formed, wherever it is felt, how indispensable are Female intelligence and virtue to a nation's glory and felicity.

At the end of a year, a detailed Report of the receipts from individuals or Auxiliary Committees, and of the proceedings of this Committee, shall be published, and a new election of a Central Committee be made by the donors.

The translation of our common school-books, than is to be found elsewhere. Our *common* school system is more perfect than even that of the enlightened country whence we derive our lineage. Education here fits directly for the business of life, and is well suited to a people just emerging from revolution, and among whom equal rights are acknowledged. And now, when school-books for modern Greece are yet to be made, better ones probably could not be produced by the labor of half a century there, than we can carry thither, in their vernacular tongue, in half a year. Shall we not then, help the Greek girl to the best thoughts of our writers on Female Education; as well as those of Maria Edgeworth and Hannah More? And, perhaps, hereafter, the youth to a translation of our larger works of science, and the "Library of Useful Knowledge?"

It will be peculiarly honorable to our free and happy citizens, thus to co-operate in the cause of the common schools, in Greece—the very heart and eye of the world. The keys to the mind of Asia, must ever be on the Hellespont, and in the hands of the Greeks. The elevation of Greece will illuminate all those regions which Christianity early civilized. But the sun of Asia is darkened, while Greece is in eclipse. Our school Geometry is a translation from the language of that remarkable people, whose literature has so eminently refined and controlled public sentiment, and who seem destined by Providence to

rekindle the lights of science on those plains and mountains where exist the most ancient seats and the holiest monuments of the race of man. It is believed that an American Institution of the kind proposed, planted at Argos or at Athens, will help to bind two great regions of the globe in fellowship; and will be hailed as a generous pledge of what one continent can do for the intellectual and moral elevation of another.

M. BRUEN, *Cor. Sec. of the G. S. Committee*  
NEW YORK, MAY, 1829

# SCHOLARSHIP ON THE AMERICAN RESPONSE TO THE GREEK WAR OF INDEPENDENCE: A BIBLIOGRAPHIC OUTLINE

*Constantine G. Hatzidimitriou*

THE PURPOSE OF THIS BRIEF OVERVIEW is to relate some of the basic scholarship on the American attitude towards the Greek revolution for the reader who would like to supplement this anthology of primary sources with readings in the secondary literature. This essay does not pretend to be complete or comprehensive, nor does it deal with the many contemporary accounts of the revolution that circulated in nineteenth century America or the philhellenic literature that appeared in United States during this period. There are two bibliographic aides that one can consult on these subjects: the first is by Loukia Droulia, *Philhellenisme: ouvrages inspires par la guerre de l'indépendance Grecque 1821-1823* (Athens: Centre de Recherches Neo-Helleniques de la Fondation Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, 1974, no. 17); and the second is Nikiforos P. Diamandouros' "Bibliographic Essay," which appeared in the volume *Hellenism and the First Greek War of Liberation (1821-1830): Continuity and Change* edited by Diamandouros, John P. Anton, John A. Petropoulos and Peter Topping, on behalf of the Modern Greek Studies Association (Thessalonica: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1976, no. 156). I have also not discussed the increasing number of unpublished doctoral dissertations on subjects related to topics illustrated by this collection of documents. For bibliographic aid on these unpublished studies in America, the reader should consult standard guides such as *Dissertation Abstracts*.

Although scattered semi-popular articles on America's attitude towards the Greek revolution periodically appeared in the popular press and in Greek-American publications during the era of mass Greek immigration to the United States, it was only in the 1920's that it appears to have received serious study in a scholarly journal. The earliest article that I have been able to find cited in the literature is that of Constantin Rados, "Webster Monroe et le Philhellenisme aux Etats Unis pendant la Guerre de l'Indépendance

