A

HISTORY OF SER

AND THE

SERVIAN REVOLUTION,

FROM ORIGINAL MSS. AND DOCUMENTS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF LEOPOLD RANKE,

BY

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1847.

PREFACE.

THE eminent position assigned to Professor Ranke among modern historians renders any tribute to his distinguished merits superfluous, and at the same time affords a sufficient guarantee for the authenticity of every production emanating from such high authority.

No subject elucidated by the researches of Ranke can be otherwise than valuable; and the Revolution of Servia is one of greater interest and importance than may at first sight appear.

The geographical position of Servia, between Turkey and Austria, and forming, with the neighbouring countries, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Wallachia, and Moldavia, a border-land between two great empires of opposite creeds, has made this country the seat of a protracted struggle between European civilization and Oriental despotism — between the Christian and Mahomedan religions.

In the midst of these conflicting forces, the

Servians present the interesting spectacle of a brave, hardy, and simple people, contending for national independence and religious freedom. Christians in faith, and subjected to the cruel persecutions of their infidel oppressors, their efforts to throw off the Moslem yoke met with little encouragement from Christian nations; except so far as they could be made instrumental in checking the encroachments, or counteracting the policy of other powers.

The Servians are too little known to the rest of Europe. While the other countries of Europe have been overrun by the herd of English tourists, Servia and the neighbouring states separating Austria from Turkey are almost *terra incognita;* even to the travellers who visit Vienna and Constantinople. And though steam-boats ply on the Danube, Mr. Paton is as yet the only writer who has made English readers acquainted with Servia*: to the ability and intelligence of this gentleman the English public are indebted for a lively and faithful account of the present state of the Servians and their country.

Viewing them as a Christian people subjected to an infidel despotism, the Servians excite a sym-

* Servia, the Youngest Member of the European Family. Longmans, 1845.

pathy that ought to be extended to the Bulgarians also. Professor Ranke, in a letter to the translator of this work, expresses a hope "that his History of the Servians may excite in our mighty nation an interest for the Christians under Turkish rule." This feeling influenced the translator in venturing upon a task, the difficulty of which would have induced her to shrink from it had she not been animated and encouraged by an ardent hope of thus promoting the author's views.

Since so accomplished a German scholar as Mrs. Austin thought it necessary to bespeak indulgence for any imperfections in her translation of Ranke's History of the Reformation, the translator feels that an apology is almost required from her for venturing upon an undertaking so arduous as the present. She can only hope that whatever defects in her performance may be apparent to those acquainted with the original, she will have the benefit of such excuses as German scholars are best able to find in the great difficulties of the work.

The almost legal exactness and judicial caution of Ranke, and the peculiarities of his style which present many obstacles to the conscientious translator, characterise the present beyond any of the other works by the same author. This may

be accounted for, partly by the vague and fragmentary character of the materials, and partly by those minute details of circumstances where effects appear disproportioned to causes. For it is a prevailing characteristic of all revolutionary periods, that great events arise out of seemingly trivial accidents; and the springs of action in national movements must often be sought for in the breast of an individual, or in the latent feelings of a small and yet uncivilized community.

This work, though professing only to treat of "the Revolution in Servia," and occupied chiefly with the most stirring and recent period of its history, is however not limited to the revolutionary era: the "Retrospective Sketch" of the Servians to which the earlier chapters are devoted, gives as complete an account of the rise and fall of the nation as is necessary to enable the reader to understand the position of affairs at the commencement of their struggle for independence. Perhaps it may even be as satisfactory a picture as any that could be drawn through the veil of obscurity which shrouds the annals of Servia. Viewed as a whole indeed, Ranke's history is a valuable contribution to our very imperfect knowledge of a most interesting people: it exhibits in a striking manner the impotence of Moslem despotism, even when

allied with warlike European powers, against the energies of a Christian people united in defence of their civil and religious liberties.

Servia — anciently a kingdom, then reduced to the state of a Turkish province, almost without a name, and now a principality under the government of Georgewitsch, the son of their liberator Kara George — may be regarded as the precursor of the minor States of the Eastern corner of Europe, in their struggle for emancipation from Turkish thraldom.

In all barbarous or semi-civilized states, there is a want of that high moral tone, which is the soul of national honour. Human life is held lightly; the rights of property are not respected; and individual will and might prevail.

> "Sufficeth them the simple plan,
> That he should take who has the power,
> And he should keep who can."

This is painfully apparent throughout the history of Servia. The divine principle of Christianity, though stifled in the fierce conflict for existence, was not wholly extinct. But it is not until Christianity — a vital religion, purified from fanaticism and superstition — becomes firmly established in the hearts of a people and the institutions of a country, that the duties and rights of man can be

fully understood and truly observed, or that the character and influence of woman can be rightly appreciated.

The History of Servia, as traced by Ranke, suggests the consideration of many and great truths, moral and political; but it is beyond the province of the translator to enter upon their discussion.

It may, however, be permitted her to remark that the subjection of Christian nations to the infidel yoke, is matter not merely for regret, but a subject that calls for the attention and active sympathy of the enlightened and powerful governments of Christendom.

And in these days of enlightenment, when missionaries are diffusing the doctrines of Christianity among the heathen in the remotest parts of the world, and the legislature is organising a comprehensive educational scheme for the people at home, it is surely not unreasonable to hope that the condition of a Christian people so near to us as Servia, will excite the sympathy of their brethren in faith in this free country.

The fanaticism of their Moslem rulers is so strongly opposed to every attempt of the Servians and Bulgarians to form educational institutions, and even to acquire the elements of Christian knowledge, that it is only by foreign intervention

— not the less effectual for being of a peaceful kind — that the means and opportunities so earnestly desired by the Christian population of these countries can be afforded them.

The Turks have been intruders in Europe from the first; grinding down the people, and impoverishing the countries which they overran; and warring alike against liberty, enlightenment, and Christianity. If we are to judge of a faith and a government by their fruits, we should all unite in hoping that the Mahomedan religion and the obstructive despotism of the "Sublime Porte" should yield to the now swiftly-advancing tide of Christian civilization.

Grosvenor Street,
July, 1847.

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HISTORY OF SERVIA.

CHAPTER I.

RETROSPECTIVE SKETCH OF THE RISE OF THE SERVIANS.

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THE most remarkable and significant epoch in the history of the Sclavonian nations is found towards the close of the ninth century.

The migrations had ceased; immense tracts of country had been taken possession of; and those numerous tribes, of whose names the ancients were scarcely cognisant, had advanced some steps within the limits of historical and geographical recogni-

tion. Foreign rule, like that of the Awars, had been cast off; and the time was come for the Sclavonians to raise themselves into independence, and to attempt political institutions.

At the period referred to—the latter part of the ninth century—we find the great Moravian kingdom extending beyond Cracow, and far down the Elbe; for even the Zechians in Bohemia formed part of it; and to this day they recollect the great King Swatopluk in Moravia. Then arose amongst the Lechians in the neighbourhood of Gnesne and Posen, the Piasts; the first princes who did not belong to the old race of the people.

It was by a union of Sclavonic-Tshudish tribes, under Norman Princes, that the Russian empire was originally formed; taking from the first a decided direction towards the Lower Danube and Constantinople. Meanwhile, the Sclavonian Apostles, Methodius and Cyrillus, traversed all the countries bordering on the Danube, and became distinguished from most of the early missionaries by their endeavours to elevate the standard of the national languages, by using them in the Church service.

At this period also, we hear of the first attempts made by the Servian race towards forming political institutions.

Leaving it to antiquaries to trace out the origin and migrations of these people, by combining languages and myths with fragmentary traditions, it will suffice to say, that from the earliest times we

find them in the country which they occupy to this day.

In order to take a comprehensive view of ancient Servia, we must survey the country from a central summit of that lofty range of mountains extending from the Alps to the Black Sea; the declivities of which, with the rivers and streams flowing from them, and the valleys they form, constitute the whole Servian territory between the Danube on one side, and the Adriatic and the Archipelago on the other. The successive heights of these mountain ridges — described in the national songs as variegated woods, where the darkness of the forest is relieved only by white rocks, or by the unmelted snows — have ever been in possession of the Servians. They inhabited the country from the banks of the Drina and the Bosna, towards the Save, along the course of both the Morawas, down to the Danube, and southerly, to Upper Macedonia; peopling, likewise, the coasts of the Adriatic sea. For centuries, they lived under the government of their Shupanes and Elders, regardless of the policy of surrounding nations.

At the period alluded to, the Servians did not, like the rest of the Sclavonians, constitute a distinct state, but acknowledged the supremacy of the Eastern Roman Emperor: in fact the country they inhabited had, from ancient times, formed part of the Roman territory; and it still remained as part of the Eastern Empire when the Western Empire was re-established, at the time of Charlemagne.

The Servians, at the same period, embraced the Christian faith: but in so doing they did not subject themselves entirely, either to the Empire or Church of the Greeks.

When they determined on acknowledging the supremacy of Constantinople, they did so only on the condition that they should never be subject to a government proceeding from that capital; whose rule they abhorred, as being extortionate and rapacious. The Emperor, accordingly, permitted the Servians to be ruled by native chiefs, solely of their own election; who preserved a patriarchal form of government.*

The records of Christianity were also given to them in their vernacular language and writing; whether these were derived from the East or from the West. They, likewise, also enjoyed the advantage of a liturgy which was intelligible to them; and we find that, early in the tenth century, a considerable number of Sclavonian priests, from all the dioceses, were ordained by the Bishop of Nona, who was himself a Sclavonian by descent.†

Ever since powers have been established on earth, endeavouring to realize, to represent, and to promote those general ideas which involve the destiny of the human race, it would seem that no nation is any longer allowed to develope itself by the unre-

* Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, De Vitâ Basilii; Theophanes continuatus: ed Bonn, p. 291. *τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐκλεγομένους καὶ οἱονεὶ χειροτονουμένους ὡς αἱρετοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ πατρικὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς διασώζειν ὀφείλοντας εὔνοιαν ἄρχειν αὐτῶν διωρίσατο.*

† Kopitar, Glagolita Clozianus, xiii.

strained exercise of its own innate strength and genius. The progress of all development depends materially on the relation into which a newly emerging people enters with the nations already in a state of civilization; and in reviewing the history of the various Sclavonian tribes, it is evident that their development was determined by the influence thus exercised upon them.

The Western races — the Moravians, Zechians, Carantaneans, and to some extent, even the Poles — joined themselves to the Western Empire, as renewed among the Germans, and to the Latin Church; taking part in the changing forms of public life which gradually arose.

The Eastern tribes associated with the Eastern Church, in the national form prescribed by it; yet much difference was discernible amongst them.

Russia had become much too powerful through the German immigration, and was also too remote from the centre of the Greek State, for the government at Constantinople to think of making her spiritual dependence the foundation for the secular authority. The Servians, on the contrary, who had settled on the soil of the Greek Empire, and acknowledged its general supremacy, had to strain every nerve against the attempts made by the Emperors to increase their power over them.

In the eleventh century, the Greeks, despite of the stipulations they had entered into, attempted to take Servia under their immediate control, and to subject it to their financial system. In pur-

suance of this design, a Greek governor was sent into the country. But the proceeding incited a general revolt. A Servian chief, Stephan Boistlaw, who was imprisoned at Constantinople, found means to effect his escape, and return to his native land. He quickly assembled the nation around him; and the Greek governor, with his dependents, who are represented to have been mercenary and tyrannical, like their master, were compelled to leave the country. Boistlaw appears to have taken up a position near the coast; vessels from Byzantium, laden with rich treasures, fell into his hands; and he entered into alliance with the Italian subjects of the Greek Empire, who were at that time endeavouring to obtain their freedom.

At length, in the year 1043, Constantine Monomachus, in order to re-establish the dominion he had lost, sent a numerous army, which attempted to penetrate from the coast into the interior. The Servians encountered them in their mountains, as the Tyrolese and Swiss peasants have so often met their enemies, and the entire Greek army was annihilated in their impassable defiles.

This defeat was decisive Not only did it put a speedy termination to the encroachment of the Court of Constantinople in imposing a direct government, but it also firmly established the princely power of the Grand Shupanes; whose existence depended on the preservation of the national independence.

The importance of this event was felt on both sides. By the Byzantines, the appearance of a

comet is connected with the reverses which they experienced in Servia.* The most ancient Servian history, that by the Presbyter Diocleas, relates the occurrence with all the embellishments of tradition.†

In the resistance which they had in after times to oppose to the Greeks, it was an advantage to the Servians that they were settled on the borders of Western Christendom: as they derived from it, if not always open aid, at least a certain degree of support.

The Grand Shupanes eagerly sought to ally themselves in marriage with the princely houses of Western Europe; and their chroniclers always mention such alliances with peculiar satisfaction. The Servians rejoiced in being connected with Venice; the relations of which with the Eastern Empire were similar to their own; they also opposed, to the utmost of their power, the attempts of Manuel Comnenus to re-obtain possession of the Western Crown. When Frederic Barbarossa, during his crusade in the year 1189, approached their territory, they displayed an unexpected devotion in his favour, and offered to hold Nissa as a fief from him, and to consider themselves‡, hence-

* Glykas considers that this comet betokened *τὰς μελλούσας κοσμικὰς συμφοράς; ὅρα γὰρ ὅτι μετ' οὐ πολὺ στάσις ἐν Σερβία γέγονε* (p. 594. ed Bonn).

† Schwandtner, iii. 497. Dobroslaw is doubtless one and the same person with Boistlaw. According to Diocleas, all the Greek functionaries were murdered in one day.

‡ Ausbert de Expeditione Friderici Imperatoris, p. 32. Pro

forward, as vassals of the German Empire. Not wishing, however, to offend the Greek Emperor, at a moment when the re-conquest of the Holy Land might be hazarded, Frederic declined the offer. But the proposal even, on the part of the Servians, is worthy of notice. The Servians at times addressed themselves not only to the Emperor, but also to the court of Rome; which did not give up its pretensions to the Illyrian dioceses. Pope Gregory VII. was the first who saluted a Grand Shupane as king.

It might have been expected that the Servian nation, like many of their kindred tribes, would, by degrees, adopt the Western system of the Church. Gregory addressed the Prince already alluded to, not only as "King," but as "Son." The former title, indeed, would hardly have been thought of without the latter. And which of Gregory's successors has not, at one time or other, indulged the hope that the Servians might gradually be won over? It may be doubted whether political considerations alone induced the Servian princes to evince a leaning towards Rome, or whether they really cherished these opinions; but thus much is clear, the time was past for the profession of a new faith.

The Servians had been taught Christianity by Greek teachers from Constantinople, at the very

ipsa terra de manu imperatoris percipienda hominum et fidelitatem ipsi offerebant ad perpetuam Romani imperii gloriam, nullo quidem timore coacti, sed sola ipsius Teutonici regni dilectione invitati.

time when the schisms of the Latin and Greek Churches first broke forth. From the first, they had imbibed the aversion entertained by the Anatolians towards the formulæ of the Western Church — an aversion which, where it has once taken root, has never been conquered. Nemanja was disposed for a union with the German Empire; but this did not prevent him from strengthening the Greek profession of faith, by the erection of numerous churches and cloisters. His views were not directed towards the Vatican, but to the centre point of the orthodox faith — the forest-cloisters of Mount Athos, venerated by all the eastern tribes. He founded Chilandar, and is renowned as one of the renovators of Vatopædi, where he died as a Greek Kaloier.

But the Latin Church presented not only differences in doctrine, but also another system of life and of government, which depended chiefly on the distinction between the Church and the State. A council which Innocent III. caused to be held, at Dioclea, in 1199, founded one of its decrees expressly on the presumption of a fundamental opposition between the two powers. *

In Servia a totally different state of things arose. From his favourite residence, the hermitage of Chilandar, St. Sawa, the son of Nemanja, promoted the work of his father; and in a truly patriotic

* Concilium in Dalmatiæ et Diocleæ regnis. The VIIIth Canon commences "Cum duæ sint Potestates a deo constitutæ." Mansi, xxii. 703.

spirit. The patriarch of Constantinople granted the Servians the privilege of always electing their archbishop from their own national priesthood. St. Sawa himself was the first archbishop. He took up his residence at Uschize, the Servian Mecca, and by his spiritual authority, caused the princely power to be revered in the eyes of the nation, in a manner which the Roman Pope would probably never have been able to accomplish. He raised his brother to the throne, and, so far as can be ascertained, with the consent of the Eastern Emperor; and crowned him in the midst of a vast assemblage of clergy and laity, who, upon that occasion, followed his example in repeating the Creed in its oriental form.

In the Western Empire a deadly conflict was taking place between the ecclesiastical and the secular powers, and a renowned race of intelligent and magnanimous princes were hunted down, like a brood of otters and snakes, by the relentless hatred of the head of the Church; and we find here, also, but too great a similarity of action. Many of the Servian kings, however tyrannical their conduct might have been during their reign, were, after death, honoured as saints; if only at the last they performed some pious act.

It is not necessary here to recount the deeds of these kings*: how they extended their authority

* A complete and authentic history of Servia cannot be expected, until writings, such as Domitian's Life of St. Simeon and St. Sawa, and the Rodoslow of the Archbishop Danier and his successors, are published: and with a correct text.

towards Hungary, or Bulgaria, or Byzantium, and, at the expense of the Latins along the coast; it will suffice to notice the position which they occupied in the fourteenth century, when they had acquired a certain degree of power.

Russia had fallen under the dominion of the Mongols; those powerful tribes governed it by viceroys sent from their own distant country. Poland had, under the last Piasts, allied itself more closely to the Western States, in order to obtain protection from a similar subjugation. Bohemia, with all its dependencies, had already become, under the house of Luxemburg, the seat of a civilization peculiar to the West; the Servian Krales, on the contrary, the kings of the forest-mountain, remained unconquered, and in proud isolation.

The attacks of the Mongols — the force and energy of which, however, had been lessened by their great distance from their own country — were repelled by the Servians, as completely as by the Sclavonian-Germanic tribes of Silesia, and those on the boundaries of Austria. In Servia, the archbishop, after invoking his sainted predecessors Sawa and Arsenius, led the people into the field, and drove back the heathen troops. Such was the form that the war against the infidels, which then occupied the world, assumed in this country.

The Latin Empire at Constantinople was powerless to enforce the claims which it had preferred for the possession of Servia. Baldwin II., after having been repulsed, concluded a treaty by which

he disposed of both Servia and Albania*: not, however, without danger; as he transferred his rights to the House of Anjou, then endeavouring to obtain the crown of Hungary, which it also claimed: but it was not to be seriously expected that this claim would be maintained, as the Venetians were at all times ready to aid the Servians in resisting it.

The re-established Greek Emperors could no longer hope to extend their dominion over Servia. Under the necessity of appeasing the hostility of the Latins by an approximation to their church ritual, they involuntarily excited the aversion of the bigoted populace of their own country, from whom they with difficulty exacted obedience.

This conflict between the Latins and Greeks, and the divisions that again sprang up in all parts —exciting feuds on the whole line of coast and in the interior, from the Ionian sea to the Thracian Bosphorus, and preventing the establishment of any strong or lasting government—gave the Servians an opportunity of acting vigorously on their own behalf. Indignant that the government of Constantinople, unable even to defend itself, should make humiliating demands upon them, they, at the end of the 13th century, assumed the offensive, and took possession of the provinces on the Upper Wardar, which belonged to the ancient Servian

* In 1267, according to Buchon, Recherches et Matériaux, i. 33. Ita quod etiam in regnis Albanie et Serbie liceat nobis nostrisque heredibus hujusmodi tertiam partem eligere.

tribes. The continued disunions at Constantinople, and the relations in which the Servians stood with the contending parties, made it easy for them to make further encroachments; and in the first half of the 14th century, they not only formed the strongest power of the Illyrian triangle, but it appeared probable that they would exert a powerful influence on the politics of Europe.

The natural policy of the Servians was always to act with that party in the Greek Empire which opposed the Court. They allied themselves with the younger Andronicus against the elder. Sergianus of Macedonia, and Sphranzes of Bœotia, powerful governors of provinces, who had quarrelled with the younger Andronicus, found refuge amongst them, and afterwards returned strengthened by their support.

In 1341, when John Cantacuzenus assumed the purple, important prospects were opened to the Servians. Cantacuzenus, finding that neither his friends and relations, nor the Latin auxiliary troops whom he had assembled, could uphold his authority, went up to the mountains, and prevailed upon Stephan Dushan, the powerful king of the Servians, whom he found in a country palace at Pristina, to join his cause.

Nicephorus Gregoras relates, that these princes entered into an agreement, according to which neither of them was to interfere with the success of the other, and that the towns of their common enemies should be left at liberty to declare in

favour of whichever leader they might prefer.* If this be true, it may be assumed that a league of brotherhood was concluded between them, according to the national custom in Servia.

Twenty-four Servian Woiwodes (Palatines) accompanied the ambitious and crafty pretender, Cantacuzenus, in his attempt to secure the Greek throne. Between the Servians and Greeks, as is manifested in their early institutions, there existed, on account of their religion, a feeling of mutual connection; and also of common opposition, directed especially against the Latin Empire. And as a great part of the inhabitants of the country were of Sclavonian, if not entirely of Servian origin, there was no feeling of their being degraded when important places, such as Melenik and Edessa, were taken by Cantacuzenus, and made over to the Servian king. Cantacuzenus, however, when he became more powerful, and dared to hope that he should be able to establish his pretensions, could no longer allow this system to proceed. He soon fell into disputes with Stephan Dushan, and did not hesitate to call even infidels — the Osmanli Turks just then rising into power in Asia Minor — to his assistance, in the confident expectation that his adversaries would find no mercy from them.†

* Lib. xiii. Ed. Bonn, ii. p. 656. *μηδέτερον μηδετέρῳ ποτὲ γίνεσθαι κώλυμα πρὸς εὐτυχίαν ἠντιναοῦν καὶ συγχωρεῖν ταῖς τῶν Βυζαντίων ὑπηκόοις πόλεσιν ὅτῳ βούλοιντο προσχωρεῖν.*

† Cantacuzenus, iii. p. 74. He mentions the belief entertained by these "barbarians" that he would obtain the highest reward hereafter who died in battle against the Christians, or who killed the greatest number of the enemy (iii. 298.).

But it was soon evident, that proceedings so violent and unjust must necessarily turn to the advantage of the king of Servia. The fact that his army was fighting against the infidels endeared him to his people. The Chronicle extols him for his victories over the Agarenes. At the same time, magnanimity and pride prevented him from coming into direct contest with his league-brother; whom none of his Woiwodes would have ventured to attack. However, whilst Cantacuzenus was engaged in extending his power in Thracia, Stephan Dushan considered himself entitled to take full possession of Macedonia. Cities which formed the principal objects of their mutual ambition — such as Pherä and Bershöa — fell into his hands. The Byzantines compare him at one time to a fiercely raging fire; at another to a swollen torrent, overflowing far and wide: both wild and irresistible powers.

It was at this period that Stephan Dushan assumed a most commanding position. His rule extended from the original boundaries of Nemanja's dominion, the provinces on the Upper Rashka (which gave to the country the name of Rascia), to the Save. Having received the benediction of his priests, he advanced to repel a formidable invasion of the Hungarians; who, under Louis I., were making great advances; and he succeeded in driving them back. It seems probable, too, that he held possession of Belgrade*: at least for a short

* Engel. History of Servia, 356.

time. He rescued Bosnia from an obstinate Ban, and gave to it an independent government.

In 1347, Stephan Dushan is found in Ragusa, where he was received with European honours, and was acknowledged as its protector. The Shkypetares in Albania followed his standard; Arta and Joannina were in his possession. From these points, his Woiwodes, whose districts may easily be traced, spread themselves over the whole of the Roumelian territory on the Wardar and the Marizza, as far as Bulgaria, which he also regarded as a province of his kingdom. Being in the possession of a power so extended, he now ventured to assume a title which was still in dispute between the Eastern and Western Empires, and could not rightly be claimed by either. As a Servian Krale, he could neither ask, nor expect the obedience of the Greeks. He called himself Emperor of the Roumelians — the Macedonian Christ-loving Czar — and began to wear the tiara. On his coins, he was represented holding in his hand a globe surmounted by a cross.* It was in the orthodox Greek Empire, if anywhere, that spiritual and secular obedience existed together; in idea they were almost inseparable, although the spiritual principle had an independent representation (the priesthood). The possession of imperial power, and the acknowledgment of a foreign patriarch, would have been an anomaly. But this also was arranged without much difficulty. At a synod at Pherä, the assembled clergy of Dushan's

* Zanetti, De Nummis Regum Mysiæ, p. 26.

empire elected as their Chief a patriarch of their own.

It was the natural tendency of the Servian nation to preserve itself independent, in the conflict of the Eastern and Western divisions of Christendom — being politically opposed to the one, and ecclesiastically to the other—and it was at this juncture that it really achieved that independence.

The Roman party erred greatly when they ascribed to Dushan any inclination towards the Western church. By the laws which he enacted, whoever endeavoured to pervert any one "to the Latin heresy" was condemned to work in the mines. An ancient tradition represents him on the festival of the Archangel Michael, as asking his Woiwodes, to which side they were desirous that he should lead them — towards Greece, or towards Alemannia. "Wherever thou leadest us, most glorious Czar," was their reply, "we will follow thee." This is quite in accordance with his character. Not that it could ever have been really his intention to turn his arms against countries under German protection; but the anecdote displays his possession of that self-confidence which usually accompanies self-acquired independence.

The question may here be asked, whether such a demeanour, howsoever proud and glorious it might appear, was not prejudicial to the development of civilisation? A people unceasingly opposed to nations more advanced, for the purpose of maintaining its freedom, cannot be influenced by

those impressions which would, otherwise, be much to its advantage.

Servia, however, was not excluded from intercourse with the countries of the West. The mines she possessed, and the wealth they afforded, attracted merchants from Ragusa, who formed settlements at Nowobrdo, Kladowo, and Smederewo, and maintained uninterrupted intercourse with the coast of Dalmatia, then enjoying the benefits of Italian civilisation.*

The kings of Servia had sufficient wealth to take into their service, in these times of the Condottieri, sometimes Italian, sometimes French (who were called "Celts" by the Greeks), and sometimes German troops; and it was probably through their assistance, that the Servian monarchs were enabled to attain a superiority in those countries. About the year 1355, we observe a German among the grandees of the empire, as commander-in-chief under King Dushan.

In Servia, as throughout the West, castles and fortresses were raised on the almost inaccessible tops of mountains: in defiles, where rivers intersect the hills, and in the middle of lakes. Near Ipek, there is yet standing a church of white marble, erected, in all the splendour of the age, to the memory of Dushan's father, by an architect of Cattaro.†

* Appendini ("Notizie sulle Antichità, etc. di Ragusa," i. p. 229.) connects with this circumstance the fact that the most beautiful architectural structures in Ragusa, were erected at the period of this intercourse.

† Ami Boué, La Turquie d'Europe, iii. 464.

Many other churches and cloisters, founded through the munificence of her kings, arose under the hands of native architects. With the increase of church-books and church-laws, the dawn of Servian literature was closely connected. There exists a digest of the laws of Dushan, which, it must be regretted, is still but imperfectly known.* It proves, however, that there was established in Servia an Assembly, composed of clergy and laity, under the Presidentship of the Czar and the Patriarch, which exercised the legislative power; that it was the province of this Assembly to secure the possessions of the landholders, both great and small, from the encroachments of the supreme power, and, on the other hand, to protect the peasants from the arbitrary exactions of the landowners. In all directions we perceive the state of violence and rapine to which both the land and people were still subject, and which historical facts but too clearly prove: but, at the same time, we may observe a strenuous effort on the part of the nation to extricate itself from these evils.

Servia was in that state which constitutes one of the most important epochs in the existence of every nation — one of transition from patriarchal traditions handed down from the darkest origin, and fettered by local prejudices, to a legal order of things, founded on spiritual knowledge, and corresponding with the general development of the human

* Schassarik, in the Vienna Year Book, liii. Advertisement sheet, p. 38.

race. This change was effected here, not indeed without imitating foreign precedents and forms, but still very much in accordance with the primitive spirit of the people. Of all the Sclavonian systems of laws, that of Servia, according to the opinion of those best qualified to judge, is the most national.*

But we naturally inquire, to what results will this lead? Will the Servian people really assume a station amongst the European nations? This seemed to depend less on their own capacity for development, than on their relations with another Power; which was increasing wonderfully in strength, and was rapidly advancing towards the South of Europe.

* Maciejowski, Sclawische Rechtsgeschichte, vol. i. part ii. section v.

CHAP. II.

FALL OF SERVIAN LIBERTY.

Influence of the Roman Empire in the Fourteenth Century. — Death of Stephan Dushan. — Consequent Dissensions. — Encroachments of the Turks. — Battle of Kossowa. — Subjugation of the Servian State. — The Fifteenth Century. — Signal Defeat of the Servians near Warna, in 1444. *— Spread of the Patarene Sect. — Surrender of Bosnian Fortresses to the Turks. — State of Servia in the Sixteenth Century. — Exaction of the Tribute of Boys. — The Peace of Passarowitz. — Orseni Czernowich. — Fate of Montenegro. — Insurrection of the Servians in* 1737. *— The Impostor Peter III. — Complete Subjugation of the Servians.*

FROM whatever point we seek to investigate the development of later centuries, we are almost invariably led back to the Roman empire; which forms, as it were, a central point for history in general; inasmuch as it subdued the ancient world, and was vanquished by the modern.

In the reign of the emperor Heraclius, under whom, according to historical tradition, the admission of the Sclavonians into the countries on the Danube took place; the Asiatic provinces of the Byzantine Roman empire were first overrun by the Arabs, and fell under a form of belief that wrested half the world from the Christian faith. Fortunate,

indeed, it was that Constantinople did not earlier succumb to their attacks. Now, however, the Mahometans had in Asia Minor, in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital, a stronger military force than at any former time. Introduced by Cantacuzenus himself, the Osmanlis gradually penetrated into the interior of Thrace; and, even at the present day, the fields near Galipolis — where they in the year 1357 acquired an independent footing — retain the names of the first Turks, who, assailing the Christian faith with all the violence of Mahometan fanaticism, met there, what they considered to be the death of martyrs.

At that time the Servian state was powerful in war, and victorious in every quarter. Hitherto the feeble government to which the title and succession of the Roman empire had descended, had only thought of opposing one division by the aid of the other: now it was necessary that all should unite in direct conflict against a common enemy.

It became imperative on the Servians to resist the Osmanlis to the utmost: they must either repel the enemy or expect their own destruction. But it so happened, that at the moment when this was to be attempted, the mighty ruler of the Servians, Stephan Dushan, died, before he had completed the empire of which he had laid the foundation, and ere he had strengthened his power by the bulwark of national institutions.

The difference between the Servian and the

Turkish States consisted principally in the fact, that the Osmanlis exhibited a stricter unity, a more compactly-knit fellowship, being all servants of one master; whilst in Servia, on the contrary, the Woiwodes had retained, according to the Western system, a certain share of political power.

It was by the Woiwodes that Stephan Dushan had, perhaps against his wish, been placed on the throne before his plans were matured. In all his measures, even those of a political character, they had taken a decisive share. He had succeeded in repressing the outbreaks of disobedience which sometimes occurred; but, after his death, disputes arose in his family, between his widow, his son, and his brother, which overthrew the supreme authority; and the Woiwodes availed themselves of the opportunity to cast off all allegiance.

Not long before this period, the Bosnian nobles had also projected the formation of an aristocratic republic. Contests in matters of inheritance, and, connected with these, the emancipation of powerful classes, at that time formed the topics of political consideration in Europe. On the other hand, those institutions of the Ottoman Empire, which bore the strongest stamp of barbarism — the maintenance of a harem, and the murder of the brothers of the Sultan — had the effect of preventing disturbances and embarrassments of this sort. It did not long remain doubtful which of the two parties would prove victorious in the contest.

The Turkish annals contain accounts of battles

not mentioned in those of the Western countries: the Servian chronicles speak of others that are not recorded by the Turks; on both sides victories are spoken of as defeats, and defeats as victories. But howsoever imperfect our knowledge of the various occurrences of this war, their result was, that the son of Stephan Dushan lost the Roumelian districts acquired by his predecessors: his chief vassals submitted to the Turks. Nor could the ancient Servian countries any longer resist. A few important events decided their now inevitable fate.

The Turkish system of occupying conquered countries with military colonies, and, carrying off the original inhabitants, excited a great national opposition in the year 1389.

On the mountain heights, crowned by the chief seat of the Servian empire — on the field of Kossowa — the Servians, the Bosnians (who after Dushan's death had regained their independence), and the Albanians, once more stood united against the Osmanlis. But the Turks were stronger than all these nations combined. The particulars of the battle are obscured by national pride and the vagueness of tradition; but the result is certain: from that day the Servians became subject to the Turkish power.

The Sultan of the Osmanlis and the Servian Krale were both slain in the conflict. But their successors, Bajazet, and Stephan Lasarewitsch, entered into an agreement which formally established the inferior position of the Servians. Lasarewitsch

gave the Sultan his sister to wife, and undertook to render him military service in all his campaigns *; and throughout his life he honourably performed his portion of the compact. In the great battles of Nicopolis and Ancyra, in which the Ottoman empire was in jeopardy, Lasarewitsch fought by the side of his brother-in-law. He was, apparently, bound to this house by an oath; and with the zeal of a kinsman he exerted himself in the adjustment of quarrels that on one occasion broke out in the Osmanli family. But, in so doing, he only confirmed the subjugation of his own nation. During the lifetime of Lasarewitsch, affairs went on tolerably well; but, after his death, the Osmanlis hastened to lay claim to Servia; on the ground that they inherited the land through their relationship with him. The contest on the subject of religion, which had never been adjusted, although hitherto little had been said on the subject, was soon renewed. The Turks affirmed that they could not permit a Christian prince to retain possession of such rich mines and strong forts, lest he should at some future time use them to impede the progress of the Mahometan faith; and they excited their rapacity with the spur of religion.

About the year 1438, we find a mosque erected at Kruschewaz, and Turkish garrisons placed in the

* As the translation of Dukas, which is rather free, expresses it: "Volse che Stephano sotto 'l suo imperio esercitasse la militia, et in qualunque loco fosse l'imperatore, se trovasse la sua persona."

fortresses of Golubaz and Smederewo on the Danube; and in Nowobrdo, the most ancient of the Servian towns, in the immediate vicinity of the richest mines. In the mean time Bosnia was overrun from Scupi; and from Argyrocastron and Croia, the Turks soon extended their dominion over the southern and northern parts of Albania.

Matters had advanced so far, that deliverance could be hoped for only through foreign aid; and now, indeed, only through the assistance of the Western Empire.

Could the nations of the Latin church, already themselves attacked by the Turks in Hungary, and threatened in Italy, any longer hesitate to rise against them?

The Latins still maintained an undoubted superiority on the sea; and in eastern Europe, where the Jagellones had united Lithuania and Poland, and given a king to Hungary, a powerful land force was organised, which appeared well qualified to make head against the Ottomans. The Servian and Bosnian princes delayed not a moment in joining this force.

The alliance thus cemented appeared formidable. It was principally brought about by the exertions of the Servian Prince, George Brankowitsch; who, throughout all his misfortunes, had sustained the character of a wise and brave man, and who did not now spare the treasures which he had collected in better days. So successful and decisive were the results of this alliance, (especially of the long

campaign in which John Hunyad celebrated Christmas on the conquered snow plains of the Hæmus,) that the Turks felt the insecurity of their tenure; and in the peace of Szegedin (July, 1444), actually restored the whole of Servia.*

Had the Western potentates supported the inferior Powers that still held their ground in this quarter — one of which was the empire of Constantinople — and had they at the same time occupied the attention of the Sultan, and endangered his forces by sea, it is reasonable to suppose that the country might have patiently awaited the opportunity for a general restoration.

In Italy, however, the people were anxious to free themselves, at once and decisively, from the dangers of a Turkish invasion, by a renewed effort of the already victorious Eastern powers. The Pope of Rome interposed his authority, as head of the Church, to annul the treaty that had been concluded between these parties. Some possessing a better feeling, were against this proceeding; but the legate of the Roman Church left no means untried to execute the commands of his master; and, although not able to persuade the Servians, who attached no value to the Pope's dispensation, he hurried on the Hungarians and Poles to a new enterprise.†

* Æneas Sylvius, "De Statu Europæ," cap. iv. Consternati ac perculsi metu, perinde ac totus oriens conjurasset, pacem petiere.

† Ibid. (Papa) novum instaurari bellum cum precibus tum minis extorsit.

It would have been of the greatest importance had a sea-force, which in fact appeared in the Hellespont, detained the Sultan in Asia, whither he had gone; but, whether from negligence, cowardice, or treason, he was allowed to return unmolested.*

Thus it happened that the Hungarian and Polish troops were attacked by a superior force, unexpectedly and in an unfavourable position, near Warna. The enemy's cavalry appeared to rush down upon them, as though on wings; and the infantry, collected round the Sultan, seemed invincible. The Christians were utterly defeated. (November, 1444.)

Never, perhaps, through long succeeding centuries, had a battle been fought with more disastrous results. Even to the present day these nations are subject to the rule which was imposed on them in consequence of that defeat.

The principalities in Greece and Albania, including the empire of Constantinople, were, one after the other, overpowered. Their resistance could scarcely have arrested the impending ruin. But how had the Sclavonian kingdoms fared? By a mournful fatality, their downfall was accomplished through dissensions of the Church parties.

A Servian song relates that George Brankowitsch once inquired of John Hunyad, what he intended to do with regard to religion, should he

* Dukas: "Come la bona fortuna de Morat volse, trovò spatio libero da le galie appresso lo stomio."

prove victorious. Hunyad did not deny that, in such an event, he should make the country Roman Catholic. Brankowitsch thereupon addressed the same question to the Sultan; who answered, that he would build a church near every mosque, and would leave the people at liberty to bow in the mosques, or to cross themselves in the churches, according to their respective creeds. The general opinion was that it was better to submit to the Turks, and retain their ancient faith, than to accept the Latin rites.* Brankowitsch, who, even when he was ninety years old, was urged to adopt the Western creed, steadfastly refused; and when, after his death, the females of his family went over to the Latin church, their ruin was only hastened thereby. The last Princess, Helena Palæologa, offered her country as a fief to the See of Rome; an act which excited a rebellion of her subjects. The Servians themselves invited the Osmanlis into their fortresses, that they might not see their strongholds given over to a cardinal of the Romish Church. The King of Bosnia, whose intention it was to marry a Servian princess, and to unite both countries under the protection of the Pope, also made a declaration of fealty; and with

* The Emperor Frederic, in the deed by which he exempts the Counts of Cilley from performing feudal service to the Empire (13th August, 1443), states, as his reason, that they "gen den Bosnern Turken und andern Ungleubigen, die die Christenheit an denselben Orten teglich und schwerlich anfechten, grosz zu schaffen," — the Bosnians, Turks, and other infidels.

the same result. The Patarene sect, which prevailed throughout Bosnia, and had been for centuries attached to Rome, against which a crusade had been repeatedly preached, was also in favour of Turkish rather than of Roman domination.* At the next attack of the Turks, that sect no longer offered any defence: within *eight* days, *seventy* Bosnian fortresses opened their gates to the Turks, and the king himself fell into the enemy's power.

It is possible that such events might have been prevented, if these countries had, at an earlier period, adopted the system of the Western states: but affairs must have been very differently conducted. Hungary, which from the first belonged to the Western empire, was soon after conquered by the Turks.

But the Servians and Bosnians, who preferred submitting to the Turks, had no presentiment of what they were doing, nor of the fate that awaited them under the new rule.

On the pretext that there was no necessity for keeping faith with an infidel, the last prince of the Bosnians, whose life had been guaranteed to him, was, notwithstanding, murdered by the hand of the fanatical Sheik by whom this doctrine was promulgated.†

The chief nobles of the country, whom the Turks began to annihilate as they had already annihilated

* Schimek: Geschichte von Bosnien, 145. 147.

† Neschri, in Hammer's Geschichte der Osmanen, ii. 552.

the royal house, soon perceived that their only safety lay in embracing Mahometanism. The last Princess had fled to Rome, and at her death had by will made over to the Pope her right to the country. The Pontiff, touching the sword and shoe which were delivered to him, as tokens of the bequest accepted it, on the ground that her children, a son and a daughter, having embraced Islamism, had thereby become incapable of succeeding her. Urged by the example of the Princess — by the danger of refusal on one hand, and by the prospect on the other of a share in public affairs, if they complied, the most illustrious families were by degrees induced to turn Mahometans. Thus they retained an hereditary right in their castles; and, so long as they remained united, enjoyed much influence in the province. Sometimes a native Vizier was allowed them. By this means, however, they separated themselves from their people, who, in defiance of every inducement, remained true to their old faith; and, being excluded from holding any office in the state, and from carrying arms, they, in common with all the Christian subjects of the Turkish empire, became Raja.

In Herzegowina, this state of affairs was in some degree ameliorated by the fact that certain Christian chiefs maintained their ground through the aid of an armed population. From time to time they thus obtained, by *Berates* from the Porte, a legal acknowledgment of their rights; which the Pachas were compelled to respect.

In Servia Proper — on the Morawa, the Kolubara, and the Danube — the old system, on the contrary, was upheld in all its severity. The army of the Grand Signior almost every year traversed this country to the seat of war on the Hungarian frontier; consequently independence could not be preserved. It appears, indeed, that the peasantry in the neighbourhood of Belgrade were summoned to Constantinople to render feudal service during the hay-harvest, in the Sultan's meadows. The country was divided amongst the Spahis, whom the inhabitants were bound, by the strictest enactments, to serve both in their persons and in their property. The Servians were not allowed to carry any weapons; and, in the disturbances which broke out, we find them armed only with long staves. They would not keep horses lest they should be robbed of them by the Turks. A traveller of the sixteenth century describes the people as poor captives, none of whom dared to lift up his head. Every five years the tribute of youths was collected — a severe and cruel exaction, which carried off the bloom and hope of the nation into the immediate service of the Grand Signior, and thus turned their own native strength against themselves. But a change was gradually working in the destiny of nations. The alliance of Hungary with Austria, and, consequently, with the Empire and military forces of the Germans, checked the advances of the Osmanlis, and at length effected the deliverance of this country from the Turks. The religious dissensions had divided the nation ; but at

the same time had developed the power and spirit of the people, who zealously seconded the active interference of the Protestant Princes. By these events, a great part of the Servian nation, which had previously emigrated within the boundaries of ancient Hungary, was directly set free from the power of the Osmanlis; and the prospect of liberation was joyfully beheld by the rest of the kindred tribes on the other side of the Save. They proffered the assistance of their nation to the Emperor Leopold; and how largely they contributed to the success of the Imperial arms is well known. At the peace of Passarowitz, an extensive portion of Servia remained in the hands of the Emperor, who did not fail to encourage the culture of the soil by exonerating the peasants from the obligation of serving in the army, and by promoting German colonization.

It is not our province to explain how it happened that these reforms not only did not advance, but even retrograded; so that, after the lapse of twenty years, the conquered Servian districts had to be given back again to the Turks. Every one knows that this was owing more to the complication of European politics, than to any increase of the Turkish power. But we may remark that this new catastrophe rendered the condition of the Christian population in those parts far worse than it had been. Not only was vengeance for their revolt taken on those serfs who had not emigrated, but large tracts of land were transferred to other

proprietors. Yet the chief and deepest injury was inflicted in the ecclesiastical constitution. Hitherto, the Servian patriarchate, with the Servian bishoprics, had been preserved under the dominion of the Turks. This gave the nation, so far at least as regarded the Church, a certain share of political power, and procured for the Raja a representation opposed to the power of the Grand Signior: nor was this at all to be despised.

In itself it was a politic plan of the Emperor Leopold to gain over to himself this powerful ecclesiastical authority, and to take it under his Imperial protection; by which arrangement the entire Illyrian nation stood towards the Emperor in the relation of protected States. It was on this ground that they rose so promptly, in the year 1689, in support of the Emperor; their patriarch, Arseni Czernowich, leading them on by his example. He, with some thousands of the people, all bearing the insignia of the cross, joined the Imperial camp.* Now, therefore, would have been the time to carry their projects into execution to their full extent.

But Arseni Czernowich found himself, from the course of affairs, compelled to retire from the ancient archiepiscopal seat, and to migrate into Austria: which he did as a great national Chief.

* The Commander at Canischa was told that the Germans would not rest content until "the two Seas, the Black and the White," formed the boundaries of their Empire.—Neu eröffnete Ottomanische Pforte. Fortsetzung, p. 527.

Thirty-seven thousand families accompanied him, and settled in the Hungarian territory, where the Emperor, by important privileges, secured for them their religious independence.

Nor can we wonder that the Turks would not suffer an ecclesiastical ruler, so openly hostile to them as Czernowich was, to exercise any influence in their dominions. They at once endeavoured to render all intercourse with him impracticable, and themselves appointed a Servian patriarch at Ipek.