Grecque," in *L'Acropole*, vol. I (Paris, October-December, 1920) 39-48. Six years later, William Miller, the famous British balkanist, touched upon American involvement in his article: "The Journals of Finlay and Jarvis," *English Historical Review*, XLI (1926) 514-525 in which the manuscripts of the the first American philhellene to reach revolutionary Greece are described. However, the first detailed account of American philhellenism and the government's debate concerning recognition and aid, appeared in two important articles by E. M. Earle, "Early American Policy Concerning Ottoman Minorities," *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 42, (September 1927), and "American Interest in the Greek Cause, 1821-1827," *American Historical Review* vol. 33 (October 1927) 44-63. In the second of these articles, Earle mentions his debt to the research of a young scholar at Columbia, Myrtle Cline, who had collected and studied the newspaper and magazine accounts of American philhellenic organizations. It is this scholar's work which brought the study of American attitudes and contributions to the Greek revolution to a new level.

Myrtle A. Cline's *American Attitude Towards the Greek War of Independence 1821-1828* (Atlanta, Georgia: [no imprint] 1930) was originally produced as a doctoral dissertation at Columbia University. In many respects, it remains unsurpassed in its command of a wide array of primary sources and breadth of treatment. Professor Cline not only studied unpublished materials from manuscript collections of important philhellenes such as Samuel Gridley Howe and Edward Everett, but also surveyed many government documents and contemporary newspapers and other publications in a systematic fashion. Her study remains a classic, and is still the fundamental work that all others must consult.

A few years later, Harris J. Booras published his *Hellenic Independence and America's Contribution to the Cause* (Rutland, Vermont: The Tuttle Company, 1934). It is a popular work that contains many inaccuracies and lacks sufficient documentation. Despite its title, most of the book is devoted to describing the military events of the Greek revolution. Booras does not cite Cline's book and was probably unaware of its existence. He adds little to Cline's scholarly monograph concerning the historical interpretation of the attitude of the United States government and the development of popular support for the Greeks. The book's main contribution is the reproduction of government documents related to the debate in Congress and similar examples of American popular support, philhellenic resolutions and newspaper articles that are difficult to find. His discussion of the American volunteers who went to Greece is incomplete and has been superseded. The book should be used with caution.

After the Second World War a greater interest developed in the study of the handful of American philhellenes who actually went to Greece and in the letters, diaries and publi-

cations they produced. The first of these studies appeared in Greece by Th. Vaghenas and E. Demetracopoulou, *Ἀμερικανοὶ φιλέλληνες τοῦ εἰκοσιένα* [American Philhellenes of 1821] (Athens: [no imprint] 1949). Followed by that of Douglas Dakin, *British and American Philhellenes During the War of Independence, 1821-1833* (Thessalonica: Society of Macedonian Studies, 1955, no. 8). However, with the emigration of the noted Byzantinist, George G. Arnakis, to the United States the study and publication of the memoirs of these American philhellenes gained new momentum.

Arnakis' first publication on this subject was "The Historical Work of Samuel G. Howe and the Historian George Finlay," in *Εἰς μνήμην Κωνσταντίνου Ι. Ἀμάντου* [In Memoriam of Constantine J. Amantos] (Athens: [no imprint] 1960) pp. 210-217. In the 1960's he announced an exciting new publication series entitled "Americans in the Greek Revolution" and welcomed articles on this subject in a new journal, *Neo-Hellenika*, which was published by his Center for Neo-Hellenic Studies in Austin, Texas. His purpose was to make the manuscripts and published accounts of the philhellenes who went to Greece more available and better known.

The first volume in the series to appear was *George Jarvis: His Journal and Related Documents* edited with the collaboration of Eurydice Demetracopoulou (Americans in the Greek Revolution I, Thessalonica: Institute of Balkan Studies, 1965); the second was a new annotated edition of *Samuel G. Howe: An Historical Sketch of the Greek Revolution Part I—Books I-IV* (Americans in the Greek Revolution II, Austin, Texas: Center for Neo-Hellenic Studies, 1966); followed by *Historical Texts of the Greek Revolution: From the Papers of George Jarvis* with the collaboration of Eurydice Demetracopoulou, (Austin, Texas: Center for Neo-Hellenic Studies, 1967). Professor Arnakis was a pioneer in the study and publication of these materials, and with his untimely death in 1976 his series on Americans in the Greek Revolution ended. Unfortunately no one at the Texas Center or at any of the other centers of Modern Greek Studies in the United States has continued his important work.

In 1957, there appeared a general survey of American interest and involvement in Greece which remains unrivaled for its bringing together of a wide variety of primary source material and its breadth of treatment. Stephen A. Larrabee's *Hellas Observed: The American Experience of Greece 1775-1865* (New York: New York University Press, 1957) was the first major study to trace the contacts between America and Greece prior to the revolution in detail, and to survey these contacts into the post-revolutionary period. It is a masterful work which contains a mine of information and documentation. To date, along with Cline, it remains the fundamental study of American relations with Greece during the first half of the nineteenth century. Although Larrabee covers much more than the American attitude towards and involvement in the Greek revolution, his

chapters on this period add to our knowledge and contain details and interpretations not covered by Cline. His account of the Americans who either visited or fought in Greece during the period of 1821 is probably the most accurate and complete. It is also here that the reader will also find the most reliable information concerning the so-called Greek war orphans who were brought to the United States.

The most comprehensive survey of American travel literature and other narrative accounts dealing with the period of the Greek revolution however, only appeared in the 1980s. This fundamental work is by Kyriakos Simopoulos, *Πως είδαν οι ξένοι την Ελλάδα του '21* [How Foreigners Viewed Greece of (18)21], 5 volumes (Athens: [no imprint] 1980-1984). Here both travellers and philhellenes from the United States and their writings are discussed. The work includes anyone who visited Greece between 1821-1829.

For a more recent and critical analysis of the experiences of the Philhellenes who fought in the revolution one can consult William St. Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free: The Philhellenes in the War of Independence* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972). However, one should note that the survey is primarily concerned with European philhellenes and the experiences of American philhellenes are given only cursory treatment. A detailed analysis and comparison of the accounts and experiences of the half dozen or so Americans who fought in the war or visited Greece during this period remains to be done. Similarly, the documents and activities of the American Mediterranean Squadron in Greece during this period remain little studied and understood. For an excerpt of this material, see: N. G. Mavris, "Τὰ Ἀμερικανικὰ δημόσια ἀρχεῖα ἐν σχέσει μὲ τὴν ἐλληνικὴν ἱστορίαν," [The American Public Archives in Relation to Greek History] *Byzantina Metabyzantina: A Journal of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* I (pt. 1, New York City, 1949) 267-270. These excerpts were added to and analyzed by Konstantinos Speliotakes, "Ἀμερικανικαὶ ἐκθέσεις ἐκ τοῦ Αἰγαίου, 1825-1827" [American Reports from the Aegean], *Hellenika* XXV, 1 (1972) 153-183. In addition, the broader context recently has been reviewed, utilizing different source material, by Alexander Kitroeff, "The Greek Diaspora in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, as Seen Through American Eyes (1815-1861)" in Speros Vryonis (editor), *The Greeks and the Sea* (New Rochelle, NY: Aristide D. Caratzas, Publisher, 1993) 3-22.

Theodore Saloutos, best known for his classic study of the Greek immigrant experience in America, also contributed an important survey entitled: "American Missionaries in Greece, 1820-1869," *Church History* XXIV (1955) 152-174, which serves as an introduction to the study of this important topic. The establishment and influence of these American missionaries, as well as the subject of the early schools and orphanages they founded, remain among the least studied subjects of this period.