What intestine commotions this produced may be gathered from an event which decided the fate of Montenegro. The metropolitan of Montenegro, Daniel (of the house of Petrowich, and the tribe of Njegushi) who had been ordained by the emigrated patriarch, Arseni Czernowich, had no sooner ventured to leave his own district than he was taken prisoner by the Turks, and was liberated only on paying a heavy ransom. Islamism, under the patronage of the government, had already made its way into Montenegro; and Daniel, that at all events he might be free from it in his own diocese, prevailed upon the Christians of that territory to rid themselves, by violence, of their Mahometan brethren.

Accordingly, all who did not turn Christians, or secure their safety by flight, were, on an appointed day, suddenly seized and put to death. The fact cannot be disguised, that by no other means could the Greek Christian faith have been there maintained unmolested. The Bishop, who had ever possessed the right of nominating his successor during his

lifetime (as in that country the dignity of Priests and Archpriests was hereditary), became from that time the head of his nation.

The national Priesthood constituted an important means of resistance.

On the advance of the Austrians in 1737*, the Albanians and Servians once more rose in great numbers: their force amounting, it is said, to 20,000; but they were met by the Turks, near the Kolubara, and their entire host slaughtered.

But causes existed, independently of these wars (as appeared afterwards), to produce an entire national defection from the ecclesiastical rule.

An impostor, assuming to be Peter III., succeeded in gaining credit to his pretensions in Montenegro; and obtained an authority, which extended itself far into the Turkish dominions. He was acknowledged by several bishops; and the then Patriarch of the Servian Church at Ipek, sent him a valuable horse as a gift of honour. Upon this the Viziers of Bosnia and Roumelia took the field against him, and succeeded in restricting his authority to Montenegro; whither the Patriarch of Ipek was himself compelled to flee for safety.

These events determined the Porte not to suffer the election of another Servian Patriarch. The

* In the Life of General Seckendorf, which is founded on good authorities, we are told (ii. 107.) that the Patriarch of Ipek and the Archbishop of Ochrida had at that time expressed a wish to be made secular *lords* also of their dioceses, and to be allowed a seat and vote in the German Diet.

dignity was united with that of the Patriarch at Constantinople, over which the Porte exercised undisputed power.* Greek Bishops were in consequence placed over the Servian Church.

This proved a heavy blow for the nation. With the independence of the Church, the people were deprived of their last remaining share in the conduct of public affairs; which itself had been in some measure instrumental in advancing civilization. They now for the first time found themselves wholly subject to the Turkish Government at Constantinople.

* In the Berate for the Patriarch at Constantinople, quoted by Muradgea d'Ohsson (Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman, v. p. 120.), the Hattischeriff is mentioned by which this was done. The Patriarch took upon himself the annual tribute of 63,000 aspers, which Ipek had hitherto paid.

CHAP. III.

OUTLINES OF THE TURKISH INSTITUTIONS IN SERVIA.

Conflict between Islamism and Christianity. — Their Difference considered politically. — The Janissaries. — State of the Raja or Native Inhabitants. — Turkish Imposts. — The Spahis. — State of Affairs at the Close of the Eighteenth Century. — Commercial Character of the Patriarchate at Constantinople. — The Chimney Tax in Servia. — Turkish Dissensions. — Servian Heyducs or Robbers. — Christians excluded from all Public Offices. — Oppression and Degradation of the Servians. — Preservation of the National Spirit.

To write a history of different religions would be not only to exhibit doctrines, rites, ceremonies, and hierarchical institutions, but also to unfold the political influence which they have exercised over the various nations.

For many centuries Islamism and Christianity have been in conflict, developing themselves in opposition to each other. What, then, is politically the principal distinction of the institutions which have arisen under their influences?

In the course which affairs have taken in Western Christendom, much may be censured and objected to; but it cannot be denied that the Church has throughout contributed greatly to the formation of the national character.

For instance, with all the various elements of which the population of ancient Gaul was composed — with the numerous immigrations and conquests to which that country was subjected during the middle ages — how could the foundation of so invincible a national unity as that of France have been consolidated, except through the influence of the Christian Church?

Coincident with the concentrating power of the Priesthood is opposition to its ascendancy; influences from without are met by free impulses from within; and the habit of obedience is counteracted by a spirit of resistance. But the national character thus developed, being once firmly established, could not be destroyed by any difference of opinion based upon other than national feelings.

But it was otherwise in the East.

As it occurred under the Caliphs, and under the Mongolian sway in India, so in the vast territories which were under the Turkish rule, we find every where an antagonism between the "faithful," whose religion gave them the claim to dominion, and the "infidels," who were condemned to servitude on account of their religion.

Islamism strengthens the pretensions of the ruling military powers, by inculcating the belief that they exclusively enjoy the true religion. Events have, however, proved to the Turks that they cannot exist without the aid of a subject infidel nation. With all his zeal, the Turk is content in general with resting on this text of the Koran —

"Thou wilt not find out any means of enlightening him whom God delivers over to error." If, as it has been affirmed, a Sultan once entertained the thought of extirpating his Christian subjects, he must have been deterred from the act by reflecting that their services were indispensable to him. From this opposition of belief and unbelief proceeds the whole political system of the Turkish Empire. The two principles of its foundation will always be antagonistic to each other. No hope of forming a united nation can consequently be entertained.

We need not inquire further how this uncongeniality is connected with the opposite principles of the two religions: Christianity is, in its very essence, of a popular nature; and when diffusing its doctrines over heathen nations, first gained ground amongst the people; whilst Islamism, from its very commencement, was promulgated by the sword. Nor need we inquire how this antagonism is connected with the primitive truth of the one faith—at times unseen, but always penetrating—and the falsehood of the other: enough that it is so, and that this difference marks the distinctive character of the two systems.

Christianity endeavours to convert nations; Islamism to conquer the world: "The earth is the Lord's, and he bestows it on whom he chooses."

What in the ancient Roman Empire appears to be a judicial hypothesis — namely, that the actual property in land belongs either to the State or the Emperor, and only its occupation and use to the

individual,—is, in the Ottoman Empire, a positive reality: grounded on the religious belief that "all the land belongs to the Caliph, the Shadow and Vicegerent of God on earth."* When he fulfilled the will of God and of the Prophet, in spreading the pure faith, he distributed the lands which he conquered amongst the armies of the "Faithful," who had assisted him in his enterprises: to some, indeed, to hold in hereditary possession, but to the greater part as their pay, in the form of a fief.

Whatever changes may have been effected in more peaceful times, the principle of this arrangement remained in force, as it was fixed from the first. The entire extent of the Ottoman Empire was, in the eighteenth century, as well as in the sixteenth, parcelled out amongst the Timarlis and Spahis; of whom there are said to have been 132,000.†

The band of Janissaries, computed to consist of 150,000 registered members — although it was really composed of a much smaller number in actual service—formed a large community, binding together all the provinces of the Empire. The *Ortas* of the division Dshemaat, who always had

* Gaius: in eo solo (provinciarum) dominium populi Romani est vel Cæsaris: nos autem possessionem tantum et usumfructum habere videmur.

† Eton (Survey of the Turkish Empire, 1798) mentions this number "from the concordant testimony of several persons who had the most intimate acquaintance with it."

the privilege, attended on the Pachas in the fortresses, the keys of which were entrusted to their care.

To support and to serve the army of the Faithful who had settled in the country—a warrior-caste whose privileges resulted from their religion—was, in Servia, as in all the other provinces of Turkey, the lot of the Raja. They were compelled to till the land, and to pay the taxes. Let us consider what these were.

The subject—who, in the event of proving refractory, would be doomed to death or imprisonment—pays poll-money to the Sultan, according to the ordinances of the Koran: "Oppress them," it is said therein, concerning the Infidels, "until they pay poll-tax and are humbled." To this verse of the Koran the Turkish sultans have always appealed, when at any time they, like Achmet II., have found themselves under the necessity of enacting new laws regarding taxation.* Every male, from seven years of age, is obliged to pay the poll-tax to the end of his days. The *teskeres*, or stamped receipts, which are sent from Constantinople, serve at once as proofs of acknowledged submission, as certificates for protection, and as passports for those by whom they are received.

In the Servian territories there were still some districts remaining under Christian *Kneses*, or princes; for instance, the *Kraina*, which was

* Rescript of Ahmed II., given in Hammer's Staatsverfassung, i. 332.

under the hereditary dominion of the Karapandshitsch, who enjoyed princely authority. And although it may not be true that they possessed the privilege of forbidding any shod horse belonging to the Turks to set foot on their domain, they had the right of refusing to allow a Spahi or a native Turk to settle on their land. They paid their customary tribute to a *Beg*, who resided in Kladowo. In a nearly similar manner the Rashkowitsches for some time had possession of Stariwla. Kliutsch was governed by elective Kneses. In the Pachalic of Belgrade, however, which by way of pre-eminence was called Serfwijaleti, the Spahis were regarded as the proprietors of the villages.

Compared with former times, the Spahis had this advantage, that their rights had by degrees become hereditary: but hence it followed that these were more rigidly fixed than formerly. They received a tithe of all that the field, vineyard, or beehive produced; and also a small tax on each head of cattle. Moreover, they had a right to demand for themselves a tax, called Glawnitza, of two piastres, from every married couple. To avoid unpleasant inquiries into the extent of their income, many persons added a portion of the tithe to the Glawnitza. In some parts of the country the people agreed to pay the Spahis for each married couple, whether rich or poor, ten piastres a year in full of all dues. This was at once accepted, as it enabled the Spahis to ascertain the amount on which they might annually reckon.

But the Spahis cannot properly be considered as a class of nobles. In the villages they had neither estates nor dwellings of their own: they had no right to jurisdiction or to feudal service; they were not allowed to eject the tenantry by force, nor could they even forbid them from removing and settling elsewhere. What they had to demand was what might be termed an hereditary stipend, in return for which the duty of serving in war remained unaltered. No real rights of property were ever bestowed on them: for a specific service a certain revenue was granted them.

The Grand Signior reserved for himself a number of villages. In addition to this, the Pacha had to be provided for; and the administration of the Pachalic also rendered several branches of revenue necessary.

Feudal services, in general, were very burthensome; particularly at first: it appears that the peasants of every village in Servia had to render bond service to the Pachà one hundred days in each year. In Constantinople a register was kept of all the houses in the empire liable to such service. But nothing more is heard of exactions so oppressive as we approach the close of the eighteenth century: even a produce-tax on corn, which the Pacha had formerly been accustomed to collect about Christmas, had fallen into disuetude. On the other hand, however, he required annually a sum of money from the country. Generally, the amount

was regulated by custom; but it could be increased according to circumstances. After consultation with the Kneses, the tax was imposed proportionably on the respective districts, and also on the villages and households in the districts.* No register of landed property was in use; the circumstances of the occupiers, as they happened to be generally and personally known, being taken as the criterion by which they were rated.

Of this revenue, a portion was sent to Constantinople; but it served chiefly to supply the wants of the province, such as the pay of the Janissaries, &c. The Janissaries, however, since a share of the duties on imports had been assigned to them, had devoted† themselves at the same time to trade, and had become the richest and most influential class in the country. The Grand Signior was considered not only as the chief in war, but as the Caliph of the Prophet, the administrator of the Koran, in which religion and law are blended. When, in 1784, he was obliged to renounce the temporal dominion of the Crimea, he yet reserved for himself the spiritual authority, and continued to send Mollas and Kadis thither to exercise it. For Servia, a Mollah of the second rank resided in

* Hence its name, from the word *poresati*, to cut into tallies, to apportion. — Vide Wuk's Servian Dictionary (Serbisches Wörterbuch), p. 607.

† Porter (*Observations sur les Turcs*, French translation, ii. 127.), ascribes these privileges and this alteration to Mahmoud I.

Belgrade. In smaller towns there were Kadis, who dispensed justice to Mussulmans as well as to Christians. For their income, the Kadis had chiefly to look to the latter; to the revenue accruing to them, in their judicial capacity, from grants of administration on the death of heads of families, and from the dues on commerce; and to the fees arising from actions brought before them. It is obvious that disturbances must have been welcome to them. With the Kadi was associated a Mussulman officer, appointed by the Pacha, to execute his judgments; and who, having the executive power, obtained greater consideration than the peaceful judge.

The religious affairs of the Christians were administered by their Bishop: but he also, since the Bishopric had passed to the Greeks, had a closer relation to the state authorities than to his flock. Even in his external appearance he adopted the Turkish style. He might be seen riding, in sumptuous apparel, equipped with the insignia of power granted him by the berate of the Grand Signior—the sword and the *busdowan*.

But what gave importance to his office was its pecuniary value.

The Patriarchate at Constantinople—the Holy Church—forms a commercial institution or bank, in which capitalists are well disposed to invest their money; and its means are used to provide the different tributes to the Porte, regular or irregular, and the large presents with which it is customary to

purchase the favour of members of the government. The interest is raised from various sources of revenue; but chiefly from contributions by the Bishops. Every Bishop, when first appointed, must acknowledge himself debtor for a certain sum, which is regulated according to the revenues of his diocese, and must give bond for the exact payment of the interest on this sum.* These bonds, called court-bonds, pass from hand to hand as a sort of public stock, and are in much estimation; since the representative of the Patriarch or Bishop, in whose name they are drawn, dares not be backward in his payment of the interest.

It would not be advisable for the Bishops to pay off the capital for which they have acknowledged themselves indebted, as by that means they would bring the administration of the Holy Church into embarrassment. After their death, the Church is responsible for the amount.

As the Bishops were under the necessity of expending considerable sums to maintain their rank and dignity amongst the nobility, their administration, oppressive even to the Greek Raja, became much more so to the Servians, by whom they were regarded as strangers.

They not only made the priests whom they ordained pay purchase-money for which they re-

* Zalloni, Essai sur les Fanariotes, p. 158.: "Des obligations qui supportent l'intérêt des dix pour cent par an, et qu'on désigne sous le nom des Avlikies Omoloyes.—See Maurer: "Das Griechische Volk," i. 398.

ferred them to their parish-income, but, in Servia, they also raised a peculiar tax called Dimnitza, or chimney-tax, from every household. This impost was levied by virtue of a firman which authorised its collection by armed officials, and enforced it in preference to any opposing claim of the landlords. It is known also, that, in appointments to vacant Pachalics, money constituted, for a long time, the chief consideration; and that wealthy Fanariotes, or Armenian bankers, on giving security for the payment of the sums of money to be raised in the respective districts for the Porte, exercised the greatest influence in the nomination of the Pachas: and then, by means of secretaries whom they assigned to them, controlled their administration. From Sheik El Islam they bought patents for Kadis by hundreds, and sold them at a large profit to such candidates as had passed the juridical school and obtained the required degree. The distinction in episcopal offices consisted chiefly in this, that the Fanariotes could introduce their own brethren in faith.

These three offices, of Pacha, Kadi, and Bishop, in which the administration of judicial and ecclesiastical authority was vested, might all be obtained for money; and their holders indemnified themselves against loss by exercising the power which they had over the people: the revenue of the Spahis also constituted their pay for specific services. Thus the country and the people may, in the language of political economy, be considered in the

light of capital, the interest of which, taken at the highest rate, belonged to the government; who assigned it to some parties as pay for the protection of the country, but to others as rents farmed out of them.

The Raja, excluded from all share in the conduct of public affairs, appear only as persons to be ruled over; as the means wherewith to realise a revenue for the support of the very State which had subjugated them, and of providing for its soldiery, its officers, and even for the Court.

It was impossible, however, always to carry this arrangement of affairs fully into effect.

The Ottomans are often found in dissension one with another. The Spahis, living constantly in the country, had an interest distinct from that of the Pachas, who resided there only for a short time; and the Janissaries, strong by the united body which they form throughout the Empire, were opposed to both. So long as they kept each other in check all went well; otherwise, each asserted his claim, which he considered as a personal right, with all the violence he could command. Nor were the Christians uniformly submissive: such as refused to appear before the Kadi, or whom the Turks threatened with death—whether on account of some fault, or because they wished to oppress them without any legal pretext—fled into the forests and turned *Heyducs* or robbers.

The Heyducs correspond to the Italian *Fuorusciti*, banditti, or to the *Condottieri* of some of the

Spanish provinces. The consideration, that the rulers whose administration they opposed were infidels, gave them a much stronger feeling of being in the right than the latter could have. The Heyducs lay in ambush for such Turks as they knew would be passing the road, especially those sent with treasure to Constantinople. This, however, did not prevent their claiming the reputation of honesty and fidelity. When two of them associated together, one was styled *Arambasha*, captain or leader; and frequently they assembled in small bands. They had their *Jatatzi* (concealers), who sheltered them, singly, in winter, and whom they served as day labourers or shepherds. With the spring they returned into the forests, and joined their bands; and when one of them happened to be missing, they all in common considered themselves bound to avenge his death.

There is no doubt that the proceedings of these Heyducs excited a certain ferment in the nation, awakening recollections of the past, and keeping alive the spirit of warfare. Up to this time, however, they had always been disregarded: frequently, also, the Christian population — who were not very conscientiously spared by them, and who always had to make good the losses they caused — took part against them.

Notwithstanding these disorders, the position of affairs first established — the supremacy of the followers of Islam and the subjection of the Christians — was upon the whole maintained. The

difference caused by religion was the more striking, as it was unconnected with difference of descent. The Spahis, at least, — though not in any way tracing their origin to the ancient nobility of the country — were mostly of Servian extraction and language.

However none regarded it as an act of arbitrary injustice, emanating from personal dislike, that the Christians should be held in exclusion from State affairs, from military command, and from public life. It had always been so: the system, as has been shown, was intimately connected with the principle of Islamism.

In the book of the "Sultan's Commands," compiled by a chief magistrate of Bagdad, in the fifth century of the Hegira, the duties of the Giaours — that is, of those subjects who are not Moslems — are thus specified.* "They must be recognised by their dress; their dwellings must not be loftier than those of the Mussulmans; the sound of their bells must not be heard; they must not ride either horses or dromedaries." Even in the 18th century, a decree of Osmar was renewed, by which the "Infidels" are forbidden to study the learned Arabic, or to teach their children the Koran. Above all things, however, "they may not wear arms †;"

* Mawerdi, quoted by Hammer, Verwaltung des Califates, p. 112.

† The Turkish Code of laws, however, is very explicit; "Code Militaire," given by Ohsson: Suppl. i. 106. "Il doit s'interdire le port des armes, l'usage des chevaux, et de toute autre monture."

and this was so completely a matter of course, that it is scarcely ever mentioned afterwards. The Raja were considered a weaponless herd, whose duty was obedience and subjection. Such was in general the state of Servia in the latter half of the 18th century.

The Turks in the country — not only those of distinction, but others of lower rank who had gradually assembled around them — considered themselves the masters of the Raja. Not only did the Turks reserve for themselves the exercise of arms, but also the right of carrying on such trades as were in any way connected with war. Like our northern ancestors, or their own oriental forefathers, amongst whom the son of a smith once founded a dynasty, many a Turk has been seen to turn back his silken sleeve, and shoe a horse; still he regarded himself as a kind of gentleman. Other occupations the Mussulmans left with contempt to Christian mechanics: for instance, no Turk would have condescended to be a furrier. Every thing that they thought suitable and becoming — beautiful arms, rich dresses, magnificent houses — they claimed exclusively for themselves.

But the personal treatment of Christians was most oppressive. No Servian dared to ride into a town on horseback: he was only allowed to appear on foot; and, to any Turk who might demand it, he was bound to render personal service. When meeting a Turk on the road, it was his duty to halt, and make way for him; and if he happened to

carry small arms in defence against robbers, he was obliged to conceal them. To suffer injuries was his duty; to resent them was deemed a crime worthy of punishment.

Happily the constitution of the country made a separation of the two people possible. Towards the close of the last century, nothing would strike a foreigner passing through Servia more forcibly than the difference between the cities and the country. The Turks lived in the towns, large or small, and the fortresses; the Servians in the villages.

The Pachas, for their own advantage, would not suffer the Turks to roam singly about the country; and, in the existing state of things, the Servians had ample cause for avoiding the towns. Many a Servian attained the age of sixty without ever having seen a town.

Thus, from the distance at which the antagonist parties were kept, the national spirit of the Servians was maintained alive and unsubdued.

CHAP. IV.

CONDITION, CHARACTER, AND POETRY OF THE SERVIANS.

Servian Villages. — Tutelary Saints. — Brotherly and Sisterly Affection. — Mourning. — Remarkable Custom on the Death of a Brother. — Institution of "The Brotherhood." — Festival of the Garlands. — Marriage Ceremonies. — Revenge in Cases of Murder not known in Servia. — Village Communities. — Substitutes for Churches. — Poverty of the Priesthood. — Confession. — Dependent state of the Monks. — Cloisters. — National Church. — Veneration for Nature. — Festival in honour of the Dead. — Custom of the Women on St. George's Eve. — Whitsuntide. — The Festival of the Kralize. — The Wilis. — Festival of St. John. — Harvest. — Procession of the Dodola, a Form of Invocation for Rain. — Custom on the Eve of St. Barbara. — Swearing by the Sun and by the Earth. — Popular Servian Toast or Sentiment. — Remarkable Religious Celebration of Christmas. — Belief in Vampyres and Witches. — Personality of the Plague. — Powerful Influence of the Wilis. — Servian Poetry. — National and Heroic Songs. — The Gusle. — Festival Meetings. — Domestic Life of the People. — Songs of Husbandry. — Amatory Verse. — Celebration of Heroic Exploits. — Historical Ballads. — Mixture of the True and the Fabulous. — National Collection of Songs. — Wild Traditions. — Deeds of Hunyad.

THE villages of Servia stretch far up into the gorges of the mountains, into the valleys formed by the rivers and streams, or into the depths of the

forests. Sometimes, when consisting of forty or fifty houses, they spread over a space as extensive as that occupied by Vienna and its suburbs. The dwellings are isolated, at a distance one from another, and each contains within itself a separate community. The real house is a room enclosed by loam walls, and covered with the dry bark of the lime, having the hearth in the centre. Around this room chambers are constructed—Clijet or Wajat—often fitted up with polished boards, but without any fire-places. The house ostensibly belongs to the father and mother of the family; to whose use a separate sleeping-room is sometimes appropriated. The chambers are for the younger married people. All the members of the family constitute but one household; they work and eat together, and in the winter evenings assemble around the fire. Even when the father dies, his sons, appointing one of their brothers, the best qualified amongst them, as master of the house (Stargeshina), remain together until too great an increase of the family renders a separation desirable. It is not unusual for one house to form an entire street.

The household requires but little assistance from strangers. The men raise their own buildings; construct, in their rude manner, their ploughs and waggons; prepare the yokes of their draught oxen; hoop their casks; and manufacture their shoes from rough leather. Their other clothing is prepared by the women; who spin wool and flax, weave linen and woollen cloth, and understand the

art of dyeing with madder. Their land yields the food they require; so that salt is perhaps the only article they find it necessary to purchase. The mechanics most in request by the villages are smiths, to make their tools. A mill belongs to several houses conjointly, and each house has its day for using it.

These family households, supplying all their own wants, and shut up each within itself — a state of things which was continued under the Turks, because the taxes were chiefly levied upon the households — formed the basis of Servian nationality. Individual interest was thus merged, as it were, in that of the family.

No one commemorated the day of the saint whose name he bore, nor his own birthday; but each household had its tutelary saint, whose day they celebrated with mirth and festivity.

Amongst the early Germans, families were held together by a peculiar preference for the relations on the mother's side; the mother's brother being, according to ancient custom, a very important personage.* In the Sclavonic-Servian tribe there prevails to a greater extent a strong and lively feeling of brotherly and sisterly affection: the brother is proud of having a sister; the sister swears by the name of her brother. A deceased husband is not publicly bewailed by his wife: the mournful office is performed by his mother and sisters, who also tend his grave.

* Tacitus: "Sororum filiis idem apud avunculum qui ad patrem honor," &c. &c.

In some parts a very strange custom prevails when one of two brothers dies, whose birthdays chance to fall in the same month; the survivor is fastened to the dead body, until he adopts in his deceased brother's stead some stranger youth, by whom he is then released.

Corresponding to these notions, is one of the most peculiar institutions of the Servian tribe — "The Brotherhood." Persons unite with one another "in the name of God and St. John," for mutual fidelity and aid during their whole lives. A man, it is considered, will make the safest selection for his "brother," in choosing one, of whom he may at some time have dreamed that he had solicited assistance in some case of need. The allied designate themselves "Brothers in God," "Brothers by choice," *Pobratimi*. No ecclesiastical benediction is considered necessary for constituting this bond in Servia Proper.

In Altorshowa and Negotin, it is customary to renew the turf on graves on the morning of the second Monday after Easter; and on the afternoon of that day the young people assemble and twist green garlands: youths, each one with another, and maidens also, in the same manner, then enter into this alliance, whilst kissing through their garlands, which are afterwards exchanged. This first bond, however — they being yet quite young — lasts only till the succeeding year: it is not yet "brotherhood and sisterhood" for ever; only an initiatory preparation. On the following Easter

Monday, by which time they have become better acquainted, they either confirm their original choice or make a new election.

This union concerns only the persons by whom it is formed; marriage is, on the contrary, regarded as an affair of interest to the whole family. The fathers of two houses meet, and settle the matter together; exchanging presents, which sometimes amount to a considerable value. Thus, by a sort of purchase, is so useful a member of a household as a grown-up maiden surrendered by one to another. Her brother delivers the bride to the solemn procession which comes to conduct her to her new abode; and there she is received by the sister, or sister-in-law, of the bridegroom. She dresses a child, touches with a distaff the walls which are so often to see her occupied with this implement, and carries bread, wine, and water, up to the table which it will become her daily duty to prepare: with these symbolical ceremonies she enters into the new community. Her mouth is sealed by a piece of sugar, to denote that she should utter little, and only what is good. As yet she is only a stranger; and for a whole year she is termed the "betrothed." By an assumption of continued bashfulness, prescribed by custom, she keeps apart, even from her husband. In the presence of others she scarcely converses with him; much less would a playful phrase be permitted from her lips. It is only when years have passed, and she has become the mother of grown-up children, that she in reality

finds herself on an equality with other members of the family into which she has entered.

Considering the strong feeling of blood-relationship that prevails with the Servians, it is remarkable that the revenge of murder is unknown; especially as an indication of this feeling, common to nations of similar condition, is a prominent characteristic of the people of Montenegro, the race most nearly related to them. This may arise from the fact that powerful families, or races, are not found in Servia: they could not acquire, nor afterwards maintain their ascendancy, in consequence of the violent character of the national subjection.

The union of families into a community is a custom more of a political nature, than one founded on common origin or lineage. By the Turks, who considered murder rather a loss than a crime, the village in which a murder had been perpetrated was condemned to pay, as compensation, the price of blood, called *Krwnina.** This was fixed at 1000 piastres.

The money once paid, the community allowed the murderer to return unmolested. It was deemed sufficient if he were reconciled with the family of the party murdered; and reconciliation under such circumstances was not likely to prove very difficult, since revenge would occasion new losses to the community.

* Similar ordinances had already appeared in the laws of Dushan, § 32. § 44. (if we may follow Engel's version so far). It is a question how much of the Turkish regulations originated with the old inhabitants, and in what the addition consisted.

The community which a village formed was a very close one. It had the right of electing its own Elders, and President or Ruler (Seoski Knes); officers who enjoyed both confidence and authority. The *Poresa* was a common burden, and its distribution was regulated by an equitable agreement amongst the villagers themselves.

As every family had its own tutelar saint, so also had every village; and the anniversary of this saint's day was kept with religious solemnities. The people assembled in some large open space, on a height near the village, and the clergy consecrated water and oil; then, headed by their priests, the people, bearing crosses and images, went in procession through the fields, and in some places from house to house.

In this manner the clergy supplied the place of churches, which in most villages were prohibited by the order of the Turks. The want of churches probably was the reason why the priests were far from enjoying that consideration which the lower clergy in the Western Countries so readily obtained. They had no occupation but that of performing baptisms, celebrating marriages, reading the service at funerals, and announcing the festivals from the calendar. The fees received by the priests, for the performance of these parish duties, were not sufficient for their support. Fortunate it was for them if they also possessed some little hereditary property in their village; on which, like their neighbours, they mowed, ploughed, reaped, and cut

wood; otherwise they were but badly off. "My Father," asked a boy one day of the Priest, "do you also tend your oxen?" "My son," was the answer, "I would they were mine I tended."

On the other hand, the monks and their cloisters were regarded with general respect and veneration. It had become customary for the people to apply exclusively to the monks for confession; and this, of all priestly functions, has undoubtedly the greatest power in maintaining the authority of the clergy, and giving them influence over the laity.

On certain days, the people assembled for the purpose of confession in those secret places of refuge amidst the mountain forest in which the cloisters are situated. But their attention was not devoted solely to the performance of their religious duties. These days were held as festive meetings of the entire district which attached itself to the cloister. Frequently, parties arrived on the preceding evening, and spent the night around a fire. The morning hours having been devoted to confession and communion, in the afternoon a fair and market followed, with sports and dancing for the young. It was on these occasions that the youths desirous of marrying were accustomed to seek for their brides; while the old people sat together, engaged in consultation.

But the monks possessed neither independence nor any decided influence of their own; and although better educated than the priests (popes), they were not really learned men. They had no superiors to

guide them; and wanting the strict union of a religious order, they lived upon the alms of the Faithful. The Kneses were obliged to keep the churches in repair; and for this—although originally merely the chief peasants of villages—they enjoyed the prescriptive right of nominating, from amongst the monks, the Superior of the Cloister, whether his designation were that of Igumen or Archimandrite, a privilege perhaps without any precedent.

It seems, that the idea of a National Church, as established under their ancient kings, had been still cherished; at least among the lower classes.

In how many narratives has the founding of so many cloisters by the Servian kings been ridiculed! Yet, whilst their government has been laid in ruins, these establishments have mainly contributed to the preservation of both nationality and religion, in the connexion originally existing between them: it is not without good grounds that the conversion of the Bosnians to Islamism has been ascribed to their having fewer of such foundations in their country.

After the dissolution of the Patriarchate of Ipek, the cloisters of the old Kings—especially the cloister *Detshiani*, situated not far from that place, where the father of Stephan Dushan had erected his marble church—inspired a veneration and respect by which all the Servian tribes were united.

For this very reason the Turks—who regard religion as a source of revenue—have at times been guilty of severe extortions from the cloister;

well knowing that the liberality of the people would meet their demands.

The nationality of the Servian church is further proved by the fact, that the ancient native names have invariably been preserved in it; while among other Sclavonian tribes, the names of saints of the calendar were substituted. Hence it may be inferred, that the idea of a universal Christian Church would not have prevailed in Servia.

In the popular opinions of all European countries, traces of an ancient veneration of nature are found: but, for the most part, only as scattered fragments without connexion; perhaps not well understood originally, and now unintelligible.

Among the Servians, the whole year is replete with rites, indicating the mysterious relation in which man stands to nature; more especially in such a primitive mode of life. Let us for a moment turn our attention to the subject.

In winter, just before Lent, the great festival in honour of the Dead is celebrated; at which every one solemnises the memory of his departed relations and friends; and no sooner does Palm Sunday arrive, than the people join in commemorating the renovation of life. On the preceding Saturday the maidens assemble on a hill, and recite poems on the resurrection of Lazarus; and on Sunday, before sunrise, they meet at the place where they draw water, and dance their country dance; chanting a song, which relates how the water becomes dull by the antlers of a stag, and bright by his eye.

The water freed from ice and snow, being the first harbinger of the renovated year, they commence with these symbolical rites. On the eve of St. George's festival, towards the end of April, the women gather young flowers and herbs; then catching the water cast from a mill-wheel, they throw into it the flowers and herbs, and let both remain during the night, for the purpose of bathing in the water the next morning. This rite apparently signifies that they now surrender themselves to the influence of awakened nature; and on its performance they consider the preservation of their health depends.

Whitsuntide, the festival of the *Kralize*, soon follows. From ten to fifteen virgins—one of whom personates the Standard-bearer, another the King, and another the Queen Kralize, veiled and attended by a Maid of Honour—pass through the village dancing and singing; stopping in front of every house. The subject of most of their songs relates to marriage, the choice of a husband, the happiness of wedded life, the blessing of children; and the refrain of every verse is "*Leljo*," supposed to be the name of an ancient Sclavonian Deity of Love. There is also the ambulatory song of the *Wilis*, who dance under the growing fruit-tree; and of Radischa — probably a male demon, as the former were females; who, shaking the dew from the flowers and leaves, sues to one of the Wilis, promising that, sitting with his mother in the cool shade, she shall spin silk on a golden distaff. The whole proceed-

ings breathe the fresh pleasure of spring, and a concealed and modest emotion of love, nourished by the sympathy of nature now bursting forth into bloom and beauty.

The progress of the year now brings round the longest day; that period of the solstice which in ancient times the people throughout Europe were accustomed to celebrate with fire.* In Servia the festival of St. John is deemed of such importance that the sun is said to stand still thrice in reverence. The shepherds, bearing lighted torches of birch bark prepared the previous evening, walk round the pens of their flocks, and the enclosure in which the oxen are kept; then ascend the mountain and allow the torches to burn out, whilst they occupy themselves with sports.

The injuries to be apprehended to the harvest in Servia are twofold — too great an aridity and violent storms. In the event of a continued drought, a maiden is divested of her usual garments and so wrapped round with grass, herbs, and flowers, that hardly any part, even of her face, can be seen. She is called the *Dodola;* and in this state, like a walking bundle of grass, she goes from house to house: the housewife then pours a pailful of water over her as a symbol. Her companions chant a prayer for rain, and the people feel almost

* A decree of the council of Nuremberg, 20th June, 1653, quoted by J. Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie, 351, forbids this as "an old heathenish and bad custom, a superstitious heathenish work."

certain of obtaining their object. They have a song expressly composed for the occasion: its purport is, that the clouds should outrun the procession, and bedew the grapes and corn as it advances.

They pray when they want rain: but storms they consider to be under the control of the most distinguished saints. Elias, whose ascension is recorded in the Bible, is here held as a sort of god of thunder, and called "the Thunderer:" the fiery Mary sends lightnings, and Panteleimon rules the tempests. The days especially devoted to the worship of these saints fall between the 20th and 28th of July.

From this time the people are busy in field and garden, housing the fruits which the year has yielded. When winter begins, they think of the new year. The powers of nature, now in a state of renovation, are those on which the prosperity of the next year depends. On the eve of St. Barbara, they boil all sorts of grain together in one pot; leaving it all night on the fire. Next morning they examine on which side of the vessel the mass has boiled up highest; and, in that direction, they till the fallow ground.

In this way the people express their dependence upon the powers of nature. To this day they swear by the sun and the earth. *Tako mi Suntza, Tako mi Semlje!* "So (help) me Sun, so (help) me Earth!" are very usual asseverations.

Nevertheless they believe that everything proceeds immediately from God. They will rarely

commence any sort of work, but in the name of God; and would deem it sinful to make a promise without the proviso — "If God permit." Their very language has conformed itself to this feeling; and we may mention one very remarkable ellipsis: — they do not say to a traveller, "Whither are you going?" nor "Whither are you going, if it please God?" but simply — "If it please God;" omitting altogether the actual question. They have three daily prayers — early in the morning, before supper, and on retiring to rest — in which they do not employ established forms; and at table, instead of one asking a blessing on the food, each individual expresses in his own words gratitude to the Supreme Being. In drinking, the toast or sentiment of the Servians is — "To the Glory of God!" and no one would presume to take his seat at the head of a convivial party, who was not able to extemporise a suitable prayer. Every one considers himself at all times under the peculiar protection of his tutelary saint. The invitation to the festival of the patron saint of the house is usually in these words: — "Our house, too, is the Lord's. We invite you to come this evening. What the saint has bestowed, we will not keep back." The man who leads a life of labour, and finds himself so much the more dependent on an inscrutable and almighty Power above; in proportion as he knows less of nature, feels the necessity of imagining the protection and aid of the higher powers to be ever near

him. At the same time, it is quite possible that, rising above superstition and error, a pure idea of the Supreme Being, whom we all revere and worship, may be kept alive and in force. The manner in which devotion and superstition are connected in the Servian solemnization of Christmas merits consideration.

On Christmas eve, after the labours of the day are finished, the father of the family goes into the wood, and cuts down a straight oak-sapling; which he brings into the house, with the salutation, "Good evening, and happy Christmas!" To this all present answer, "God grant it to thee, thou happy one, rich in honour!" and cast corn over him. Then the tree, which is called *Badujak*, is placed upon the coals. In the morning, which is saluted by the firing of pistols, a visitor appears; one being previously chosen for each house. From a glove, he throws corn through the door-way, and exclaims, "Christ is born!" Some one in the house, in return, throws corn towards the visitor, and answers, "In truth He is born!" On this, another of the party advances; and whilst, with a poker, he strikes the Badujak, which is still lying on the coals, so that the sparks are scattered about, he cries, "As many sparks, so many oxen, cows, horses, goats, sheep, swine, bee-hives: so much good fortune and happiness!" The housewife then envelopes the visitor in a coverlet of the bed; and the remains of the Badujak are carried into the orchard. They do not go to church, but every

one comes to the repast with a lighted wax taper. Holding the tapers in their hands, they pray, and kiss one another, repeating the words "God's peace! Christ is in truth born! We adore Him!" To indicate a close union of every member of the house, the head of the family collects the yet burning tapers, and fastening them together, places them in a dish, filled with the Tshesznitza and all sorts of grain, and thus extinguishes them. The Tshesznitza is an unleavened roll of the usual form, with a piece of money kneaded into it; and when it is broken, he who finds the money in his piece of bread, is expected to have, above all the others, a fortunate year. The table is not cleared, nor the room swept, during three days; open house is kept for every comer until New Year's Day; the salutation continuing, "Christ is born!" and the reply, "In truth He is born!"

Thus do the Servians celebrate Christmas. We leave undiscussed the question, whether the Badujak smouldering away by degrees were not originally a type of the fire of St. John on the mountains. Both of them are symbolical of the course of the year, and of the sun; who, as one of their songs says, does not keep her* word, for she does not shine in winter as long as in summer. Nor shall we inquire whether the grain — with which the master of the house is greeted, in which he extinguishes the tapers, and with which the

* The Sun is feminine in Servia. — TRANSL.

visitor announces his glad tidings — typifies all the good gifts bestowed upon man by Divine Providence. But it is remarkable in each case, how man here brings the most important event by which religion represents to him the relation of God to the world, in connexion with his own insignificant necessities, — his mere earthly wishes; and this too, without detracting from the dignity of the festival. This rite appears with a certain simplicity and grandeur, in the midst of his circumscribed existence; and if it excite any desires, still it disposes the mind to the hospitable reception of strangers. The divine Nativity unites the respective members of the family in unanimous worship and prayerful harmony.

But, together with these preserving powers which they worship, the Servians acknowledge also the existence of destructive influences and hostile agencies.

It is indeed strange that unseen influences should be impersonated among so many nations, and ascribed to the restless spirits of the dead, or associated with the belief in apparitions and witches.

The belief in the existence of the Vampyre is common in Servia. There can be no doubt that it is connected with the idea generally held in the Greek Church, that the bodies of those who have died whilst under excommunication by the Church, are incorruptible, and that such bodies being taken possession of by evil spirits, appear in lonely places, and murder men. In Servia, however, the people

no longer connected it with the tenets of the Church; nor did they consider that the vampyre underwent punishment for a guilty life, as a poet has wrought out the idea; they thought only of the danger which it threatened to the living. They believed, that at night the vampyre left his grave, made his way into the houses of the living, and there sucked the blood of the sleepers, as his food. Speedy death was the inevitable consequence of such a visitation, and any one who so died became himself a vampyre. Whole villages are said to have been thus destroyed; and some communities threatened to leave their dwellings, unless they had permission to ensure their safety in their own manner. With this view, they did not, like the Greeks, resort to absolution; but the elders of the villages caused the graves to be opened, and then piercing with a stake of white-thorn the heart which still required blood, they burnt the body to ashes, which they threw into the river.*

In the simple course of a life closely allied to a

* Curieuse und sehr wunderbare Relation von denen sich neuer Dingen in Servien erzeigenden Blut-Saugern oder Vampyrs, 1732. A small publication, which is founded on two official reports of the years 1725 and 1732, forwarded to Belgrade at the time of the Austrian rule in Servia. The last, addressed to Prince Charles Alexander of Wurtemberg, at that time governor of Belgrade, is a very circumstantial account, and certified by the signature of a colonel, an ensign, and three surgeons in the army. As the Prince was staying at Stuttgart, it became known in Germany, and the people were already afraid that the vampyres might spread there and visit them also.

state of uncultivated nature, nothing more earnestly engages attention than sudden deaths rapidly succeeding one another; and fancy busies itself in accounting for them by ascribing them to influences from beyond the grave.

Of the witches (*wjeshtizes*) the Servians believe that they quit their bodies, and, like other spirits, fly about in fire. Unseen, they approach the sleeper whom they have destined to death — open with a magic rod the left side of his breast, and, whilst pronouncing over him an appointed day of death, extract his heart, and devour it. The breast is then closed, and the doomed one will continue to live only till the day appointed by the witch who devoured his heart; but in the mean time the spring of his life is irrecoverably dried up.

The plague, too, is considered by the Servians, as it is also by the Lithuanians and modern Greeks, to be a personal being. Female forms with white veils are supposed to carry the disease from place to place, and from house to house; and many persons sick of the plague will protest most solemnly that they have seen them, to their sorrow — ay, have even conversed with them! These female forms are personifications of the plague. Their appearance, however, is not ascribed to their own evil will, to chance, or to any other malevolent influence: it is believed that God himself, when wickedness has become too great to be longer permitted, sends them from a distant land.

But the marvellous is called into aid in quite a

different direction when the course of nature is at all interrupted by any thing extraordinary; even by genius or by energy. The most peculiar images of Servian fantasy are, however, the *Wilis*. Swift and beautiful, their hair waving in the wind, these beings are asserted to have been seen by man. Their dwellings are in the dark forests and near the rivers. It is not quite certain whether they are regarded as immortal, or whether the possibility of their being subject to death is admitted; but they are accounted more powerful than men, and are supposed to possess a knowledge of the future.* There are persons who can converse with them: such are marked out from their birth; and their knowledge is greater than that of others. They who have passed through the twelve classes are initiated by them on *Wrsino Kolo;* after which, they can direct the clouds and rule the weather. The hero of the nation also, we find joined in brotherhood with the *Wilis*. Others, however — common men — must shun them. Should any one happen to approach the spot where, invisibly, the *Wilis* dance the *Kolo*, or take their repast, he has to dread their anger. Even of the pupils whom they initiate, the

* In the season of 1844–5, a beautiful *ballet*, founded upon the love-dance of the Wilis, and entitled *La Giselle*, was produced at her Majesty's Theatre with extraordinary success; and in 1846, an opera upon the same subject, under the title of the *Night Dancers*, the *libretto* of which was written by Mr. George Soane, and the music composed by Loder, proved attractive at the Princess's Theatre. — TRANSL.

twelfth is always forfeited to them, and they at once retain him. Superstitious delusions! but at the same time blended with the feelings of nature and thoughtful poetry.

Already we enter upon the domain of Servian poesy, which is connected with and expresses these sentiments. Like them, it is altogether national, and intuitive; an unconscious result of the ordinary dispositions and direction of the popular mind. Even of the most recent songs, no one is able to name the writers: people even hesitate to acknowledge their authorship; and indeed it is little inquired after. As their lyrical effusions are subjected to constant changes, and the very song which is disliked when given by an inferior singer, excites enthusiasm when sung by a more successful performer — by one possessing more of the national sentiment and spirit — the authorship is considered as of little importance.*

It has been observed that there are, in Servian Hungary, schools in which the blind learn these national songs: but that is not the true method. In the mountains of Servia and Herzegowina,

* If in some parts of Homer we observe a poetical vein less rich than in others, we may conclude, from the experience which has been acquired in collecting the Servian songs, that at the moment of transition from oral delivery into writing, that such *good rhapsodists* could not be found for some as for others. We must not suppose the singer to be a mere declaimer: he is obliged by his own poetical talent to reproduce the poem which was handed down to him.

there is no occasion to learn them: they are familiar to all, even from their infancy.

In the mountains, the *gusle*, the instrument on which the song is accompanied, is to be met with in almost every house. When, in the winter evenings, all are assembled around the fire and the women are engaged with their spinning, a song is struck up by whomsoever happens to know it best. The old men, having grown-up sons, and being excused from hard labour, recite these songs to their grandchildren, who yield themselves with delight to the impressions through which they receive their first knowledge of the world. Even the Igumens of the cloister do not deem it derogatory to sing to the gusle. But the performance has more of the character of recitation than of singing: the monotonous sound of the instrument, which has but one string, falls in only at the end of the verse.

In the mountains — where men are of simpler habits, loftier in stature, and of ruder nature — we hear heroic songs, invariably of five trochees, with the fixed pause after the second foot; and almost every line is in itself a complete sentence. The lower we come down towards the Danube and the Save, and the closer together we find the villages — the race of men is more polished, more friendly, and also smaller in stature; and the gusle becomes less common; and — especially as an accompaniment for dancing — the lovesong prevails: it is more flexible and flowing than other

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there is no occasion to learn them: they are familiar to all, even from their infancy.

In the mountains, the *gusle*, the instrument on which the song is accompanied, is to be met with in almost every house. When, in the winter evenings, all are assembled around the fire and the women are engaged with their spinning, a song is struck up by whomsoever happens to know it best. The old men, having grown-up sons, and being excused from hard labour, recite these songs to their grandchildren, who yield themselves with delight to the impressions through which they receive their first knowledge of the world. Even the Igumens of the cloister do not deem it derogatory to sing to the gusle. But the performance has more of the character of recitation than of singing: the monotonous sound of the instrument, which has but one string, falls in only at the end of the verse.

In the mountains — where men are of simpler habits, loftier in stature, and of ruder nature — we hear heroic songs, invariably of five trochees, with the fixed pause after the second foot; and almost every line is in itself a complete sentence. The lower we come down towards the Danube and the Save, and the closer together we find the villages — the race of men is more polished, more friendly, and also smaller in stature; and the gusle becomes less common; and — especially as an accompaniment for dancing — the lovesong prevails: it is more flexible and flowing than other

songs since it adds the dactyl, in varied modes, to the trochee; but it is in its kind equally national.

In the more numerous assemblies, the heroic song prevails; and at taverns, where card-playing is yet unknown, it constitutes the principal entertainment: the singer is he who has first taken the gusle into his hand, and who is best able to accompany it with his voice. At the festivals and assemblies near the cloisters, parties stand forward who have devoted themselves exclusively to singing — including the blind; who, however — especially in Servia — are oftener singers than composers of songs. Men of real poetic talent, like Philip Wishnitsch from Bosnia, are occasionally met with, who collect a circle around them, and often move their audience to tears.

Nor have those Servians who have gone over to Islamism been able to subdue their affection for poesy. Christians and Mahometans frequently have the same heroic song; the only difference being that each claims the victory for the adherents to its own faith. The Chiefs, though they would not take part in the song, listen to it with delight; and in Sarajewo, they once induced the Kadi to liberate a Christian prisoner, merely because his songs pleased them. The difference of religion is overcome by poesy: it unites the whole race — it lives throughout the nation. The mountains, where the herdsman tends the cattle; the plains, on which the harvest is reaped; the forest, through which the traveller makes his way — all resound with

song: it forms an accompaniment to business of all sorts. What, then, are the subjects of these strains, which under circumstances so infinitely varied, are thus interwoven with life, while they are almost unconsciously raised above it?

What man strongly feels, he naturally seeks to express. Here, where no external model presents itself, the inward spiritual existence, from which all our thoughts and actions proceed, is manifested, by words, according to its own peculiar originality. In the light of innate thought, which is the spirit of life, poetry conceives its ideas, and reproduces them true to nature, but in purer and more abstract forms; at once individual and symbolical.

Servian song discloses the domestic life of the people: it pays due honour to the husbandman "who has black hands, but eats white bread;" it loves to dwell with fondness on the old man with venerable flowing beard, whose soul, when he leaves the earthly temple of his God, has become pure as ether, or the breath of a flower; but it most luxuriates in those affections which exalt the worth of a family and maintain it in integrity and honour.

The singer delights to speak of the maiden in the first bloom of youth, gaily participating in every gentle sport; he sympathises with her growing affection when she first becomes aware of its existence, and confides it only to the garland that she throws into the brook; tracing its progress to

the time when she confesses to the youth that gazing upon him she had grown up graceful in his sight; and on to the blissful period of their union, which he pictures in strains of surpassing sweetness. Charming pictures, sweetly limned, on the light back-ground of a landscape.

It is just where life assumes its rugged aspect, that poesy, with gentle solicitude, unveils the hidden feelings that we hardly venture to acknowledge to ourselves. — Yet it does not conceal from us how differently things will afterwards present themselves: how the housewife now gives the nosegay — which, in former times, she would have placed in the evening in water, that it might unfold its beauty — to the child, who throws it amongst the sweepings; how bad the mothers-in-law are; and that the disputes of sisters-in-law are so incessant that the swallow congratulates the cuckoo on not being obliged to hear them!

An universal feature of Servian poetry is the comparison of the various affections. The lover is, perhaps, preferred to the brother, but the brother to the husband: the wife's jealousy of the sister may be seen increasing, even to abhorrence and murder. The holiness of the alliance of brotherhood is forcibly portrayed. — Woe to the man who should endeavour to seduce his bond-sister, or violate the sacred relationship of godfather with an impure purpose! — All the leading occurrences of life are brought before us: the wedding procession

and the nuptial present; the village festival, where the men sit carousing, while the boys are casting stones from their slings, and the girls dance the kolo. They attribute, in like manner, their domestic relations to the Holy Family.

When the poem is devoted to the celebration of heroic exploits, the heroism is no other than that of robbers; for with no other are they acquainted. Robbery is justified by them, on the ground that it is directed against the Turks; who are not only infidels, but also untrustworthy and full of deceit, and who have gained their possessions by unfair means. "By robbery," say they, "their property was accumulated: by robbery it is torn from them." On the frontiers, the bandit lives like the falcon that darts down to seize its prey. They call to mind the thousand dangers which surround him; the rock behind which he plants himself in ambush, the hiding-place where he remains until almost dying with hunger; and then his victorious attack. They describe him in the act of seizing his rifle — a weapon of as much importance to the Servian poet as was the bow to the minstrel of ancient times; and picture him as he sinks upon his right knee, resting the weapon upon the left, and aiming with a steady eye: even the wound is brought before us with relentless anatomical accuracy. These songs are replete with a rude intelligence; and they treat of various subjects. Where the passion of love is portrayed, deep tenderness

for the true and constant is expressed; and on the faithless is invoked vehement malediction, inexhaustible in its imprecations. In hatred as in love, impetuosity is associated with mildness. Frequently a touching sensibility is shown for the conquered party: the victor attends his prisoner, leads him out that he may warm himself in the sun, and at length gives him his liberty, with God alone as guarantee for his ransom. The young wife whom he leads to his home, does not alight from her horse until the keys of the dungeon are delivered up to her, that she may set the prisoners free. In some songs feelings of the most opposite kind are exhibited in an antithesis of sentiment: two bond-brothers perhaps will at the same moment plunge their daggers into the bosom of a Turkish woman whom they both love, that they may not quarrel on her account; an aged father, when the head of the man who has murdered his son is brought to him, exclaims, "Blessed am I to-day and for ever!" and expires in peace. Such is man, in this stage of cultivation — such is the man of this race. As is the hero, so is the bard: poesy like a kindred element surrounding our life, reflects to us its phenomena: not perhaps all and each, but those which are most important from their peculiarities — and least liable to be obscured by insignificant details.

It is worthy of consideration that the history of the nation, developed by its poetry, has through it

been converted into a national property, and is thus preserved in the memory of the people. Ancient times have been almost forgotten, and recollection clings to the latest splendour of the nation, and to its downfall: which we, indeed, have chiefly noticed. These are portrayed in some extensive collections of songs.

In the commencement, Stephen Dushan presents himself to our notice — just as history represents him, surrounded by great families whom he has to treat with the utmost caution. They at once stand forth in that character which the progress of the song demands: the *Jugowitsches*, proud and violent; the *Merljawtschewitsches*, allied with demons and with the Wilis; and whom we find, immediately after Dushan's death, possessing themselves of the highest authority. According to the testimony of history, this is to be ascribed to the incapacity of the weak Urosh; whom the song represents as a child of forty days' old at the murder of his father: an act of violence that did not, however, gratify all the members of that race. From the Merljawtschewitsches was descended the hero of the nation, Marko Kraljewitsch, who feared no one but the true God. He declared that the kingdom should be given up by his father and his uncles, and restored to him to whom it belonged. Could a hero be introduced under more favourable circumstances? For this act he is promised malediction and bliss, both of which he experiences; and by these very means

the ultimate result is foreshadowed in perspective.*

One thing denounced against him is, that he would be forced to serve the Turks: a second cycle of songs — the *Lasaritza* — describes in what manner the country falls into their hands. The poem, no less than the history, speaks of the internal discord and treason in which this great calamity originated. At the same time, however, a painful feeling that such a result is inevitable pervades the poem. The most blameless, the handsomest, the noblest of the heroes of Lasar, Milosch, announces the event; the intelligence is conveyed to the King by heavenly messengers, and he absolves his people before the battle. Nevertheless, the valour of the combatants is greatly extolled. A curse is pronounced against the traitor; and the death of the fallen is pathetically celebrated.†

Marko was not in the battle; but the cause of his absence remains concealed from us. A third

* To this first cycle would belong the songs which Wuk, Vol. II., gives under No. 5, 6. 8—10.

† No. 17—21. 23, 24. Milosch always remained very celebrated. Ducas mentions him as renowned in history. Among the Bulgarians, Gerlach in 1578 found him still fresh in remembrance. When Curipeschiz in 1530 travelled across the Amselfeld he heard so much of him that he makes him the subject of a narrative, fictitious, but full of details (Itinerarium Wegrayss, &c., 1531, Sheet E.), in which we think we can perceive the most ancient trace of Servian poetry extant. The traditions recorded by the Presbyter Diocleas most likely belong to an earlier epoch.

collection of these songs is devoted to him. He is described, not as a man like the other heroes, but as a supernatural being. He lives *a hundred and sixty years;* and during the whole of that period rides the same horse, which he causes to drink wine out of the vessel that he himself uses; on it he sits, a dragon mounted upon a dragon. No sword or club can kill him. The Wili, who mortally wounds his companion, he pursues on horseback into the air, to the height of many lances; he reaches her with his club; and he does not suffer her to depart until she has implored of him to enter into a brotherly alliance with her, has pledged herself to afford him assistance in every need, and has cured the wound of his friend.

After tradition has so marvellously equipped this hero, what does she make him achieve? He serves the Turks. He is invited, we are told, by the other neighbouring kings to a church festival, at the very time when the Sultan demands his military service; but, mindful of his vassalage, he joins the war. However, he does not suffer himself to be unjustly treated, as others have been: he kills the vizier, who has broken his falcon's wing, and also the vizier's twelve attendants; he avenges himself on the murderer of his father; and then, with his skin-garment the wrong side outwards, and club in hand, he, in great wrath, enters the Sultan's tent. The Sultan alarmed steps back, and endeavours, by words and presents, to pacify him. Marko, how-

ever, still continues to serve the Turks; as we are told in the narrative of various other adventures. Now he fights with a Moor, who has forced the Sultan to give him his daughter and pay him tribute; and then he engages in combat, which no one else dares, with an Albanian, who, assisted by evil genii, has, from a fortress, stopped the navigation of the river, the pilgrimages to shrines, and the transport of tribute. He then follows the Turkish army, even into Arabia.

It appears as though the nation had intended to represent in this hero its own vassalage, at the period when, after the battle of Kossowo, the Servian army assisted almost every year in the wars of Bajazet; yet maintaining its independent character, and still appearing formidable in its force even to the Sultan himself. At this time the nation was possessed of vast strength, and unbroken courage, and yet — it served the Turks. This the Servian poets have represented in their hero, whom they portray with all the characteristics of the national sentiments — even with the barbarism of a blood-thirsty cruelty mingled with the love of gain — concentrating in him the glories of their more ancient heroes. The event which led to their subjugation, they could represent with a closer adherence to historical fact; but the state of vassalage which endured for ages afterwards can only be shown mythically. One of their poems describes how the invulnerable one was at length destroyed

by God, "the ancient slayer:" a poetic fancy full of simplicity and a sublime feeling of loneliness; others express a hope that he is still alive. When Marko for the first time saw a gun, and witnessed the certainty of its deadly effect, he retreated into a cavern of the forest mountain. There hangs his sword, his horse is eating the moss, and the hero himself has fallen asleep; but when the sword falls to the ground, and there is no moss left for the horse, Marko will awake and again come forth.

These legends do not all reach us in unbroken succession, but in separate songs, each of which has its own particular subject. They have never been thoroughly wrought out and united by the congenial spirit of an individual poet; but one tone, one sense, one view of the world, at the same time poetical and popular, pervades them all. The lofty unity of the general fable cannot be mistaken: it embodies for the Servian nation, in a lively and striking tradition, the recollection of its greatness, and the loss of its independence.

Many an event of more recent occurrence has likewise been recorded in similar strains. A remembrance of the deeds of *Hunyad*, whom the Servians claim as their countryman, has been kept alive in songs abounding with ingenious allegory. Nor have the first robbers been forgotten. Some songs have been devoted to the Uskoks, but only when they fought against the Turks: their exploits on the ocean have been allowed to pass unnoticed.

Until the victories of the people of Montenegro, in short, Servian poetry has kept pace with history.*

Although there was peace in the country, we still observe the spirit of the nation unceasingly animated by anticipations of war against those who governed them. At length the time arrived when this warlike spirit was called into active exercise for self-defence; in consequence of events brought about by an entirely different state of affairs: principally amongst the Ottomans, whose internal relations were altered, as well as their position with regard to the rest of the world.

* For the English reader, the best view to be obtained of the structure of "*Servian Popular Poetry*," will be found in Dr. Bowring's *Introduction* to his *Translations*, published in 1827.

"Independently," says this writer, "of the measure of ten syllables, universally used in the ballads of the Servians, they have verses of seven syllables, consisting of two trochaics and one dactyl:

'Wĭlt thoŭ lōve thў Mĭlĭtză ?'

of eight syllables, consisting of four trochaics; as,

'Hāstĕn ōnwărd tō thĕ wēddĭng.'

and of one trochaic between two dactyls:

'Mērrĭlў, dāncĭng, mērrĭlў.'

of ten syllables, two trochaics and two dactyls:

'Mōrăvă's bānks ăre trōd bў thĕ māidĕn.'

of twelve syllables, composed of two trochaics and one iambic:

'Gō thĕn, Kūm, thŏu lōv'd ŏne, wāits shĕ fŏr thēe.'

and of thirteen syllables, namely, four trochaics, a dactyl, and a closing trochaic:

'Lōok ăroūnd, thŏu lōvelў Crētă, smĭlĭnglў lŏok rōund.'"

Dr. Bowring, in speaking of the language of Servia (which is in fact the Russian hellenized, deprived of its harshness and its consonant terminations, and softened down into a perfect instrument for poetry and music), quotes the following passage, descriptive of the different Slavonic tongues, from Schaffarik's *Slawische Sprache und Literatur.*

" Servian song resembles the tune of the violin; old Slavonian, that of the organ; Polish, that of the guitar. The old Slavonian in its psalms sounds like the loud rush of the mountain stream; the Polish, like the bubbling and sparkling of a fountain; and the Servian, like the quiet murmuring of a streamlet in the valley."

CHAP. V.

ORIGIN OF THE RECENT MOVEMENTS IN TURKEY.

Internal Relations of Turkey and its Dependencies. — War of 1788. — *The Emperor Joseph of Austria and the Servians. — Prussian Policy. — Restoration of the Turkish Power in Servia. — Weakness and Hesitation of the Ottoman Government. — Reforms of Sultan Selim III. — French Officers in the Pay of the Turks. — Military Improvements. — Introduction of European Tactics. — The Janissaries. — Effects of the Changes adopted.*

How often has the breaking up of the Ottoman Empire into various independent Pachalics been predicted! How often has this event been thought near at hand! In fact, powerful Pachas, as those of Bagdad, Acre, Widdin, and Janina, have at times refused to send their tribute, and have even risen in actual rebellion. Many provinces—Egypt, for instance, and Bosnia—have succeeded in maintaining themselves, for lengthened periods, to a certain degree independent. The example of the Barbary States was naturally followed by others, though, it is true, at some distance, and under somewhat different circumstances.

But, ultimately, it has been always found that the Sultan possessed the means of crushing these insurrections and preserving the integrity of his Empire.

The ancient authority of a dynasty, which, during so many centuries, no other dynasty has been able successfully to oppose—the union of religious and secular power in one hand, which would not suffer a spirit of resistance to gain ground in the minds of the people—the connexion of the military institutions from one extremity of the Empire to the other—the regulation of judicial and spiritual offices adapted to the character and usages of the people—the establishment of the influence of some great Ulema families which had become almost hereditary, all these points converging to one common centre, made it very difficult to tear asunder the ties which bound one province to another, and united the whole under one central power; if a thorough change in the Turkish Empire were probable, it was to be sought for in another direction.

By the example of Servia may be seen what opposing tendencies it comprised within itself: nations, with an inextinguishable consciousness of their own position, a peculiar firmness of character, and a lively recollection of their former grandeur, found themselves by the ruling principle of the state excluded from all power, and condemned to servitude; while, on the other hand, the prevailing religion gave its professors a right to govern, filled them with overbearing pride, and excited them to oppression.

Well might the subjugated Raja despair of emancipating themselves by their own efforts: for

this they were far too weak, too much divided amongst themselves, and too carefully watched in every place by their enemies, who were at the same time their masters.

But how different would it have been had the Christian powers, who were emulating each other in the development of their strength, and had gradually raised themselves to an unquestionable superiority over the Turkish State, determined to lend their assistance to the Christians who were under the yoke of the Ottomans!

From the apprehension of such a step, the rise of the Russian Empire caused much alarm to the Turkish government. The mere existence of a Power professing the creed of the Greek Church, before whose rising splendour the Crescent grew pale, rendered the obedience of the Raja doubtful.

When, in the year 1770, the first Russian fleet appeared in the Ægean Sea, the Greeks rose, with a resolution only too daring and premature, in the islands and on the mainland. The name of Athens, then remembered only by antiquaries, again became of importance in the politics of the day.

Still more extensive and more promising, at least for the inland Christians of the Slavonian tribes, were the prospects presented by the war which broke out in 1788.

Austria, which had taken the Servian Patriarchate under its protection, and in the reign of the tolerant Joseph abstained from oppressing the

adherents of the Greek Church, united with Russia for an attack on the Porte. The object of this was, to destroy the dominion of the Turks in Europe; in order, as the Emperor Joseph said, "to revenge mankind on those barbarians." This intention was not concealed, but, on the contrary, was more vigorously displayed in each succeeding campaign.

Nor did the Greeks now remain inactive: a fleet, manned and armed principally by them, appeared at sea, under the command of Lampros Cazonis; and there were evident movements in Albania and Macedonia. The Servians, however, took the most decided part in this demonstration.

The Emperor Joseph conceived the judicious idea of forming a volunteer corps of such Servians as would join him; and, the scheme having been adopted, a considerable body of horse and foot soldiers was speedily raised. This force rendered excellent service at the siege of Belgrade in 1789; and, more particularly, after the town had been captured, and the troops had begun to take possession of the country. Colonel Mihaljewitsch, who commanded this volunteer corps of Servian emigrants, took up his position near Jagodina and Kjupria. He forced his way to Karanowaz, over roads which an army had never before passed, nor artillery traversed, and seized it from the Turks. In January, 1790, he appeared before Kruschewaz; and having placed his men in battle array, amidst the sound of Turkish and Austrian instruments, he

carried the town. The old churches, which bore witness to the glory of the Knes Lasar, (who had here his principal seat,) but had since been converted by the Turks into stables for their horses, were cleaned out and re-consecrated, and again resounded with Christian hymns of thanksgiving.*

The Imperialists boast in their despatches, not without reason, that they had conquered a large portion of the old kingdom of Servia. The inhabitants took it for granted, that they should now remain subjects of the Emperor of Germany. They had everywhere joined him with devotion; in most districts had rendered him homage; and in several instances had undertaken to defend, conjointly with the Imperial troops, the conquered places against their now common enemy.

But again their hopes were doomed to disappointment.

So soon as it appeared that the designs of the Imperial Courts were likely to be carried into effect, apprehensions arose amongst the other European powers, at seeing the general equilibrium likely to be disturbed by so extensive an increase of territorial possession. The old jealousy that ever opposes the winner, raised itself in favour of the Turks; and it soon became evident that their fall was not to be permitted.

It became doubtful whether their former bound-

* Ausführliche Geschichte des Krieges zwischen Russland, Œstreich und der Turkei. Wien, 1791–2, vol v. pp. 30. 61.

aries should be restored to them. Of the European Powers, there was at least one — Prussia — who was not decided on the point, although strenuously opposed to an exclusive extension of the territory of Austria. It was in accordance with the then policy of Prussia — which, under the ministry of Herzberg, still adhered to the views of Frederick II. — to allow Austria, in return for some concessions in favour of Prussia on the Polish frontier, and other changes of territory connected with it, to extend her power on the Danube, and to recover Moldavia and Wallachia; or, should that be impossible, at least those Servian districts which she had possessed after the peace of Passarowitz.*

But Prussia did not find herself supported in these views by her own allies, Holland and England. For some time the question respecting the restoration of the strict *status quo*, or the propriety of some exchanges, occupied the cabinets of these countries. When, however, the danger which threatened from France the whole constitution of the European powers became momentarily more pressing, it was finally resolved, that above all things peace should first be obtained, all idea of change renounced, and the whole of Servia restored to the Turks.

Exclusively occupied with discussions respecting

* Consult "Précis de la carrière diplomatique du Comte de Herzberg. Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft von Ad. Schmidt, I. p. 28.

the balance of power, statesmen bestowed no thought upon the interests of the Christian population; who had shown themselves so deserving of general sympathy. It was deemed sufficient to secure an amnesty for all who had, in any of the Turkish provinces, deserted the Sultan and gone over to the Emperor, and to allow them to return in safety to their estates.* Thus Servia, with all its fortresses, was given back to the Sultan.

No one, however, will suppose that, by these means, affairs were placed upon their former footing.

The Turkish commissioners who took possession of the Country expressed their astonishment, mingled with apprehension of what might be the results, when they beheld a Servian troop, fully armed, march out from a fortress which was to be delivered up to them, and perform with precision all the military evolutions of the Imperial Army. "Neighbours!" cried one of them, "what have you made of our Raja?"

It has been affirmed that, to the last, the Servians indulged in the expectation of rising up in arms under a certain officer of the Free Corps, whom they wished to elevate to the dignity of a Prince over them; and that a young Servian lady, courted by the officer referred to, had in a jest been saluted as their Princess! The truth of this statement has

* Traité fait à Sistowa, 4 Août, 1791: Martens, V. 244.

not been ascertained; but, at all events, it is evident that the spirit of national independence when once roused could not easily be suppressed. They who had borne victorious arms against the Turks, cherished a feeling of their own dignity by such recollections.

Since Russia, on her side, had, in the peace of Jassy, imparted fresh force to the stipulations which had previously been agreed upon in favour of the Christian inhabitants of Moldavia and Wallachia, and in the islands of the Archipelago, it will be seen how greatly the elements of resistance and independence amongst the Christian nations in European Turkey, had increased in consequence of this war.

But it had also another effect, of a very different, and one might almost say, of an opposite character.

For some time the Turkish government had been fully sensible of the superiority of its neighbours, and of its own inability in its actual state to resist them. It almost despaired of being able to remedy the evil. "The Empire is overthrown!" exclaimed the Sultan, Mustapha III.: "do not imagine that it can be restored by us." Prepared for the worst, a Vizier of Abdulhamid observed, "In Asia, too, there are shady valleys, where kiosks may be built."

The people of Constantinople, however, did not so easily relinquish their wonted confidence. They imputed the disasters they had sustained to the personal incompetence of their leaders, and, with

sanguine expectation, they turned their eyes to Selim, the heir to the throne, to whom they ascribed all the virtues extolled by the Koran.* In the places of public resort it was commonly said, that it was he who should restore the empire to its ancient splendour.

Selim, indeed, when he ascended the throne, strongly entertained the same notions. The superiority of his Christian neighbours, which, in that year (1789) was proved very decidedly, induced him, more urgently than ever, to make an attempt towards attaining this object. But Selim set about the matter in a manner very different from that which the people had expected. Their hope was to see him, like a Sultan of old, take the field at the head of the Janissaries and Spahis, and overthrow his enemies; in accordance with their holy books and the spirit of the faithful Mussulmans.

Selim, on the contrary, who perceived that the cause of his country's disasters lay in the superiority of the military resources of his enemies, and their experience in the art of war, resolved, in the first instance, to assimilate the Turkish troops with theirs; in order that, at some future time, he might be enabled to lead them with greater confidence into the field.

That this should be the result, had long been

* "Che sia valoroso, attaccatissimo alla sua religione, intraprendente et avido di gloria militare." Zulian, Relatione di Constantinopoli, 1789.

the opinion of such of the European States as hoped to find in the Sultan, if he could only in some measure be rendered capable of resistance, a useful Ally against the power of Austria; and particularly against that of Russia. In France, especially, this idea was entertained.

It is unnecessary to speak here of the attempts of Bonneval or of Tott, who came to Constantinople in the suite of the French ambassador; it is of more importance to observe, that, in the year 1785, a considerable number of French officers were found in that capital, still remaining in the pay of their own Court, and zealously engaged in the introduction of military reforms.*

They cast cannon for the Turks, and taught them to point and fire; small fortifications were thrown up to exercise them in the art of attack and defence; new ships were built after French models, retaining, however, whatever was advantageous in the Turkish mode of construction. It is yet remembered with what zeal the Capitan Pacha, Gazi Hassan — at that time probably the most famous man in the Levant — exerted himself

* Relatione di Constantinopoli del bailo Agostino Garzoni contenuta in due dispacci del medisimo del 10 Nov. 1785. La Francia, che sempre ha preso cura per la sussistenza di questo impero, si avvidde che tolto il principal baloardo della Crimea dovevasi riconoscer come vacillante il suo destino. Allarmatasi percio spedì a questa corte un copioso numero di officiali tutti pagati dalla corte stessa d'ogni genere e professione per introdur ordine disciplina e scienza tra li Turchi per renderli atti ad resistere alli attaci delli loro nemici.

to improve the Turkish navy. As even at that period it was the great aim of the French to restrict the power of the Russians to the Black Sea, they erected, for the Turks, fortresses on both sides of the Channel, at Kila and at Riva*—the videttes, as they have been termed, of Constantinople—and at the entrance itself they raised a battery. Their intention was entirely to change the whole system of Turkish fortification.

To these attempts the Sultan Selim united his own improvements, as soon as peace had been concluded. For the navy he purchased model-ships from England; but his shipwrights were mostly French; and, in a short time, the road-steads of Sinope, Rhodes, and Constantinople were crowded with vessels.

The whole system of the artillery was remodelled: the dimensions of the French cannon were adopted, especially for field-pieces.

Another object was to prepare for the defence of the frontiers, by improving the fortresses,—for which purpose we find an English general employed at Ismael,—and especially by the formation of a corps of engineers. The Sultan frequently visited the College at Sulitze, which had been established for this purpose; he inspected the plans and instruments, and encouraged the pupils. Many excellent French books—a work by Vauban, for

* Garzoni: ne' siti ch'erano affatto esposti ed abandonati. Compare Andressy, Voyage à l'embouchure de la Mer-noire, 115, 319.

instance — were translated into the Turkish language, and printed; a French professor was appointed; and in the library might be found, among other French books, the Encyclopédie.*

Although all these proceedings were opposed to the inherent prejudices of Mussulmans, they allowed such things to pass as not directly injurious to the institutions upon which their state was founded. Public attention, however, was already more aroused, when the Sultan undertook to reform his artillery (*topdschi*), a body closely connected with the Janissaries; and it soon became apparent that his improvements would not stop there.

It is related that a Russian prisoner, who was a Turk by birth, having acquired a tolerable knowledge of the Russian service, had trained a troop of renegades on the European system, originally for the gratification of the Grand Vizier. Subsequently the Sultan himself attended at their parade, for the purpose of witnessing how the infidels were accustomed to fight; and on reviewing the troop, was highly prepossessed in favour of the system. †

Omer was the name of this Ottoman Lefort, who for some time commanded the band of the Tufenkdschi, which he had formed.

Omer Aga's success confirmed the Sultan in his

* Juchereau de S. Denys: Revolutions de Constantinople en 1807, et 1808, i. p. 78. Macfarlane states, that these reports have been confirmed to him.

† Survey of the Turkish Empire, 1798, p. 99. Compare Ohsson, VII. 371.

intention of introducing the European military exercise in the Turkish army; and, in the first instance, amongst the regular infantry, the Janissaries.

A Venetian narrative positively assures us, that in the year 1793 the subject was earnestly canvassed in the Divan.*

What would have been the consequence of the execution of this project is evident.

The Janissaries considered their posts as hereditary; they appeared in the ranks only on the days of receiving their pay; in the towns which they garrisoned they at the same time exercised authority, and carried on trade. To lead these troops back to the purpose for which they were originally established, and to subject them to the restraint of European discipline, was an undertaking not only of infinite difficulty, but also of the greatest political importance.

In an empire whose entire position was founded on conquest and forcible occupation, and depended directly upon the superiority of the army, every military change must necessarily be at the same time a political one.

And the Janissaries certainly formed an important link in the chain of the old Ottoman system, both for war and peace.

Moreover, in all other departments extensive

* Niccolo Foscarini: Il divisamento pure di rendere addestrati i Gianizzeri negli escercizi militari occupava i pensieri del consiglio.

changes were proposed. The great fiefs which had become hereditary were to be abolished, and their revenues, as they fell in on the death of the then occupiers, were to flow into the royal treasury, and be expended in the payment of other troops. The Pacha was no longer to be the lord of his province; his appointment was to continue only three years, and was not to be renewed unless he had exerted himself to give satisfaction to the people over whom he ruled. Another scheme was suggested, which, had it been carried into effect, would have given altogether a different form to the whole of this system. Its object was to abolish all farming of the taxes, and to introduce an administration of the revenues of the state by officers of the government.

The power of the Vizier had already been restrained. The Divan now resembled in form an European Privy Council of state*: it consisted of twelve superior officers, whom the Grand Vizier was bound to consult on all important questions. One member of the Divan was especially appointed to collect certain indirect imposts, to be applied to the maintenance of the newly-raised troops; whose

* Foscarini: La prima ed essentiale (innovazione del Sultano Selim) fu quella di diminuire la somma autorità del visirato con l'instituzione del nuovo consiglio di stato, in seguito — aumentato dal numero degli individui che lo compongono e che lasciai in uno stato di somma attività, ed abbenchè possa dirsi che l'instituzione di esso consiglio abbia prodotto un esenziale cambiamento nella constituzione di quel governo, pareva a tutti probabile che sarebbe per continuarsi.

number was gradually increased by cavalry, and who formed altogether a considerable body.

It is unnecessary to speak further concerning the progress of these changes. In course of time, we may probably be enabled to obtain a knowledge of the work of Nuri, the historiographer of the Empire, during those years in which, according to all accounts, the new regulations (Nizami, Dschedid), were fully discussed. We shall then see the connexion of events more distinctly than it is at present possible to do, judging merely from the accounts of European travellers and ambassadors.

It will here suffice to remark, how powerfully the exclusively Ottoman part of the Turkish Empire, the ruling body of religious warriors, was excited from the very commencement of his reign, by the projects of Selim III., occasioned by the results of the last war.

The spirit of reform with which the eighteenth century was inspired, affected even Turkey.

In this respect, Selim III. may be compared with princes such as Gustavus III., Clement XIV., and Joseph II., or with statesmen like Pombal, Aranda, and Struensee: all more or less his contemporaries.

Having cited these names, it is needless to enlarge upon the dangers connected with undertakings of this nature, both to the Empire which they concern, and to the persons who venture to introduce them.

In Turkey, these dangers were of double force.

The general commotion of the higher classes must, in return, promote the desire for independence amongst the subdued nations. Difficulties of quite a new character could not but arise from these changes; and in fact, they did arise. The whole modern history of Turkey turns upon these difficulties; and to them, also, the movement in Servia must be attributed.

CHAP. VI.

ORIGIN OF THE DISTURBANCES IN SERVIA.

The Janissaries of Belgrade. — The Dahis. — Ebu-Bekir, Pacha of Belgrade -- Assassination of the Aga, Deli Achmet. — Rise of Osman Passwan Oglu. — The Krdschalies. — Alexa Nenadowitsch, Grand Knes of Servia. — Pacha Hadschi Mustafa. — Return of the Janissaries to Belgrade. — Murder of the Knes, Ranko. — Death of the Pacha. — The Dahis. — Tyranny of the Janissaries. — Unsuccessful Revolt. — Address of the Servian Kneses to the Grand Signior. — Threats of the Sultan against the Dahis. — Horrible Slaughter of the Servians by the Dahis.

Of all the Janissaries of the Empire, none were more opposed to the Sultan than those at Belgrade.

Besides manifold other abuses which prevailed here as much as anywhere, the Janissaries had entered into a sort of conflict with the rest of the Turkish population, the Pachas, and the Spahis; and it appeared as though they would inevitably acquire, by violent means, a tyrannical dominion over the Country, to the exclusion of others of their countrymen. Already did their commanders designate themselves Dahis, after the example of the Deys of Barbary; who had in like manner, in a contest with the Pachas, been raised to power

from amongst the mutinous troops: such had also been the case more recently at Tripoli.*

By the side of the Agas of the Janissaries—such as Achmet, who, on account of his courage, was surnamed Deli-Achmet, and who commanded a force of 1000 men—a Pacha appeared insignificant; and it is known that the Emperor Joseph preferred entering into arrangements with the Agas rather than with the Pachas. Shortly before the commencement of the war, Mahomet Ali Seimowitsch and fourteen other Spahis were murdered by the Janissaries of Achmet, and no one had ventured to call him to account for the act; indeed, notwithstanding this, he made his appearance at Kjupria, in the Turkish army destined for the deliverance of Belgrade. Nevertheless, Belgrade was neither delivered by his assistance, nor defended by his comrades.

After it had been given back to the Turks, through the intervention of the European Powers, the Sultan determined, in this town at least, to rid himself of these troublesome claimants to a share in his power.

Ebu Bekir, the new Pacha appointed to Belgrade, was provided with a firman, which commanded the Janissaries to quit Belgrade, and the entire Pachalic. However, on the very first occasion that offered for enforcing it, they maintained their ground so deter-

* Wahl, Encyclopædia, I. xxiv. 351., observes that the word Dahi signified a *Superior* even at the time of the ancient republic of Mecca, and afterwards amongst the Ismaelites.

minedly, that this order could be executed only by stratagem and violence. Before Ebu Bekir could venture even to publish the firman, it was necessary for him to get rid of their most powerful Chief. When he arrived on the frontier of the Pachalic, at Nisch, the Spahis hastened to welcome him ; the other former proprietors of the country also appeared there, and Deli-Achmet amongst them. But the latter was surrounded by so numerous a suite, that they dared not at that time seize him: it was only as he was ascending the stairs to a second audience, with but few attendants, that they ventured to attack him; and even then only as base assassins: a servant of the Pacha's who lay concealed, shot him from behind. The firman was then immediately published and enforced.

The Spahis again enjoyed the benefit of their tithes, and of their Glawnitza; and the Servians who had emigrated now resumed their former property, and could more confidently reckon on the performance of the stipulations which had been made in their favour. The possessions of the Janissaries, on the other hand, were considered as forfeited to the crown; and they themselves sought refuge in the neighbouring districts.

It could not be otherwise: only by artifice and bloodshed could the proposed measures be carried out!

It excites less surprise, then, to find that the parties who had been thus chastised, resisted; and were supported by those who participated in their

claims. The revolt of Passwan Oglu, at Widdin, which occurred at that time, proved of especial advantage to the Janissaries: though it cannot be proved with certainty that his revolt originated with them.

It appears that Osman Passwan Oglu first distinguished himself at the head of a troop of volunteers, in the war of 1788; and he afterwards took forcible possession of his hereditary estates, from which his father had been expelled.

There were, besides, other warriors with whom he allied himself: bands of soldiers called Krdschalies, who, after the peace, had been dismissed from the service of the Porte, but had no wish on that account to relinquish the trade of war. In Macedonia and Bulgaria, they rendered the country unsafe; readily offering their services on every occasion when a pacha was engaged in dispute with the Grand Signior, or a province with its pacha; or, failing such occupation, they would plunder on their own account, and levy contributions. When they had destroyed Moscopolis (or Boscopolis), one of the principal towns of Macedonia, the other towns hastened to make terms with them by paying a sort of tribute. It was their pride to ride along on stately horses, with trappings of gold and silver, and bearing costly arms. In their train were female slaves, Gjuwendi, in male attire, who not only served to amuse them in their hours of ease, with singing and dancing, but also followed them to battle, for the purpose of holding their horses

when they fought on foot. As these troops had never any religious worship, they received all comers, whether Christians or Mahometans. Like other soldiers, they were under the regular command of their bimbaschas, leaders of a thousand, and buljukbaschas, officers of inferior rank. To any one who aimed at establishing his power by force of arms they were welcome; and he to them.

Passwan Oglu was in strict alliance with them. He addressed them thus: "*The booty be yours, and mine the glory!*" After having for some time suffered a Pacha to be associated with him in the province, he at length expelled his superior, and demanded the three horse-tails for himself. He maintained 10,000 of the Krdschalies with him in Widdin.

At the same time it must be allowed, that, in demanding the restoration of his hereditary fiefs, he had stood forward as the opponent of all innovations. He received the Janissaries, who were driven out of Servia; had his name entered in their lists; and made their cause his own.

Perhaps his motive for this conduct might be traced to the fact, that the commander of the Janissaries at Widdin held the highest rank amongst all their Serhad-Agas; in remembrance of Turnadschi-Baschi; whom, in former times, Bajazet I. had installed there with the 68th Orta of the Dschemaat. This name was thenceforth retained as an hereditary title.*

* Ohsson, VII. p. 310.

Moreover, a good opportunity was offered to an ambitious leader, by the spirit of opposition to the new regulations, which were soon regarded, by the Turkish population, as contrary to religion: thus it became necessary to prove, by a legal document, that the use of bayonets and light artillery was not contrary to the Koran.

Olivier, who then lived at Constantinople, assures us that the Janissaries of that city had formally refused to take the field against Passwan.*

And it was in vain that the Porte, in 1798, sent another army, composed of European and Asiatic troops, against him. He is reported to have said that, he might have raised 100,000 men, but preferred to conquer them with 10,000. And the smaller number was undoubtedly to his advantage. Amongst the Pachas advancing against him, there was little concord; and he could avail himself of a favourable moment with unimpaired power. On one occasion, when a long continued fall of rain had reduced his opponents, who were encamped under temporary barracks and tents, to a very distressed state, the Krdschalies, who had remained fresh and vigorous in a well-provided town, sallied out and put the enfeebled enemy to flight. From that time Passwan Oglu was exceedingly dreaded by his neighbours far and near.

At different times he was master of Czernetz,

* Voyage dans l'empire Othoman. Les soldats disaient hautement, qu'ils ne feraient jamais la guerre à un Musulman qui n'avait selon eux d'autres torts que celui de vouloir empêcher que l'on ne portât atteinte à leurs droits.

Nicopel, and Krajowa; and, when now and then he lost either of those places, it was only through the greatest efforts of the Turks and Wallachians. Many people fled from the Lesser Wallachia to Transylvania: others, suspected of being in alliance with him, were punished for the crime.* In Bulgaria, every thing got into confusion, and general animosity was excited. At length the Porte resolved to make peace, and actually sent Passwan the three horse-tails! With these occurrences, the fate of Servia was in many ways connected.

Ebu Bekir, and his successor Hadschi Mustafa, who kept the Janissaries at a distance, administered the affairs of the country in a manner directly opposed to their system of violence. The Raja dwelt in peace; happy at length to be ruled by mild and equitable laws. The country flourished, and became rich — by the same means that prevailed in England and in Germany before the clearing away of the large forests — by the breeding of swine. It has been remarked that Servia gained annually 1,300,000 florins, (130,000*l.* sterling) by its commerce with Austria alone. Hadschi Mustafa evinced so much jealous care of the country that he has been called Srpska Maika, the Servian Mother.

It was no disparagement to any one to have served in the Free Corps under the Emperor of

* Engel Geschichte der Walachei, ii. 67. Concerning Passwan Oglu, he refers to Seetzen in Zach's Monthly Correspondence, August, 1803, whose information, however, is scanty.

Austria; and Alexa Nenadowitsch, who had held the rank of officer therein, was made Grand Knes. When Passwan Oglu, urged perhaps by the Janissaries, began to threaten Servia, he took Kladowo, and endeavoured to make himself master of the island of Poretsch. In this emergency, Hadschi Mustafa did not hesitate to call the Servians themselves to arms; he represented to them that it would be much better to sell part of their cattle, and provide themselves with arms out of the proceeds, than be stripped of every thing by the enemy. Many arms had remained in the country since the last war; and the people now gladly brought them forth. The spirit which had been aroused under Austria, acquired renewed vigour under the command of a Turkish Pacha; and the Kneses themselves equipped a force, whose Bimbascha, Stanko Arambaschitsch, the son of a robber-chief, established a name for himself. Supported by the Turks, but by no means under their control, the Servians were again victorious. Stanko did not give precedence to the Turkish leaders of this army; and by prompt retaliation he avenged the act of one of them, who had cut down a prisoner. The Pachas and the country were united: for their common interest was at stake; and Passwan Oglu and his allies, the Janissaries, were successfully opposed.

It may now be asked, how it happened, that the Porte was induced, not only to come to a friendly understanding with Passwan Oglu, but even to

accept an arrangement proposed in favour of the Janissaries who had been driven from Belgrade. The truth is, the pride of the Mussulmans revolted at the idea that old Moslems of the True Faith should be banished from a Pachalic, whilst the Christian subjects therein were allowed to rise in importance: indeed, the Mufti gave it as his opinion that it was against the law to drive the Faithful from their possessions in favour of the Raja. Upon this the Divan ordered the Pacha to re-admit the Janissaries; though they had been exiled by a firman, and had joined a rebel in open insurrection. Hadschi Mustafa would have placed himself in opposition to his legitimate government, and exposed himself to severe punishment, had he resisted the order: the Janissaries accordingly returned.

We may easily anticipate the consequences of this measure: it proved the origin of much mischief.

At first the Janissaries did not press the Pacha for the restoration of their property; nor did they threaten him with violence; and they were satisfied with appointments in the Custom Houses or about the Court. Soon, however, they began to act as in former times; and as might have been expected, the Raja were the first to be made sensible of the change.

In Swileuwa, in the district of Schabaz, lived a man of irreproachable character, named Ranko, Grand Knes of his Kneshina. At a time when the

Poresa was to be apportioned, a Janissary of Schabaz, Bego Nowljanin, required of him to increase its amount by some hundreds of piastres in his favour. This demand shows in what position they already stood. Ranko had the courage to refuse the claim. But the Janissary determined to be revenged for his refusal. In the village, he did not venture to interfere with the Knes; but the first time that Ranko appeared at Schabaz, Bego Nowljanin, with some of his comrades, followed him into a tavern, and there shot him.

The Pacha, however, determined that such a proceeding should not go unpunished; nor would he allow the former disorderly state of affairs to be renewed. The Janissary having meanwhile, with daily increasing adherents, made himself master of the fortress of Schabaz, Hadschi Mustafa despatched a small body of troops, 600 strong, and besieged him there; but Bego Nowljanin saved himself by flight, and took refuge in Bosnia. The exertions which the Pacha had made to punish this Janissary, drew upon him the rage and hatred of the whole body.

It was probably at their instigation that Passwan Oglu renewed his hostilities against the Pachalic. To defend the frontiers, the Pacha was under the necessity of sending his best troops, consisting of Turks and Servians, commanded by his own son, Derwish Beg, into the field. This was precisely what the Janissaries wished. They seized the favourable moment, made themselves masters of Belgrade, and besieged the Pacha in the Upper Castle.

There he would have been able to hold out, until the return of his son, whom he had immediately apprised of his position, had not a Buljukbascha of his Krdschalies — for the Pacha also had some of those troops under his command — been gained over by the Janissaries, to whom the traitor gave admission through a drain that led into the fortress. On the very day that Derwish Beg arrived with his army in Grozka, close to Belgrade, his father had been made prisoner. In the first instance, Hadschi Mustafa was compelled by the Janissaries to send the troops to a distance, by his own order; and scarcely had the Servians dispersed, and the Turks proceeded to Nisch, than he was slain in the fortress. The Janissaries informed the Porte: "Hadschi Mustafa had been a false Turk, who had sided with the Raja, and had now received his reward." They begged for a new Pacha.

Not that it was their intention to obey him better: they had committed murder in order to get the power into their own hands. Four chiefs of the Janissaries — Fotschitsch-Mahomet Aga, Aganlia, Mula-Jussuf, and Kutschuk-Ali, shared the supreme authority amongst themselves. They re-assumed the title of Dahi. To each of them a certain part of the country was allotted. Yet they continued to hold councils together at Belgrade, whence they exercised a common power. The dissensions which now so frequently arose, were always appeased by the father of Mahomet Aga, the old Fotscho. To the new Pacha, Aga Hassan, they left only as

much authority as they themselves judged advisable. They fixed and raised the Poresa, and other imposts, and established a new system of government. The Janissaries by whom they were surrounded sufficed not for their purposes: they collected another armed power around them. When the Bosnians and Albanians heard of the success of the Janissaries, they flocked to Belgrade in great numbers: half-naked men, and such as had previously borne burthens, now rode on Arabian steeds, attired in velvet, gold, and silver; haughty in their bearing towards all, and completely submissive to their masters alone. This force was employed not so much as a military body, as to carry into execution the orders of the Janissaries.