As I have noted above, interest in the correspondance between major American political leaders and intellectuals, such as Thomas Jefferson, Edward Everett, Daniel Webster and Adamantios Korais, attracted the interest of researchers from at least the 1920's. Among the scholars who have edited or studied this material one can mention: Stephen George Chaconas, *Adamantios Korais: A Study in Greek Nationalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942); George C. Soulis, "Adamantios Korais and Edward Everett," *Melanges offerts à Octave et Melpo Merlier II* (Athens: Institut Français d' Athènes, 1953) 397-407; Soulis, "Everett-Kapodistrias Correspondence," *Journal of Modern History* XXVI (1954) 272-73; George G. Arnakis, "Everett and the Question of the Recognition of Greece in 1823-1824," *Neo-Hellenika II* (1975) 149-159; Paul C. Pappas, "Lafayette's Efforts to Send Aid to Revolutionary Greece," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies II* (no. 1, May 1984) 105-116; and Christ Stratakis, "America, the Greek War of Independence and Adamantios Korais," *Journal of Modern Hellenism* (no. 6, Winter, 1989) 135-166. Some of this correspondence is in languages other than English (especially French), and has been left out of the present collection. A complete edition of all of this published and unpublished material remains to be done.

Similarly, although American philanthropy in Greece is dealt with in passing by Cline, Larrabee and some of the other scholars noted above, its extent and impact upon the Greeks of the revolutionary period remains to be described and evaluated in detail. For a brief description and evaluation of it, in the context of other American efforts in the region, see: Robert L. Daniel, *American Philanthropy in the Near East 1820-1960* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1970). The same is true of the voluminous newspaper accounts of the progress of the war in Greece and the philanthropic activities by popular organizations throughout the United States, which also have not been studied in detail within the context of American journalism and domestic initiatives linked to foreign aid. For an assessment that supplements the surveys by Cline and Larrabee, see: C. R. Zimmerman, "Philhellenism in the American Press during the Greek Revolution," *Neo-Hellenika II* pp. 181-210.

The newspaper accounts of the war in Greece and American grass-roots attempts to send aid, often contained poetry related to this theme. As is well known, the Greek War of Independence prompted a great deal of literary activity among philhellenes on a popular level and within the American literary establishment. Famous American poets such as William Cullen Bryant wrote poems for or about events related to the Greek war. Many of these have been gathered together and studied in two works by the same scholars: Marios Byron Raizis and Alexander Papas, *American Poets and the Greek Revolution 1821-1828* (Thessalonica: Institute of Balkan Studies, 1971) and *Greek Revolution and the American Muse* (Thessalonica: Institute of Balkan Studies, 1972). Concerning

American prose works on the revolution, see the remarks of Alexander Karanikas, *Hellenes and Hellions: Modern Greek Characters in American Literature* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981).

Recently, two new surveys have appeared of the American attitude towards and involvement in the Greek revolution. The first appeared in Greek and is by Chrestos D. Lazos, *Ἡ Ἀμερική καὶ ὁ ρόλος της στὴν ἐπανάσταση τοῦ 1821* [America and Its Role in the Revolution of 1821] (Ekdoseis Papazese: Athens, 1983-1984) 2 vols. It is a serious work which is a welcome addition to the literature on this subject. However, although it contains many documents in Greek translation, the author's awkward style of presentation and lack of rigor with respect to the standards of scholarly documentation make it an uneven work and difficult to evaluate. It is unclear how much of the Lazos survey is derived from original research and how much of it is derived from the earlier studies of Cline and Larrabee. Additionally, at times it appears that the author's interpretation of historical events is colored by hostile political motivations. Nevertheless, it brings together a great deal of primary source material in modern Greek translation and should be consulted for its perspective on the subject. It is particularly valuable for its bibliography of studies on nineteenth century Greek-American relations published in Greece.

Finally, one must also take into account the second of these recent studies, that of Paul Constantine Pappas, *The United States and the Greek War for Independence 1821-1828* (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1985, no. 173). Pappas argues that his brief study supplements those of Cline and Booras because he uses documentation in modern Greek and pays attention to the activities of the Greek agents sent to the United States. Despite his attempt to call attention to his use of Greek sources, Pappas does not cite and is apparently unaware of the study of Lazos that had appeared in Greece in 1983. Although he clearly used some primary source material and secondary works in modern Greek, they do not add much to his interpretation of the issues with which previous scholars had dealt. His account, however, is in fact more detailed concerning the activities of Greek agents in the United States, and especially the scandal involving the Greek revolutionary government's attempt to have two frigates built in the United States. It is on these two subjects that the book makes an original contribution to the scholarly literature and must be consulted. It also contains the most recent bibliography on the subject as a whole.