The Dahis sent their comrades of the highest rank, especially such as were Janissaries, into the provincial towns, under the denomination of Kabadahis, where they drew the reins of authority tighter than ever, assuming, in every respect, the air of masters: for no Kadi would have dared to utter a word in opposition to their will. In the villages, Subasches appeared as executors of the judicial and magisterial power. These men, frequently taken from the Bosnian rabble, exercised the power of life and death, and enriched themselves by the hard toil of the peasant whom they lived upon. At an instant they would fly to meet their masters. The system resembled that which was followed in Egypt, where the Mamelukes united at Cairo had appropriated the country, according

to its districts, amongst themselves, and ruled it by means of their Kiaschefs; caring little for the authority of the Pacha, who had been sent from Constantinople.

But here they went even further. Perhaps the greatest difference in Servia was, that the Janissaries aimed at establishing themselves as lords of the soil. Under the title of *Tschitluksahibis*, they claimed the actual proprietorship of the land, and from time to time built themselves stately country houses. Besides the former taxes, they demanded the ninth part of the earth's produce, and forced the inhabitants to perform feudal service. Such of the Spahis as would not come to terms with them were expelled.

That which, through the influence of the old regulations of the empire, had hitherto been carefully avoided, now actually happened. The land and the people appeared as the property of certain individuals; and it almost seemed as though a general system of usurpation were about to be established in all these provinces. In the same manner had Passwan Oglu established his authority. From him had originated the introduction of the Subasches. In Bosnia, Alibeg Widaitsch, of Swornik, proceeded to similar enterprises. He marched through the villages, caused the people to be bound, and then made them admit in writing that they had sold their territory to him. Provided with this title-deed, he constituted himself Tschitluksahibi, and appointed Subasches in the

villages. The league of independent chiefs, who had taken possession of Servia, was on the closest terms of union with both these parties. As the Dahis under Passwan Oglu had done service, in like manner Alibeg came to Belgrade to be received into their community.

In opposition to the new regulations of the Sultan, the intention of which was to place the power of the government in the hands of one person; another system, of a tendency directly opposite, was forming itself in Servia, based upon abuses and personal violence, which it had been the aim of the Sultan to abolish; and woe to the man who, within the territories of the usurping chiefs, should venture to oppose them. The conduct of Alibeg Widaitsch excited the jealousy of his own relations, and they induced the district of Spretcha to revolt against him. But with some assistance from the Dahis, he was sufficiently powerful to maintain his ground, and to punish the insurgents. Plundering and war-levies, imprisonments and stranglings, were henceforth the order of the day.

In the district of Belgrade, an old officer of Hadschi Mustafa's, Asam Beg, formerly Defterkiaja, legal adviser to the chamber, determined by the aid of his friends and the Spahis, supported by the Raja, to revolt against the Dahis. He had already procured ammunition, and was distributing it amongst the people, when one of his confederates—his own brother—prematurely commenced the attack, and the whole scheme was frus-

trated. The consequence was, as is usual in unsuccessful insurrections, the oppression became still more severe. The Spahis were all under the necessity of leaving the country; and it was only occasionally on the frontiers that one of them might be seen venturing, as a fugitive, into his village. The Subasches indulged in every sort of violence. Frequently would they take from the peasant his festive garment, and use it as a covering for one of their horses. They disturbed the performance of divine service—they forced the women to dance the *Kolo* before their own houses, and then carried off those who were the most beautiful.

The natural barbarity of these people, who had once been exiled and were now again in possession of their property, was increased by a desire of vengeance. And as in a state of civil war, where the supreme authority is no longer regarded, anarchy prevailed.

The banished Spahis, indeed, claimed assistance from Constantinople. The Kneses, too, summoned sufficient resolution to assemble in a cloister, and there to draw up an address to the Grand Signior. They complained that they had been shamefully plundered by the Dahis, by whom they had been brought to such a state of poverty that they were obliged to clothe themselves with mere *bast;* yet that, nevertheless, their oppressors were not satisfied: that they were attacked in their religion, their morality, and their honour: no husband was secure in the possession of his wife, no father of

his daughter, no brother of his sister. The church, the cloister, the monks, the priests, all were outraged. "Art thou still our Czar?" they demanded; "then come and free us from these evil-doers. Or if thou wilt not save us, at least tell us so; that we may decide whether to flee to the mountains and forests, or to seek in the rivers a termination to our miserable existence."

Their prayers did not remain unheeded. A Widaitsch, Ibrahim Aga, who had been wounded by his nephew Alibeg, and Asam, whose insurrection had failed, had both fled to Constantinople, where they seconded the complaints of the people. But this apparent success led only to greater disasters. It seemed as though the Grand Signior had nothing left to him but threats, by which to favour the cause of his subjects. He intimated to the Dahis, that, unless they changed their conduct, he would send an army against them: not, however, a Turkish army—for it would be a grievous thing for the faithful to fight against the faithful—but soldiers of other nations, and of another creed; and that such evil should then befall them as had never yet befallen a Turk.

On this intimation, the Dahis asked one another—"What army the Grand Signior could allude to—Austrians or Russians? It could not be believed that he would invite foreigners into the empire." "By Allah!" they exclaimed, "he means the Raja!" They became convinced that he would send Derwish Beg, the son of Mustafa, or Asam

Beg, to lead the Servians against them, under their Kneses and chiefs. To prevent this, they resolved to go into the Nahis, and put to death all such as might prove dangerous to them.

It was in February, 1804, that the Dahis commenced this work of horror, each one in his own division of the country. At first, their design was accomplished without difficulty. As soon as either they or their Bailiffs entered a village, the inhabitants, as usual, advanced to meet them, to supply them with food, or to take charge of their horses. This offered them a convenient opportunity for seizing whomsoever they chose. They were not satisfied with getting rid of the Kneses and the Kmetes, but every person of any consideration, whether it had been acquired by military prowess, eloquence, or wealth, was put to death. The first they killed was the Knes Stanoje, of Begalitza: then were slain Mark Tscharapitsch, Stephen of Seoke, Theophan of Oraschje, near Smederewo, all of whom were Kneses; the former Buljukbasches, Janko Gagitsch of Boletsch, and Matthias of Kragujewaz, and the Igumen of the Cloister Morawzi, Hadschi Gero: for even the sacred office afforded no protection.

A short time previously, the Archimandrite Ruwim had fled from the Cloister Bogowadja. Alexa Nenadowitsch, who was suspected of being the writer of a letter to Austria, describing the insupportable misery of the country, which had fallen into the hands of the Turks, had charged the

authorship of the letter upon the Archimandrite; who, he considered, would be safe by reason of his absence. In an unfortunate hour, however, the Archimandrite now returned. Alexa apprized him of the danger in which his life was placed. Ruwim answered—"Alexa knows not the misery of a foreign land and a strange house: it is now his turn to experience them." They both hoped to get over the danger: Alexa because he had been assured that the letter was no longer ascribed to him; Ruwim because his nephew, a painter, worked in the house of a Dahi. However, they were both murdered, although they were among the chief men of the nation: Alexa, by Fotschitsch; and Ruwim, after horrible tortures, by Aganlia. Afterwards followed the murder of the Kneses, Elias Birtschanin, Peter of Ressawa, Raiza of Sabrdje, and many others—alas! who could enumerate them all? Horror prevailed throughout the country. Men knew not who were doomed. The belief gained ground that it was intended to extirpate the entire population. Even the poorest feared for his life. In the villages, none but old men and children went forth to meet the Turks. The able-bodied fled to the mountains—into the hiding-places of the Heyducs.

CHAP. VII.

INSURRECTION AGAINST THE DAHIS.

Reaction among the Peasantry. — Divisions of Servia. — Meetings of the Servian Chiefs. — Kara George. — The Heyducs. — Weliko. — Jacob Nenadowitsch. — The Heyduc Kjurtshia. — Rapid Progress of the Insurrection. — Kara George is elected Commander of the Servians. — Affray between the Dahis and the Raja Gushanz Ali and the Krdschalies. — Defeat of the Turks. — Attack of Belgrade by the Army of the Schumadia. — Slaughter of a Troop of Heyducs. — Jacob Nenadowitsch and Kara George take the Fortress of Poscharewaz. — The Pacha of Bosnia joins the Servians. — Flight of the Dahis. — They are put to Death by the Servians.

THERE are degrees even in the subjugation of a people. Since the death of Stephan Dushan, we have beheld the Servians falling, step by step; losing their political independence abroad, and at home deprived of all participation in public affairs both in Church and State. Every moment of transient liberty had been followed by some new deprivation. Truly man can endure much! Some measure, more severe than the last, always succeeded. After the brief relaxation they had enjoyed under Austria, and the condition in which they had been for a few years, all saw themselves threatened with death or personal slavery under usurping despots. We know that a national spirit

in these people—a consciousness too, of their own importance, had been aroused and strengthened in the last wars; and especially in their successful enterprises against these same Janissaries by whom they were now doomed to destruction. They had now arrived at the period which was to decide whether they were to remain a nation or to be annihilated; and the consciousness of this aroused them to exertion.

Reflecting, at a later period, on their history, we are impressed with the idea, that from this time the national development opened out for itself a new course.

The peasants and shepherds, who had now fled from their homes into the mountains, at first only thought how they might return to them without being in fear for their lives. But to effect this they must commence a war throughout the country, and, by their own exertions, extinguish an authority which was exercised in a manner so tyrannical. They were one and all determined to do so.

The country, as it descends towards the Danube and the Save, forms three divisions. Of these the central division is the most important—especially the forest region, called Schumadia. This division is separated from the others, on one side by the broad and frequently inundated valley of the Morawa, and on the other by the Kolubara—at its commencement a torrent, and farther on flowing through extensive tracts of morass. In each of these divisions, the movement originated with different leaders.

First, in the Schumadia, there was a meeting of three chiefs: George Petrowitsch, called by the Turks Kara George, Janko Katitsch, and Wasso Tscharapitsch. The first had escaped at the very moment designed for his seizure. He was in the act of collecting together his herd of swine, which he had bought for the purpose of selling in Austria — for that was his calling: one of the most profitable and respectable employments in the country — when he perceived the approach of the Turks who were seeking him. He left his swine to take their own way, and fled into the forests with the herdsmen whom he had hired for his business. He had served in the volunteer Corps, had afterwards become Heyduc, and was considered one of the most enterprising men in the country; as he was also one of the richest.

Katitsch, the second of these chiefs, had, as Buljukbascha against Passwan Oglu, acquired a knowledge of the art of war, and had become acquainted with those who were capable of taking arms. He was prudent, eloquent, and brave.

Wasso, the third, was eager to revenge the death of his brother, Mark Tscharapitsch.

They were determined not to wait till they should have to suffer death, chained by the hangmen and grooms of the Dahis, but to seek it boldly as free men. They were joined by numbers: all men who accounted it a sin to die without taking an enemy with them. Their unanimous determination was, to sell life for life. The Hey-

ducs also eagerly joined them. The most noted of these were Glawasch and Weliko. Weliko had served, during the winter, as herdsman, and, as such, had taken a wife. Now he resumed his arms and his Heyduc's dress. "Woe is me!" exclaimed his wife, as she saw him thus equipped, "I have married a robber!" He consoled her by replying that, "now every man had become a robber," and departed to seek his companions.

A numerous and resolute band of Heyducs and fugitives, at the commencement of hostilities, attacked the village of Sibnitza, in the district of Belgrade, of which Katitsch and Tscharapitsch were natives. They fired the house of the Subascha, killed and plundered the Turks whom they found, and carried off with them all the Servians capable of bearing arms. Couriers were despatched in all directions; every one who could carry a gun was ordered to join one of the armed bands; the houses of the Subasches were to be destroyed; the women and children were to be brought into the barricades on the mountains. And this was done. Any man who was unwilling to join them was forcibly compelled.

At this news, the country on the further side of the Kolubara also rose. Jacob Nenadowitsch—of whom a song records that his brother Alexa had, in his dying moments, charged him to revenge his death—most distinguished himself. Luka Lasarewitsch, brother of Ranko, regardless that he was a priest and wore a beard, took up arms. Of the Heyducs in this district none was so dreaded as

Kjurtschia. He was a most expert marksman. The first shot which he had ever fired, hit the target: a feat which many a Turk had fruitlessly essayed. For this superiority, the Turks conceived such a hatred against him, that they attempted to kill him, and obliged him to flee into the mountains. Now he came down, and carried the standard before Jacob, who for the first time took the field.

About the same time, a movement took place amongst the people on the further side of the Morawa. Amongst these was Milenko, of Klitschewaz, an acquaintance of Katitsch ever since the war against Passwan Oglu: a man naturally inclined to peace, yet not so much so as to be blind to the danger in which he stood on account of his authority and wealth. With him rose Peter Theodorowitsch Dobrinjaz, with whom he long remained united by the ties of mutual interest.

In all the three districts, the Turks had been simultaneously driven from the villages. Nor did the conquerors long refrain from attacking the small towns, called Palanks. Even here they encountered no resistance. They first took Rudnik, and burned it; then other towns in succession: the Turkish population hastened to take refuge in the fortified places.

Thus commenced the insurrection of the Servians. In a moment, as it were, the whole country—the twelve Nahis, the villages and Palanks—was in the hands of men who, but a short time before, had seemed doomed to extermination.

The Servians now said one to another—"Every house has a chief; the nation, also, ought to know whom it has to follow." In an assembly of the chiefs of the Schumadia, Glawasch, who had been the most active in the expulsion of the Turks, was first proposed; but he replied, "The nation would never have confidence in a Heyduc, as he was, who had neither a house, nor a field, nor any thing, in fact, to lose." Their choice then fell upon the Knes Theodosi, of Oraschje, in the district of Kragujewaz. "God be with you!" said he; "what are you thinking of? For a Heyduc the Kneses may obtain a pardon; but who is to take care of the Kneses if the Turks come back?"

Since the Heyducs, as was true, did not enjoy sufficiently the confidence of the country, and the Kneses were unwilling to place their unwarlike character at stake, it only remained to elect some one who had been a Heyduc, and who had also carried on a peaceful calling—the army being composed of these two classes. In this position was Kara George. He was proposed by Theodosi. Kara George excused himself at first, on the ground that "he did not understand how to govern." The Kneses replied "that they would give him counsel." To this he rejoined, that "his impetuosity rendered him unfit for the office: that he could not wait to consult, but should be inclined to kill at once." He was assured that "such severity was at that time requisite."

Thus Kara George became commander of the

Servians*: not, indeed, with the authority of a prince over the country, nor even with that of a general over the army; for he had many equals around him, and it was only in the Schumadia that he was properly considered as chief. However, as that was the largest district, it enabled him to gain a preponderating influence over the other districts also.

But as yet the power of the Dahis was rather defied and endangered than actually destroyed. They were still in possession of the fortresses, from which the country had always been ruled, and which afforded them personal security. They entertained a notion that the Raja might be pacified by promises, and would come to terms with them. The Raja, however, felt itself too powerful; and cruelties of too horrible a nature had been perpetrated, for such an arrangement any longer to be possible.

At the very first meeting of the two parties in Drlupa, whilst the chiefs were holding a conference, their attendants had already come to blows, and did not separate until blood had been shed. Somewhat later, Fotschitsch tried his fortune, but with the same ill success. When at length the Metropolitan Leonti—who was hated by the Servians almost as much as the Turks themselves were—came with new offers from Belgrade, he was told

* He had the words *Commendant Serbie* engraven on his seal; and only at a later period styled himself Supreme Leader (Werhowni woschd).

positively that, unless the Dahis were given up, no peace could be hoped for.

Meanwhile a troop of one thousand Krdschalies, attracted by the first news of the breaking out of disturbances, appeared on the frontier of the country, under their leader, Guschanz Ali. They would not have been unwilling to make common cause with the Servians; but the latter had no wish to have Turks amongst them, with whose name they almost inseparably connected the idea of master. The Dahis, however, dared not hesitate. Howsoever hazardous it might be to admit into their capital a partisan whose character was not too respectable, necessity compelled them to do so; and by assigning him his quarters in the Wratschar, outside the actual town, they considered that sufficient provision had been made for their own safety.

And already assistance, of a less suspicious character, came to them in the open field. Their Bosnian friend, Alibeg Widaitsch, was ready to repay to them the service which they had rendered him a year before. He advanced with an army who neither themselves doubted nor suffered a doubt to remain upon the mind of their chief, that they should be able completely to crush this rebellion of the Servians. When this army marched through Losnitza, many a one was heard to ask, whether these were the same Servians who were wont upon former occasions (though fifty of them, armed, were conducting a bride to the wedding) so soon as they saw a Turk, to hide their pistols under their

mantles, or dismount from their horses? A single Turk would now also be sufficient against fifty of them!

Alibeg did not consider it worth his while to take the field in person against enemies so contemptible; he therefore remained, according to the custom of the Viziers, at Schabaz, and left the Subasches to lead his army to the chastisement of the rebels. But the Servians, who were not now for the first time in the field, knew how to meet their foes. They had the prudence and adroitness, as the enemy advanced, to abandon the entrenchments which they were just then raising in Swileuwa, but which were not yet tenable. The Turks, who perhaps ascribed this retreat to fear, did not hesitate to occupy them. The Servians then instantly returned, and surrounded the fortifications. By this means they at once obtained the superiority. Hemmed in, and without provisions — threatened with certain destruction from the unceasing firing and the continuous reinforcement of fresh troops — the Turks at last declared that their intention had not been to fight: that they had come only to ascertain the state of affairs. Hereupon, the Bosnians were allowed to disperse: not so the troops by whom they had been accompanied from Belgrade. When the latter endeavoured to pass out with the Bosnians, the consequence was, that not one man in ten of either of these parties escaped.

With their opinions altogether changed, the survivors returned through Losnitza. Their report

was, "that every Servian had carried with him a broad stake or plank, with which he protected himself as with a shield, and as he advanced planted it in the ground; then, stationing himself behind it, he fired under the shelter thus afforded, so incessantly and with such rapidity, that it seemed as though he had only to thrust his hand into a sackful of ammunition, and throw the balls at his foes." The Moslems of this district sent their women and children over the Drina.

Still further encouraged by their success, the Servians no longer hesitated to assail their enemies in the fortresses. The army of the Schumadia attacked Belgrade; on the farther side of the Kolubara, Jacob Nenadowitsch encamped before Schabaz; and, on the farther side of the Morawa, Milenko's force threatened Poscharewaz, which had been hastily fortified by the Dahis.

Shortly after, the Servians, who were besieging Schabaz, were again menaced by Bosnia.

A Kabadahi of the Dahis, named Noschina, who had, previously to the insurrection, gone upon a visit to his friends in Bosnia, now despairing of being able to make his way back, even with the four score stately Krdschalies who were with him, assembled a thousand men; not only to make sure of fighting his way through, but also with the design of dispersing the force which besieged Schabaz. Before he could effect this, however, he must overpower about two hundred Heyducs; who, under the command of Kjurtschia, were posted near the cloister of Tscho-

keshina. The smallness of their numbers, even after Jacob had brought them a slight reinforcement, caused Kjurtschia to despair of being able to defend the cloister. "A cloister burnt to the ground," said he, "we may rebuild; but a dead man we cannot bring to life again." Jacob understood better, that this was not a question of the walls of a cloister, but of the continuation of the siege of one of the most important fortresses. "Thinkest thou," he answered the Heyduc, "that the seed of mankind will perish with thee?" Kjurtschia turned away enraged, abandoned the cloister, and went into the mountains.

Nor could Jacob persuade the others to undertake the defence of the walls. They were accustomed to fight only in the forests and the mountains. "They would not," they said, "remain blocked up awaiting death, like women." However, they resolutely determined to wait upon a neighbouring height for their enemies, who were, perhaps, five times as numerous as themselves, — a Thermopylæ of Servian Heyducs! It must not be supposed that they thus calmly awaited death without a prospect of relief. Jacob had gone to obtain further assistance. But, before he could return, all was decided. The Heyducs, surrounded on their hill, fought with the utmost courage from morning to night; until they had expended all their powder, and their guns, from the frequent discharges, had become less serviceable. Many had been killed, and the rest, already wounded and crouching behind trees, fired only now and then. In the evening, the Turks, reinforced by fresh num-

bers, attacked them with renewed vigour, and killed every one of these brave men. But they had not died in vain. Noschina had gained possession of the hill; yet, in doing this, he sustained so heavy a loss, that he could not hope to effect any thing for the relief of Schabaz. On the contrary, just at that time Schabaz was so hardly pressed — Jacob Nenadowitsch having, to the no small increase of his reputation, though at a high price, procured a piece of ordnance — that it was the first of the fortresses to consent to a treaty. Even before Jacob had returned from Tschokeshina, it was surrendered to his nephew, the son of Alexa, the Prota (archpriest). The condition was, that all the violent partisans of the Dahis in their despotism were to leave the country: the others were allowed to remain, but they might not enter the Nahia.

With this gun and with the men who were no longer required at Schabaz, as well as with those who could be temporarily spared from Belgrade, Jacob and Kara George now appeared before Poscharewaz, to assist Milenko. No sooner did the garrison of that fortress find themselves cannonaded, than they asked to be allowed to evacuate the place in safety. This was granted, but only on their delivering up to the chiefs their best Arabian horses, and the trappings, which were most beautifully adorned with silver.

The victorious army now proceeded to Smederewo. The Turks were forced to pledge themselves not to enter the Nahia, and moreover to conform strictly

to such regulations as should be agreed upon at Belgrade. Before that city the Servians now concentrated all their forces. From the Save to the Danube the whole country was covered by their troops. Jacob was encamped close by the Save, and Tscharapitsch near the Danube; between the two were George and Katitsch, each in his own encampment. Kjurtschia also — who, after a short reconciliation, was again at variance with Jacob, on account of his distribution of the booty of Poscharewaz — joined them; but he formed a camp for himself, and raised his own banner.

He did not remain long, however: for, it appearing to him an act of insufferable interference that the commander-in-chief should have punished one of his followers, he thereupon struck his tents and marched off.

In his stead the Servians soon afterwards obtained an ally of quite a different character to assist them in the siege of Belgrade. The robber chieftain left them; the Pacha of Bosnia came to their aid.

His arrival was not altogether unexpected by the Servians. They were sufficiently acquainted with political affairs to be aware that the Dahis were by no means friends of the Grand Signior. The banished Spahis constantly assured the Servians, that they rendered a service to the Sultan by fighting against the Dahis. Already some trustworthy Turks had joined their ranks; and a former Bimbascha of Hadschi Mustafa had distributed ammunition amongst them, and encouraged them to take

correct aim: saying that, "at each shot an enemy ought to fall." Even an old Turkish priest made his appearance in their camp; and to him is ascribed the authorship of a firman, in approbation of the undertaking, which was found posted up in the camp: but which, in fact, had never come from Constantinople. Yet although the Divan did not commit itself by any such unequivocal declaration, it could not long remain unknown how deeply the interest of the whole government of the Grand Signior was connected with this conflict.

It was, at any rate, a beginning of the destruction of the power of the Janissaries, who prevented the carrying out of every general measure of the government. The Grand Vizier conceived the judicious idea of making this insurrection of the people conduce towards a state of order, by the participation of higher authority, and at the same time bringing the affair to an end.

Whilst he allowed Asam Beg, who was still at Constantinople, to plead the cause of the exiled Spahis and assemble them around him, he appointed the Knes Johann Raschkowitsch — who happened at the time to be in the capital purchasing provisions for the Servian army — to the office of Inspector of the Custom-house (Basergjanbaschi) at Belgrade. He at the same time ordered the Pacha of Bosnia, Bekir, to undertake the management of the whole affair: to banish the Dahis, and to restore peace.

Little can be said of what Asam Beg and Raschkowitsch effected; but Bekir's arrival with three

thousand men from Bosnia produced a decisive result. The Servians received him with every mark of respect. They sent their Kneses to meet him at the frontier of the country, and prepared quarters for him where he halted for the night; and in their camp he was greeted with a salute of guns. He encamped in the neighbourhood of the Wratschar, near the White Fountain, by the side of the other chiefs.

Bekir certainly found affairs somewhat different from what he had anticipated. He had come to Schabaz just when Kjurtschia with his standard had also arrived. An old Turk, on hearing the name of the well-known Heyduc, who now bore a standard, cried—"My beard has become white! and must I now for the first time see a robber's standard unfurled?" The displeasure and astonishment of Bekir were also excited by the appearance of the other troops. Instead of an obedient Raja, he found before Belgrade an army well prepared for any resistance; its leaders in glittering attire and arms which they had taken as booty from the Turks.

But whatever were his reflections on these things, to the Dahis it was a source of much alarm when they saw a Pacha in alliance with the Raja. It seemed a realization of what they had been threatened with: that an army of another faith should come against them under the Sultan's authority. But the greatest danger appeared in the fact, that their own mercenary, Guschanz Ali, was in open negotiation with both their enemies.

When a confidential servant of Guschanz, pretending to have quarrelled with him, but without doubt acting under his instructions, informed them that his master had determined to let the besiegers in, they deemed it most advisable to escape with their remaining treasures: they therefore proceeded down the Danube in a shaik to New Orschowa. Guschanz immediately profited by their departure to make himself master of the citadel: nor did he hesitate to plunder the most distinguished inhabitants, under the pretext of their friendship for the Dahis. Of the Grand Signior, however, he entertained so profound an awe, that he received the Pacha of Bosnia into the town without any resistance.

Cowardly tyrants these Dahis unquestionably were: but their flight did not avail them. The Servians would not be satisfied until they had the heads of their foes laid at their feet; the Pacha therefore ordered the Commandant of Orschowa to deliver up to the incensed populace the enemies of the Grand Signior. Accordingly one night some Servians, under Milenko, were admitted into the fortress. The commandant pointed out to them a house, through the windows of which lights were seen; in it were the Dahis. The Servians attacked it: some shots were exchanged; and Milenko soon brought the heads of the four Dahis into the Servian camp.

Hereupon Bekir declared that everything now was done that could be desired; and he directed the Servians to return home to their flocks and their tillage.

CHAP. VIII.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE OPPOSITION AGAINST THE GRAND SIGNIOR.

Condition of Servia. — Insurrection in the Bosnian Districts. — Death of the Heyduc Kjurtschia. — Mehemet Kapetan, of Swornik. — The Servians determine to solicit the Aid of a Foreign Power. — Mediation of Russia. — Negotiations at Constantinople. — Servian Statement of the Expenses of the last War. — Operations in the Southern Districts. — Repulse of Kara George at Karanowaz. — Enterprises of Jacob Nenadowitsch and Milan Obrenowitsch. — Surrender of Uschize. — Political and Military Reforms in Turkey. — The Janissaries. — The Sultan Selim III. arrests the Servian Deputies. — Afis Pacha of Nisch is ordered to disarm the Raja. — Stephen Schiwkowitsch excites the Servians to resist. — They oppose the Advance of Afis. — His Retreat and Death.

THE Servians had not commenced their enterprise from a desire for innovation; neither perhaps from an erroneous notion of attaining a state of perfection. Urgent necessity, and actual danger of their lives, had compelled them to take up arms. They had risen against the open enemies of their sovereign. Nevertheless, it was demanding too much of them, that, having conquered their foes, they should return to their old condition.

The war was not even yet concluded.

Though the Dahis had perished, their system was by no means destroyed. Their Subasches and Kabadahis still held out in the southern fortresses of the Pachalic. In Uschize a certain Omer Aga, who had come from Widdin, out of the service of Passwan Oglu, and Bego Nowljanin, a well-known character from Bosnia, had usurped a power as unrestrained as it was illegal. At Karanowaz, in the district of Poschega, the most violent of all the Subasches had found refuge.

Bekir was in error if he imagined that he had made himself master even of Belgrade. Guschanz Ali, who had opened the gates of the town to him, but kept the keys of the upper fortress for himself, impetuously demanded his pay, which he stated he had not received from the Dahis, notwithstanding he had defended the fortress against the Raja throughout the summer. Bekir in fact could not venture to leave Belgrade until the Servians had complied with the Vizier's entreaties to discharge a part of the arrears of the pay that had been earned by service against themselves.*

* Their neighbours did not know how to interpret these matters. They spoke of a real treaty between Bekir and the Servians, and that at length Bekir had even gone over to the Servians. These reports they spread abroad. — (Bredow: Chronicle of the Nineteenth Century, 1804, page 347.) What further has been narrated is perhaps just as correct as the report that Bekir had hired a Turk to assassinate Kara George: the assassin, apparently wishing to communicate some important secret, approached the leader, fired his pistol at him, but only grazed

Nevertheless the Krdschalies did not give up the fortress. They even broke into parties amongst themselves, and fought their quarrels out, without any one's having the power, or even making an effort, to prevent them. Redschep, the nephew of the commandant of New Orschowa, and Guschanz Ali, both hoped some day to obtain the Pachalic; and they contended for it, until at length Guschanz succeeded in expelling his future rival. To so slight an extent had order been re-established, or a durable state of things introduced.

But even had this been the case, the Servians could not have returned to their former condition. Was it likely that they, who now, for the third time, had come off victorious in conflict with the Turks, would still dismount from their horses, and conceal their weapons, before the men whose ancestors, centuries ago, had once been victorious over them? Were they any longer to be subject to every sort of menial service, whenever they entered those very towns which they themselves had just conquered? He who has victorious weapons in his

his cheek. Of this so much is true, that Kara George had a scar on his cheek. But the fact was this: an Igumen of a cloister used to carry a club, which he had taken from a Turk. The Momkes of Kara George in vain requested the Igumen to give it to them. At last they called their master to their aid, who prepared to take the club from him by force. The Igumen, however, said, "From Scharkow (that was his name), not even the Turks have obtained any thing by force," and drawing his sword, wounded Kara George in the face. Whereupon Scharkow was killed by the Momkes.

hand will always claim power. The Servians now regarded as their real chiefs, not the Pacha and the Spahis, but those who had led them to battle, — men who had created their own strength and power; who were surrounded by partisans, called Momkes, ready for any service; and who were not disposed to resign the pleasure of commanding, which they had so recently enjoyed. Though their original object had not been to establish a new order of things, that end had been obtained by the course of events.

As this was felt on both sides, it occasioned distrust and hatred amongst the Servians: even against those with whom they should have been on amicable terms. For instance, against the Pacha Soliman, who had remained at Belgrade. He became so suspected by the Servian chiefs, that they did not venture to go up together to Belgrade; and when on one occasion they happened to be there, they saw, or imagined they saw, that he was manœuvring to detain them and to take their lives. They therefore pretended that their object had been to fetch the Teskeres of the Haradsch out of the town, for the purpose of collecting that tribute; and they afterwards felt quite certain that it was only by this stratagem that they so easily effected their escape.

At this period, an incident occurred in the immediate neighbourhood exemplifying the prevailing antagonism.

As the usurpation had formerly extended to the

Bosnian districts on this side of the Drina, so also did the insurrection now reach them. This was the work of Kjurtschia. In the Nahia of Schabaz, where we left him, he indulged his hatred against Jacob Nenadowitsch, by discharging all those officers who had received their appointments from him. He then passed the frontier; aud so soon as he had burnt the castle of Alibeg Widaitsch, and had spread his Momkes over the surrounding districts of Jadar and Radjewina, the people rose in rebellion, and chased away the Turks in every direction.

The result, however, proved fatal to Kjurtschia himself. For the Turks soon after came back, and, not satisfied with laying waste Jadar, forced their way to Schabaz, without his being able to hinder them. Jacob Nenadowitsch laid this, as well as some outrages of his people, to the charge of Kjurtschia, and obtained a sentence of death against him. In order to execute the sentence, he invited the Heyduc to Nowoselo, under the pretext of consulting with him concerning the defence of the frontier. Without suspicion, and disregarding their former quarrels, Kjurtschia, with four Momkes, came to Jacob, who had with him a force of more than a thousand men. The chiefs spent the evening in feasting and conversation. Next day some of Jacob's men laid hands on one of Kjurtschia's Momkes. Kjurtschia was just then reposing. When he awoke, and saw his horse already in the hands of his enemies, he attempted, with a gun in his hand, to make his way through

their ranks into a neighbouring hut, where his back might be protected from his assailants. Covered with wounds when he reached the hut, he yet managed to clear it of its occupants; and then, sitting down, defended himself to the last. He died from loss of blood, — the first victim of internal discord — a hero still remembered with admiration by his countrymen.

Kjurtschia's enterprise brought death upon himself, but it procured for the district a government conformable to the laws.

An influential old man of Swornik, Mehemet Kapetan, who had ever been adverse to the innovations of Alibeg, and who, though nearly seventy years of age, was still vigorous and inclined to war, now appeared amongst the Servians, declaring himself ready, with his five sons, to go against the Turks. With his assistance — though he perceived that the people followed him with reluctance — and through the exertions of the native chiefs, Antonie Bogitschewitsch and Jephtimi Sawitsch, these districts succeeded in obtaining peace.

The offices of Subasches and Tschitluksahibis were abolished: the Pacha promised that only once a year should the land-owner come into the country to collect his revenues; and that no other Turk should enter it, even in the event of a war with Servia, but should proceed by another route. Hostages were given on both sides. The inhabitants agreed to pay Poresa and Haradsch; in consideration of which the Pacha allowed them to

judge and govern themselves in the greatest as well as in the least concerns. Such was the order of things established in Jadar and Radjewina.

To some it might appear that the Servians in the Pachalic of Belgrade should have been satisfied with similar arrangements.

They did not think so; and no one can be surprised at this.

In a very different manner from the people of Jadar and Radjewina, and with far greater danger and difficulty, had the Servians of Belgrade carried through their insurrection. And much more resulted from it. Already had they been subjected to the greatest misery, through the vacillation of the supreme authority in suffering the return of the Janissaries whom they had expelled. Who, therefore, could give them assurance that the faction by which they were opposed should not, a second time, obtain the upper hand, through the continued want of resolution in the Grand Signior, and thus deprive them of all the advantages they had won?

Certainly no one can blame them for seeking a better security for the future.

It was now that a plan occurred to them which proved to be of the greatest importance, not only in itself, but from the manner in which it was executed. This was to solicit the intervention of a Christian power in their favour.

For some time they were unable to decide whether that power should be Austria or Russia.

Many of their kindred tribes dwelt under Austrian influence. Austria had, in former times, always been the moving cause of the Servian insurrections: had once already ruled these lands; and it was to Austria that, in the last war, the Servians were indebted for their skill in warfare.

There were many, too, who had rendered homage to Joseph II., or had borne arms under him.

But it also occurred to the Servians that Austria had never retained the possessions she acquired, but had always given back both land and people to the Turks. Moreover, Austria was now directing all her attention to the West; concentrating her entire strength for a new conflict with the French empire: which, both in Italy and Germany, must be a matter of life and death.

On the other hand, the name of Russia had, during the last century, acquired a high reputation amongst all the followers of the Greek church; but the most important point was that, for a length of time, she had stood in the same relation to Moldavia and Wallachia as that which Servia now sought for herself. In repeated conventions with the Porte, Russia had stipulated for freedom of religion and moderate taxation for these two principalities. The Hattischerif of October 23. 1802, was still fresh in their recollection; in which the Porte granted to the governments of those countries a greater degree of stability, pledged itself not to remove the reigning prince without previous reference to Russia*,

* Vide Engel, N. Geschichte der Walachei, p. 73.

and not to allow any Turks, except merchants and traders, to enter either territory. A short time previously, the new prince had, with the assistance of Russia, obtained a grant of freedom from taxes, in consideration of the devastations caused by Passwan Oglu.

Services so important, rendered at that period to their neighbours, induced the Servians, after some consideration, to decide upon addressing themselves to Russia. In August, 1804, Prota Nenadowitsch, John Protitsch, and Peter Tschardaklia, were despatched to St. Petersburg. In February, 1805, they returned with an answer which was, upon the whole, very favourable. The Russian government called upon the Servians first to prefer their requests at Constantinople, and promised to promote their fulfilment there.

The Servians, having now the promise of support from a great Christian power, were inspired with new confidence in their cause, and the demands which they made were of an important character.

In April, 1805, a meeting of Servians was held at Ostruschniza. Turks from Belgrade appeared there, and also deputies from the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia, in behalf of the Porte: commissioned, it has been said, to promise the chiefs Berates of Grand Kneses.* But, undoubtedly,

* It has been always believed in Constantinople, that of the two Hospodars of the principalities, one at least, Ipsilanti, a good friend of Kara George, had rather encouraged him in his resistance. Juchereau. ii. p. 36.

neither one party nor the other were authorised to grant the requests of the Servians; who demanded that, for the future, all the fortresses of the country should be garrisoned by Servian troops; on the ground of the necessity for continuing the war against Guschanz Ali, at Belgrade, and against the supporters of the Dahis in the southern provinces. This claim cannot be considered unreasonable on the part of the nation; for all outrages had proceeded from the fortresses: on the other hand, it was a question requiring much consideration on the part of the Divan; as the Servian territory formed an important boundary of the Turkish empire. In support of their claims, the Servians handed to the delegates a singular document: an enumeration of all the expenses they had been put to by the last war in the service of the Grand Signior. In it there appeared an account of what had been paid, at three different times, to Guschanz Ali; of what had been paid to Bekir and Soliman Pacha, and also for them; and what it had cost to maintain these pachas at Belgrade; and, lastly, the amount of their own equipment: a sum altogether of more than 2,000,000 piastres. This, they urged, ought at least to set aside all demands for arrears of taxes.

To give more weight to their claims, the Servians also determined, while at Ostruschniza, not to delay for a moment longer their projected attack on the rest of their enemies in the southern fortresses.

Accordingly, Kara George appeared before Kara-

nowaz. It was well defended by the Subasches, who had retreated thither, and also by auxiliary forces from Nowipasar, with other soldiers who had been attracted by rumours of what was taking place. George endeavoured to carry the place by storm, but was repulsed; and in his retreat he even lost the largest gun he had brought with him: his own property. This time, however, negotiation effected his object. He represented to the Pacha of Nowipasar that his business was only with the Turks from the province of Belgrade; and the Pacha soon sent his Silihdar into the Servian camp to propose that all the Turks should be allowed to depart. To this the Servians, who were anxious only to conceal the greatness of their loss, readily consented. The whole of the Turks marched off, and Kara George not only recovered his gun, but received, as a present, a beautiful Arab steed with splendid scarlet trappings.

At the same time Jacob Nenadowitsch marched against Uschize. When he passed by the district of Sokol, Melety, the Archimandrite of the cloister Ratscha, came to his assistance. They did not attempt to storm the mountain castle, called Sokol (the Falcon), which stands so high and proudly on a rock, and gives its name to the whole district; but they readily excited insurrection among the people. Reinforced by Melety and Milan Obrenowitsch, of Rudnik, Jacob advanced with a force of 3000 men and two pieces of cannon: for he had furnished himself with a second gun. This was a

very imposing force in such a country, and appeared to Omer Aga extremely formidable. Twenty aged Turks, who had taken no share in the horrors which had been perpetrated, went to meet the approaching army, to conciliate them as much as possible. On the mountain Zrnokossa they met Jacob. At first they would not believe that he really had cannon in his train, as had been reported; and, even when they saw them, they still hoped that they were only of wood. But when they came nearer, and touched them, and could no longer doubt their being true and actual cannon, their eyes filled with tears. "Whither art thou going?" said they to Jacob. "Why comes the Grand Signior's Raja to cannonade the Grand Signior's fortress?" Jacob answered that he was not come against the fortress of the Czar, but against the rebels, Omer Aga, and Bego: that, in fact, he had his cannon from the Czar himself; but that he would not harm any one if the evil-doers were delivered over to him." Their reply was, "their law did not permit them to deliver their brethren in faith over to a people of another creed."

Jacob immediately attacked them all indiscriminately. No sooner had he succeeded in setting fire to the town — the flames, it being the dry season, spreading rapidly amongst the wooden houses — than Omer and Bego Nowljanin took to flight, and the rest of the garrison surrendered. This was on the 20th of July, 1805. The Turks then engaged not to come into the Nahia; over which Jacob

appointed a Woiwode of his own selection; and for permission to remain in the town, they gave to their conqueror 50,000 piastres and eighty Arabian horses.

By these means the South was now brought to the same condition as prevailed in the other part of the country. The fortresses had every where surrendered, though they were not yet taken possession of. That the power of the Dahis was annihilated, the Turks, who were favourable to the old order of things and devoted to the Sultan, regarded as an advantage as much as the Servians themselves did. But now the question arose on all sides, "How would these parties conduct themselves towards each other?" The Turks were excluded from the country, yet they had not relinquished their claims to its government: on the other hand, the Servians demanded that all the fortresses should be placed in their hands.

Meanwhile, the Servian embassy had arrived at Constantinople, where their demands were laid before the Grand Signior; and it was upon these opposing claims that he was called on to decide.

If we take into consideration the entire condition of the Ottoman Empire, we may venture to say that this crisis was one of the most important that had for centuries occurred in its history.

For just at that time also, the spirit of reform, the origin of which has already been noticed, had attained a certain degree of maturity.

In the year 1804, the Topdschi were placed on

a footing much superior to the Janissaries. Two squadrons of Nizamidschedid, under red and white standards, were now seen performing their evolutions; the foot-soldiers had guns and bayonets, entirely after French models; and one at least of the Pachas — Abdurrhaman of Caramania, — had most zealously followed the example set him by the Sultan.

As this militia had rendered essential service in the pursuit and chastisement of bands of robbers who overran Roumelia, Selim III., in 1805, ventured upon the decisive step of issuing a decree, that from among the Janissaries and the young men of the Empire, the strongest and finest should everywhere be selected for the purpose of serving amongst the Nizamidschedid.*

At the very time when the power of the Janissaries, represented by the Dahis and Kabadahis, was destroyed by the forces of the incensed Raja, in Servia, where they had most especially sought firmly to establish themselves; this second blow was struck by the Turkish government, in order to effect their total ruin.

The bands of robbers which were encountered by the Nizamidschedid, in the same manner as the Krdschalies had been by the Servians, were considered by the Janissaries rather as their allies than as their enemies.

But the Janissaries had it still in their power to

* Juchereau de St. Denys, ii. 26.

oppose to the Sultan all that strength of attachment which people cherish for their ancient customs.

We know that a Kadi, who had endeavoured to execute the Sultan's commands, was in consequence strangled. Adrianople rose in rebellion; and the Janissaries were yet able to bring 10,000 men against the Sultan's newly-organised troops.

The Sultan would have considered himself fortunate, if, in other provinces of his empire, a brave Raja, like the Servians, had stood forward to strengthen his hands. And it became a question of increased importance, whether he should not attach the Servians at least to his cause, and enter into a firm alliance with them

Princes have ever sought the sympathy and co-operation of the common people as their best aid, when engaged in a contest with those classes of their subjects who have grown too powerful through the exercise of exclusive privileges.

It was unfortunate for Selim and the Turkish Empire that he could not thus act: his position would not allow him so to do.

Unlike any other prince, all of whose subjects belong to him equally, he was the head of the Mussulmans before all others.

For, as has been shown, the Turkish Empire is based not on an union and amalgamation of different elements, but on the opposing forces of two distinct populations; one destined to command, the other to obey.

That the Raja, whose part it was to serve, should

arm themselves and thus assume an equality with the followers of the dominant religion, was intolerable to the Mussulmans of both parties — the reformers, as well as those who adhered to the old system; and it was also contrary to the fundamental laws of the country: to the very nature of the Caliphate, and to the supreme authority itself.

We have seen that it was alleged against Hadschi Mustafa as a crime, that he had led the Servians against Passwan Oglu. On the difference between the Faithful and the Infidels rested that Fetwa of the Mufti, by which the re-admission of the Janissaries into Belgrade was decided. Nothing made so strong an impression on the otherwise peaceful Turks as the banner of the Heyduc, and the artillery carried by the Raja.

That the Sultan should grant all that the Servians had demanded at Ostruschniza, was not to be expected. He was justified in refusing to consign to their keeping the fortresses on the frontiers. Other grants, however, tending to place them and their property in greater security, were unquestionably due to them. Nor could the Sultan condemn them for having taken up arms in his behalf, since he had thus been freed from an usurpation most dangerous to his authority.

Yet, great as was the contradiction involved in this course, Selim III. nevertheless adopted it.

He seemed to consider the Servians in the light of evil-doers, and rebels against his authority; and instead of any answer to their claims,

he placed their deputies under arrest, and issued an order to Afis, the Pacha of Nisch, to disarm the Raja.

This hostility to the Servians,—treatment altogether different in character from any they had before experienced from the Turks, and originating with the Grand Signior himself,—met with the approval of the Mussulmans, and was energetically pursued.

It is related that one of the Servian deputies—Stephen Schiwkowitsch, a wealthy merchant, conversant with the Turkish and Greek languages, who had previously rendered important services to his countrymen by procuring them ammunition—contributed materially to the resistance which was opposed to Afis Pacha. By representing, at Constantinople, that, in order to prevent bloodshed, the Servians ought to be assured that Afis proceeded in this matter at the express command of the Porte, he managed to get himself sent to Servia for this purpose. In Servia, however, he stated the real facts only to the chiefs; whilst, with an air of truth, he related to the people that Afis had been commissioned to march into Servia with not more than 300 men; and that, should he appear at the head of a larger army, they would be justified in opposing him. Finally, he induced Guschanz Ali to believe, that, despite of the interest made for himself, Afis had been appointed to the Pachalic through bribery. "Well, then," replied Guschanz, "beat him out of the country!" and, in the mean

time, he was content to remain quiet at Belgrade with his Krdschalies; though a part of the blockading army was withdrawn.

Thus the Servians were enabled to arm themselves, and were prepared to repel the Pacha's attack by force, should necessity require it. On the extreme boundary of the Pachalic, between Kjupria and Parakyn, Milenko and Peter Dobrinjaz took up a position, with a force of 2500 men and a piece of iron ordnance, behind two intrenchments, one large and the other small. In their rear, on the left bank of the Morawa, in the mountains of Jagodina, Kara George encamped with the people of the Schumadia.

An engagement, however, did not immediately ensue on the appearance of Afis. At first, the Servians only required that he should pursue the usual road, hitherto taken by all the Pachas, over Jagodina; as, on that route alone, the requisite accommodation had been provided. Afis, aware probably that on that very road another Servian army awaited him, insisted upon proceeding along the right bank of the Morawa down the Danube. The Servians replied — "That part of the country had been laid waste by war, and could not supply an army." Afis became angry, and exclaimed — "Am I to ask robbers which road I am to take to Belgrade?"

It is said that he brought ropes with him to bind the chiefs; but for the people — at the sight of whose beautiful swords and turban-like head-dresses

he was incensed—bread-knives and peasants' caps: for such, he said, best became them.

Afis first attacked and carried the smaller intrenchment, despite the iron cannon with which it was defended by the Servians. But the larger fortification held out the whole day, so that the Turks were appalled by the losses they sustained; and as their scouts reported that Kara George was approaching with his whole force, at least 10,000 men (he actually did lead down about 5000 from the mountains), Afis determined to retreat. Accordingly, during the night, he took down the standards with which he had surrounded the besieged fort; and, that his departure might not in consequence be noticed, he planted branches of trees in their stead, and then removed to Parakyn.

On the following morning Kara George made his appearance. Finding the camp deserted, he advanced as far as a hill in front of Parakyn, and saluted the enemy with some shot. He then sent a taunting message: saying "If the Pacha were a hero, he would come down into the plain:" asking "Why should the poor people in the town, who had committed no wrong, have their houses burnt?"

Kara George wished, moreover, to avoid the necessity of attacking Parakyn, on account of its belonging to the Pacha of Leskowaz, to whom he was under some obligation.

Afis found it difficult to hold his position, even behind the walls of Parakyn. Despairing of being

able to carry out his undertaking, and much chagrined at the necessity of yielding to a Raja, he retreated still further to Nisch. His death, which occurred soon after, was ascribed to the mortification he experienced at the frustration of his mission.

What had hitherto been avoided now actually took place. After an army which the Grand Signior had sent to Servia had been repulsed by violence on the borders of the country, it could no longer be said that the Sovereign took part with the Raja.

The war that had been commenced against the Dahis now took a different turn; and owing to the errors of the day, the old national dissensions were revived.

CHAP. IX.

SERVIAN WAR OF LIBERATION IN 1806 AND 1807.

Hostilities in 1805. — *Gjuscha Wulitschewitsch, Woiwode of Smederewo, is killed by the Turks.* — *The Servians take the Town of Smederewo.* — *Disturbances at Schabaz and Belgrade.* — *Renewed Determination of the Sultan to disarm the Raja.* — *General Rising of the Servians.* — *Stojan Tschupitsch.* — *The Army of Hadschi Beg again appears in the Matschwa.* — *Nenadowitsch offers to negotiate.* — *The Servian Deputies are detained by Hadschi Beg.* — *The People distrust their Chiefs, and refuse to keep the Field.* — *Arrival of Ibrahim Pacha at Nisch with a Bosnian Army of Forty Thousand men.* — *Brilliant Success of Kara George.* — *Milosch Stoitschewitsch.* — *Conflict between the Servians and Turks near Schabaz.* — *Total Defeat of the Turks by Kara George.* — *Their Disastrous Retreat.* — *Gallant Defence of the Fortress of Deligrade by Peter Dobrinjaz.* — *Peace is proposed by Ibrahim Pacha.* — *Negotiations at Constantinople.* — *The Servian Demands are advocated by Peter Itschko.* — *Conditions offered by the Porte.* — *European Relations in the Autumn of* 1806. — *The Turkish Government refuses to ratify the Conditions it had offered.* — *Capture of Belgrade by Kara George.* — *Guschanz Ali evacuates the Citadel.* — *Treacherous Massacre of the Garrison of Belgrade.* — *Fall of Schabaz, and of Uschize.* — *Jacob Nenadowitsch endeavours to excite an Insurrection in Bosnia.* — *The Turks retire beyond the Drina-Milenko.* — *Services of the Heyduc Weliko.* — *Improved Position of the Servians.*

TOWARDS the end of the year 1805, open hostilities broke out in every quarter, between the Servians, who were in possession of the country, and the Turks, who, under the stipulations of the treaty, remained in the fortresses. One day Gjuscha Wulitschewitsch, the Woiwode of the district of Smederewo, visited that town. He was handsomely attired and armed, and paced the street somewhat consequentially; the Turkish populace resented his insolent bearing, and in the contest that ensued he was killed by them. Instantly the Servians rushed forth to be revenged—not only on the actual perpetrators of the crime, but on the entire Turkish population. They bombarded and took the town; and now formally garrisoned it: which they had not done the year before. This incensed the Turks in the other fortresses, and filled them with apprehension. They endeavoured at once to make themselves more secure, and to take revenge. In Schabaz they killed many Servians who lived outside the walls; engaged Bosnian auxiliary troops, and strengthened their position. In Uschize they acted in a similar manner. In Belgrade, Guschanz Ali had hitherto lived with the Servians, under the express or implied agreement, that they were to supply him with provisions, and that he was not to disturb them. Now, however, he attacked them by water, in their fortifications at Ostruschniza; and by land in their villages, Scharkowo and Schelesnik; and about the

beginning of the year 1806, a pitched battle was fought near these places.

At the same time the cry of war resounded from afar. The Grand Signior showed himself determined to reduce the Servians completely. They looked abroad for assistance, which rendered it more necessary for him to exert all his power to subdue them before the alliance which they were about to form should assume a dangerous character. The commission which the Pacha of Nisch had been unable to execute—to disarm and punish the refractory Raja in Servia—he now assigned to more powerful chiefs. Bekir, the Vizier of Bosnia, and the Pacha Ibrahim, of Scutari, at the head of the bravest troops of the Empire—Bekir leading the Bosnians and Herzegovinians, and Ibrahim the Albanians and Roumeliotes—were commanded to await the Sultan's orders on different sides of the country.

The Servians did not neglect to place themselves in complete readiness for the encounter. They had now become altogether a warlike people. There was no soldier-class in Servia: every man was a warrior. In pressing cases, each house sent forth into the field all its members capable of bearing arms; in slighter emergencies, one of two, or two out of three: so that the farming might be carried on in the mean time. If there were only one man in a house, he took turn with his neighbour weekly. The people were above either ask-

ing or receiving pay. Every man bore his own weapons, and appeared in his best attire; the women sending provisions after them. In every village they who were exempt from out-door labour had the obligation imposed on them of forwarding supplies on sumpter horses twice a-week, whether the war were being carried on in the neighbourhood or at a distance.

To oppose the enemy, an old companion in arms of Kara George, Raditsch Petrowitsch, who had relinquished his captain's pension at Syrmia, and come to serve his friend, went up into the southern mountains, and spread the insurrection from place to place, hoping he might thus be able to defend the defiles with a small number of men. On the other side of the country, Milenko stationed himself in an island of the Danube, Poretsch, which commands the navigation at that point where the river rushes, with the impetuosity of a mountain torrent, through the Iron Gate in the direction from Nisch. The plain through which the Bulgarian Morawa flows towards the great river Morawa, affords the easiest entry into Servia; and thither Peter Dobrinjaz now proceeded, after Parakyn had been without hesitation taken possession of by the Servians. Near the road, on the right bank of the Bulgarian Morawa, he founded Deligrade. In his rear, Mladen seized and garrisoned Kruschewaz. The Bosnians, by the treaty which they had made, were indeed excluded from the two districts, Jadar and Radjewina; but the Matschwa

stood open to them. In that direction, however, they were opposed by an entrenchment which Jacob Nenadowitsch raised against them at Zrnabara.

Thus the Servians were pretty well prepared; yet they had no idea how fierce and perilous the approaching conflict would be.

The first attacks of the Bosnians, who, in the spring made their appearance near the Drina, were comparatively unimportant. Osman-Dshora crossed over the Drina opposite Sokol, and laid many a farm in ashes; but having suffered himself to be surprised by the Servians, he perished with a great number of his men. More to be feared was the vigorous old Mehemet Kapetan; who, long since reconciled with his rivals, was no longer a friend of the Servians. He made inroads into the Matschwa: but fortunately that district had a very able defender in Stojan Tschupitsch. Tschupitsch had his men fully under control; and was so familiar with them that he would occasionally take a pipe out of a soldier's mouth, and smoke it himself: yet he had been heard to say, that each man's life hung on his lips. He exercised his power of punishment inexorably, cruelly, and with a smile upon his face. He had been an old companion of Kjurtschia; was of a spare form, possessed extraordinary courage; and exulted in the number of his Momkes and the fame of his exploits. In the field of Salash, not far from his native place Notshai, he most valorously met the superior forces of Mehemet. He has himself related how in the

heat of the battle he met Mehemet hand to hand; when the old Pacha suddenly turned round, wrested his lance from him with singular adroitness, and rode off at full speed! Once when a singer at a banquet recited a song regarding this victory, Tschupitsch himself set him right on some points, and presented him with a Turkish horse.

This, however, had been only a slight commencement. In the summer, the Turks renewed their attacks at Sokol, with a much larger force. Hadschi Beg passed over from Srebrnitza; and the main body, about 30,000 strong, appeared again in the Matschwa. The Vizier, indeed, did not lead this army himself; but he sent two officers who could well supply his place: the Seraskier, Kulin Kapetan, a young commander, distinguished as much by his cruelty as by his valour; and old Mehemet.

This army proved exceedingly destructive to the inhabitants of Jadar: though they should have been protected by reason of their treaty. Kulin Kapetan caused even the peaceful villages, from which supplies were brought to him, to be plundered; the chief inhabitants to be murdered; and the defenceless to be carried off as prisoners. The Knes Iwan gave his whole property to ransom his countrymen: by whom he will ever be held in grateful remembrance. But he was constantly in fear of the Turks, and was at last obliged to flee, and earn his livelihood as a labourer.

But the declared opponents of the Turkish

army had much greater cause of alarm. Jacob Nenadowitsch, by far too weak to hazard an encounter in the open field, was induced to send his nephew Prota, and Stojan Tschupitsch, into the hostile camp to negotiate. This, however, was far from sound policy. Kulin would not hear of any stipulations. "Seest thou," said he to Prota, "these numberless troops? Amongst them all there is not one who would fear to seize with his naked hand the edge of a brandished sword." Instead of entering into negotiations, Kulin demanded the demolition of the fortification of Zrnabara; and, as the deputies had not the power to concede this, he actually detained them. And this was no small advantage to him; for as the Turks had now some of the chiefs in their power, they could with greater safety advance into the Servian territory. The Servian people, on the other hand, knew not what to think of their chiefs. In their view the attempt to enter into negotiation seemed only to indicate that they were about to surrender. Accordingly when the Ottomans spread themselves over the districts of Schabaz and Waljewo, the native population refused to remain in the field: every one desired to look after his home, his wife, his child; and they all dispersed. The Save was covered with the fugitives, who, in their boats, sought the Austrian bank; for on the Servian bank, murder and rapine raged: all who were found unarmed were led away as slaves, and their cattle carried off. Many villages submitted, and received Kneses from

Turkish authority. The people complained loudly of their leaders: "Why had they commenced the war, if they knew that they could not hold their ground? They had everywhere asserted that they were not fighting against the Sultan, and now he had sent so large an army that resistance could no longer be thought of."

The chiefs were in danger of being murdered by the people, and had to conceal themselves in the forests with their Momkes. Kulin advanced as far as Ustje, on the road to Belgrade, near to the Kolubara. Encouraged by these successes, Hadschi Beg endeavoured to force a passage over the mountain from Sokol.

The position of the Servians was indeed critical, when Ibrahim Pacha, of Scutari, appeared simultaneously on the other boundary, near Nisch, with an army estimated at 40,000 men. In fact, it appeared to be an insane undertaking, for the scantily equipped Raja of a single province to oppose itself to the military power of the Turkish Empire, under such brave and warlike commanders.

It was in this hour of danger that Kara George earned his fame and rank as commander-in-chief.

He opposed to the great Bosnian army about 1500 men, under the command of Katitsch; who being in a favourable position, succeeded in detaining it for the moment: though not without the loss of their valiant leader himself. Whilst Kara George in person, with no greater numbers, went against Hadschi Beg as he approached from Sokol;

met him at Pezka, and repulsed him with such vigour as to leave no fear of his ever returning. Kara George then rushed over the mountain into those districts which had just been subdued by the Bosnians. He killed the Kneses whom they had appointed, and did not spare those who had advised a surrender: all who had escaped by flight, and were able to bear arms, he collected around him. On the other hand, he rewarded those who had not lost courage even amidst these horrors. Amongst them appeared Milosch Stoitschewitsch, of Pozerje; a young man who had been brought up by the priests, and had up to this time filled the office of clerk or secretary to Ilia Markowitsch, a Buljukbasha, at Potzerina. He was small in stature, fair complexioned, and affable, but he had a bold heart. His master had surrendered to the Turks; and his mother was carried off into slavery; but he, with a few Momkes, fled into the mountain. With them he now presented himself to Kara George, who thus addressed him: "Thou art my son, and shall be my Woiwode of Pozerje." His name recalled to George's mind the old Milosch of Pozerje, the brother in arms of Kraljewitsch; and often has the youthful Woiwode been compared to the venerable hero. They now proceeded forward together, and induced the people again to rise in every quarter. In a short time the Turks, threatened in the rear and on their flanks, judged it prudent to retreat to Schabaz. About an hour's march from that station, near

Mischar, Kara George arrived with 7000 foot soldiers and 2000 horse; and, agreeably to the mode of warfare in that country, he immediately threw up an intrenchment opposite to the encampment of the enemy. He had with him a bomb and three pieces of cannon.

Affairs now approached to a decisive issue. The Turks had still sufficient pride to demand the submission of their opponents and the surrender of their arms; but the Servians boldly returned for answer, "If you will have our arms, here they are: come and take them!"

The Turks advanced. On two successive mornings they sallied forth from their camp near Schabaz, stormed the Servian works, fought throughout the day, and returned to their quarters in the evening without having gained any advantage. Astonished at their failure, they yet, from the superiority of their numbers, did not despair of the result. They then sent this message to the Servians: "For two days you have held out well; but once more we will attack you with all our force: it will then be determined whether we shall evacuate the country as far as the Drina, or drive you back to Smederewo." They suffered numbers of persons from the further side of the Save to come over, in order that, on the hills and from the trees, they might see the battle. "Now," they boasted, "they would show them in what manner they would treat the Heyducs."

It was in the early part of August, 1806, that the

two armies measured their strength. The night before the battle, Kara George sent his horsemen into an adjacent forest, directing them to attack the enemy's rear when the first shot was fired from his side, but not earlier. Within the works, he commanded his troops not to fire before the Turks had approached so near that their aim should be certain. At break of day, the Seraskier, with all his forces, went forth; the bravest Begs of Bosnia carrying the standards before the army. With their pieces loaded, the Servians calmly awaited them. Not until the Turks had come within range of the Servian fire did Kara George give the appointed signal. All the front rank took aim: they hit, as these marksmen express it, "all together into the flesh." The standards fell. The utmost consternation was produced by the cannon. Immediately upon this, the Servian horse issued from the rear and fell upon the Turks. At the same moment Kara George sallied forth from the intrenchments and, with his infantry, broke through the hostile ranks. In an instant the disorder of the Turks was complete, and their defeat decided.

The most eminent commanders of their army, Sinan, Pacha of Goraschde, the Kapetan of Derwenta, the Seraskier himself, Kulin—all perished! Here fell also at last Mehemet Kapetan, with two of his sons. The flower of the Bosnian youth had fallen around the standards.

The Servians sustained scarcely any loss; only the brave priest, Luka Lasarewitch, while too impe-

tuously pursuing the enemy, was severely wounded. The Turks, on the other hand, were so completely routed, that the few chiefs who survived determined, during the night, to throw a part of their army into Schabaz, and to lead the remainder forthwith over the Drina. This retreat, however, cost them nearly as much as the battle itself. Whilst passing in detachments through the forest of Kitog, they were attacked on all sides, and a rich booty with all the prisoners whom they had not yet transported over the Drina taken from them. Milosch of Pozerje obtained for his own prize the scimitar of Kulin: the most brilliant trophy. He also liberated his mother and brought her back to his home.

Whilst this great victory was won, other Servian chiefs, and especially Peter Dobrinjaz, had rendered services equally advantageous to their country. The army which Ibrahim Pacha of Scutari led on was even stronger than that of the Bosnians; yet it met with a resistance, if not altogether so brilliant, yet quite as energetic. On a well-selected spot in its route, the fortress of Deligrade had been erected.*

* We refrain here from details, because we do not find full information respecting the events which took place on the frontiers. The Chronicle of the Nineteenth Century relates how Jacob Levich and Stanoila Alas commanded there against three Bashaws, Bim, Delie, and Sacsi. (1806, p. 429.) This refers no doubt to Stanoje, Glawasch, and Jacoblewitsch, Woiwode of Lewatsch; whilst the designations Bimbashaw, Commander of a thousand, and Delibashaw, Commander of the Deli, he converts into real Bashaws. It may be observed that we write *Bashaw*, and not *Bashi*; though the latter would

This stronghold Peter Dobrinjaz defended for six weeks—his most renowned action; whilst some troops in the neighbourhood under Mladen and Glawasch occupied the Pacha by petty attacks; so that he could not advance a step.

The struggle between the Servians and the Turks was decided in favour of the former: a result that could hardly have been expected. The continued disturbances in the interior of the Turkish Empire operated to the advantage of the Servians; but, inasmuch as the Turkish forces by whom they were attacked were greatly superior to them in number, most honourable and glorious was the resistance offered by the Servians.

And for this they were soon to be rewarded. When Kara George, after his victory on the Save, towards the end of the summer of 1806, approached the eastern frontier with a part of his forces, Ibrahim held forth his hand for peace: having full authority to do so.

It appeared to him now indispensably necessary for the Turks that an adjustment of these disputes should be effected. In their conflict with the Servians alone, the Turks, despite their extraordinary efforts, had been defeated: how much more dangerous, then, would the Servians become, should

unquestionably be more correct. But it would be needless to employ different titles, as the dignities which the Turks denote by Bimbaschi, Bulukbaschi, are the same which the Servians denote by Bimbascha, and Buljukbascha. We follow here, as elsewhere, the Servian pronunciation.

Russia, with which country and the Porte a war was at that time impending, find in them a sure ally?

At a meeting at Smederewo, the Servians were easily induced to send to Constantinople with their proposals an embassy, consisting of two Kneses and a Bulgarian, Peter Itschko, well versed in the politics of the time.

It was only reasonable that the Servians, after the glorious victories they had gained, should not recede from their claims: they accordingly repeated the demands which they had made on a former occasion; and so admirably did Peter Itschko advocate their cause, that at one time those demands might really have been considered as granted. Peter Itschko had formerly served as interpreter to a Turkish ambassador at Berlin. In that capital he had acquired a knowledge of the principal languages of European nations, and had also learnt to understand their interests. Subsequently, having conducted commercial transactions for European merchants at Belgrade, and thus obtained some influence, he assumed the position of mediator. Hadschi Mustafa issued no orders without his counsel and approval; and when the Dahis were besieged through the assistance of a Turkish pacha, his tent was seen next to that of Kara George in the field of Belgrade. But never did his talent for mediation prove of higher importance, or meet with more eminent success, than on the present occasion. He represented to the Porte so forcibly its danger from an alliance between the Servians and the Rus-

sians — who at that very time had begun their march into Wallachia and Moldavia — that at length the Porte condescended to grant concessions, such as were contrary to the stern severity of its principles of government, and must be considered quite out of its usual course. So early as the end of October, Peter Itschko returned to Smederewo, and announced to the Servians, that the Porte had expressed its willingness to grant them undisputed possession of their country, a government of their own, and even to allow them to garrison the fortresses; requiring only, as a mark of its continued sovereignty, that a Muhasil with 150 Turks should reside at Belgrade. Instead of all the former taxes, the Servians were to pay annually 1800 purses: *i. e.* 900,000 piastres (60,000*l.* sterling); out of which sum the Porte would undertake to settle the claims of the Spahis, their former landlords. In fact, every thing that the Servians had asked was conceded. They were to be relieved from the oppressions arising from the collecting of various imposts, and also from the presence of the Turks, to whom these duties had been assigned; they were to become the proprietors of their country, which hitherto they had cultivated only for others; and were allowed to carry arms, and to garrison the fortresses under Turkish supremacy.

This was a moment of great importance to both nations. By these means only was it possible to prevent an alliance between the Servians and Russia. The Servians did not hesitate to accept these con-

ditions; and without loss of time, Peter Itschko, accompanied by two other Kneses, returned to obtain the ratification of this treaty with the Divan. And who could have doubted that it would have been ratified? The Muhasil, appointed for Belgrade, had arrived at Smederewo at the same time with the deputies.

In the interim, however, the Porte had taken other counsel. It is probable that the course of European events — the relation of which to the Ottoman Empire we have yet to consider — and the victorious progress of the ally of the Porte, Napoleon, against Prussia, in the autumn of 1806, had lessened its fear of the Russians, and renewed its confidence in its own power. Necessarily, when the affair came to be finally decided, all the interests opposed to concession were urged once more with new force. It seemed an injustice to eject the Spahis, who had not committed any fault, from their rightful property, in consideration of a sum of money; the payment of which, from the low state of the Turkish finances, was very doubtful. The judgment of the Mufti, which had led the Janissaries back, was in opposition to such a measure: nor would it have been readily acceded to by the Ulemas. And, if the fortresses were to be given over to the Servians, what was to ensure their obedience? Was not the danger that the Turks were rushing into, greater perhaps than that which they were endeavouring to avoid?

Suffice it, that the Divan, availing itself of the

opportunity for deliberating anew, rejected the treaty at the very moment when its ratification was to have taken place.

Nevertheless the peace which Peter Itschko had sought to establish was not lost sight of: it was always regarded as the model of any future treaty between the Servians and the Turks. But the consequence of this treaty not being ratified was, that affairs were left to develope themselves, without any controlling power to influence them.

Instead of being restrained, the Servians were on the contrary incited, by these negotiations, to summon the fortresses; in front of which the war of this year had commenced. Like every thing which has a beginning, victory also demands a consummation. As a proof that the peace had been concluded, the Servians appeared with their Muhasil before Belgrade and Schabaz, and, in accordance with it, demanded the surrender of those places. But at neither of these fortresses did their assurances make any impression on the Turks. Nor did Bekir Pacha prepare, as they required, to withdraw his Bosnians from Schabaz. The Servians wished to possess the fortresses, above all things; and the troops also demanded possession; being impatient at the prospect of passing the winter in the intrenchments thrown up for the siege. But it was clear that in order to do so they must conquer them a second time.

At first, Kara George determined on vigorously attacking Belgrade: which he, with his friends

Tscharapitsch, Glawasch, and Miloje, had encompassed, from the Danube to the Save.

Amongst the Krdschalies of Guschanz Ali, was an Albanian of the Greek religion, named Konda, who had, at the commencement of the contest, contributed greatly towards the defence of Belgrade against the Servians; but when the war had changed into a contest between Turks and Christians, he had gone over to the Servians. Many others had done the same; but, of them all, Konda proved the most useful. Displaying boldness and ability at all times, he had already been made Bimbascha; and he now offered to capture the town by an act of hazardous daring. Accordingly, Konda, accompanied by Usun Mirko, a Servian—who was as tall and powerful as his leader was small and alert—and five others who equalled them in valour and resolution, on the 12th of December, 1806, shortly before day-break, approached the trenches of the fortress by which alone the outer town was defended. Knowing exactly in which direction they might make their way between the numerous watch-towers which had been erected, Konda succeeded in taking his companions through unnoticed. That he might not excite attention, by proceeding directly from the trenches to the gate, he advanced a short distance into the town, and then turned back, and went straight towards the Christians' Gate. A sentry met him, and demanded "who they were?" Konda replied, "Momkes of the Usür-beg," (a commander of the

Krdschalies): he spoke Turkish, and therefore did not excite any suspicion. He thus, without hindrance, got to the rear of the gate-watch, and immediately fell on them. It was the commencement of the Bairam festival; and when the firing was heard in the town, it was supposed to be a salute in honour of the day. Konda had time to overpower the guard: who, however, defended themselves valiantly, and killed four of his companions; and then, though wounded, he proceeded with Mirko, who was also wounded, and the one surviving Servian soldier, who was unhurt, to force open the gate. On this, Miloje rushed in; and, during the confusion which arose from his attack, Kara George also passed over the trenches. The Turks, aroused, now flew to defend themselves; and a desperate conflict ensued. The people were firing from all the houses; and, as the dwellings could not be separately attacked, the Servians set fire to them; so that the defenders fled into the streets, where they were hewn down by the swords of their enemies. In this conflict, Tscharapitsch, who forced a passage at the Stamboul Gate, was killed. By ten o'clock the town was captured; but the best troops had thrown themselves into the citadel.

To take the citadel was certainly not the work of a moment. The Servians did not hesitate to occupy the neutral island in the southern part of the Danube—respecting which the Austrians residing in it could not say, whether it were really Turkish territory or not; and by this means they were enabled to cut off from the citadel all means of

obtaining supplies. It was from this very island, that Sultan Soliman first conquered Belgrade. Before the end of December, Guschanz Ali saw himself under the necessity of capitulating; and he sailed with his Krdschalies in eight large vessels, down to Widdin.

The only immediate result of this was, that Soliman Pacha became lord of his fortress; the Servians willingly allowing him to remain therein.

It first appeared, that the proceedings of the Servians would be altogether of an unusually mild character. So strictly did Kara George interdict plundering at the taking of Belgrade, that he ordered two men, who had disobeyed his orders, to be put to death, and their limbs exposed on the gates of the town. He likewise received with hospitality all who came from the fortress to solicit his protection.

Nevertheless, it is probable that even at this time all the Turks were destined to be put to death. When Guschanz Ali passed in his vessels by Poretsch, they were fired at by the battery which Milenko had erected there; and it was only by the great rapidity of the current that he escaped. But the Servians were so enraged, that they followed him in caiques — nay, even pursued and attacked the fugitives, who went on shore on Austrian territory. The conduct of Guschanz should have put them to the blush! Though the Momkes, who were to have conducted his horses by land to Widdin, had also been attacked, robbed, and killed on the way, he nevertheless caused the

hostages who had been given him to be sent back to Belgrade unhurt.

But the Servians persevered in their intention. They would neither allow the Turks to remain in the citadel, nor suffer them to escape; for they regarded them all as enemies and traitors. Were not these men, they asked, the adherents of the Dahis, from whom they had experienced so much oppression, and on whom they ought still to take revenge for murder? Were not their beautiful garments and their riches plunder obtained from the land of the Servians?

Therefore, when Soliman, on the intimation that no further supplies would be granted him, begged for a safe retreat, it was promised to him, indeed, and also a safeguard: but scarcely had he (on the 7th of March, 1807), with his two hundred Janissaries, and with the different families who had joined him, gone a few hours' march, when he was attacked from an ambuscade. The safeguard, instead of defending him, made common cause with his assailants; and out of his whole party not one escaped. The massacre immediately extended to Belgrade. For two days the Turks, who had endeavoured to conceal themselves, were sought out and slaughtered. They who still survived on the third day, chiefly beggars, were sent to Widdin. Some turned Christians. By the booty of these bloody days, Mladen, Miloje, Knes Sima Markowitsch, Wule Ilitsch, and others, became rich. In such fearful acts of cruelty did their hatred against the Turks vent itself: hatred long suppressed, but

strengthened by mutual animosities, and by the war; and at last thus fiercely bursting forth.

No Servian song commemorates this sanguinary retaliation on the Turks. The old Kneses shook their heads and said, "it was not well done: they would have to atone for it!" But they said this secretly, lest they might be considered as siding with the Turks: which would have endangered their own lives.

Their younger countrymen, however, urged on by the fortunate issue of these events, hastened, on the contrary, to prosecute the war still further, as though nothing extraordinary had occurred.

In February, Schabaz yielded, after experiencing similar horrors.

Kara George then attacked Uschize with the army of the Schumadia. After the Turks had released themselves from their treaty with the Servians, they had raised fortifications round the town; and to take these was the first object of the assailants. It was here that Milosch Obrenowitsch first distinguished himself; receiving, however, a dangerous wound in his breast. Uschize is, after Belgrade, the most populous town of the Pachalic; and it was no slight advantage to the Servians that in June, 1807, it fell into their hands. This time they did not again entrust it to the Turks.

The victors were now no longer satisfied with the territory which had formerly belonged to them.

Jacob had, without trouble, taken possession of the districts Jadar and Radjewina, which already

formed, as it were, a part of the country; and he left nothing untried to throw Bosnia, on the further side of the Drina, into a state of insurrection. In the first instance, he sent two deputies thither, who issued proclamations. But he had not selected proper men for this purpose: one of them was a robber, addicted to drinking, who was attacked and killed while in a state of intoxication; the other was a monk, who, being thus left alone, would not place his life in jeopardy. Jacob then sent over a few armed men, who succeeded so far as to excite some of the villages to insurrection, after having killed a collector of the Haradsch; but, on the first arrival of the Turks, order was restored. At last, Jacob built a vessel, by means of which a communication between the two banks of the Drina could be kept up. In it he sent about a thousand men over to the opposite side of the river, where they formed an entrenchment very near its bank, which he fortified with cannon. He hoped, from this entrenched camp, to effect a movement of the Bosnian Christians; but the Turks hastened to frustrate this scheme. They first blockaded the fort which had been raised, and then crossed over to the Servian bank. The consequence was, that, instead of producing any favourable result by his manœuvres, Jacob had to think of defending himself and protecting Losnitza.

George did not delay coming to his assistance. He sent him a part of his men from Uschize, well equipped, and well mounted, under a gallant commander, Miloje; who did not hesitate to express his

contempt for the Turks, and declared his intention of taking them prisoners in whole troops. He was, however, very far from effecting his object. The Sclavonian as well as the Albanian Mahometans are exceedingly brave people. Miloje returned without his helmet from his very first engagement, being saved only by the swiftness of his Arab steed; and instead of glory, earned only ridicule.

During the remainder of the summer, the Servians fought for whole days — sometimes in the open field, sometimes at the intrenchments which the Turks had thrown up — without success; without any decisive result.

Towards autumn, the Turks went back over the Drina.

In the meantime, Milenko had turned his views upon the Kraina; where, amidst the general disunion, the old terms of peace had not been preserved, and whence the Karapandschitsch had fled. But he experienced much opposition from Molla Pacha, the successor of Passwan Oglu; and although assisted by Kara George, and some Russians, who — led on by Isaïew, now first appeared in this country — he could effect nothing decisive. He was obliged to content himself with retaining possession of the mountain Mirotsch, between Poretsch and the Kraina.

On the other hand, important advantages were gained in those parts, by one from whom such had not been expected — the Heyduc Weliko. He had begged only for a banner, and general permission to

assemble volunteers: "he required nothing else," he said, "to conquer back his native country, Zrnareka." Aware that he would not remain quiet unless his request were granted, the Servians gave him all he asked. He very soon made himself heard of. Although the force which he brought together at first was small, he ventured to besiege a Beg in Podgoraz: by piling up one upon another a number of barrels filled with straw, and then setting them on fire, so that the flames reached up to the fort, he forced him to surrender. He gave the Beg safe-conduct to Widdin; but first exchanged dresses and horses with him, and took from him all the money in his possession. He then assembled his men; and, though himself a commander of inferior rank, he appointed standard-bearers, Buljukbaschas, and even a Bimbascha. One half of the booty he distributed, the other he sent to Belgrade; and as, instead of demanding money, like others, he contributed some, his presumption was allowed to pass unrebuked. It was sufficient if he succeeded in holding his ground. When the Turks from Widdin came against him, with a force incomparably superior to his own, he was not in any degree daunted. He was able, by a bold stroke, to keep them off. During the night, he, with his Momkes, stole his way into the midst of their camp; calling out in Turkish — "Weliko is here and conquering;" at the same instant he attacked the half-awakened and terrified soldiers, and drove them before him all in different directions. Such exploits he considered to be sufficient

grounds for investing himself with a legitimate authority; and from that time he ruled as Gospodar at Zrnareka.

Thus, although every attempt which was made had not an equally successful result, yet the grand enterprise was, in its main points, achieved beyond all expectation.

The Turks were driven out of the Pachalic of Belgrade; and the Raja, free and armed, were in possession of the country, and of the fortresses: already the Servians possessed beyond the boundaries, Jadar and Radjewina, the mountain Mirotsch, and Zrnareka.

By these means, the old state of subjection, in which the Servians had been held for centuries, was at once effectually destroyed.

It is deserving of remark, that, in the very days of the slaughter at Belgrade, the Teskeres of the Haradsch arrived; the payment of which the Grand Signior still expected. Peter Itschko brought them with him from Constantinople, instead of the ratification of his treaty. But in the mean time, the Servians had gained ground so far as to determine never again to pay Haradsch.

The natural tendency of the Christians to liberate themselves from the dominion of the Turks, rapidly exhibited itself among them now that they were victorious and powerful.

Let us next consider how the Servians, having shaken off the Turkish government, managed their internal affairs amongst themselves.

CHAP. X.

FORMATION OF A SERVIAN GOVERNMENT.

Formation of a Servian Government. — Tendency towards Military Despotism. — Woiwodes, Momkes, and Kneses. — Influence of Kara George. — The General Assembly or Diet. — Constitution of the Civil Court called Sowiet (Council or Senate). — Establishment of Schools. — Courts of Justice. — Election of the Sowietniks, or Members of the Senate. — Influence of Mladen and Miloje in the Senate. — Arrival in Belgrade of Rodofinikin, the Russian Councillor of State. — Consequent Jealousies and Disputes. — Sketch of the Early Life of Kara George.

FROM a revolt against rebels and usurpers, the Servians had proceeded to make demands of their own to the supreme authority. Those demands, being contrary to the established relations between Mahometans and Christians, the Ottoman government was not disposed to grant, but rather to punish their authors. The Servians had proceeded further: even to an armed resistance against the Sovereign himself; and, at last, to a forcible expulsion of the Turks. They were now again their own masters, and had their country in their own hands.

It might have been supposed, from the peaceful condition of the villages under the *Seoski Kneses*, and of the *Kneshines* under the *Grand Knes*, that

a similar government would readily have been formed for the districts, and for the country at large; consisting of elders, the principal men, and the judges: such was probably the form of government in the earliest periods of the Servian people; at the time of their immigration.

This would, perhaps, have been possible, had the authority of the Turks been at once annihilated; or it might have been achieved through the intervention of some European power, leaving the country its liberty: but not in the course which events had taken.

In a violent commotion, they had flown to arms, under the guidance of bold and skilful chiefs, who had, in fact, gained the victory of independence; and into whose hands the power had fallen: thus the government had been converted from a peaceful into a warlike form.

It has been already noticed, that in the villages the people had all become warlike: that the men equipped and supplied themselves, and in this manner appeared in the field, as free men fighting in their own cause.

But they did not take the field under the command of their Kneses; nor did they elect their own leaders: but their officers —*Buljukbashes*, of greater or less authority — were appointed by the Woiwodes; who had set themselves up in every direction.

The more powerful chiefs in war, who styled themselves Woiwodes, were not only commanders

of districts, but they had a force of their own — the Momkes — the only cavalry troops in the country. The Momkes were people settled on the land, and descended from good families; they ate with their leader, and were provided by him with horses and handsome apparel. Though not paid, they received valuable presents, and shared his booty. For this they were bound to their chief in life and in death; and they always formed his suite. They served him as readily against other enemies as against the Turks. Some chiefs had fifty followers. It may be easily imagined that these guards gave the Woiwodes more the air of rulers than of merely the heads of districts. By their side a Knes was of comparatively small importance. Some of them arbitrarily laid claim to the tolls in their districts; others appropriated to themselves the possessions of the Turks. When they apportioned the *Poresa* — which was still raised occasionally — they, to some extent, increased its amount for their own benefit. They demanded the tithe, and even compelled the peasants to perform feudal service. How much their dignity was already regarded as an hereditary right, may be gathered from the fact, that, at the death of a Woiwode, his son, or even an incompetent brother, was allowed to succeed him.

Yet the Woiwodes were not independent. When a government is overthrown, and a new one founded, power will always fall into the hands of those by whom the change has been effected.

At this time there were but few Woiwodes who were actually powerful: only they who, since the commencement of the revolution, had stood forth as chiefs, and led the people to victory.

Jacob Nenadowitsch had excited the district of Waljewo to insurrection, and had conquered Schabaz. Luka Lasarewitsch, who had been made Woiwode of Waljewo, slowly and by degrees detached himself from that chief. When Jacob took Uschize for the first time, he at once appointed a Woiwode there; and in the year 1807, he, without resistance, took possession of the two Bosnian districts, Jadar and Radjewina, and now considered himself master of those, as well as of other districts.

Milenko and Peter Dobrinjaz had together aroused Poscharewaz: the latter, however, acting at first only in a subordinate station. Advancing onwards, Milenko had conquered the district as well as the island of Poretsch; and Peter the neighbourhood of Parakyn. Ressawa was especially in their interest. On the further side of the Morawa, they exercised an independent authority; and, like Jacob Nenadowitsch, were styled Gospodars.

In the Schumadia, Kara George also took this rank. His authority, since Katitsch and Tscharapitsch, who originally shared it, had perished, extended over Grozka and Belgrade, as well as Kragujewaz. Poschega, too, had been conquered by him. Only Milan at Rudnik, and Wniza, — the brother of Gjuscha, who had been killed, and

his successor at Smederewo, — could claim an independent authority beside him.

It would thus appear that the whole country was on the point of being formed into gospodarships, like the captainships of Klephtes; and that, an opposition of personal interests being thereby created, the seeds of discord would be sown, to spring up at no distant period.

It must be considered fortunate, that the authority of Kara George had, in itself, a certain preponderating influence; from the fact of its extending over the largest district, the Schumadia; and that it also spread itself gradually over the whole country: owing to the same causes that had led to the acquisition of authority generally among this people.

In former times, Kara George had experienced open resistance; so that once, in the encampment before Belgrade, Jacob Nenadowitsch had the drums beaten in opposition to him, and plainly told him, that at the Kolubara, his command as a general terminated. But affairs had by degrees changed; and the events of 1806 had given the commander-in-chief a decided superiority. When he again conquered the Potzerina, he appointed a Woiwode there, far on the other side of the Kolubara. After that he afforded aid on the other side of the Morawa, and gained influence in that quarter also. The conquest of Belgrade had procured for him a general authority. His friends administered the government there; and all the paid troops, with the

Bekjares who were stationed at Belgrade, — chiefly Krdschalies who had deserted Guschanz, — might be considered as directly subject to him. The artillery, also, was under his command. The cannon had been procured either by purchase, or by the unexpected skill of a certain Milosaw Petrowitsch*, — for the guns which were found in the fortresses had first to be rendered serviceable. Kara George was attended by the greatest number of Momkes, and enjoyed the largest share of military glory. Though the other chiefs were still rather equal to than under him, yet in the year 1807 he was superior to them all.

A General Assembly was held annually for the management of the most important affairs of the

* This Milosaw was undoubtedly a remarkable man. The history of inventions sometimes re-commences in individuals. He was apprenticed to a shoemaker in the Banat, where he so closely observed and studied the mechanical skill of a clock-maker in whose house he happened to lodge, that he removed into another place, and himself commenced business as a clock-maker. Thence he went into Servia, and offered to cast cannon, provided the metal were ready smelted for him. In his early operations he did not appear to succeed. On his first attempt, the mass, which was not thoroughly fused, stopped running; on the second, the metal did indeed flow, but there was not sufficient: and thus Milosaw incurred the risk of forfeiting his life as an impostor. However, his third effort succeeded. From that time he had, in one part of his dwelling, a foundry for casting the metal; in another, wood and implements for making wheels; in a third, immense anvils, on which he himself manufactured his tools. He constructed every thing himself, from the largest to the smallest. Besides this, he always had in his sleeping room a number of clocks: for in this handicraft he delighted to exercise himself.

state. Soon after New Year's Day, all the Woiwodes, with their suites, assembled at a Diet called *Skupschtina.** They then determined, what was to be undertaken in the approaching spring; and each of the Woiwodes stated what he had expended for ammunition, for the payment of scouts, and for the care of the wounded, and produced his accounts. Here, too, the new Poresa was fixed. If complaints had been brought against any one, they were here examined; and, more than once, Woiwodes were, in consequence, cast into prison. Every necessary arrangement relating to war, as well as to finance and judicature, was under the immediate care of the Skupschtina.

This arrangement—if we may venture to compare things so remote, and of such different importance,—brings to mind the *May-field* of the Franconian Royal Stewards; where the leaders of the army assembled in like manner at the head of their men, to deliberate and determine on affairs of war and state.

By this Assembly, the common rule of the Servian commanders was in some measure regulated. Differences of opinion between the leading men—the Commander-in-chief and the other Gospodars—of course arose occasionally; but their relative shares of power being duly apportioned in the Skupschtina, gave decision to their counsels.

Yet this could not be termed a Government. The Woiwodes were not inclined, nor would they

* The word is derived from *Skupiti*, to assemble.

have been able, to adjust the disputes which daily arose. During the greater part of the year, they were engaged in the field against the enemy. And, as the war could not be its own object, the peaceful fellowships in villages, Kneshines, and Nahis, on which every thing depended, had also the right to a share in the conduct of public affairs.

It were superfluous here to show that a regular and well-organised government was needed. This necessity, indeed, had been taken into consideration soon after the first meeting of the Skupschtina. When the deputies who went to St. Petersburg passed through Charkow, they found there one who might be termed a *half*-fellow countryman — a Hungarian Servian, named Philippowitsch, a Doctor of Laws. Unaccustomed to the climate, he was always out of health, and wishing to return to the banks of the Danube, he accordingly joined the deputies. He it was who first called the attention of the Servians to the necessity of a permanent court of jurisdiction and administration; and to that opinion he gained over Jacob Nenadowitsch in particular: though not without the assistance of Prota. Kara George also, who, whilst in the Austrian service, had acquired some inclination for law and order, was induced to declare in its favour. Accordingly, at a Skupschtina held at Borak, it was decided, that a legislative institution, such as that proposed, should be established.

Pursuant to this decision, in the year 1805, a Civil Court of the Servian country, called *Synod*

or *Sowiet* (Council or Senate) was held; first at Blagowjeschtenije, and then at Bogowadja, both of which were cloisters. After the conquest of Smederewo it was held there; but when Belgrade also had been taken, it was removed to that place, as being the capital of Servia.

The Senate consisted of twelve members, corresponding with the number of the districts; and the intention was, that each member should represent the district in which he might be elected, and should belong especially to it. Out of the public chest the *Sowietnik* received a small salary; which, however, was increased by supplies from the produce of the soil, so as to constitute a sufficient maintenance. These the district supplied in a very patriarchal mode: the Sowietnik received only wine, if his Nahia were a wine district; but, in other cases, each district sent its representative a couple of cows at Christmas, as provision for the winter. The house in which the Sowietnik resided was considered as the property of the district; every inhabitant of which had the right of lodging therein whenever he might come to the city. The members of the Senate were thus obliged to attend especially to the concerns of their respective districts: so far at least as their paramount duty of devoting themselves to the general affairs of the country would allow.

Dr. Philippowitsch, who originally formed the plan of the Senate, was appointed secretary, and undertook its direction from the first. This duty

he performed in a most satisfactory manner, and left behind him an unblemished reputation.