The collection of documents, and excerpts from newspapers, diaries and letters in this volume, brings together more original American primary sources on the Greek revolution than has ever appeared in any single publication. To my knowledge there is only one other collection of similar material. In 1948, Professor David M. Robinson, the eminent classicist and philhellene, published a smaller collection of materials entitled *America in Greece: A Traditional Policy* (New York: Anatolia Press, 1948). The title of the

work and Robinson's introduction clearly indicate the purpose envisioned. The United States had just embarked upon a policy of sending aid to Greece to enable it to withstand Communist aggression and to aid its economic recovery after the Second World War. The Robinson collection was meant to illustrate that American friendship and aid to Greece had historical roots going back to 1821. As Aristide Caratzas and I have attempted to illustrate in our introductory articles, the present collection is far more extensive, fulfills broader needs, and aims to illustrate more of the complexities of America's historical relationship with Greece during the revolution.

As has already been indicated, some of the nineteenth century debates both within the United States government and within the American intellectual community illustrated by documents in the collection have their counterparts today. They relate to many aspects of the ongoing public and private Greek-American relationship. It is fitting that we should look back on the occasion of the one-hundred and seventy-fifth anniversary of the Greek revolution and remember and call attention to the common cultural and political traditions of freedom, individualism, democratic government and religion that bind our two nations together. These commonalties were obvious to America's nineteenth century political leaders and intellectuals, which include men such as Jefferson, Everett, Webster, Monroe, Clay, Madison and Sam Houston of Texas. Perhaps even more important, however, is the fact that they were also obvious to the average American. The barbers, merchants, barmaids, clergymen, students, wives, sailors, craftsmen or weavers, who mobilized their communities, went to meetings, passed resolutions, and gave freely of their wealth and time to aid the Greek people a world away struggling for their freedom. Ultimately this was the reason for the mobilization of American philanthropy, and it proved more important than romantic associations between the ancient and the modern Greeks.

As the record collected here shows, the American eyewitness accounts that slowly filtered back home soon made it clear that the half-starved men and women struggling against the mighty Ottoman Empire were far from perfect and did not always live up to the reputation of their illustrious ancestors. However, the human drama of a people who refused to give up even when all seemed lost, struck a chord in the American psyche and, as many of the documents in the collection illustrate, reminded Americans of their own national struggle in 1776. This is what sparked and sustained the "Greek fire" of the 1820's and what remains a fundamental truth even today. I am convinced that when the scholarly work needed is done, we will find that the material aid that the American people sent to Greece in the 1820's was significant and saved thousands of lives. If this collection helps make this example of American generosity and humanity better known, it will have fulfilled its purpose.



*The Greek Slave*  
Hiram Powers, 1805-1873  
*Courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum*

## APPENDIX: THE GREEK SLAVE

*Steve Frangos*

IN 1847 HIRAM POWERS' *The Greek Slave* became the first American sculpture to achieve national and international acclaim. Between 1844 and 1869, Powers sculpted six full-length versions of the statue, endless three-quarter size replicas, and at least sixty-seven busts; many of which found their way into the most prestigious homes and art museums in North America. Various traveling exhibitions brought the sculpture to more than a dozen American cities where it was viewed by well over a 100,000 people. During these tours in excess of \$23,000, a fantastic sum in the mid-1800s, was collected in revenues. Numerous sketches and engravings of *The Greek Slave* appeared in guidebooks, art journals and popular magazines.

As the first true "media event" in the American art world the exhibition of this statue also occasioned the first public and private responses to a work of art. There was an unprecedented outpouring of magazine articles, pamphlets, poems, letters, diary entries, travel accounts, and all manner of popular writings documenting the sculpture, its audience, and the experience of viewing it. American art historians have long contended that in the middle years of the nineteenth century no single American sculpture was better known.