Under his auspices the Senate formed many important resolutions. He ordered the sale of the houses and land which the Turks had possessed in the towns, and endeavoured to set apart the tithe for the support of the army. There is a letter extant, in which he earnestly warns Peter Dobrinjaz not to interfere with the ferry of Poscharewaz: the Senate, he said, would appoint a proper officer for it. He moreover reminded him that, being a Woiwode, Peter should be satisfied with heading his men; and that it was not his province to meddle with such affairs. He also made other financial regulations: he fixed the imposts, and settled the fees for the performance of clerical functions. But of all that he undertook, his laws respecting schools, and the maintenance of justice, were unquestionably the most important. The only schools in the country — which were indeed rather seminaries for the clerical office, in which a little scanty reading was taught, than real schools — had hitherto been held in the cloisters under the superintendence of the priests. The pupils (Djaks), like boys who learn a trade or profession, were bound to render every sort of service to their master; and were more engaged in tending the cattle, and working in the fields, than in their studies. Now, not only was a small school established in every district town, to afford some elementary instruction; but also, at the suggestion

of Jugowitsch, a high school (*Welika Schkola*) with three teachers was established in Belgrade, where historical and mathematical science, and even the rudiments of jurisprudence, were taught. Jugowitsch himself, formerly professor at Carlowiz, taught there for some time; and his assistants were, like himself, Austrian Servians. Notwithstanding all its imperfections, this school has had a perceptible influence in later years.*

Still more important at that time was the establishment of courts of justice. A small extent of jurisdiction was left to the Kmetes of the village; but in every district town, where formerly the Kadi had resided, a magistracy was formed, consisting of a president, an assessor, and a secretary. The Senate appointed the last of these officers, and gave them the necessary instructions; reserving the appeals for their own decision.

By these means, in a country so lately freed from the Turks, the germs of civilisation and progress were immediately planted; in a great measure, after the model presented by the neighbouring state, Austria: but yet by a national impulse, and with peculiar regulations. The Senate, who undertook the superintendence of these regulations, contributed at the same time to the unity of the ruling power. The Senate represented the country at large, as each senator represented his own Nahia.

* Protitsch, Maxim Rankowitsch (Senator), Lasar Arsenowitsch, and Boschko Thadditsch, were pupils of this establishment.

Was it not the object of these measures to create a counter influence, in opposition to the arbitrary power of the military leaders?

At a first glance it might have so appeared; but such was not the case. The very origin of the senators rendered it almost impossible that it should be so. It was indeed intended that each Sowietnik should be sent by the free election of his district: but how could the people of any place venture to reject the proposal of the Gospodar? On the Gospodar depended the election; and as it rested with him, also, to determine how much of the produce of the district he might be disposed to grant to a friend, the comfortable subsistence of the Sowietnik was equally in his hands. Could a senator so circumstanced act in opposition to the interest of his elector and patron. Could it be expected, for instance, that Jacob Nenadowitsch would be reproved or checked by his nephew, Prota, who was for some time president of the Senate? It is true that, in the very nature of the duties of the Senate, there exists to some extent a guarantee of general influence: the very existence of a central authority gives it rights. But these were very far from being always acknowledged. Despite of the decrees of the Senate, some Woiwodes retained possession of the custom-houses on the frontier, or of Turkish property: for the Senate was unable to render the magistrates independent of the military chiefs. Commanders habitually feel a consciousness of their own importance, which is readily

excited by successful exploits: the Woiwodes would not be governed by men of peace. It is well known that at the very commencement, Kara George, when some decrees had been issued which displeased him, went out, assembled his Momkes, and stationed them with their guns pointed against the windows of the Sessions Hall. "It is easy," he exclaimed "to make laws in comfortable rooms: but who will lead the way should the Turkish army again appear?"

It was only when the military chiefs expected advancement from the Senate that they cordially recognised its authority. Weliko received from the Sowiet the command of a squadron, with which he conquered Zrnareka.

But another evil arose from the manner in which the Senate was composed.

The Gospodars had hoped that it would afford them a means of limiting the power of the commander-in-chief; Kara George, on the contrary, that it would assist him in controlling his rivals. As the Sowietniks were elected in this feeling, it was unavoidable but that the disputes which divided their constituents should appear also in the Senate. Let us examine the differences which thus arose.

Among the senators, two especially sided with Kara George: these were Iwan Jugowitsch—who, after the too early death of Philippowitsch, had succeeded that statesman in the office of secretary; with perhaps equal knowledge and ability, but not

with an equally blameless demeanour—and Mladen Milowanowitsch, deputy for Kragujewaz. Mladen was intimately connected with Kara George; coming from the same province, pursuing the same calling, and with similar fortune: for he also had served in the Austrian war, and had subsequently been chosen Heyduc; moreover his nephew was married to the daughter of Kara George. Occasionally, Mladen was intrusted with the control of several Woiwodes of minor consequence. War, however, was not his peculiar element. He was very tall and powerful, but somewhat awkward in his gait; and his presence in the field was not deemed auspicious. But in council he was altogether in his proper place. He had the ability to deliver his opinion with such convincing eloquence that no one ventured to controvert what he advanced. In the year 1807, he had the conduct of affairs entirely in his hands: people said, "Mladen alone is the Senate." But he did not always exercise his power blamelessly.

Mladen was also most intimately allied with Miloje, another old companion in his profession; and these two, who lived in the same house, ruled Belgrade by the assistance of the Bekjares and Momkes. At the capture of the fortress, the best part of the booty had fallen to their share; and they continued from time to time to gain possession of the most serviceable houses and vaults in the town: the most lucrative magazines, and the finest landed property in the country. By constantly retaining in their possession the custom-houses of Belgrade and

Ostruschnitza, they brought the greatest part of the trade with foreign countries into their own hands. It is true they farmed the tolls and bought the houses and estates: but on terms imposed by themselves; which, in fact, made the transaction scarcely less unjust and tyrannical. Frequently they forced the peasants to perform feudal service, or socage. In short, without their participation, no one could venture to enter upon any business of importance.

Proceedings of this nature recall to mind the fact, that, only a short time previously, the country had groaned under a despotic government; the conduct of which these men seemed desirous to imitate. Very fortunately, there existed a party who had an almost personal interest in opposing their views.

Abram Lukitsch, from the districts of Rudnik and Poschega, a friend of Milan; and Iwan Protitsch, from the Nahia of Milenko-Poscharewaz, showed themselves especially zealous on the subject; and at length they procured a decree for the removal of Mladen from Belgrade. All the Sowietniks confirmed this decree by their signatures or their seals; and Kara George assented. Mladen was commissioned to lead the Bekjares to Deligrade; and he accordingly set out on the expedition. Jugowitsch, equally obnoxious to the senators, also had to give way to them.

Soon after, however, Kara George, under circumstances of yet greater pressure, thought himself

justified in not leaving uncontrolled power to the Senate.

In consequence of the relations entered into with Russia, the Russian councillor of state, Rodofinikin, had come to Belgrade on the solicitation of the Servian deputies. From the first, Kara George had disapproved of this. He objected that Rodofinikin was a Greek: that the Greeks had ever been suspected, nay even hated, by the Servians; who were at that very time on bad terms with the Metropolitan, Leonti, also a Greek. His objection, however, came too late: the deputies were already on their way back with the Russian councillor.

Rodofinikin, who probably was not aware of the prejudice existing against him, on his arrival not only entered upon a friendly understanding with Leonti, but censured much in the conduct of the Servians: he advised them to make the Momkes paid troops, and to restrain the arbitrary power of the Woiwodes. Aversion and suspicion were consequently excited against him in the minds of many. Kara George was persuaded that he was in alliance with his rivals: Mladen and Jugowitsch represented to him, that people attacked them only for the purpose of overthrowing him; and that with this object Rodofinikin and Leonti sided with his native opponents. Moreover, they contended that the design of the two Greeks went yet further: that it was their wish to subject Servia to a Greek government, such as existed

in Moldavia and Wallachia; and that for this end they had been gained over by the Fanariotes. On this point, Jugowitsch had many stories in readiness. He stated that, of two deputies who had come from Constantinople under pretence of making proposals for peace, and who had been ordered to return, one, named Nicolaus, had nevertheless remained at Belgrade, and entered into the service of Leonti; and that the Metropolitan had, even in the depth of winter, set out in his company, under the pretext of collecting his Dimnitza, but in reality to excite the multitude against their chiefs. Leonti, he said, had asked the people, "why they fought for their chiefs — for men whose design it was first to enrich themselves, and then to flee with their riches, and to give the peasants up to the Turks? It would be better for them to submit to the Turks at once."—It could not be believed, added Jugowitsch, but that there was an understanding between Leonti and Rodofinikin; else why should the latter, when new ambassadors from Constantinople appeared in the Kraina, have contrived to be commissioned to negotiate with them himself? He had gone to meet them accompanied by Leonti and Nicolaus; but no negotiation whatever had been brought under discussion. Secret designs had been there agreed upon, whilst the parties were standing conversing, two and two, together.

On these representations, Kara George considered it almost as a duty he owed to his country to

assert his own personal authority — for what event could have been more pernicious to the country than its falling under the rapacious domination of the Fanariotes? Without delay, he banished Nicolaus; and Leonti also was made to feel his displeasure. He took especial care, too — in order to prevent an influence of so dangerous a nature from acquiring a preponderance in the Senate — that his two friends should resume their seats in that assembly. And no one ventured to oppose him. Mladen, it is true, visited the Sessions only now and then; yet he enjoyed greater influence, and was more feared than ever.

Such manifold oppositions of the civil administration to the military chiefs, and of the Gospodars to the commander-in-chief, together with disputes concerning internal and external relations, disturbed this government, even at the commencement of its formation: yet they were unable to destroy its unity. This was sustained by the authority of the Commander-in-chief: which, though unquestionably much restricted, already extended over all parts of the country; had the preponderance in the Skupschtina, and could influence the decisions of the Senate. Victorious success in arms had laid the foundation of this authority: but, without great tact and natural talent, it could not have been preserved in its integrity. Kara George will be ever memorable, not only as having led the insurrection against the Turks, but also as the founder of a comprehensive national authority throughout

the country. He well deserved to be regarded as the chief of the nation. Let us pause a moment, to consider his history and character, manners and personal appearance.

George Petrowitsch, called Kara, or *Zrni*, the *black*, was born between the years 1760 and 1770, in the village of Wischewzi, in the district of Kragujewaz. He was the son of a peasant named Petroni; and in his early youth he went with his parents higher up into the mountain to Topola. In the very first commotion of the country — which was in the year 1787, when an invasion by the Austrians was expected — he took a part that decided the character of his future life. He saw himself compelled to flee; and not wishing to leave his father behind*, amongst the Turks, he took him also, with all his moveable property and cattle. Thus he proceeded towards the Save, but the nearer they approached that river, the more alarmed became his father, who, from the first, would have preferred surrendering, as many others had done, and often advised him to return. Once again, and in the most urgent manner, when they already beheld the Save before them, "Let us humble ourselves," the old man said, "and we shall obtain pardon. Do not go to Germany, my son: as surely as my bread may prosper thee, do not go."

* It has been stated that Petroni was his step-father: we are informed of the truth of this by one of Kara George's most intimate acquaintances. But this supposition does not offer any mitigation of such a crime: a less degree of affection would have rendered the deed more cruel.

But George remained inexorable. His father was at last equally resolved: "Go, then, over alone:" He said, "I remain in this country." "How!" replied Kara George, "shall I live to see thee slowly tortured to death by the Turks? It is better that I should kill thee myself on the spot!" Then seizing a pistol, he instantly shot his father, and ordered one of his companions to give the death-blow to the old man, who was writhing in agony. In the next village, Kara said to the people, "Get the old man who lies yonder buried for me, and drink also for his soul at a funeral feast." For that purpose he made them a present of the cattle which he had with him, and then crossed the Save.

This deed, which was the first indication of his character, threw him out of the common course. He returned to his own district, with the rank of serjeant, in the corps of volunteers; but, believing himself unjustly passed over at a distribution of medals, he retired into the mountains as a Heyduc. However, he became reconciled in this matter with his colonel, Mihaljewitsch; went with him after the peace to Austria; and was made "forest-keeper" in the cloister of Kruschedol. But he did not rest satisfied in Austria; and as, under Hadschi Mustafa, he had nothing to fear in Servia, he returned thither, and from that time followed his business — that of a dealer in swine. The outrages of the Dahis hurried him into the movements in which he was destined to perform so important a part.

Kara George was a very extraordinary man. He

would sit for days together without uttering a word, biting his nails. At times, when addressed, he would turn his head aside and not answer. When he had taken wine, he became talkative; and if in a cheerful mood, he would perhaps lead off a Kolo-dance.*

Splendour and magnificence he despised. In the days of his greatest success, he was always seen in his old blue trowsers, in his worn-out short pelt, and his well-known black cap. His daughter,

* In the "Poetical Works" of the Rev. George Croly, LL.D. is a fine sketch of the person and character of this heroic individual, with an equally noble effusion relating to his death: the description of which, however, is not in accordance with the account given by Ranke: — "His appearance was striking and singular. He was boldly formed, and above the general stature. But the extraordinary length of his physiognomy, his sunken eyes, and his bold forehead, bound with a single black tress of hair, gave him a look rather Asiatic than European.

——— His brow is bare,
Save one wild tress of raven hair,
Like a black serpent deeply bound,
Where once sat Servia's golden round."

Amongst the anecdotes related of him, is the following: "When a boy, being ordered by a Turk to stand out of the way, or have his brains blown out, he shot the Turk on the spot. Hatred of the oppressors of his country was probably mingled here with individual temper."

"This man," forcibly observes Dr. Croly, "was one of the bold creations of wild countries and troubled times — beings of impetuous courage, iron strength, original talent, and doubtful morality. Civilisation levels and subdues the inequalities of the general mind; barbarism shows, with the desolation, the grandeur of the wilderness, — the dwarfed and the gigantic side by side, a thousand diminished and decaying productions overshadowed by one mighty effort of savage fertility." TR.

even whilst her father was in the exercise of princely authority, was seen to carry her water-vessel, like other girls in the village. Yet, strange to say, he was not insensible to the charms of gold.

In Topola, he might have been taken for a peasant. With his Momkes, he would clear a piece of forest land, or conduct water to a mill; and then they would fish together in the brook Jasenitza. He ploughed and tilled the ground; and spoiled the insignia of the Russian Order with which he had been decorated, whilst putting a hoop on a cask. It was in battle only that he appeared a warrior. When the Servians saw him approach surrounded by his Momkes, they took fresh courage. Of lofty stature, spare, and broad-shouldered, his face seamed by a large scar, and enlivened with sparkling deep-set eyes, he could not fail to be instantly recognised. He would spring from his horse, for he preferred fighting on foot; and though his right hand had been disabled from a wound received when a Heyduc, he contrived to use his rifle most skilfully. Wherever he appeared, the Turks became panic-stricken; for victory was believed to be invariably his companion.

In the affairs of peace, Kara George evinced, as has been shown, a decided inclination for a regular course of proceeding; and, although he could not himself write, he was fond of having business carried on in writing: he allowed matters to follow their own course for a long time together; but, if they

were carried too far, his very justice was violent and terrible. His only brother, presuming on his name and relationship, took unwarrantable license; and for a long time, Kara George overlooked his misconduct: but at length he did violence to a young maiden, whose friends complained loudly; exclaiming, that it was for crimes of such a character that the nation had risen against the Turks. Kara George was so greatly enraged at this vile deed, that he ordered this only brother, whom he loved, to be hanged at the door of the house; and forbade his mother to mourn outwardly for the death of her son!

Generally speaking, he was kindly disposed; yet he would readily accredit what was related to him in prejudice of another, although a short time before convinced of the contrary; and if once irritated and angry, he could not be restrained. He would not even pause to tell his Momkes to beat the offender to the ground, but he would himself slay his adversary: and he spared none. To the Knes Theodosi, he was indebted for his dignity: yet him he slew. When such an event had occurred, he would weep, and exclaim, "May God punish him who gave cause for the quarrel!" Yet he was not vindictive: when he had once pardoned an offender, he never recurred again to the offence.

Such was Kara George: a character of extraordinary strength; unconscious, as it were, of its own powers, — brooding in the vague sense of dormant energies; till aroused to action by some

event of the moment: but then bursting forth into vigorous activity; for good or for evil, as circumstances might direct.

His character much resembles that of the heroes celebrated in the national songs of Servia.

Howsoever much of a barbarian he might be, Kara George was now playing a part of no slight importance in the world. He established the principle of the emancipation of the subject Christian nations from the government and power of the Turks; and towards him all eyes were now directed.*

* Mr. Paton, in his Work entitled "*Servia, the Youngest Member of the European Family,*" describes an interview which he had with the son of Kara George at Constantinople. Mr. Paton observed to the Prince: —

"Your Highness's father had a great name as a soldier; I hope that your rule will be distinguished by rapid advancement in the arts of civilisation."

"This," continues Mr. Paton, "led to a conversation relative to the late Kara George; and the Prince rising, led me into another apartment, where the portrait of his father, the duplicate of one painted for the Emperor Alexander, hung from the wall. He was represented in the Turkish dress, and wore his pistols in his girdle; the countenance expressed not only intelligence, but a certain refinement, which one would scarcely expect in a warrior peasant; but all his contemporaries agree in representing him to have possessed an inherent superiority and nobility of nature, which in any station would have raised him above his equals."

The same writer transcribes the following passage from a paper by Marshal Diebitch, who was employed on a confidential mission from the Russian Government in Servia, during the years 1810 and 1811; the original of which is in possession of the Servian Government: —

"George Petrovitch, to whom the Turks have given the

Nothing had as yet been settled or acknowledged respecting the positionof the Servians. They were still in the midst of war; which was carried on with greater or less zeal, as the position of European affairs permitted. By degrees, those affairs took such a turn as to present a very fair prospect of success to the efforts of the Servians who were struggling to establish their independence.

name of Kara or Black, is an important character. His countenance shows a greatness of mind, which is not to be mistaken; and when we take into consideration the times, circumstances, and the impossibility of his having received an education, we must admit that he has a mind of a masculine and commanding order. The imputation of cruelty and bloodthirstiness appears to be unjust. When the country was without the shadow of a constitution, and when he commanded an unorganised and uncultivated nation, he was compelled to be severe; he dared not vacillate, or relax his discipline; but now that there are courts of law, and legal forms, he hands every case over to the regular tribunals. He has very little to say for himself, and is rude in his manners; but his judgments in civil affairs are promptly and soundly framed, and to great address he joins unwearied industry. As a soldier, there is but one opinion of his talents, bravery, and enduring firmness." — *Servia, the Youngest Member of the European Family; or, a Residence in Belgrade, and Travels in the Highlands and Woodlands of the Interior, during the Years* 1843 *and* 1844. By ANDREW ARCHIBALD PATON, ESQ., Author of *The Modern Syrians,* 1845. TR.

CHAPTER XI.

RELATIONS OF SERVIA TO THE GENERAL STATE OF EUROPE AND TURKEY.

Turkey joins the Second Coalition against France. — Napoleon abandons his Scheme of an Eastern Empire. — The War of 1806. *— French Influence at Constantinople. — Relations of the European Powers with Turkey. — Connexion of Russia with the Servians. — Opposing Parties in the Ottoman Empire. — Deposition of Selim III. — At the Peace of Tilsit Buonaparte deserts the Cause of the Turks. — His Views regarding Turkey. — Recommencement of Hostilities between the Servians and Turks in* 1809. *— Servia is supported by Russia.*

THE great conflict which agitated Europe, on the overthrow of the ancient kingly power in France, extended also to the Ottoman Empire, which rests on totally different foundations; and affected to a great extent its foreign relations and its internal condition: not indeed through its constitutional sympathies and antipathies, but incidentally by the vicissitudes of war and politics.

Considered in itself, a change of government in France was most welcome to the Divan. It calculated that this power would now assume towards Austria, whom the Turks still regarded as an enemy, a more decided language and demeanour than the old government had ventured to adopt.

But the spirit of conquest, which had seized the revolutionised nation, displayed itself also in the East. The great general of the French Republic, Napoleon Buonaparte, conceived the idea of founding an Eastern Empire: he took possession of Egypt, and invaded Syria. The natural consequence of these events was, that the Porte took part against France, and joined the second coalition. A squadron of the allied Turks and Russians appeared off the Italian coast; and the Caliph of Roumelia, as the Sultan styled himself, made every exertion to reinstate the Pope at Rome.

At length Napoleon judged it was more prudent to rule France, than to oppose all the forces of the world in a distant land; where, cut off from the mother country, he must finally be subdued by them. He therefore gave up both Egypt and Syria, and prepared to form a Western instead of an Eastern Empire.

A better understanding was in consequence soon established between him and the Porte. As Napoleon acknowledged the integrity of its territory, the Porte did not hesitate to renew the ancient privileges which the French had enjoyed during the reign of their kings; and even to allow them the free navigation of the Black Sea. Such concessions might now be granted without hesitation: so long, at least, as peace was maintained on the continent. But would it be safe if war should again break out between the great continental powers and Napoleon? Such was the case in the year 1805; and

it became a question with the Porte, which of the two parties it would prefer joining.

For a while the Porte hesitated. At times the Russian ambassador seemed likely to carry every thing at Constantinople; but the Turkish government vacillated, and delayed coming to any conclusion that might prove prejudicial to the French.

At this juncture the news of the battle of Austerlitz arrived. The defeat of the Russians afforded extreme satisfaction to the population of Constantinople. The Porte also began to have confidence in the 'star' of Napoleon; and now for the first time acknowledged him as Emperor (*Padischah*) of the French. Napoleon assured the Turkish ambassador that the successes and reverses of the one state were those of the other — that the enemies of the Turks were his also — that the Sultan was his oldest and his most valued ally.*

It is a fact not always remembered, that the affairs of Turkey, almost as much as those of Germany, led to the war of 1806.

In order to prevent the influence which, by the possession of Dalmatia, the French would certainly obtain over the neighbouring Turkish provinces, and even over the Divan itself; England and Russia determined that Dalmatia should not be conceded to France. The two allies would have preferred rather to make use of its coasts for an at-

* Réponse de l'empereur à un discours de l'ambassadeur de la Porte Ottomanne, 5 Juin, 1806.

tack on Northern Italy, then under French dominion; in order to take possession of the Bays of Cattaro. The Russians, now in occupation of Corfu, united with the people of Montenegro, who rose in multitudes; and brought the advancing French, if not into great danger, at least into serious difficulties. At that time England would not have objected, if Russia had possessed herself also of Belgrade.

The intentions of the allies, which could not be concealed, greatly facilitated the purpose of General Sebastiani, whom Napoleon had sent to Constantinople, to win over the Divan entirely to the French interest. The alliance of Russia with the Christian subjects of the Ottoman empire was one of the weightiest reasons urged by the General. He knew well what he was about when he induced the Porte to depose the Gospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia; who were accused, amongst other offences, of a secret understanding with the Servians. For as the existing treaties stipulated that this should not be done without consulting Russia, open war with that power must consequently ensue.

The immense advantages obtained by this proceeding are worthy of particular remark. In consequence of this step, Russia found an occupation which prevented the full development of her forces in favour of Prussia; a large army being forthwith despatched into Moldavia. Moreover, this at present one-sided interference of the Russians, with the territories of the lower Danube, excited a strong jealousy in Austria. According to the docu-

ments which have come before us on this subject, there can be no doubt that the adoption of these measures constituted one of the chief reasons why Austria did not join the alliance between Prussia and Russia.* It was also proposed to her to unite with France and Turkey: but this it would have been still less possible for her to have accepted.

In the mean time, the connexion between the French and the Turks was daily becoming closer. The news of the success of Napoleon against Prussia, and his march into Poland, materially contributed to induce the Porte, in the month of December, 1806, despite the threats of the English, to declare war against Russia, with all the solemnity of a religious ceremony.

The Turks are said to have flattered themselves that they should form a junction with French troops on the Dniester, or even on the Danube, and thus be enabled to re-conquer the Crimea. When the English made good their threats, and with a considerable squadron appeared before Constantinople, the Divan was resolute in rejecting their demands. They who most strongly encouraged the Turks in forming this resolution, and afterwards made them adhere to it, were Sebastiani and his suite; men all well experienced in war; and

* According to "The Historical Memoir of a Mission to the Court of Vienna, in 1806," by Sir Robert Adair, p. 104. 108., this appears to have been the chief result of that mission. No one any longer believed that Fox had ever been disposed to leave Sicily to Napoleon.

who now assisted, or rather directed them in their preparations for defence.* The result was that the English, everywhere else victorious, withdrew. After this we find the progress of the Turkish arms against the Russians announced, in Napoleon's bulletins, as his own success. On a congress for peace being suggested, Buonaparte demanded the admission of Turkish plenipotentiaries; and when, on the 28th of May, 1807, the Turkish ambassador was presented to him at the Castle of Finkenstein, Napoleon declared, that "himself and the Grand Signior were now inseparable as the right and left hands." †

It would not be difficult to trace the relations into which the European powers were thus brought with the internal affairs of Turkey.

We have already seen, that Russia had entered into a continually closer union with the Servians; so that at length she sent a division of troops into the Kraina to their assistance. There is a letter from the seat of war in that country, in which Kara George relates, with exultation, "that 1500 Turks had been killed on the spot—that eight

* Bignon, t. vi. p. 193.: L'ambassadeur de France est en même tems le premier ministre et le connetable du Grand Seigneur. Adair, on the 4th of April, 1807, writes:—"General Sebastiani is completely master at Constantinople, presides over the deliberations of the Divan, and directs all their measures.

† 77me bulletin de la grande armée Finckenstein, le 28 Mai 1807. It is true that it is there only said "on assure," but that is sufficient evidence. Compare Thibaudeau, *L'Empire.*

redoubts, with all their cannon and bombs, had been taken — that a chest full of ducats had fallen into their hands, together with Arabian horses, and costly trappings in abundance — that such of the Turks as had escaped, had saved nothing but their lives, and that the Pacha had effected his escape on a Wallachian mare." He knew not how sufficiently to extol the valour of the Russians. If this action produced no other results, it at least established a good fellowship in arms between the Russians and Servians.

In like manner, in the spring of the year 1807, the Russians assisted the people of Montenegro in an attack upon the Turkish fortresses of Nikschitschi and Klobug. The Montenegrins were devoted in their attachment to the Emperor of Russia, even beyond what might have been expected under such circumstances. In one of their petitions they designated themselves his subjects.*

The Greek Armatoles, also, who from year to year had become more aware of their own importance, with Enthymios Blachavas, who already cherished the idea of a general deliverance of Greece †, were on good terms with the Russians; to whom Parga once more stood indebted for its deliverance from Ali Pacha.

On the other hand, Napoleon was in constant intercourse with Ali Pacha, who had friendly relations

* Sujets fidèles de Votre Majesté. Rapport de Stroganoff à l'empereur Alexandre. Lebensbilder, ii. p. 194.

† Emerson's History of Modern Greece, ii. p. 500.

with the party at this time prevailing at Constantinople. The Pacha boasted that Napoleon had placed cannon at his disposal*; and it seems probable that a combined attack on the Seven Islands had been in contemplation. The Montenegrins affirm that on their attacking Klobug, the French troops from Ragusa had come to the assistance of the Turks. French officers are said also to have directed the resistance which the Bosnians, in 1807, made against the Servians: a statement originating from the circumstance that the Bosnian artillery was far better served, and proved far more effective than on former occasions.† The fact cannot be affirmed with certainty, but the events of the period afford sufficient grounds for its belief.

Napoleon — who, since his Egyptian campaign, had entertained a high opinion of the qualifications of Turkish soldiers — now called upon the Sultan to leave his Seraglio, to place himself at the head of his troops, and to renew the glorious days of the Ottoman empire. This he considered to be practicable in the very way that Selim had adopted, — through the medium of military reforms; in which

* In a letter of Napoleon's, Osterode, le 7 Avril, 1087, communicated by Segur, we read: *Deja des canons ont été mis à la disposition du Pacha de Janina.*

† At the head quarters of Jacob Nenadowitsch, nothing was ever seen or heard of French artillery prisoners; respecting whom, a (doubtlessly fictitious) report from the army (östreichische militärische Zeitschrift, 1821) says so much. The Servians, it is true, also considered that French officers were amongst the Turks, from the fact that their artillery had been more effective than formerly.

he encouraged him to the utmost of his power. It is certain that at one period of his youth, when circumstances in France appeared to promise little in his favour, Buonaparte had himself intended to assist in the military regeneration of the Turkish Empire. There is a note extant, written at the time referred to, in which he assumes that it was a political necessity for France to improve the military force of Turkey, and cause her again to be the dread of neighbouring states. That was the opinion which he now expressed. The assistance of French engineers and artillery officers made the defence of Constantinople against the English possible at this time, and showed what the Turks might accomplish under skilful guidance.

Thus the great states of Europe were connected by their sympathies with the two opposing tendencies in the Ottoman empire: the allied powers were anxious for the elevation and advancement of the different nations; France for military reform.

There existed, however, in the Empire, a third party, opposed to both the others — its tendency being that of upholding the old Islam system, without any reform, in unconditional dominion over the Raja. This party once more became formidable. It has been seen that Selim III. was unable fully to enforce his orders that the Janissaries should be disciplined according to the European system. It was only by destroying the contumacious chiefs, and by making war against the provinces in which they had the upper hand, that this

point could have been carried; and to effect this, Selim was in want of what a reforming prince above all requires — the assistance and support of the lower and unprivileged classes. Against these, on the contrary, he was, by the religious nature of his power, compelled to maintain a constant warfare. Such of his Mahometan subjects as he had been able in some measure to organize, were insufficient to effect his object. When the Caramanian troops marched towards the Danube, shortly before the breaking out of the Russian war — and perhaps but in expectation of that event — the united Krdschalies and Janissaries encountered them in a favourable position in Babaeski on the Yena, and defeated them so completely that they could never recover the blow.* The conduct of the Sultan, in having defended his capital by the aid of the French, might have been so far satisfactory to the strict Moslems; but it had also the effect of arousing their pride, and exciting their fear, lest he should now more and more incline to the strangers, and to their institutions.

Relieved from the presence of the English and the Russians, — for their fleet also had retired, — supported by the French, and assured of their further assistance, the Sultan at length once more ventured to apply himself earnestly to the reformation of the Janissaries. At this, however, the spirit of ancient Islamism aroused itself with the wild fanaticism and obstinate defiance which are its peculiar cha-

* August 10. 1806. Juchereau de St. Denys, Revolutions de Constantinople, ii. 30.

racteristics. The first step taken by Selim amongst the Lazes and Arnautic Jamaks in the castles on the Bosphorus, excited open rebellion against him in his capital: the Janissaries overturned their camp-kettles, as an intimation that they would no longer accept food from Sultan Selim. No precautionary measures had been taken to lead them back to their duty: neither the Topdschi, on whom Selim had expended so much, nor the Mufti, whom he had installed, were on his side. And consequently the ministers who had sanctioned the innovation atoned for it with their lives. The Sultan himself was then declared to be dethroned; for having abandoned himself to Christian vices, and violated the holy ordinances of the Koran. Selim experienced the fate of many other reforming princes, who had no extraordinary resources to fall back upon — that of being overthrown by the powers which he assailed.

For more than a twelvemonth, these disturbances continued, with various results, to agitate the capital. An adherent of Selim's, Mustafa Bairactar, who had made himself vizier, furthered these attempts at reform for some time; and with greater forbearance towards existing abuses than might have been expected. But the Janissaries revolted also against him; and the Ulemas accused him of designing to render the nation of the faithful similar, and at last subject, to the infidels. After long and often doubtful conflicts, the Vizier Bairactar also was overthrown, with all his friends.

The old religious military system, with its privileges and abuses—which had become hereditary—was established more firmly than ever; by this triple victory over the Caramanian Pacha, the Sultan, and the reforming Vizier. If the young Mahmoud, the only surviving scion of the Ottoman dynasty, had indeed imbibed the ideas of his uncle Selim, he was under the necessity of concealing them. For a long time, no farther thought could be given to the reforms which that monarch had designed.*

Meanwhile the political relations with Europe had also undergone a change.

At the peace of Tilsit, Napoleon deserted the cause of the Turks. He made the revolution, through which Selim had been deposed, the pretext for this step; and in one of his *bulletins* he styled the nation "Anti-Christian." But even his greatest admirers do not affirm that this was his real motive; which was that he considered it of more importance to induce Russia to unite with him in hostilities against England.† He had now

* Juchereau de St. Denys, ii. 238.: "On renonça à jamais aux institutions militaires des Francs, — on prononça anathême contre ceux qui en parleraient, — l'ancien ordre des choses fut rétabli: les janissaires et les oulémas reprirent leur droits et leur influence politique."

† Bignon, in his Reflections on the Peace of Tilsit, vi. 346., discusses the question, whether "le reproche fait à Napoléon d'avoir sacrifié la Turquie," were well founded. He replies: "Tout se reduit à savoir, quel était en 1807 le parti le plus utile à la France, ou de procurer à la Turquie une complète

commenced the development of a system, in which he abandoned the traditionary rules of the ancient policy of France, and sacrificed her old allies to their adversaries: so far at least as his own advantage for the moment might require. In the first instance he thought of appropriating to himself, in conjunction with Russia, some provinces of European Turkey. Austria was also at one time invited to participate in a division of the Ottoman empire. He next conceived the idea of stipulating for an equivalent in Germany, in return for the acquisitions which he would allow Russia to make on the side of Turkey; and had selected Silesia for this object. Soon, however, his ambition took a still more extended range. He should be satisfied, if he were left to pursue undisturbed his designs for the acquisition of Spain; and in return for this he would not hesitate definitively to allow Russia to take possession of Moldavia and Wallachia. In consequence of the Peace of Tilsit, a truce had been concluded: but the negotiations which were entered upon did not lead to any result, on account of the vastness of these pretensions.

On the 12th of October, 1808, at Erfurt, Napoleon promised that, should the cession of those provinces be further refused, and a war break out in consequence, he would not take part in it so long as it was carried on by the Porte alone; but should any European power interfere, he would then make

satisfaction ou de faire entrer la Russie dans le système continental. Le choix alors ne pouvait pas être douteux."

common cause with Russia. The advancing of the Russian boundaries as far as the Danube was expressly agreed to: no peace should be concluded with England, unless she recognised the incorporation of Moldavia and Wallachia, as well as of Finland, into the Russian empire.*

It is not our object to enlarge upon the projects and fluctuating designs which were formed at this memorable epoch; when only three great powers — England, France, and Russia — seemed to exist: more particularly as they led to no important results. It concerns us only to notice the great influences — the constellations, as it were — under which the Servians carried on their war against the Porte. These, as compared with the circumstances of former times, were certainly not a little changed.

The dissensions between a reforming Sultan and the rebellious politico-military power of his empire, out of which their insurrection had arisen, could no longer be of service to the Servians. It was the old accustomed Ottoman rule, which was again to be imposed upon them, and which they had now to resist. On the other hand they found, when the expected war recommenced in 1809, that the Russians were their allies more decidedly than ever. A powerful support would be afforded to them against the Turks, if the principalities of

* Articles 5 — 10 of the Treaty; given in Bignon's Histoire de France depuis la Paix de Tilsit, tom. ii. chap. 1.

Moldavia and Wallachia were to remain for ever in the hands of the Russians, as had been arranged at Erfurt.

And even while this was undecided, they enjoyed the advantage of having nothing to fear from hostility on the part of Napoleon, who had the command of the coasts; nor had they any cause to apprehend that the Bosnian cannon would ever again be served by French artillerymen.

CHAPTER XII.

CAMPAIGNS OF 1809 AND 1810. FARTHEST EXTENT OF THE BOUNDARIES.

Enterprise of Knes Sima against Bosnia. — The Sword of Meho Orugdschitsch. — Kara George's New Expedition. — Poetical Eulogium on Kara George. — Panic and Defeat of the Turks.—Jealousies between Peter Dobrinjaz and Miloje. — Stephen Singelitsch, Knes of Ressawer, blows up his Fort. — Successful Progress of the Turks. — Retreat of Kara George to the Frontier.—Heroism of the Heyduc Weliko. — The Turks possess themselves of the Country to the Right of the Morawa. — Rodofinikin, the Russian Envoy, leaves Belgrade and crosses the Danube. — The Russian Army crosses the Lower Danube. — Repulse of the Turks. — Internal Disunion among the Servians. — Russian Proclamation on the Opening of the Campaign in 1810. *— The Servians determine on the Conquest of the Kraina. — Churschid-Ali, the New Pacha of Nisch, approaches the Morawa, with an Army of* 30,000 *men. — Fortresses taken and the Country laid waste by Churschid Ali. — The Servians reinforced by a Detachment of* 3000 *men under Colonel O'Rourke. — Successes of the Servians. — Kara George marches to the Relief of Losnitza. — The Turks are defeated by the Servians. — Close of the Campaign.*

THE Servian song which relates the commencement of the revolution, threatens the Bosnians with a day when the Drina should be crossed, and Bosnia itself be attacked.

This had been attempted in the year 1807, but,

as it has been seen, with little success. In 1809 the attempt was renewed. The Servians were then better prepared than before, and were even provided with some troops equipped after the European manner. Under these favourable circumstances they had a better prospect of success; and, at first, they were encouraged by brilliant results.

Knes Sima — whom Kara George had put in the place of Jacob Nenadowitsch, who was disabled by a wound — caused his troops to cross the Drina at three different points, and surrounded and vigorously attacked such fortified places as were in the neighbourhood of the passage — Beljina and Janja, Srebrniza, and higher up, Wischegrade. He then with the main body of his forces ascended the Bosnian range of hills. The Turks made a gallant resistance. Here fell Meho Orugdschitsch, of whom a song makes particular mention: often in aftertimes Luka Lasarewitsch showed the sword which that commander had worn, bearing the inscription, "CAROLUS VI." However, the Bosnians were compelled to give way. Wherever the Servians advanced, the Bosnian Raja rose; headed by men of good repute, such as Knes Iwan, who had paid the ransom for the prisoners of Kulin.

In the mean time Kara George undertook a still more daring enterprise.

There is extant a spirited poetical eulogium by the then Wladika of Montenegro, on the valour and unanimity of the Servians: before whose arms the Turkish mosques fell to the ground and the Hodscha

gave way; and likewise on Kara George: who again unfurled the banner of the Emperor Nemanjitsch, and whom the Wiles adorn with wreaths of laurel — a reward not to be obtained by gold, but only by glorious deeds. The hero of the poem, however, is not satisfied with the enjoyment of the success he has achieved, but determines to drive the Turks out of Bosnia and Herzegowina, and to form an alliance with Montenegro: which, situated in the midst of Turks and Catholics, has from remote times enjoyed freedom purchased by the blood of its people.

This, in fact, was the project of Kara George, in the spring of 1809; and the song shows with what pleasure he was expected.

He first surmounted the lofty mountain near Sjenitza, for the purpose of joining his distant brethren in faith, who inhabited the ancient possessions of the Servian empire, on the Raschka, and on the Lim, above the point of its junction with the Drina.

The Turks encountered him with a strong force, in a position very favourable to them, on the mountain-plain of Suwodol; where there are wide plains on which the Turkish cavalry could manœuvre with advantage. Kara George, who, from want of cavalry, had always avoided the plains, with horror saw himself surrounded. He formed the newly-organized troops beside his artillery: which, however, could not have saved him. But fortunately, he had also a few horsemen; and it was

one of them, Wule Ilitsch, of Smederewo, who, by means of a daring stratagem, decided the fate of the day. Mounted on his good Arab steed, and accompanied by Momkes and Bekjares, he rushed amongst the enemy, at the same time calling out repeatedly in Turkish, "The Turks are flying!" This produced a panic, and led to the complete defeat of the Pacha.

After this, Kara George was able to pursue his course. He stormed Sjenitza, the ruins of which have been seen by recent travellers; and he advanced into the territory of Wasojewitsch and Drobnjake. The Christian population rose in every direction; and soon also some of the Montenegrins made their appearance to welcome their victorious brethren. What most excited their admiration were the Servian cannon—many of them having never before seen any thing of the kind. A Servian Woiwode remained with them; and thus an union between Servia and Montenegro was effected: Herzegowina, as well as the part of Bosnia already spoken of, joined in the insurrection. A rising of the whole of the population descended from Servian tribes holding the Christian faith, and a general attack on the Mahometans in Bosnia, were now anticipated.

Kara George proceeded forthwith to Nowipasar; which commands almost exclusively the communication between Roumelia and Bosnia, and forms the central point of the high-roads, and of the traffic of Bosnia: he drove the garrison into the

upper fortress, which did not appear able to hold out long against him.

Here, however, the most unwelcome news reached him from the lower districts.

Favoured by inundations, which had for some time prevented the Russians from passing over the Danube, the Turks, with all their forces from Nisch, had thrown themselves upon the Servian frontiers near Alexinaz.

More than once, had Peter Dobrinjaz defended these frontier posts successfully and with glory. And at this time, he was stationed there, with a great number of his countrymen. On Mladen's recommendation, however, Kara George now entrusted the chief command to Miloje; a man whom Peter was not disposed to obey, and who was himself unable to conquer the hatred which he entertained against Peter and all his adherents. The contest which had hitherto shown itself only in the senate, was thus transferred to the frontier; now in the greatest peril.

The first assault of the Turks took place in June, 1809; when they attacked the fortification near Kamenitza, which was defended by 3000 men under Stephen Singelitsch, the Knes of Ressawer, and the friend of Peter. The Knes made an heroic defence: but he was in need of succour; which Miloje, with inconceivable blindness, refused him. At length, when the Turks, marching over the bodies of their slaughtered comrades, had crossed the trenches, scaled the walls, and gained the upper hand in the

melée, Stephen despaired of being able to maintain his ground; and, determined not to fall into the hands of the Turks, either dead or alive, he fired the powder-magazine, and blew into the air the entire fort — destroying himself with his friends and enemies! The Turks afterwards erected a tower on the road-side, near the spot, and inserted amongst the stones of its walls the skulls of the Servians who thus met their death.

After this the Turks met with no further resistance. Miloje, who, in his boastful presumption had flattered himself that he should reduce Nisch, and take up his abode there, now saw himself compelled, by the superior force of the enemy, to retire from his fortifications, leaving his artillery and baggage behind him, and to flee to Deligrade. Peter Dobrinjaz was just returning from an expedition, when matters had proceeded thus far; but he felt no desire to fight for Miloje, and, saying to his men — "Save what you can!" he allowed them to disperse.

Kara George received the news of these disasters while besieging the citadel of Nowipasar. The danger of his own country prevented his advancing farther into the enemy's territory. In all haste, he ordered the Knes Sima from Bosnia, and also Milenko — who meanwhile had, with Russian aid, been besieging Kladowo — to proceed with their troops to the Morawa. Kara George raised the siege in which he was engaged; and abandoned his position at Sjenitza. Then without delay — not

even bestowing a thought upon the Woiwode whom he had sent to Montenegro — he retraced his steps. He reached the threatened province in time to throw some troops into Kjupria: a place, the possession of which would enable him at all times to retain a footing on the right bank of the Morawa. Thence he proceeded to Deligrade. But, though Milenko also arrived there, the result of every engagement proved unfavourable to the Servians; and the chiefs found themselves under the necessity of returning to Kjupria. Report, however, had represented their loss to have been yet greater than it actually was; and the rumour that Milenko and George had been entirely defeated, and had gone back into the Schumadia, with the remnant of their forces, by some other road, induced the commanders at Kjupria — Raditsch and Jokitsch — prudent and well-tried men — to demolish their citadel.

When Kara George arrived, Raditsch was still engaged in conveying cannon and ammunition across the Morawa, or in sinking what could not be carried over; and Jokitsch, in destroying the redoubts. What was his consternation on witnessing the fortress, by which he had hoped to protect the right bank of the Morawa, reduced to ruins! In his rage, he fired a pistol at Jokitsch. What had been done, however, could not be undone. He was obliged to avail himself of the darkness of night to pass over to Jagodina.

Weliko, also, was unable to hold his ground at Bania, near Alexinaz. Yet his bravery was un-

daunted. Upon one occasion when he espied the banners of some Servian troops coming to his assistance, he had the courage to force his way through the midst of the besieging Turks, in order to concert a joint attack with this reinforcement; and in the same manner he cut his way back through the ranks of the enemy. All, however, was in vain: the force that came to his aid was too weak, and the Servians could not maintain possession of Bania. Weliko, therefore, was content to bring off some of his gallant men, with whom he again forced his way through the Turkish camp.

Upon this, all the country that lies to the right of the Morawa, as far as Poscharewaz, fell into the hands of the Turks: the entire plain was covered with fugitives: slaughter and terror every where prevailed; such as could not get into the Schumadia, fled into the Omoljer and Peker mountains.

Rodofinikin considered himself no longer safe at Belgrade; and, accompanied by Peter Dobrinjaz, he went over the Danube. Already the Turks prepared to advance on the left bank of the Morawa; and Guschanz Ali, especially, endeavoured to make good his threat, "that he would one day visit Black George in Topola."

The Servians neglected nothing that might prevent this. Mladen, Knes Sima, and Wuiza, took up their positions opposite Poscharewaz, on the lower Morawa: Kara George fortified Mount Lipar, near Jagodina. Yet it may be doubted whether they would have been able to effect any thing, but

for the alliance which they had entered into with the Russians; which now proved eminently serviceable.

In August, 1809, the Russian army crossed the Lower Danube; one fortified place after another fell into their hands, and the Turks found themselves under the necessity of calling back part of their forces. The Servians, in consequence, breathed more freely. They not only succeeded in repelling the attacks of Guschanz Ali, but even drove him out of those districts for the preservation of which he had remained behind. At the same time they were sufficiently strong to repulse the Bosnians, who were then attacking Losnitza. The loss of men which the Servians had sustained was compensated for by the numbers who had risen in their favour in Bosnia, and had accompanied them into Servia when retreating over the Drina. These people had dwellings allotted to them in Kitog.

Thus were the Servians again delivered from the Turks. They even retained a part of the country which they had taken beyond the ancient boundaries. Generally speaking, however, the position they were in afforded but little security.

On former occasions the Servians had to fight only with the Dahis, and afterwards with such armies as had marched against them by order of the Grand Signior; but they had now, by their attempt to advance into the neighbouring pachalics, involved themselves in a conflict with the established powers of those provinces. The Pachas carried on,

as it were, a personal contest with the Servian people.

Amongst the Servians themselves, also, internal union had been impaired in proportion to the deplorable results of their last enterprises.

The rivals of Kara George imputed the failure of those enterprises to the commander-in-chief; and asserted that his not being favourably inclined towards Russia was the cause of that power having afforded so little assistance.

Of still greater importance was the fact, that Kara George entertained new fears of the existence of a good understanding between the Russians and the Turks. He, indeed, seriously thought of submitting to Austria; to whom he had accordingly made formal proposals.

It cannot be asserted that those proposals remained altogether unnoticed at Vienna. Austria, having again suffered heavy losses in the year 1809, was forced to form an alliance with Napoleon; and there were statesmen in that country, who, being convinced that, within a short time, a rupture — nay even a war — between Russia and France would ensue, considered beforehand what line of conduct they ought to adopt in such an event. It seemed not impossible, that Austria might procure indemnification for her losses in Gallicia, on the Middle Danube; provided she could effect a restoration of Bessarabia or the Crimea to the Turks. In such a contingency the voluntary submission of Servia would be extremely desirable.

But would the Servians consent to such a step?

Already, the year before, this question had been earnestly discussed. Kara George and Mladen, ever apprehensive that their antagonists might be assisted by Russian influence, would have been in favour of this step; but, subsequently, when the nation had formed as it were a military brotherhood with the Russians, and had received a Russian Minister in Servia, such a proceeding did not seem practicable. Now, however, since Rodofinikin had retired, and the people had been obliged to encounter the greatest dangers without obtaining any aid from Russia, the measure became more feasible; and, as before stated, Kara George, who, in 1808, had regarded its realisation as impossible, now entertained the idea.

Austria ought promptly to have evinced an earnest readiness to aid the Servians, and should resolutely have granted them her protection. But this project was only entertained by her statesmen: affairs were far from being so matured as to justify the Imperial Court in taking any decided step, or in venturing to agree to the proposals of Kara George.

Care had already been taken on the part of Russia to suppress all inclination on the part of Servia to an alliance with any other country. In the proclamation with which the Russian general-in-chief, Kamenskij, opened the campaign of 1810, he styled the Servians "brethren of the Russians, children of one family and faith;" promising them

support; and he also expressly mentioned Kara George as commander-in-chief. Nothing more was required to pacify Kara George, who thus found himself acknowledged as leader of the Servians. Moreover, they who wished to be considered adherents of Russia, could now no longer refuse him their obedience. Besides, whatever were the dissensions amongst themselves, all felt, as the spring advanced, a renewed desire to attack the Turks.

Thus, in 1810, war was recommenced with the aid of the Russians. The immediate object of the Servians was to achieve the conquest of the Kraina, which formed their communication with Russia.

Their best troops, to the number of 4500 foot, and 1500 horse, all picked men, marched into the Kraina; the Servians being desirous to impress a favourable opinion of their troops upon the allies with whom they were to take the field. Peter Dobrinjaz, who had effected so much already, was entrusted with the command of this force. Accordingly, as soon as the Russians, under Zuccato, had made their appearance, considerable progress was made. Negotin and Bersa Palanka were taken, and Kladowo was besieged.

In the interim, however, the Turks also had completed their preparations. Notwithstanding all the resistance with which they encountered the Russians lower down on the Danube, they found means to carry the war into the Servian frontiers; which they attacked on two points.

Churschid, the new Pacha of Nisch, advanced

towards the Morawa with an army of about 30,000 men; and as he pursued a different method from that of his predecessors, he was doubly dangerous. Before the intrenchment near Deligrade, which had cost the Turks so much trouble on former occasions, he made only a short stay; leaving it blockaded by a division of his troops. On the other hand, he took Kruschewaz, and a fortress near Jassica, and began to lay waste the country all around. This was unquestionably the most effectual hostility that he could practise. The Servians who belonged to the districts which he was devastating, became impatient, and refused to defend the fortresses, which were no longer of use. They thought only of their wives and children, and returned to their homes. The men of Kruschewaz and Lewatsch had dispersed, Kragujewaz was threatened, and the inhabitants of this district, who were defending Deligrade, also thought of returning to their homes. Kara George now began to fear that affairs might turn out as unfavourably as they had done the year before. There is a letter extant, in which he desires Peter Dobrinjaz to join him; telling him either to come with all his troops, or to induce the Russians to send a part of their forces. "Do either one or the other," said he, "and without delay. Of what use would it be to take Kladowo, if we cannot defend our own country? Do not wait for another letter, but set out to my assistance immediately; and hasten forward, day and night: our very existence is at stake."

On the receipt of this urgent missive, Zuccato lost no time in despatching 3000 Russians, under the command of Colonel O'Rourke, to the assistance of the distressed Servians; Weliko acting as their guide. In the mountains near Jassica, they met the Servians; who now took courage and again descended into the plain of Warwarin.

Churschid beheld this with delight. "You have always complained," said he to his Turks, "that you can never meet the Servians in the plains. Look! yonder is a plain, and there are the Servians! Let us see, then, whether you are worthy to eat the bread of the Sultan." He then attacked the Russians and Servians. The Russian square, however, appeared immoveable. Under cover of it — as they had formerly been protected by their mountains — the Servians made the most successful onsets, and captured seven standards. In the evening Churschid found himself obliged to throw up an intrenchment.

In the meanwhile the extent of the danger had been fully developed: the Bosnian army, 40,000 strong, had crossed the Drina. After the Turks had for a time ravaged the country, they threw themselves upon Losnitza; which, for twelve days, they bombarded with all their force. And it was scarcely possible that Antonie Bogitschewitsch, Woiwode of the town, valiant as he was, could hold out much longer.

Kara George acknowledged, that he had never been so hardly beset, as by these simultaneous

attacks. He demanded further help from Peter, who was pursuing his enterprise in the Kraina: writing to him, "that every moment of time gained on the march would be of importance on the Drina."

But fortune had decreed that Churschid Pacha, become weary of the resistance which he encountered at every new attempt, should return to his own territory. This may have been partly owing to the fact that the Russians, after many fruitless attempts, had at last taken Ruschtschuk, about the end of September, 1810; and thus might easily become dangerous to a Pacha of Nisch, in another direction.

The Servians were, therefore, left at liberty to attack Bosnia.

Without delay, Kara George set out to relieve Losnitza, taking with him all the troops that could be spared in those parts of the country; the people of Kragujewaz, Smederewo, Grozka, and Belgrade, and some Cossacks. Luka Lasarewitsch also came from Schabaz, and Jacob Nenadowitsch from Waljewo. In the night of the 5th of October they all assembled within half an hour's march of the Bosnian camp, and at once threw up an intrenchment. The Turks were sufficiently bold to be the first to commence the fight in the morning; but they were speedily driven from their positions before the town into their larger fortifications on the Drina. On the same evening, the Servians fortified their position close to the enemy; and

the next day a decisive battle was fought. They first attacked each other with cannon and musketry; afterwards they fought hand to hand. "Thus," says Kara George, "we closed, and intermingled with one-another; for two hours we fought with our sabres. We have killed many Turks, and cut off many Turkish heads. Three times as many of their troops have fallen as of ours: a fiercer battle was never fought: the field remained in our possession."

The Turks indeed had suffered so severely, that they despaired of being able to effect any thing further that year, and returned over the Drina. Kara George had also crossed the river, and hastened after them. On the day following, however, deputies were despatched by the Pacha, proposing that the Drina should not be passed by either party; which was mutually agreed.

When the Servians now looked around, they congratulated themselves on having made a successful campaign. O'Rourke, when marching to join them, had taken Bania, which, since the preceding year, had been in the hands of the Turks. On his way back he captured Gurgussewaz; and Kladowo had surrendered. All these places the Russians gave over to Servian garrisons.

It is true that the bold schemes which had been proposed at first — the conquest of Bosnia, and the re-establishment, in conjunction with the Montenegrins, of the old Servian nationality — were far from being accomplished. Servia had herself been

in the greatest danger. For two successive years she had been obliged to fight for her existence; but was now, in consequence, far stronger than before. She was not again limited to the Pachalic of Belgrade; on the contrary, she had acquired districts from all the Pachalics and Sandschaks around her: from Widdin, the Kraina, Kliutsch, and Zrnareka; from Nisch, the towns and territory of Alexinaz and Bania; from Leskowaz, Parakyn and Kruschewaz; from Nowipasar — the long celebrated cloister of Studenitza, from which a Nahia was once more named; from Swornik, in Bosnia — at least the districts on this side of the Drina, Jadar, and Radjewina. A country by no means unimportant, fertile, and improvable by culture, had thus been wrested from the dominion of Islamism, and restored to the natives of the soil.

CHAP. XIII.

CIVIL DISSENSIONS. — MONARCHICAL POWER.

Dissensions in the Camp of Losnitza. — Disputes at the Skupschtina in 1810. — *Further Aid is solicited from Russia. — Peter Dobrinjaz excites the Russians against Kara George, and attempts to restrict his Power. — Kara George detects the Conspiracy against him. — He carries important Resolutions in the Senate, and effects Great Changes. — Arrival of a Russian Regiment at Belgrade. — Weliko is gained over to the Party of Kara George. — Milenko, Peter Dobrinjaz, Schiwkowitsch. — Milenko and Dobrinjaz are removed from their Military Commands, and subsequently exiled to Russia. — Milosch and Mladen. — The Power of the Gospodars is destroyed. — Kara George becomes Supreme Head of the State.*

We must once more call attention to the campaign of 1809, which, as we have seen, roused the Gospodars to fresh hostility against the Commander-in-chief; whom they charged with not entertaining sentiments sufficiently favourable towards the Russians.

Even in the camp of Losnitza the quarrel broke out, as soon as the Turks had retreated. Jacob Nenadowitsch asked — "Who is henceforth to defend these boundaries?" — "The very same person," replied Kara George, "who has defended

them hitherto." "On no account," said Jacob — for this had been his office — "Rather let the duty be undertaken by those who refuse foreign assistance, and who would bring our enemies upon us." Jacob called his troops together, and presenting his nephew the Prota to them, exclaimed — "Behold! I sent this man, and he has found for you a gracious Emperor. But Mladen and Miloje reject the Protector, and wish to be kings and emperors themselves." *

At the Skupschtina held about the beginning of 1810, Jacob Nenadowitsch appeared accompanied by a greater number of Momkes and followers than any other chief: amounting to nearly 600 men, who shouted in the streets, "We will have the Emperor!" At the meetings, Jacob spoke violently against Mladen. Kara George said: "If Mladen has acted wrongly, do you in future take his place and act better. The rest of you wish to have the Russian Emperor: well, so do I!"

So much influence did Nenadowitsch gain by

* Cyprien Robert calls the Camp of Losnitza a "*diète armée.*" The words which, according to the first edition of our work have been correctly quoted by Boué, "il vous a trouvé un gracieux Empereur," he alters into: "*que le Tzar avait daigné d'accepter la couronne de Serbie.*"—What folly! and so he goes on. The words of George to the Skupschtina, which Boué transcribes thus — "*si Mladen a mal fait, prends sa place, et fais mieux,*" — he copies word for word; but whilst Boué states correctly: "*vous voulez l'empereur, moi aussi,*" — Mr. Cyprien makes him say: — "*vous autres, vous voulez l'Empereur Russe; essayons de l'Empereur Russe.*"

this, that Mladen and Miloje, who were considered more directly in fault than the Commander-in-chief, were obliged to give way; whilst he himself, on the other hand, was made President of the Senate. Under the pretext that so many officials could not be paid, he removed such of the Sowietniks as did not please him; and it appeared as though he would henceforth share the power with Kara George. Through his influence an embassy was despatched to the Russian camp to solicit assistance.

To the rest, however, this change of affairs was unsatisfactory. Milenko was appointed a member of the Embassy: but when he had reached Poretsch, instead of proceeding himself, he thought it sufficient to send his secretary. He at once renounced all obedience to the Commander-in-chief, and excited his district to insurrection.

On the other hand, another Gospodar, Peter Dobrinjaz, had, of his own authority, constituted himself an ambassador. Accompanied by Rodofinikin, he went into the Russian camp, and, under the pretext of being commissioned by his nation, solicited the return of Rodofinikin with some auxiliary troops. At the same time that he excited the Russians against Kara George, he intimated to the Servians that they could not receive any assistance until they should have changed their Commander-in-chief and their whole Senate. Nor did he relinquish his scheme even when the authorised Embassy arrived. He contrived to persuade

its chief, Milan of Rudnik, that Kara George aimed at unlimited power; and obtained his assent to a forged instrument of plenary force which he and his adherents had drawn up in their own favour. It is surprising that men in such a station should have acted thus.

Notwithstanding, as we already know, all their projects proved abortive. Kara George found an opportunity, through one of his friends, the Archimandrite Phillipowitsch, to furnish Kamenskij with more correct information. The consequence was, that Kamenskij issued the proclamation which has been before mentioned; and this was the main cause that, in the year 1810, all parties united in making such great exertions in the field.

Yet this did not prevent the Gospodars from keeping up their dissensions at home; even during the campaign. Peter, Milenko, and Milan met at the head-quarters of Zuccato. Jacob Nenadowitsch and his adherents assembled at the camp near Losnitza; where they found favourable opportunities for consultation and resolving upon new measures. Kara George was too powerful, and had been far too successful in the field, for them to be able to accomplish their object by removing him at once. But they thought they could restrict his power, and bring affairs to such a state that they might at some future time be able to depose him. If a Russian regiment, for which Mladen was commissioned to apply, should but arrive, they hoped to find themselves sufficiently

powerful to carry out their bold design. The mere presence of the Russian troops would turn the scale in their favour; and they hoped to be further assisted by their Momkes — by their own influence and their connexions in Belgrade — and even by an insurrection of the people, who were dissatisfied with Mladen. The next Skupschtina could not fail to prove of the utmost importance.

The contention between the Gospodars and the Commander-in-chief was not altogether groundless and uncalled for: its origin lay deep in the nature of circumstances.

It would be wrong to regard the Gospodars as oppressors of the people, and Kara George as their defender: even according to notions entertained in the West, whence they are derived; and which are altogether inapplicable to the East.

It would be much easier to obtain a correct idea of the character of the contest, by considering what an entirely different course the affairs of Greece at a later period must necessarily have taken, had any of the native chiefs succeeded in acquiring a superiority like that of Kara George. The unity of the nation, and the necessity for carrying on war, demanded also an union of authority.

It is not contended that the welfare of the country depended on the submission of the Gospodars. On the contrary, they had an unquestionable right to a certain degree of independence; since they had exerted themselves to the utmost in their

respective districts, and possessed there a personal and local body of adherents. It would have been far better had parties come to some amicable understanding. However, as that could not be effected, and as fresh disputes originated every day, the only alternative was to let a trial of strength between the opposing parties decide which should be dominant.

Kara George had the advantage of possessing timely information respecting the schemes of his adversaries. One day he happened to visit Luka Lasarewitsch, who was still lying in his hut suffering from a wound he had received in that sharp skirmish which had taken place in front of the Turkish intrenchments. Half in jest, Kara George said:— "May such be the reward of those who do not act rightly!" Luka — who was also engaged in the conspiracy — noted these words; and, being now fully convinced that it had been discovered, he confessed all he knew: induced, either by his old attachment to his Commander, or by fear of disgrace should the project miscarry — for he was very ambitious. Shortly afterwards, Milan's secretary, Lasar Woinowitsch, came into the camp. Kara George omitted nothing that might win him over to his side; and from him he obtained still more circumstantial and certain information.

Kara George now resolved, not only to defend his own power, but at the same time to crush that of his adversaries: and for this they themselves furnished him with the best opportunity. The

Gospodars did not attend the Skupschtina at the time appointed (New Year's Day, 1811): Milenko and Peter Dobrinjaz wished to await the arrival of the Russian regiment, and Jacob Nenadowitsch was unwilling to appear without his two allies; thus the Commander-in-chief had time to obtain a preponderating influence over the Woiwodes of minor importance: who were almost the only members present. His object was the more easily effected, as he well understood how to connect his own interest with theirs.

He thus succeeded in passing in this Diet, two resolutions which changed the whole condition of the country. The first was, that, in future, the Woiwodes should no longer be dependent on the superior Gospodars, but directly on the Commander-in-chief and the Senate. Almost a new distribution was made of the country: the districts which Milenko had hitherto governed by means of Buljukbasches were divided amongst eight Woiwodes. Milosch, who in the name of Milan held two districts — those of Rudnik and Poschega — lost the whole of one and two thirds of the other; and Woiwodes like Antonie Bogitschewitsch, Milosch Potzeraz, and Stojan Tschupitsch, who had hitherto been dependent on Jacob or on Luka, now found themselves independent. It may easily be believed that this arrangement would be gratifying to all the chiefs of subordinate rank; and that they, in return, would promote the autho-

rity of the Commander-in-chief by whom they had been so much favoured.

Immediately connected with this, was the second resolution; which involved a complete reformation of the Senate. Its judicial and administrative functions were separated. For the former, a Supreme Court of Justice was instituted, to be composed of the less important Sowietniks; the latter, on the contrary, were to be entrusted to the most influential men, in the form of a Ministry. They were to be designated Administrators — *Popetschiteli*: the first, of War; the second, of Justice; the third, of Foreign Affairs; and so on for Ecclesiastical Affairs, the Home Department, and Finance. The intention was that, besides Mladen, Knes Sima Markowitsch, and Dosithei Obradowitsch, who were all declared adherents of Kara George, Jacob Nenadowitsch, Milenko, and Peter Dobrinjaz, should also be employed in these Ministerial duties. By the *first* resolution, the greater part of the power which the Gospodars had hitherto held was taken from them: they were disengaged, as it were, from their respective districts. By the *second*, an office was found for them beyond the influence of their former relations: an office which, in fact, left them little independent power; as the chief appointment—the Ministry of War—was placed in the hands of Mladen. Had they assented to this, Kara George would have been completely successful. Precautionary measures, however, had been taken, in the event of their non-compliance: a law had been

passed in the Diet, that resistance to these resolutions should be punished by exile.

All this having been concluded, the Commander-in-chief made the Woiwodes swear that they would obey him; and only him. At his command they then separated, and each at once repaired to his own district.

Such was the state of affairs, when Milenko and Peter, accompanied by the Russian regiment, at length arrived at Belgrade. Unquestionably they were still in a position to offer resistance. Could they but continue united, their combined authority would yet be of great weight. On their side was the Heyduc Weliko, to whom all rule was irksome; and who, since the preceding year, had held himself in a position of obstinate isolation. So many complaints, of acts of violence and manifold crimes committed by him, had been brought before the Diet of that year, that it was intended to imprison him in some fortress. He assembled his Momkes, and said: "When I came here, I thought I should be asked how many wounds I had received? how many brave companions I had lost? how many horses had been killed under me? But they ask—how many girls I have kissed! Come! let us depart." He now appeared by the side of the other Gospodars at Belgrade, with seventy resolute companions—Bekjares, so far as they were paid by him; Momkes, so far as they were bound to him by personal obligations—who were ready for any enterprise. The Gospodars had also a strong faction

in the town; and were altogether in a position to undertake something serious. But already was their unity destroyed and their power lessened by several losses. Milan, on whom they could reckon unconditionally, had fallen ill at Bucharest, not long after Lasar Woinowitsch had returned to him, and he died on the last day of the year 1810. It was asserted by some that he had been removed by poison. But what to them was of greater importance, Jacob Nenadowitsch had now other views: he determined to fill his place in the Senate. Having married his son Efrem to the daughter of Mladen, and joined himself entirely to the party of Kara George; instead of coming with a numerous troop, he appeared at Belgrade in his sledge, accompanied only by two Momkes. Thus Peter and Milenko alone remained with Weliko.

The opposite party also contrived to separate Weliko from his faction. Kara George not only made him large presents of money, but restored to him his position as Woiwode of Bania, which he had nearly forfeited by his departure the year before: he often called him "Son;" saying, "Alexa, his first-born son, was not dearer to him," and thus contrived to win him over entirely to his interests. But, that Weliko might not waver between his old and new engagements, care was taken to remove him to some distance. A letter was fabricated, in which it was stated that the Turks had made an irruption into the country from Nisch, and had already advanced as far as Bania; and the

letter was delivered by a Tartar, streaming with perspiration. Nothing further was required to stimulate the Heyduc: to save his Woiwodeship, he set out with all his Bekjares without a moment's delay.

Milenko and Peter had no longer the courage to attempt any thing. Stephen Schiwkowitsch, the richest man in Belgrade, and an old enemy of Mladen's, pressed the two chiefs once more to try their fortune: he would have had them commence immediately by an assault upon Mladen's house. Peter and Milenko answered, — "We are short of men." "Are we not three of us," replied Schiwkowitsch; "and have we not our Momkes? Upon the first shot the inhabitants of the town will rise: for they hate Mladen; and the country people, who are greedy after booty, will rush in to our support." But the chiefs further objected that "they were without ammunition even to begin with;" whereupon Schiwkowitsch directly procured several sacksful, which he brought to the inn. But as has already been stated, both Milenko and Peter were so discouraged by their previous ill success, that, whilst Schiwkowitsch was making these proposals, they remained sitting by the fireside, without answering, and merely stirring the coals.

To be fully assured how matters stood, Kara George had now only to ascertain what he was to expect from the Russian regiment, (the regiment Neuschlot,) and how its Colonel, Balla, was disposed towards him. If he had at any

time shown himself disaffected towards the Russians, it was because he had suffered himself to be persuaded — and indeed by the assertions of his adversaries themselves — that his enemies and rivals had found in them a help and support. At length, he determined to learn the real state of affairs. One day when he, Peter Dobrinjaz, and Milenko, together with the Colonel, had been dining at Mladen's, and afterwards, to honour the Foreigner, had accompanied him towards his home, Kara George — perhaps designedly — just as they arrived at the colonel's abode, entered into a violent dispute with Milenko. Already he had ordered his Momkes to take Milenko's sword from him, when Balla, who lived in the same house, pleaded for him. This was the critical moment which Kara George had expected. He took off his cap and implored Balla, "by the bread of his Emperor," to tell him whether he had come to support Milenko's faction. Balla replied, that he had come to render assistance to the nation under the command of Kara George. "Then," cried the latter, "let me take and kiss thy hand in lieu of that of the Emperor." He required no further assurance: he no longer thought of his dispute with Milenko, but was satisfied with knowing himself secure on this side also.

The next day, however, he took measures for terminating the whole affair. He sent to Milenko and Peter the appointments which removed them from their supreme command to their seats in

the Senate. Should they accept them? It was only too evident, since Jacob had gone over to their opponent, that, in the Senate also, where they would find themselves in the minority, they would possess but little influence. "Should they refuse?" If they did, exile awaited them. Nevertheless, they determined to refuse, hoping that their request to live as private individuals in their respective districts might be granted. As their power, however, depended less on their legal rights than on their personal influence, their request was refused. On the following day, the decrees by which they were exiled were posted up at all the corners of the streets. In these they were reproached with all their misdeeds, real or pretended: Peter Dobrinjaz, with his flight from Deligrade; his departure with Rodofinikin; his presumption in wishing to pass as Ambassador of the nation without having been appointed; and also the arrears in his account of the tolls he had received: Milenko, with his rebellion at Poretsch; his illegal appropriation of Russian subsidies; to pay his own Bekjares; and similar arbitrary acts. Then they were told: — "Here is Austria; there is Turkey; there are Wallachia and Russia: Choose to which of them you prefer to go." They chose Russia. Kara George accordingly had them conducted, under an escort of Cossacks and Servians, through the district of Poscharewaz to the Danube: having previously occupied Poretsch

and Kladawo with troops upon whom he could depend.

Shortly after their departure, a letter arrived at Belgrade from Milosch, promising his adherence to the two Gospodars. Having succeeded to Milan's position, he pursued a similar policy; knowing that his power especially would be curtailed by the new regulations. Dobrinjaz and Milenko had already passed the Danube, when a movement in their favour was manifested in their districts. Kara George, who had so fully succeeded in the main point, employed likewise on this occasion the means best suited for his object. It was probable that the common troops might refuse to fight against their equals and friends. Instead of them, he therefore assembled only Bekjares and the Woiwodes with their Momkes; and by their means he, without difficulty, crushed the rebellion in its commencement.

When Milosch had arrived with the other Woiwodes, Kara George had no difficulty in calling him to account for his letter; which had fallen into the hands of Mladen. Milosch was treated with great indulgence, and every opportunity was afforded him to deny the authorship of the letter: he, however, acknowledged it. It was suggested that probably his confidant Dmitri had led him to write it: but Milosch avowed that it was entirely his own act. Notwithstanding this, he was allowed to depart unpunished: probably, be-

cause he was not yet possessed of sufficient power to be an object of apprehension. His promise of implicit obedience in future to the Commander-in-chief and the Senate, was deemed sufficient.

Leonti, who was not yet to be trusted, was removed to Kragujewaz. With the new Russian Plenipotentiary Nedoba the government was on very good terms.

Thus was destroyed the power of the great Gospodars; at one time so firmly rooted amongst the people. Kara George remained Lord and Master of the Servian country. The Woiwodes,—who continued to rule it, at times, with a power which was not always well regulated — were almost, without exception, appointed by, or dependent upon him; and not one of them was sufficiently independent to resist him. The Senate, in which the places of Peter and Milenko were filled by men devoted to Kara George, conducted the administration according to the views of the Commander-in-chief, and laid no claim to independence. A public authority was thus constituted; but it was concentrated entirely in the hands of Kara George: he was the Monarch of this little state. The most powerful men in the country were powerful only from having allied themselves closely with him.

CHAP. XIV.

PEACE OF BUCHAREST.

The Servians desire to obtain the Guarantee of a Foreign Power for the Security of their Rights. — Campaign of 1811. — *The Grand Vizier offers to make Peace. — War between Russia and France in* 1812. — *Servia expressly noticed in the Treaty of Peace between Russia and Turkey. — Stipulations in her Favour. — Concentration of the Russian Force in Volhynia. — Disastrous Consequences to Servia. — Execution of Demetrius Morusi. — The Turks evade complying with the Terms of the Treaty. — Conference at Nisch in January,* 1813. — *Demands of the Turks. — Recommencement of Negotiations in May,* 1813. — *Renewed Contentions and Disputes. — The Turks recommence the War against the Servians.*

NOTWITHSTANDING all that had been achieved, the Servians were yet destitute of that one foundation of all national existence in modern Europe,—the acknowledgment of their being a distinct political state.

The mere declaration of the Grand Signior, even if this could be obtained, would be insufficient for the establishment of the Servians as an independent principality. Owing to the fluctuating state of the government of the Ottoman Empire, a declaration of that nature might at any moment be retracted. Nor could a prince of Servia expect any higher consideration than the Pachas around him. Such

was the character of the Turkish government, that it could not be trusted without the guarantee of some foreign power.

But what power would venture to take this responsibility upon itself? Had it been attainable, the united consent of all Europe would have been the most desirable. But, if, even in peaceful times, this consent is so difficult to be obtained, as to be considered an impossibility, was it to be thought of in those days of universal excitement and commotion? Nor was much to be expected from any individual power. How could Austria — changing from one side to another, and having incessantly to struggle for her own existence — be expected to give umbrage to the only neighbour at peace with her — the Turkish Sultan, by a guarantee that would be offensive to him?

Napoleon was at one time proposed. In the year 1811 the Turks did not appear disinclined to acknowledge the young Servian state: under certain restrictions. Churschid Pacha had offered to Kara George a position similar to that of the Gospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia; and it is believed that he would have had no objection to Napoleon's guarantee: as, at that time, the French Emperor was understood to be no longer the friend of Russia. Whether any such proposals were made to him, is uncertain: if there were, they led to no results. Indeed, how could Servia have relied on the support of a power, whose natural interest it was to render Turkey strong in opposi-

tion to Russia: for that such was the case now again became apparent, though it had been lost sight of for a time.

No other power then remained but Russia; with whom the Servians had been allied from the very commencement, but with whom the Grand Signior was still at open war.

When Churschid Pacha first made the proposal in question, his object was a military one: he made it a condition that the Bosnians should be allowed free passage through Servia. Should this be conceded, Servia being in the enjoyment of peace, and the Bosnian army able, without taking a very circuitous route, to reach the middle Danube, the Turks might hope to wrest the two principalities from the Russians: who had, moreover, at that very time, been under the necessity of withdrawing a part of their army towards the frontiers of Poland.

But would Kara George listen to proposals of this nature?

The passage of the Bosnians through Servia he could never permit. The hatred of the Bosnian Mahometans towards the Servian Christians, which had been aroused by their long and bloody wars, would have broken forth on their first coming into contact, and have led to open hostilities. No promises of the Grand Signior, or of the Pacha, could make him feel secure that this would not happen.

Nor could Kara George venture to detach himself from the Russians.

Their campaign of 1811, though it had commenced unfavourably, speedily led to greater advantages than had resulted from any by which it had been preceded. The Grand Vizier followed the Russian army on the left bank of the Danube; but with so little caution that the Russians succeeded in surprising and capturing the entrenched Turkish camp: which he had left behind him on the right bank, in order to maintain the communication with the interior of the empire. The Grand Vizier consequently found himself in a position of the greatest danger. Having himself escaped with difficulty, he made serious proposals for peace; only for the sake of saving the Moslems whom he had been obliged to leave in his rear.

This event could not but be advantageous to the Servians. Kara George had forwarded the proposals made to him by Churschid, to the Russian head-quarters. After the receipt of an answer from them, he informed the Ottomans that he could not entertain the idea of negotiating upon his own responsibility; but that he was willing to submit to whatever might be agreed upon between the two emperors at Constantinople and St. Petersburg.

He had no doubt received the assurance that, in any peace which might be concluded, the affairs of Servia should not be neglected. Nothing could be more advantageous to the country than that its relations should be established in a treaty of peace between the two powers. This was the very gua-

rantee the state required. The Servian nation thus connected itself most intimately with Russia; and must consequently participate in the perils and misfortunes, as well as in the success and prosperity, of that empire.

Russia was now about to enter upon a war more perilous than any in which it had ever been engaged. The good understanding which had existed between that country and France, since the treaty arranged at Tilsit, and confirmed at Erfurt, had gradually diminished since 1810; and it became apparent to all Europe, that open war must ensue between the two empires. Soon afterwards an army such as Europe had never yet seen, was set in motion against Russia: under a general who must ever maintain his rank as one of the greatest military commanders of all ages. A fierce struggle was impending over Russia: not merely for a trivial loss or gain: but such a decisive conflict as other nations had already sustained; involving her political existence: nay, indeed, the very life of the nation.

Napoleon's object — in which he had succeeded with the German powers — was now to prevail upon the Ottomans to involve themselves with him in this contest; and, as the Turks were already at war with Russia, his project seemed easy of accomplishment. In his treaty with Austria, Napoleon again acknowledged the integrity of the Ottoman empire; and a secret article of that treaty stipulated that Turkey should be invited to join in the alliance against Russia. He flattered himself that, by pro-

mising to the Ottomans the re-conquest of the Crimea, he should induce them to take part in the war, and aid him with all their resources; so that in a short time 100,000 Turks would overrun the interior of Russia. On the part of the French, it has always been asserted that Napoleon had too long delayed to make decisive proposals of this nature at Constantinople. His minister of foreign affairs asserted, in February, 1812, that the French ambassador there was doing nothing against the interest of Russia; and an historian, who has seen many secret documents, declares that this was only too true, and that the ambassador was at that time ordered to maintain a strict reserve on the subject.*

Perhaps it might be that Napoleon considered his proposals irresistible, at whatever time he might choose to make them; on account of the great opportunity which they afforded the Turks for re-establishing their power. At the moment when he opened the campaign of 1812 in earnest, he was by no means deficient in pressing invitations or in brilliant promises.

This confidence, however, deceived him. That the Turks under these circumstances showed themselves inclined for peace, need not be ascribed to the influence of English gold, or to the intrigues of

* Bignon, Histoire de France après la paix de Tilsit, iv. 390. "Napoléon n'a en effet auprès du grand Seigneur qu'un simple chargé d'affaires, auquel une grande réserve est prescrite."

the two Morusi: though one of them is said to have devoted his energies to that object in the capital; and the other, Demetrius, to have served the Reis Effendi as Dragoman. They had other and more cogent reasons.

Napoleon had at one time not only permitted the seizure of Moldavia and Wallachia by the Russians, but had, quite unnecessarily, at the opening of the session of the Legislative Assembly, expressed his sanction of that measure; consequently, the people of Russia considered these provinces as already incorporated in the Empire. In a war of six years' duration, the Turks had made fruitless efforts to regain this territory; which the Emperor Alexander now offered to restore them: with the exception of the districts on the further side of the Pruth. Was it politic for the Turks to refuse this offer? Could they leave the restoration of possessions so considerable dependent on the chances of war? Even should the war terminate favourably for them, it was not improbable that, in a subsequent agreement, they might fare as at Tilsit and Erfurt.* Was not Kutusow — who was obliged, at least on one point, to overstep his instructions — fearful of incurring the displeasure of his master? †

* Mémoires de Duc du Rovigo, v. 290. "Ils se rappelèrent qu'à Tilsit on les avait abandonnés après qu'ils ne s'étaient mis en campagne que pour nous; ils nous rendirent la pareille."

† An Extract from it is found in Michailewski Danilewski, Der Vaterländische Krieg, i. p. 74. — From this it follows, as a matter of course, that the narratives of the pretended *Homme*

In the letter which he wrote to the Emperor Alexander, on the 4th of May — the day of settling the Preliminary Treaty — he affects not to consider the advantages which he had actually obtained as sufficient to excuse him for not having secured others of more importance.

Suffice it to say, that, whilst Napoleon still counted on the participation of the Turks in his enterprise, they had concluded a peace with his enemy.

In this treaty Servia was especially noticed: but the Servians were still mentioned as a subject nation, tributary to the Grand Signior. The concessions in their favour were spoken of as acts of the outpouring of his mercy and generosity. The word "guarantee" did not occur throughout. But be this as it may, the mere fact, that, in a treaty with Russia, rights were granted to the nation, was a point of infinite importance: a solemn agreement had been entered into; and Russia was entitled to demand its due execution.

It is true that this agreement did not in itself embrace all the wishes and demands of the Servians; but it granted them rights which were by no means unimportant.

d'Etat (vol. xi. p. 317.) fall to the ground. The English Government had, long before, taken the leading points of the Peace into consideration. In a letter of the 30th January, 1808, Sir Robert Adair says: — "It is hoped that this Peace may be brought about by prevailing on the Emperor to give up his pretensions to Wallachia and Moldavia, and to be content with some augmentation to the security of his frontier on that side."

The Porte had always most strenuously objected to the fortresses of the country being garrisoned by Servians; and, now that the Porte was placed in a different position by Napoleon's hostility to Russia, this objection was not to be overcome. Accordingly the treaty secured to the Turks the right of occupying the Servian fortresses with their own garrisons.

On the other hand, a complete amnesty was granted to the Servians, and a general improvement of their condition — according to the model of some of the islands of the Archipelago — was guaranteed to them as a matter of right: the details of this improvement being particularly specified. The regulation of the domestic affairs of the nation was to be left to the Servians themselves; and only moderate imposts were laid on them, which they were to pay directly to the Porte: all needful regulations being made with the approbation of the Servian people, and not arbitrarily enacted by the Porte.*

* It proceeds thus :—"It has been deemed just, in consideration of the share borne by the Servians in this war, to come to a solemn agreement respecting their security. Their peace must not in any way be disturbed. The Sublime Porte will grant the Servians, on their petition, the same privileges which her subjects in the Islands of the Archipelago, and in other parts, enjoy; and will moreover confer upon them a mark of her generosity, in leaving the administration of their internal affairs to themselves — in imposing upon them moderate taxes and receiving them only direct from them — and in making the regulation requisite to this end in an understanding with the Servian nation themselves." — (Art. 8.) Chios had only

The Treaty was brief; but it was of the utmost importance; by it complete internal independence appeared to be secured to the Servians.

Nothing further was requisite, but that its terms should be carried out agreeably to the spirit in which they had been conceded.

Everything appeared to promise this fulfilment; as just then the project was formed for attacking the French in Dalmatia; by a fleet which was to sail from the Black Sea, and by a land force which was to proceed through Servia and Roumelia. An army of more than 20,000 men, with artillery, light cavalry, and some Cossacks, was destined for this purpose. On the 27th of June, the first division commenced its march under the command of Colonel O'Rourke. Preparations were made for establishing magazines on the Drina; and commissariat contractors were already appointed, as well as guides, intimately acquainted with the country, for conducting the march of the army through Bosnia.

This project, however, was soon abandoned: England, it is believed, being opposed to the maritime expedition. It was represented to the Emperor Alexander, that the army of the Danube might be rendered far more serviceable to him, were it to form a junction with another force and be employed

a Cadi and a Musellim, who, however, were dependent on the native primate; and the other islands might, so far as the internal administration was concerned, be considered as republics.

in the defence of the country, than it could be in hazarding an enterprise so uncertain in its result.*

Accordingly, on the 15th of July, Alexander issued the order from Smolensk, for this army to unite itself with the third Western army in Volhynia; to oppose the farther advance of the Austrians and the Saxons under the command of a French General. It cannot be doubted that Russia was right in concentrating all her forces, for a struggle on which her very existence depended. The troops which left the Danube took part, at a later period, in the campaign on the Beresina.

This was a heavy disaster for Servia. The Russian regiment, which up to this time had been quartered in Belgrade, now left the country; and it may be readily believed that the Servians regretted its departure. The Turks were now no longer restrained, by any consideration of a threatening military power in the neighbourhood, from giving free course to their natural wish to re-establish every thing on its old footing.

Their whole policy took a different direction. After the arrival of Andreossy, the French ambassador at Constantinople, the very points were discussed by the Divan which excited the astonishment of Europe at this treaty. The Turks lost sight of what they had gained, and remembered only that, notwithstanding the favourable cir-

* According to Valentini, Lehre vom Krieg, vol. iii. Türkenkrieg, p. 157., it was a memorial of General Langeron that decided the Emperor.

cumstances which had occurred, a part of their ancient territory had been surrendered.

Demetrius Morusi forfeited his life, for the share he had in the treaty.* His execution took place at the very moment when the Servian deputies entered the Turkish camp, to arrange in detail the stipulations which in the treaty had been agreed upon only in general terms. They had especially reckoned on the support of this very Morusi; and, as may be supposed, they experienced the disadvantage of this change in the aspect of affairs.

It was especially detrimental to the Servian cause, that the terms of this Treaty of Peace were better suited to the regular administration of an European State, than to the peculiar relations of the Ottoman Empire.

The stipulation that the Turks should garrison the fortresses, and leave the Servians their freedom and self-government in the villages, though it might appear practicable according to generally received notions, presented serious difficulties in being carried into effect. In former times, the garrisons of the fortresses had been also masters of the country. The Spahis, also, were yet living, who had always considered themselves proprietors of the villages. Were they to remain excluded, or were they to return? And, if they came back, and should endeavour to assume their former position, who was then to protect the Servians? Could they even

* See Walsh's Narrative of a Journey from Constantinople to England, p. 277.

maintain the right of bearing their arms?— those arms which they had so gloriously wielded!

It must not be left unnoticed, that, though the peace protected the Servian nation, those articles upon which chiefly depended the general execution of the treaty had not been specifically defined.

When the Servian government gave its deputies their instructions, it may readily be imagined that they adopted that interpretation of the treaty which was most in their own favour.

The Servians professed themselves ready to pay tribute to the Porte — to receive a Pacha, with a certain number of men, in Belgrade — and, in time of war, to admit Turkish garrisons into the other fortresses; but under ordinary circumstances, they claimed the right of having in them garrisons of their own. The internal administration of the country was to remain wholly independent of the Turks. But these demands were now no longer listened to at Constantinople. The Deputies were referred to the new Grand Vizier, Churschid Pacha; who, two years before, had proved so dangerous to the Servians in their own country, and who had been raised to the highest dignity expressly in consideration of the service he had rendered in checking their progress. At Nisch, on their way to Constantinople, he had received them favourably; but, on their return, his conduct was very different: he refused to give them any satisfactory answer.

The Servian ambassadors returned home at Christmas, 1812, without having effected any of

the objects of their mission. All negotiation was postponed, to a conference appointed to take place at Nisch, in 1813.

There, at length, the Commissioner from the Porte, Tschelebi Effendi, set forth the Turkish interpretation of the treaty.

He demanded the surrender not only of all the fortresses, but also of all their arms and ammunition. The Turks who had been banished were to return into the towns and Palanks. Nothing else, it was said, could be meant by the Peace of Bucharest. It now remained for Kara George to verify his words, and to submit to what had been agreed upon by the two Emperors; and any one dissatisfied with this arrangement was at liberty to emigrate.

But if the Servians were to deliver up their arms, and the Turks were to resume their possessions, a still further re-establishment of the former state of things was to be expected. To these demands, therefore, the deputies could not, and would not, agree. Consequently, towards the spring, the Turkish troops assembled close to the Servian frontiers. They had also other business in that neighbourhood; to act against Molla Pacha, the successor of Passwan Oglu, at Widdin; whom, as one who had raised himself to independent power, the Sultan was no longer disposed to tolerate.

In order to save himself, Molla Pacha had at one time actually offered to surrender his citadel to the Servians; but when it came to the point, he

could not, as a "good Turk," make up his mind to take a step so decisive in favour of Christians. Nor, perhaps, would the offer have been accepted; as the Servians had received express instructions from St. Petersburg to remain quiet, and by no means to provoke the Turks; who would not then venture to violate the existing treaty. At the same time, Molla Pacha, pressed by his opponents in the town itself, was under the necessity of surrendering his fortress to the Turks.*

It is evident that this event rendered the military position of the Servians much worse. Negotiations were once more opened, in May, 1813, under very unfavourable auspices.

Kara George now found himself obliged to concede an important point to the Turks. He consented to admit their garrisons into the fortresses; but on condition that their small arms, which they had formerly been permitted to wear, should be left to the Servians. He also insisted that, at all events, those Turks who had been expelled should not be permitted to return; as on this unquestionably depended the peace of the country.

Never had the two parties seemed nearer coming to an agreement. The Tschelebi Effendi, an aged man, who had brought many a difficult business to

* Andreossy assures us, that Molla Pacha (so called because he had for a time been Secretary to Passwan Oglu) was not beheaded or assassinated, as has been said, but died of the plague at Scutari. This statement has also been confirmed to me from another quarter.

a successful termination, felt confident that he should be equally fortunate on the present occasion. He sent the proposals of the Servians to Constantinople, and promised them an early decision. It is needless to inquire whether he really expected this; but in fact it was now impossible.

Were not these the same contentions and disputes which had been the principal causes of the war? Could it be imagined that the Spahis — who formed a large portion of the army, which was already on the boundary of the country — would consent to be excluded from what they deemed their inheritance: at a moment too, when every thing seemed favourable for its recovery?

The Turks were again in possession of Moldavia and Wallachia, as well as of Widdin, and were also masters of Bulgaria. They were moreover inspired with peculiar confidence; from the circumstance that in the course of that very spring, the Holy Cities in Arabia had been freed from the Wechabites, and their keys brought to Constantinople. Under this aspect of affairs, would the victorious armies of the Grand Signior hesitate to commence the war with the rebellious Servian Raja?

At that very time, also, was received the news of the battle of Lutzen, which was regarded as a defeat of the Russians; and all fear of them was entirely cast aside. Besides, the Turks did not consider that they had broken the treaty; since

the Servians rejected the interpretation which the Porte had given to it.

Determined to maintain the privileges of Islamism undiminished within the boundaries of the Empire, the Turkish army advanced towards the Servian frontiers, and recommenced the war.

CHAP. XV.