A naked Greek maiden, exhibited for sale on the auction block of the slave markets of Constantinople, is not the first subject one would think of as a theme for America's first internationally recognized sculpture. Yet this one statue initiated a whole new way of depicting full-size figures in American art.

### GALATEA EMERGES

*The Greek Slave* is a full-figured nude statue of a small woman, only 65.5" tall, her head turned to one side. The statue is of white marble, carved with special files developed by Powers himself, which gives the statue a fine skin-like finish never before seen on mod-

ern sculpture, up to that time. The statue owes its general pose to the well-known ancient sculpture, the Venus of Cnidus, the Roman copy of which Powers had studied at the Vatican museum. To the knowledgeable eye, of the late 1840s, the maiden's culture is identified as Greek by the locket, cross and Greek Liberty hat, laid aside with her clothing, on the post beside her.

The important addition was the chain! John Rodgers, the sculptor, observes: "Look at Powers' Greek Slave—there is nothing in the world that has made that so popular but that chain. . . [T]here are plenty of figures as graceful as that and it is only the effect of the chain that has made it so popular." It is the tension between the maiden's captivity at the hands of the Turks and her only shield—an unwavering Christian faith—that forms the crucible upon which this statue was ultimately judged.

#### THE 1847 EXHIBITION

*The Greek Slave* was the first American nude statue wrapped in an extended narrative. In June 1847 Powers entrusted Miner Kellogg, an old friend and painter, to manage the first American exhibition tour. Kellogg proved a shrewd and knowledgeable art publicist. From his own bitter experiences with nude subjects in his paintings Kellogg knew that an American audience would only accept a nude if it were encased in a suitable moral narrative.

The importance of an uplifting moral narrative for the statue was central to Powers' thinking. In no uncertain terms Powers situates his statue in the Greek War of Independence and obliquely to the Massacre at Chios.

The Slave has been taken from one of the Greek Islands by the Turks, in the time of the Greek Revolution; the history of which is familiar to all. Her father and mother, and perhaps all her kindred, have been destroyed by her foes, and she alone preserved as a treasure too valuable to be thrown away. She is now among barbarian strangers, under the pressure of a full recollection of the calamitous events which have brought her to her present state; and she stands exposed to the gaze of the people she abhors, and awaits her fate with intense anxiety, tempered indeed by the support of her reliance upon the goodness of God. Gather all these afflictions together, and add to them the fortitude and resignation of a Christian, and no room will be left for shame.

#### CLOTHED IN SENTIMENT

The resounding popularity and success of *The Greek Slave* rests completely on the Grecian narrative. The Culture of Sentiment so fundamental to the ante-bellum American society of the 1800s required that a story be constructed for each individual work of art. Only with a known past, present, and future was the artwork being viewed thought able to instruct the viewer as to the overall moral purposes the artist originally intended to convey.



*The Virginian Slave*

Intended as a companion to Powers' *Greek Slave*. From *Punch Magazine* (20) 1851

Pamphlets such as Powers' *Statue of the Greek Slave, Exhibiting at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts* that accompanied the statue's exhibition in Philadelphia was virtually identical with those published later in New York, Boston, and New Orleans. These pamphlets were collections of essays, newspaper articles, and poems by Powers and numerous others that, in one sense, explained to the viewer how to see a nude statue. As strange as it may appear to us, from our vantage point in history, by providing the American viewer of the 1840s with a story behind the outward nudity all impropriety or shame involved in its public display was eliminated.

In these exhibition pamphlets, in one account after another, the young Greek maiden's Christian resignation is repeatedly compared to her captor's barbarian excesses. Hiram Powers himself stressed that the viewers should concentrate their gaze on the statue's face where the spiritual faith could be seen. At the height of her popularity it was this enslaved female's unshakable Christian faith that caught the imagination and sentiments of America.

#### SLAVE OF THE LUSTFUL TURK

Many of the narratives about *The Greek Slave* directly comment on the fact that she is about to be sold into slavery. The ultimate fate of a young girl at the hands of Turkish captors was no mystery. One woman writer, E. Anna Lewis, reported the following train of thought that raced through her mind upon first seeing the statue: "The history of her fallen country, her Greek home, her Greek lover, her Greek friends, her capture, her exposure in the public market place; the freezing of every drop of her young blood beneath the libidinous gaze of shameful traffickers in beauty; the breaking up of the deep waters of her heart; then, their calm settling down over its hopeless ruins.

In 1851, *The Greek Slave* was given a place of honor in the section devoted to American art of the Crystal Palace Exhibition in London—which thereby established its place in the international art world. As a response to the appearance of the American statue as well as a gesture to stress Powers' abolitionist views the British magazine *Punch* published an engraving of a black woman chained to a pedestal with the caption "The Virginian Slave. Intended as a Companion to Powers' 'Greek Slave.'"

The compassion that the average American viewer showed this Greek maiden in distress is clearly evident in the 1857 engraving of the New York City Düsseldorf Gallery exhibition. The engraving shows that all the men near the statue have taken off their hats. These same men are shown turned toward their female companions as if seeking the counsel of the American women to help them understand the Greek maiden's emotional and spiritual state. Even a little girl is shown half-turned as if upon seeing the statue she has been, momentarily, frozen in her tracks. As one reviewer of that New York exhibition reported "[i]ts presence is a magic circle, within whose precincts all are held spell-bound and almost speechless."

#### ELEUTHERIA E THANATOS

What American art historians have not taken fully into account in their studies of this statue is the variety of ways in which this delicate female figure is meant to be Greek. The symbolic Greekness of this statue "works" not simply because of the Classical past alluded to by its very form as a nude statue but by making direct associations to the 1821 War of Independence. The slavery and massacres of the Christian populations at the hands of the Turks, so well known to Americans in the late 1840s, is the common understanding on which Powers built his sentimental narrative. The full sweep of Greek history—modern as well as ancient—clothes *The Greek Slave*.

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# **"Founded on Freedom & Virtue"**

DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING  
THE IMPACT IN THE UNITED STATES  
OF THE GREEK WAR OF INDEPENDENCE  
1821–1829

**Edited by Constantine G. Hatzidimitriou**

For Greeks who rebelled seeking their independence from the Ottoman Empire, the United States provided a model for a republican constitutional polity. Early Greek parliamentary bodies, seeking to create constitutional documents, actively sought advice and other support from American political bodies and intellectuals.

The response in the United States to the efforts of the Greeks to free themselves was great and broadly based. Once information on the motivations of the Greeks and the brutality of the Turkish response reached the young republic, prominent men such as Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, Albert Gallatin, the French hero of the American Revolution, Lafayette, the young congressman Sam Houston, and many others in all walks of life, were moved to speak and to act in support of Greek independence.

This book documents the history of America's reactions and efforts to support and to actively help the Greeks in the context of the geopolitical situation of the time. There are six categories of documents included: on the ideological bases of American Philhellenism; the flow of information about the Greek revolution: press, pamphlets and books; the grass-roots response: "Greek fever," the U.S. response: the congressional debate on the "Greek Question;" the associated scandal that came to be known as the "Frigate Affair;" and, the practical actions in support of the Greeks: Americans who went and fought in Greece, and the raising of funds and materials in America in order to provide aid for the fighters and the victims of the war. This was America's first great overseas project!

"Possessing ourselves the combined blessing of liberty and order, we wish the same to other countries, and to none more than yours [Greece], which, the first of civilized nations, presented examples of what man should be."  
— President Thomas Jefferson

"The mention of Greece fills the mind with the most exalted sentiments, and arouses in our bosoms the best feelings, of which our nature is susceptible ... It was natural, therefore, that the reappearance of these people in their original character contending in favor of their liberties, should produce that great excitement and sympathy in their favor, which have been so signally displayed throughout the United States." — President James Monroe

(Annual Message to Congress, December 2, 1822)

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