WAR IN SERVIA IN THE YEAR 1813.

Great European Conflict. — The Christian and the Islamite Principles represented in the Servians and the Turks. — Opinion of the French Ambassador at Constantinople respecting the Conduct of England. — Solemn Religious Meetings and Warlike Proclamations of the Servians. — Anticipated Aid of Russia. — Monarchical Government of Kara George. — Changes in the Servian Constitution. — Difference between the Present and Former Military Proceedings. — Character of the Heyduc Weliko. — First Collision of the Servians with the Turks. — Mladen's jealousy of Weliko. — Death of Weliko in the Defence of Negotin. — Devastating Progress of the Turks on the Danube. — Junction of the Armies of the Grand Vizier and the Capitan Pacha. — Servian Prisoners conducted to Constantinople. — Continued Advance of the Turks. — Disastrous State of Servia. — Defection and Flight of Kara George. — The Turks take Possession of Smederewo and Belgrade without Resistance.

At the time when all the powers of civilised Europe were prepared to settle the most momentous question that had arisen for centuries, a conflict arose on the very boundaries of this continent, amongst those whom we may, without wronging them, truly style barbarians: a conflict which, though it cannot be compared with that which agitated Europe, as regards its influence on the world in general, was yet of great importance in determining the superiority of the Christian or of the Islam sway.

Nevertheless, some connexion might be observed between the two contests. The French Ambassador — who, unfortunately, was too reserved respecting his negotiations — reported only that the Porte, notwithstanding the disaster which had befallen the French, had not yielded to the influence of the combined Powers; but that, on the contrary, he had found greater facility in the prosecution of his diplomatic duties.

Popular opinion went much farther. The Turks who advanced into Servia declared, in plain terms, that they expected the assistance of France; that it was the wish of the Grand Signior to plant a military force on the frontiers of Servia, for the purpose of threatening Austria, and thus preventing her from joining the coalition.

This would explain the fact that, whilst on former occasions a Pacha of Bosnia had disdained to fight against the Servians, the Grand Vizier Churschid in person now led the army against them.

The opinion of Andreossy was — that England, in order to occupy the attention of the Turks, and to prevent a renewal of the war on the Danube, had fomented the disturbances at Bagdad and the movements of the Persians, which were connected therewith, against the Ottoman empire.*

At a time when all the powers were necessarily

* Andreossy, 209. "L'Angleterre favorise et sème des mésintelligences du côté de Bagdad pour préoccuper les Turcs et les empêcher de rétablir l'état de guerre sur le Danube. * * * Le général Andreossy entretient une correspondance avec Mirza Chefi, premier ministre de Perse."

engaged in the endeavour to bring to an issue the great Western question — on which the re-establishment or the downfall of the old States depended — it would unquestionably have proved a general calamity, had either Russia or Austria been compelled to resume the war on the Danube. How often have the Russians been reproached for having, at the breaking out of the Prussian war of 1806, divided their forces, and ventured at the same time to undertake a campaign on the Danube!

But might not something yet have been achieved in favour of Servia? We must leave this question undecided. In Europe, the minds of men were so occupied, that very little thought was given to this Eastern dispute. But this is certain — Servia was now left without assistance.

The Servians, however, fully understood the gravity and importance of the approaching struggle.

As soon as the enemy's advance was ascertained, Kara George ordered prayer-meetings to be held in all the Kneshines, in the week before the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul. The proclamation which Kara George had sent to all the Woiwodes, was read in full assembly; after the monks had repeated their vigils, and had prayed for victory over their enemies. In it he reminds the people of the grounds on which they had risen against the Turks: "that they had for nine years fought victoriously against them, every man not only for himself, but also for his religion, and for the lives of his children. They had found, too, a protector; for

by a treaty which he had made, the Turks had been forbidden to return into the towns and palanks. To this the Sultan at Constantinople had agreed: but not so the Spahis and Janissaries, the citizens, and other inhabitants who had been driven from the country. The Turks had come, in opposition to the will of their imperial master, to re-conquer Servia; and they had determined to behead every male above the age of seven, to lead the women and children into captivity and make them Mahomatans, and to settle another people in these districts. But," he proceeded, "have we any good reason to fear them? Are they not the same enemies whom we conquered in earlier times, when we had no means of resistance but our courage? Now, on the contrary, we count one hundred and fifty cannon in the country; seven fortresses, strongly built of stone; forty entrenchments — before which the Turks have often bled without being able to capture them; and our numbers are doubled by the arrival among us of our brethren of the land. No! for ten years we can resist them without any foreign aid: but, before the lapse of half-a-year, we shall witness the arrival of our ally. Only let the nation rise unanimously, take up arms, and not grudge even their lives in defence of their country and their religion."

Praying, and responding with a repeated "Amen!" he thus solemnly concluded: — "May God instil courage into the hearts of the sons of Servia! May he destroy the power of

our enemies, who have come to annihilate the true faith!"

Upon this, every man made the requisite preparation; supplied himself with clothing and provisions, took with him some new Opanks, and repaired to the post assigned him for the defence of his country.

It was now to be proved whether Servia would be able to defend herself unassisted: at least until the great conflict in the West should be decided, and attention again be directed towards the East.

And what could have appeared more propitious for Servia than the established monarchical government of Kara George; who was now able to employ the very considerable forces he had obtained for the furtherance of the general welfare.

It is not always, however, that such anticipations are realised.

Kara George had not become thus powerful without materially changing the constitution of the state — a constitution which had been formed by the natural character of the people. The Gospodars were very closely connected with their vassals, Buljukbashes, and Woiwodes of minor importance: they had all grown up in intimate union together. True, the appointment of new Woiwodes, under the influence of the Commander-in-chief, made the unity of the state more complete; but at the same time, it checked the development of national energy in separate districts.

And since this local spirit was no longer to be relied upon, they had boldly determined to renounce a system in which the defence of the country depended on the freer co-operation of those provincial chiefs.

Kara George's first idea had been—and it would have accorded well with his position at the moment — to destroy the entrenchments on the frontiers, and with his entire force to await the enemy in the mountains of the Schumadia. He would thus have been able to avail himself of all the advantages which the nature of the country offered, and in his own peculiar territory. But Kara George was persuaded to abandon this intention by Mladen, whose friendship had already drawn him into so many difficulties: and who, it is said, was afraid of losing some property which he possessed near the frontier.

It was accordingly determined, again to oppose the enemy by stationing troops on the three boundaries of the country, which in the former wars had always been defended: on the Drina, on the Morawa, and on the Danube. In Jagodina it was the intention of Kara George to form a reserve, for the succour of that division which might be in the greatest danger.

This was a somewhat more systematic mode of proceeding than had been resorted to on former occasions; when Kara George preferred to head the attack himself, and in the ardour of a warlike spirit had flown from one frontier to the other.

The main differences, however, were these: no Nenadowitsch now commanded on the Drina, but only the Knes Sima; at Deligrade there was no Peter Dobrinjaz, but his adversary, Mladen himself; and the fortifications on the Danube were entrusted to the Heyduc Weliko, instead of to Milenko.

And it was against Weliko that the Turks first directed their attack. They had now the advantage, which they had not possessed in former times, of having at their disposal the troops of Widdin; which had hitherto always been governed by a Pacha who sought only his own interest. But above all things the Turks were desirous of vanquishing the Heyduc, whom the Servians looked upon as their hero.

And such Weliko deserved to be considered: though only such a one as the country, the times, and the events of the age could produce. When the Russians — of whom he thought so highly that he could never believe Napoleon to have advanced so far as Moscow — once told him "not to call himself *Heyduc*, which signified a *robber*," he replied — "I should be sorry if there were any greater robber than I am." And it is true that he was insatiable in quest of booty: for the sake of a few piastres, he would hazard his life; yet what he obtained he would immediately give away. "If I possess aught," he would say, "any one may share it with me; but if I have not anything, woe be to him who has and does not freely share it with me."

He was eager in the pursuit of pleasure; of a lively humour, good-natured, and of a frank disposition: a man might trust his life with him, but not his secret. He was fond of war, not for the attainment of any specific object, but for its own sake. He prayed that Servia might be engaged in war so long as he lived, but that after his death she might enjoy peace. He did not like to command soldiers brought from the plough; but preferred Momkes, Bekjares, and practised warriors. He quarrelled with his wife because she refused to treat his Momkes as well as she treated him: "All of them," he said, "were his brothers." No one was better fitted for bold enterprises and hazardous excursions; and he was best pleased when employed in the mountains: for defending the defiles of which he was admirably qualified. On the present occasion, however, he was not entrusted with a duty of this nature; but was called upon to show, whether his qualifications were such as would enable him to defend fortified places and entrenched positions on the frontier.

Weliko's brother, Milutin, was the first to encounter the Turks; who appeared near Kladowo, and attacked the peasants as they were busily engaged in carrying off their property into the mountains. Milutin dispersed the enemy; but, from inability to pursue them with his horsemen over the mountain paths, he did not succeed in recapturing all the booty and prisoners they had taken.

On hearing of this, Weliko determined to scour the country whilst awaiting the enemy. He drove many thousand head of cattle into his citadel of Negotin, and ventured as far as the gates of Widdin; where he was seen, on his Arabian steed, in the plain before the fortress. Near Bukowtscha he put to flight the first Turkish troops which appeared on the Timok.

But when the Turks arrived, 18,000 strong, he was obliged to shut himself up in Negotin. It was then his delight to make sallies, day after day, and night after night; and thus to keep the besiegers constantly in a state of alarm. Compared with the losses which he caused them, his own were trivial: though he lost better soldiers, and each diminution of his numbers could not but be seriously felt. At last both parties were obliged to solicit aid — the Turks, from the Grand Vizier; and Weliko, from Kara George and the Senate.

The Turks were not long unassisted. Retschep Aga, the Wallachian Prince Karadschia, and the Grand Vizier himself led on a reinforcement. They made their way under cover of the night, and by mining, nearer and nearer to the fortifications. They battered down with their cannon one tower of Negotin after another; and lastly the highest, which was the residence of Weliko himself. Still he lost not his courage; but went down and lived in the vault. Every thing, of lead or tin, which could be found in the place, he melted into balls; not excepting even spoons and lamps; and one

day, when all metal else was exhausted, he ordered his men to load their guns with pieces of money instead of bullets, and thus successfully kept off the enemy. If he could but have received assistance! On receiving Weliko's request for aid, Kara George, whose corps of reserve had never been brought into a state of efficiency, sent to Mladen. But Mladen's answer was: — "He may help himself! *His* praise is sung to him, at his table, by ten singers; *mine* is not: let him then keep his ground — the hero!" The Senate — to whom Weliko had written, in the most severe terms, saying that, "at Christmas he would inquire in what manner the country was governed!" — at length sent a vessel to him with ammunition: but it arrived too late.

One morning as Weliko, according to custom, was going his rounds, and just when ordering the repair of a redoubt which had been damaged by the enemy, he was recognised — for the combatants were very near to each other — by a Turkish artilleryman, who aimed at him. The aim was true. Uttering the words — "Stand firm!" [*Drshte se!*] Weliko fell to the ground: his body lay torn asunder! His Momkes covered the corpse with hay, and in the evening buried it near the church. In vain they endeavoured to conceal the death of their leader: his absence was too grievously felt.

Now, for the first time, the Servians became aware how much had depended upon this man. Had the Heyduc lived to see the arrival of a fresh

supply of ammunition, he might long have defended his own position and the whole of this frontier. Had he only escaped with his life, his presence would always have inspired courage and resistance. But now despondency prevailed in Negotin. Whilst Weliko lived no one had dared to speak of flight or surrender; but five days after his death the garrison escaped across a morass and gained the road to Poretsch. The troops in Bersa Palanka and Great Ostrowa, now also retreated before the advance of the enemy, and took the same road. Schiwko Constantinowitsch — who, through the favour of Mladen, had been elected Woiwode of Kladowo — regardless of the vast efforts which the capture of that place had cost, joined the President of the Magistracy, Jozo — who, like himself, was a townsman — and fled under the protection of the Momkes and Bekjares. Kladowo, consequently, felt the full rage of the enemy; to whose merciless fury it was abandoned: men were impaled; and children, in derision of the rite of baptism, were thrown into boiling water!

Whilst the Turks were ravaging the neighbouring Nahias, all who could effect their escape had fled to Poretsch. Here, under an incompetent Woiwode of Mladen's appointing, a more able commander, Hadschi Nicola, had, in consequence of the general danger, obtained the authority. His exertions, however, proved equally unavailing. He erected a redoubt on the lower point of the island: but the Turks effected a landing between the town

and the fort; and as soon as they made their appearance, the people, who had become accustomed to flight, again fled. In vessels and boats—nay, even on planks or by swimming—they sought to escape the vengeance of the enemy, and to find safety on the Austrian bank of the Danube. Hadschi Nicola was taken prisoner and beheaded; and the Turks advanced without opposition as far as Smederewo.

These great results on the Danube were followed by others on the Morawa. The Grand Vizier, Churschid Pacha, was still less disposed now, than during the campaign of 1810, to lose time at Deligrade, which was bravely defended by Wuiza; he, therefore, left a part of his army behind for the siege of this fortress, and proceeded with the remainder down the right bank of the Morawa.

Mladen, who was little of a warrior, and now felt himself far too weak to encounter the large Turkish force, did not even attempt resistance. The Grand Vizier was consequently able to proceed along the river without molestation; and at Petka he formed a junction with the troops of the Capitan Pacha. The united army took up its position close by the mouths of the Morawa, opposite the Servians, who were on the other side of the river; and the Turks were reinforced by vessels of war: the largest that had ever been seen on the Morawa.

Of the three great divisions of the country, the

Servians had now entirely lost the one beyond the Morawa. The second division also, which lay on the further side of the Kolubara, was also nearly lost. Knes Sima did not offer any resistance to the passage of the Turks over the Drina, though all the Woiwodes were anxious to give them battle; and when they encamped before Leschnitza, he made no effort for its defence. Milosch of Pozerje had unfortunately been killed two years before, by a robber, whom he was in pursuit of; and he was succeeded by his brother, who, by no means equalled him in talent. To this brother, Leschnitza was now entrusted; and he was foolish enough to allow himself to be persuaded by the bishop of Swornik, who accompanied the Turkish force, that no harm should occur to him or his people, and he accordingly surrendered.

Thus, the Turks, with little trouble, regained possession of Kulin's scimitar. They conducted their prisoners, under an armed escort, through Bosnia, and at length to Constantinople: whence none of them ever returned.

Antonie Bogitschewitsch was no longer alive, to defend Losnitza, as he had formerly done. Peter Moler, who had taken his place, did not, it is true, suffer himself to be duped by the bishop's assurances; but he did not venture to defend the place; and was content to effect his own escape.

In like manner Knes Sima allowed the Turks to advance, without coming to any regular engagement. Even when they attacked the fortress of

Rawanj, which was defended by the valiant Woiwodes Stojan Tschupitsch, Milosch Obrenowitsch, and Prota Nenadowitsch — he remained inactive in his camp: paralysed by an unaccountable insensibility: he sent neither ammunition, (of which those chiefs soon felt the want,) nor troops, whose aid they greatly needed: were it only to procure a brief repose after the fatigues to which they had been subjected, and their protracted loss of sleep. For seventeen harassing days, the Woiwodes defended the entrenchment; during which time they affirm that they suffered such privations as had never before been endured in a fortress. At length they abandoned the place to the enemy; who now advanced against Schabaz, where Knes Sima was encamped.

The country was now in greater danger than ever. In the year 1806, many considered themselves lost when the Turks had forced their way only from the Drina to Schabaz, without having touched any other districts; in 1809, the country was thought to be ruined because the enemy had obtained possession of the right bank of the Morawa; but now the Moslems had advanced victorious on both sides, and the Schumadia alone remained free from the invaders. In the first war, Kara George had saved the country by his glorious battle on the Mischar; and, in the second, he had made such excellent arrangements, that the left bank of the Morawa remained unmolested, and in a short time he was able to re-conquer the right bank.

Amidst the present difficulties, he was looked for with greater anxiety than ever. An opportunity was now afforded him of establishing his claims to the exercise of sovereign sway over the whole country: he might now have exemplified the uses and privileges of monarchical power. But, from some incomprehensible cause, he neither appeared on the Drina, on the Danube, nor on the Morawa: he remained inactive, with some Momkes; at one time in Topola, at another in the vicinity of Belgrade: nowhere was he seen, and many persons actually believed him to be dead.

Had he been required to command a division of the army, or to defend a fortress, he would doubtless have displayed his wonted valour; but now, since he had not directly to confront the enemy, he only shared the feelings of the defeated and discouraged fugitives. He no longer felt that energy which the presence of the enemy inspires in the brave; all the friends to whom his ear was open, desponded, and thought of flight; and he also was seized by the universal panic, which bore him along resistlessly.

Some men are more competent to acquire than to retain: the hopes of future possession — of future greatness, urge them incessantly onward; the discouragement of defeat deprives them of their calm judgment.

If we mistake not, Kara George, amidst the general wreck, cherished the idea of seeking safety in a neighbouring country, and of concealing his

treasures. It is a known fact, that he buried his money; hoping to return at some favourable opportunity, in more prosperous times, with the support of the allies whom he had mentioned in his proclamation. In this design he was probably confirmed by the Russian Consul; who, it has been asserted — though the fact cannot be proved — exercised great influence over him at the time. Not that this can in any way excuse the conduct of Kara George; whose duty it was to stake his life for the nation, which had entrusted its entire welfare to him. Nor could it, by any means, be considered that all was lost. The fortresses might at least have held out till the approach of winter; and the people might have maintained their ground in the mountains; for the inclemency of the season, and the scarcity of provisions, would have been sufficient to drive the Turks out of the country. And if all their efforts had failed, the Servians would at least have fallen with glory.

But there was no foundation here for that moral courage which enables men to withstand the inroads of misfortune, and with a full knowledge of the danger, to risk even their lives, actuated by a high sense of honour. Such noble deeds of self-devotion are not to be found in Servian history. *Kara George himself was not capable of them.*

On the first of October, he appeared in the camp on the Morawa. *It is not rightly known what he* did there, or whether the state in which he found

affairs confirmed him in his despondency; but, the very next day, the Turks crossed the river, before his eyes, without his having the means to prevent them; and on the day following, Kara George, with Nedoba, Leonti, Philippowitch, and his secretary Janiki, fled across the Danube into the Austrian territory.

The defection of Kara George was the second heavy blow — Weliko's death being the first — that the Servian cause had sustained; and it was decisive. The Turks marched into Smederewo and Belgrade without any resistance being offered; those fortresses having been left, under the pressure of the moment, without supplies of provisions. The whole country now stood defenceless, and open to the enemy.

CHAP. XVI.

RENEWED DOMINION OF THE TURKS.

Evil Results of Evil Deeds. — Opposition of the Gospodars to Mladen and Miloje. — Flight of Kara George and the Servian Senators into Austria. — Kara George, Mladen, and other Chiefs admitted into Austrian Fortresses. — Flight of the Garrison of Schabaz on the Approach of the Turks. — Milosch Obrenowitsch remains in the Country. — He garrisons Uschize. — The Turks invest him with Powers to tranquillise the Country. — He induces other Woiwodes to submit. — Appointed by the Pacha of Belgrade to be Grand Knes of Rudnik, &c. — Return of the Expelled Spahis. — Oppression and Cruelty exercised by the Turks. — Affray between Turks and Servians. — Milosch disperses the Insurgents. — The Pacha disregards his Promises. — Barbarity of the Turks towards the Servians. — Fortunate Escape of Milosch from Belgrade — Milosch places himself at the Head of a General Insurrection.

THAT a principle of retribution is observable in the affairs of men, has been often asserted by some, and as frequently doubted by others. Without presuming to scrutinize the doctrine of a direct and supernal interposition of the Most High, we may remark that it seems to be the natural course of things for the same disposition and passions which have originated an evil deed to produce an effect, perhaps of a more powerful kind, which follows close upon the perpetration of the crime, and torments the after life of the guilty.

In the instance of the Servian war at least, we may trace the misfortunes which now afflicted the people to their source in the outrages committed at Belgrade, and the plunder and slaughter of the Turks. Without doubt the chiefs who commanded in Belgrade at the time were most to be blamed. These were Mladen, who was at the head of the garrison; Miloje, who led the Bekjares; and Sima Markowitsch, Knes of the Nahia of Belgrade. They enriched themselves by the booty they had gained; and allied themselves more closely with Kara George, who had permitted the perpetration of these atrocities.

Hence it followed that a party was formed, who, identifying their own advantage with the interest of the Commander-in-chief, fought for him indeed; but, through their violence and outrages, aroused opposition against his power.

We have seen how often the Gospodars rebelled against the influence of Mladen and Miloje; who, in fact, ruled Belgrade with a sway not much milder than that of the Turks. They opposed Mladen especially, who was the most powerful. The Gospodars were defeated: the most resolute amongst them were obliged to flee; but by these means a power was lost, which, in the moment of danger, would have been of the greatest service to the country. In this country, where neither military order, nor the common tie of nationality, had been thoroughly established, its defence must be founded, according to the natural principle of feu-

dalism, in a long personal possession and in local influence.

The party formed at Belgrade having mainly contributed towards the establishment of monarchical power, had also a large share in its exercise: Mladen, both in war and peace; and Knes Sima, from having repeatedly held offices of command. But they were incapable of replacing those commanders who had been exiled. Their power in this fatal year proved injurious: Mladen suffered the Heyduc to perish, and did not defend the Morawa; while Sima allowed the Bosnians to proceed to Schabaz without bringing them to an engagement. Such were the events that brought about the general ruin.

Thus was verified the prediction of the old Kmetes, "that the people would some day have to atone for their atrocities."

No sooner had Kara George fled, than the Senators followed his example, by escaping to Austria. Upon the news that the Turks were in Belgrade, the project entertained in the camp of Schabaz, of sending Milosch Obrenowitsch thither, with 2000 men, was relinquished. The leaders of the army, all the most distinguished Woiwodes, escaped across the Danube. Wuiza also left Deligrade, with his 3000 men; nor did he consider himself in safety until he reached Pantschowa, on the farther side of the Danube. Thus all the divisions of the army were completely broken up.

How entirely was the aspect of affairs now

changed! The most influential of the Servian leaders were taken into Austrian fortresses: Kara George, to Gratz; Mladen, to Bruk, on the Mur; Jacob, Wuiza, Sima, and Leonti, to other places. Somewhat later, upon the intercession of Russia in their behalf, they were all allowed to pass into Bessarabia. The less influential chiefs indeed, remained at liberty in the Austrian territory; yet they never ventured to return to their own land. Some Woiwodes still remained in Servia; but they retired from the wrath of their countrymen into the secret places of the mountains. The Turks, on the other hand, took possession of the country as masters; in no instance encountering the slightest opposition. They met with no difficulty in returning to the fortresses, for the conquest of which the Servians had made such strenuous efforts. On the mere rumour of their approach, the garrison of Schabaz fled; and in a moment, as it were, the Ottoman dominion again spread itself over towns, palanks, and villages.

Was the triumphant career of the Turks to remain unchecked?

Had the Servian power been so completely destroyed by a single campaign, which had not produced even one great defeat, and by the flight of the leaders, that it was no longer capable of inspiring fear? During *nine* years it had maintained its position amidst the most severe conflicts, and was it now to be all at once annihilated?

It was a circumstance of vast importance in

such considerations, that there still remained some Woiwodes who had not fled; and that of the independent chieftains—the Gospodars,—at least one was left—Milosch Obrenowitsch.

When the army of Schabaz dispersed, and so many of the Woiwodes escaped over the Save, Milosch Obrenowitsch alone, of all the number, continued on the Servian side of the river, mourning over the past,—meditating on the future. As he rode along the bank of the Save, Jacob Nenadowitsch once more came over to Sabreschje, where Milosch had stopped to refresh his horses, and tried to persuade him to seek safety in flight. "What will my life profit me in Austria?" he answered: "while in the meantime the enemy will sell into slavery my wife and child and my aged mother. No! whatever may be the fate of my fellow countrymen shall be mine also!"

The feeling of Milosch was, that a man should not desert his country in the hour of her misfortune. The arguments of Jacob made no impression upon him. He forthwith hastened to his home at Brusnizza. Here, in the southern districts, no enemy had yet appeared; and Milosch may have hoped that he might be able to maintain his ground. He garrisoned Uschize, and distributed clothes and arms amongst the Bekjares,—who, after the flight of the other chiefs, had assembled around him; and he trusted that the people would obey his commands. But when the Turks approached, it was soon found impossible to resist them. The

utmost that any individual hoped was to be able to preserve his own home, wife, and children, by submitting to the conquerors. No force could be kept together: even the garrison of Uschize fled on the first report of the enemy's approach.

But though Milosch could not offer open resistance, his conduct was such as to make no slight impression on the Turks. In order to tranquillise the country in some degree, it was natural that the conquerors should seek the co-operation of one or other of the native chiefs. Accordingly, they addressed themselves to Milosch, promising that if he would surrender, and aid them in quieting the people, they would make him a Knes and a Governor, as he had been under Kara George.

This was a proposal of great importance for Servia.

The Ottomans found themselves under the necessity of requesting the assistance of the yet unsubdued chieftains of the country; and it was manifestly advantageous for the Servians that a government should be formed comprising some of the national elements.

Milosch determined to accept the offer; and in the village of Takowo, he laid his arms at the feet of the Aga Ali Sertschesma, Delibascha of the Grand Vizier. The Aga however accepted only the sabre; returning to him his pistols, musket, and dagger, with permission to wear them as heretofore; and according to promise, at once acknowledged him as Grand Knes of Rudnik. Hereupon Milosch not

only assisted in tranquillising his own district, but also induced other Woiwodes to surrender as he had done. Ali Aga even went so far as to request that he might have the honour of introducing him to the Grand Vizier at Belgrade; who received Milosch with marks of honour, and confirmed him in his dignity of Grand Knes of Rudnik.

Soliman, of Skoplje in Herzegowina, who had been made Pacha of Belgrade, was no friend to the Servians; against whom he had often fought during the preceding nine years: but even he assented to the appointment.

"Look!" said he, as he introduced Milosch to his Court; "behold here my beloved Baschknes — my son by adoption! He is now quiet and modest: yet many a time have I been obliged to betake myself to flight before him; and at length, at Rawanj, he wounded me in the arm. There, my adopted son!" he said, showing him his wounded hand, "thou hast *bitten* me!" Milosch replied: — "But now will I also *gild* this hand."

Upon this Soliman appointed him at once, by a "burunty," Grand Knes of Rudnik, Poscheja and Kragujewaz; and presented him with a pair of handsome pistols and an Arabian steed.

Independently of Milosch, some other chieftains became reconciled with the Turks: Abram Lukitsch, formerly Sowietnik, an aged, eloquent, and highly esteemed man; and the Woiwode Axenti, who was now made Knes of Belgrade.

They were allowed to wear arms; and at times the Pacha would pay attention to their intercession in favour of others. Stanoje Glawasch, also, was still in the country; but, as he had been a Heyduc, the dignity of a Knes could not be conferred upon him. He performed the duties of a Serdar in the district of Smederewo; permission to wear his arms having been accorded him.

Although by such means the Turks engaged some of the Servian chieftains in their service, it must not be supposed that they had in the slightest degree relinquished their claims of exclusive and complete dominion.

As the terms of the Treaty, according to their interpretation, had not been amicably fulfilled, they no longer cared for its stipulations, but having recovered possession of the country by hostile invasion, they governed as they thought fit.

The Pacha kept a strong military force distributed over the country. Even in small places—for instance in Batotschina and Hassan Passina Palanka—from two to three hundred Albanian or Bosnian soldiers were stationed, who were fed and paid by the surrounding districts. This force constituted a sort of armed executive.

Under its protection, not only did the banished Spahis return, but also the expelled Turkish inhabitants. They found their houses in the towns and palanks mostly destroyed; but they resumed possession of their property, meditating revenge for their losses. And no sooner had they gained a firm

footing, than they put to death many of those whom they regarded as their especial enemies.

It could not for a moment be supposed that the Servians would be permitted to administer justice themselves, as they had been promised by the treaty of peace. On the contrary, whereas formerly there had been only one Musellim in each district, Soliman now appointed functionaries of this class in places of less importance; where in former times none had resided. Of the Kadi, whose office it was to administer justice at the side of the Musellim, nothing more was heard.

The Pacha demanded a very high Poresa, and the Turks themselves went through the country to collect it.

Soliman also thought it desirable again to accustom the peasants to bond-service, and therefore employed them in building fortifications. As they were kept at this labour for weeks, without being relieved, disease broke out amongst them, and many perished; and so little did the Turks appear to be concerned at this, that they were suspected of having themselves killed many of the bondmen.

It was one of the principal objects of the new administration to deprive the Servians of their weapons — small arms as well as large; and Serdars were sent through the country to disarm the people.

Often were the women seen with tears in their eyes, on beholding the weapons of their relations and friends in the hands of the Turks, who

displayed them at every opportunity. The women themselves had now to resort to measures for self-defence: the wife of Milosch was even obliged to disguise herself in the dress of a Servian female peasant when the Musellim visited her house.

The oppression now experienced by the Servians was a source of continual irritation and alarm: and—remembering the victories they had formerly achieved—they felt it as an insult; which rendered it quite insupportable.

It is likely, too, that the news of the successful termination of the Great European question, in which the friends of the people had triumphed over the pretended allies of the Turks—had exerted an influence on the minds of the Servians.

A trivial incident sufficed, in the first instance, to excite disturbance, and afterwards to occasion a general insurrection.

Towards the end of the autumn of 1814, the Musellim of Poschega, and a former Woiwode, Hadschi Prodan of Sjenitza, with some of their respective followers, happened to meet in the Cloister Trnawa; where both had sought a retreat from the plague, which had recently broken out in Servia. One day the Chiefs of the parties walked together into the country; and during their absence, their men got into a dispute. The Igumen of the Cloister sided with his own countrymen, the Servians, and the Turks were very soon bound and plundered. The incident in itself was trivial; yet it immediately caused a general rising throughout

Poschega and Kragujewaz, as far as Jagodina. Hadschi Prodan, who had withdrawn as speedily as possible from the Musellim, his companion, spared no pains to spread the insurrection; and exhorted Milosch to make himself Commander-in-chief, as Kara George had formerly done.

This, however, could not, at present, be expected of Milosch. Feeling indebted to the Turks for recent favours, and convinced that an attempt so entirely unprepared must miscarry, and thus inevitably bring ruin upon the country, he formed a totally different resolution. Accompanied by Aschim Beg, Musellim of Rudnik, with whom he had formed a bond of brotherhood, he set out for Poschega in order to suppress the movement; but on their arrival, Hadschi Prodan fled. Milosch then proceeded to Kragujewaz; where, after having amicably won over some of the principal leaders, Simon Pastrewaz, Blagoje of Knitsch, and Wutschitsch, he did not hesitate even to commence a slight skirmish with the others who were unwilling to submit. The insurgents kept the field: but when they found that Milosch was in earnest in opposing them, they dispersed during the night. On receipt of this intelligence, the leaders of the band that had risen in Jagodina fled into the forests, whence they solicited pardon; and their adherents dispersed.

Whilst Milosch endeavoured to re-establish tranquillity, he neglected no precaution in favour of his countrymen. He aided several parties in their escape: for instance, the women in

Hadschi Prodan's house, who had fallen into the hands of the Turks — at least, the youngest, his daughter-in-law, who effected her escape in man's attire. He had given the first intelligence of the insurrection to Soliman Pacha; at the same time informing him of his intention to suppress it; and he obtained the assurance that, if the insurgents would at once voluntarily surrender, no one should be harmed: with the exception of Hadschi Prodan, whom it was necessary to punish.

But the Pacha's actions did not correspond with his words. The Kiaja of Soliman did not arrive at Tschatschak until after the complete restoration of order; but he nevertheless compelled the inhabitants to point out the ringleaders of the insurrection, and carried them off with him in chains. Fortunately, Milosch succeeded in preventing him from plundering the villages in Kragujewaz and Jagodina, and leading off the inhabitants as slaves; by threatening to withdraw from him, and to exert himself no further in tranquillising the country. But these threats could not prevent the Kiaja from carrying away in chains the presumed ringleaders of the insurrection. It is true, he again promised that his prisoners, although they would be made to suffer pecuniary loss, and even corporeal punishment, should not be put to death; but soon after his arrival with them at Belgrade, notwithstanding the promise given both by him and by the Pacha, the less influential of the prisoners, to the number of 150, were beheaded in front of the

four gates of the city. The Igumen of Trnawa, with thirty-six others, were impaled.* These were all young, high-spirited and brave men, of good descent, who had been amongst the first to join the insurrection; and whose influence in the country induced the Turks to put them to death.

In accordance with this cruel chastisement was the reckless tyranny by which the Turks thought to prevent further movements. Whilst again searching diligently for arms — for the insurrection had proved that there were still many weapons concealed — they perpetrated innumerable outrages. Mahometan gipsies would compel Servians whom they met to take off their good clothes, and receive their own ragged ones in exchange. Whatever might be found in the houses, in the way of clothing, the materials of which had not been made by the women, but purchased, was taken away. Frequently, whilst making this search, the Turks would fill bags, like those out of which horses eat, with ashes, tie them under the chins of the women, and, by beating upon them, cause the dust to ascend into their mouths and nostrils. Some were bound hand and foot, and thus suspended by the extremities, with heavy stones hung from the middle of their bodies. Some were flogged to death; others roasted alive on spits. Many other atrocities are known to have been perpetrated, which we must pass over in silence.

Nor were the Chiefs spared in this visitation.

* December 5. 1814.

Amongst those executed before Belgrade were venerable Senators, such as Milia Strawkowitsch; and aged and renowned Woiwodes, such as Stephen Jacoblewitsch. Nor could even the office of Serdar protect Stanoje Glawasch; who was put to death, although guiltless of any offence.

Prudent representations were repeatedly made to the Pacha, that in acting thus cruelly he did not govern the country according to the interest of the Grand Signior. Even a Turk, Bego Nowljanin, who had formerly been extremely oppressive to the Servians, expressed himself convinced of this. The Pacha listened quietly, but said he was still far from acting up to his instructions from the Porte, —that, in fact, he was sparing the country.

What, then, was to be done? Was Milosch quietly to suffer the promise which had been given to him, in consequence of the services he had rendered, to be violated? He happened to be present at Belgrade when the head of Glawasch was brought in. "Hast thou seen the head, Knes?" asked a Turk in Soliman's suite, of Milosch; "It will be thy turn next." "Vallah!" replied Milosch; "I no longer consider the head I carry my own!"

In fact, when he prepared to leave Belgrade, the Turks endeavoured to prevent him; but he had taken the precaution to purchase sixty slaves, including one distinguished female slave, from the Pacha; and had thus become his debtor for more than one hundred purses. Upon his assurance that only by himself and Dmitri could the sale of such

a number of oxen, as was necessary to raise this sum, be effected, he at length received permission to depart.

Very early the next morning they rode out of the city. Milosch had formed his resolution; and he had not required long consideration to do so. In Zrnutschka, in the midst of the mountains of Rudnik—where, since the return of the Turks, he had built a house and outbuildings on a steep declivity—he found not only his Momkes, but many other dependents, with the same views as himself. These people had left their houses, where they no longer felt themselves in safety, and had fled to Milosch; in order, as they said, to save their heads. During the day they occupied themselves with clearing part of the forest, and planting plum-trees. At night, they went into the neighbouring districts for the purpose of gaining over others, and to consult with them as to what they might best attempt under the circumstances of the time. Probably they did not entertain the hope of again effecting their liberation; but they judged it better to fight openly in the field than to sit at home in expectation of Turkish executioners. They wished also to destroy some of the Turks, and to sell their own lives dearly. This was the feeling that had preceded the first revolution. At last, after long hesitation, Milosch also joined them.

CHAP. XVII.

REVOLUTION OF MILOSCH.

Parentage and early Life of Milosch. — His honourable Conduct. — Treachery of the Woiwode Arseni Lomo. — His Punishment. — The People solemnly swear to obey Milosch as their Leader. — War is determined on in the Spring of 1815. *— Opposing Views amongst the Servians. Arrival of Succour. — Predatory War on the Upper Morawa. — Spread of the Insurrection. — Advantages gained by the Servians. — Flight of the Turks from a fortified Position on the Kolubara. — Milosch strengthens his Position at Ljubitsch. — The Turks attack the Place. — Retreat of the Turks. — Kindness and Generosity of Milosch to the Prisoners. — Capture of Poscharewaz, and Expulsion of the Turks. — Milosch puts to Flight the Force of the Bosnian Pacha on the Drina. — Magnanimity of the Servian Chief. — Two formidable Turkish Armies arrive on the Frontiers.*

AGAIN were the Servians in arms against the Turks. The atrocities that had been perpetrated, and apprehension for his own safety, induced Milosch to place himself at the head of this movement.

Milosch might be classed in the number of those chiefs who have created their own power. From the first he had become influential through relationship with his half-brother, Milan. His descent was as follows: his mother, Wischnja, was first

married in Brusnizza, to the peasant Obren, to whom she bore Milan. Secondly, to another peasant of the name of Tescho [Theodore] at Dobrinje, in the district of Uschize, where she bore other children, and about the year 1780 gave birth to Milosch. But neither of her husbands having been possessed of wealth, her sons had to seek employment where they could. Milan was first engaged in traffic on his own account, at Brusnizza, and he gradually prospered. Milosch set out in life as a herdsman, and drove oxen to the markets of Dalmatia, for their owners; but he soon afterwards entered the service of Milan. They were united so closely together, that Milosch called himself Obrenowitsch, after Milan's father; though he ought to have been called, after his own father, Teschitsch, or Theodorowitsch. The brothers were very successful in their traffic; and at the breaking out of the revolution, in 1804, they were considered as people of importance. In the very commencement of the war they rose against the Dahis; and Milan, through his great influence, became the Chief of Rudnik, Poscheja, and Uschize. He was, however, fond of quiet; and Milosch relieved him of fatigue by carrying on the war. We have already mentioned Milan's implication in the opposition to Kara George, and also his death; after which his brother succeeded to the chief command: but he found his power not a little restricted. Probably it was because he was not very closely allied to the ruling party, that in the year 1813, he had felt little

inclination to pass over into Austria with the other chiefs: but when all the rest then left the country, his authority became greater than ever; not only in his own districts — where he was now Grand Knes of *three* Nahias — but throughout the entire territory; and the eyes of the whole nation were directed towards him. The Turks could not but fear him, and were obliged to pay him more respect than they wished. So long as their sway could be at all endured, he had supported them; but, when it became intolerable, and his own life was threatened, he determined to rise against them. He had made an agreement with his bond-brother, the Musellim Aschin Beg, that if at any time danger menaced either of them, Milosch should warn Aschin Beg of his enemies among the Servians; and Aschin should point out to Milosch those Turks of whom he should beware. On the *Friday* before *Palm Sunday*, 1815, Milosch conducted the Musellim away from his districts; the moment of the outbreak being at hand.

In the same week, the adherents of Milosch commenced by attacking some individuals — receivers of the Poresa, collectors of the Haradsch. But the most formidable assault occurred at Rudnik, against Tokatlitsch, the predecessor of Aschin Beg. That officer, it is true, had on the request of Milosch been discharged; but he still continued to reside in the place, in his fortified house, surrounded by a few Momkes. Here Arseni Lomo — one of the Woiwodes who had been appointed by Kara George,

and had remained in the country, having surrendered after the example of Milosch — in a manner laid siege against him, assisted by a considerable troop. Tokatlitsch soon despaired of being able to defend himself against such a force, and offered to treat for terms: he strewed salt upon a piece of bread, kissed it, and sent it to his enemy, requesting that he might be allowed to depart in safety. Lomo appeared to assent to the proposal: he also kissed the salt, pledged himself to grant his request, and even escorted him and his followers on their departure. But scarcely had they arrived on the height of Rudnik, than a troop, which had been lying in ambush, sprang forth, and slew the Turk and all his Momkes: one alone excepted.

This was, indeed, a barbarous commencement of an enterprise, the object of which was to re-establish a lawful state of things! But retaliation and vengeance quickly followed. The Momke who had been spared, rode on a short distance with Lomo, and reproached him with his treachery; but Lomo denied having had any knowledge of the intended attack. Presently the Momke drew from his belt a large and beautiful silver-handled knife; saying to Lomo, "Take it! if thy countrymen should kill *me also, still a hero will wear this knife; if they do not, then keep it in remembrance of me.*" Lomo, who had really been guilty of the treachery imputed, regaining confidence, took the knife, and stooped to place it in his belt; when the Turk fired a pistol at his head, and rode off at full

speed. He escaped; and Lomo had received the punishment due to his crime!

Happily, we do not meet with any other similar act of baseness throughout the revolution of Milosch.

On Palm Sunday, 1815, Milosch himself came forward: early in the morning, he appeared at the Church of Takowo, amidst large numbers of the people who had assembled there. Even the old men, usually so cautious, now demanded a revolution; and all present swore unanimously to forget their internal dissensions, and to obey Milosch. In the interim the Momkes assembled at Zrnutscha. Brilliantly armed, and with the banner of a Woiwode in his hand, Milosch stepped into the midst of the assembly. "Here am I!" he said; "and now war against the Turks is begun!"

On Easter Sunday, Milosch once more addressed the people, near the Cloister of Morawzi, where many had assembled from the districts of Waljewo and Belgrade; on the frontier of which it stands. It was impossible for him to have met with a more favourable reception: every one was convinced that war was preferable to such a peace as now existed.

Letters and messengers were despatched to all the persons of consideration throughout the province, apprising them that "a revolution was commencing, and that whenever a green dress" — which was the garb of the Turks — "was seen, they were bound to kill the wearer;" it was resolved to commence war on the spot without any

delay. The people now drew forth their arms from the hollow trees and clefts, where they had concealed them; and such as had been stripped of their weapons were furnished with others by their neighbours. Entrenchments were thrown up on the boundaries of Milosch's districts, where the greatest danger was apprehended.

This enterprise was perhaps even more hazardous than the attack upon the Dahis. The people, although they for the moment expressed the most courageous sentiments, were, nevertheless, intimidated and depressed by the recollection of their late disasters. The military forces of the Turks spread over the country, were numerous and powerful. The Kiaja of the Pacha had, in a few days, assembled more than 10,000 men; besides whom there appeared some hundreds of Servians, under the command of the Knes Axenti. A force like this was not to be checked by such entrenchments as had been hurriedly thrown up: the enemy advanced against Rudnik as far as Maidan; and it appeared likely that this insurrection would not terminate more favourably than that of Hadschi Prodan. When it was seen that the Kiaja sacrificed all who resisted him, but showed mercy to those who submitted, many, even of the men who shortly before had clamoured for the revolution, yielded to him. Two plans, almost equally desperate, were entertained by the insurgents, who still kept the field. Some were disposed to effect a reconciliation with the Turks, and to assist them against Milosch

himself; others, on the contrary, proposed the slaughter of the women and children; saying the men could then retire into the mountains, and war against the enemy for the remainder of their lives.

At this critical moment, succour arrived. The reinforcement was not great; consisting only of 500 Gruschanians, 200 Zernagoreans from the mountains of Rudnik, and a number of Lewatscheans from the distant Jagodina. But they were all resolute men, who could be relied upon; and they were under the command of Johan Dobratscha, who in former times had been quietly engaged in trade, but now displayed energy and courage unlooked for under his calm exterior. Confidence and hope were restored by their arrival, and it was determined to hazard an engagement, although the insurgents were numerically far inferior to the enemy.

The Kiaja — who would perhaps have acted more wisely had he pitched his camp in Rudnik, and done his utmost to keep in subjection those who had submitted, and reduce the others — thought it best to descend from the dreary mountains into the valley of the Morawa; and encamped at Tschatschak, on the further side of that river, whence he imagined he could equally command the country.

Milosch hastened to avail himself of the advantage thus afforded him. He entrenched himself within a fortification opposite the Kiaja, on the left bank of the Morawa, at the side of Mount Ljubitsch.

The mountain, which commands the valley, the river, and the steeply-rising range of hills, for the moment protected from the enemy the very districts which they had just traversed.

It is unnecessary to describe the hostility which was carried on on the Upper Morawa: it was in fact a sort of robber-war. The Albanians infested the valley and the mountains on the other side; marauding both for booty and for men; the Servians concealing themselves from them in the defiles. Sometimes the Monks with the armed servants of the cloisters, pursued them stealthily; laying in ambush for them in favourable spots; and it frequently happened that the pursued, in their anguish, threw themselves into the river, where the pursuers following them, were seized and carried away by the torrent; women and children mingled with the Albanians; until their corpses were found by fishermen and consigned to a common grave on its bank. The Turks could no longer effect anything on this side of the river. Any one seen with a *burunty* of the Pacha, which offered pardon, was killed without mercy; whether Servian or Turk. But the main object attained was, that, whilst the forces of the Kiaja were detained here, time was gained for kindling the revolution in the neighbouring districts also.

The outbreak next spread to the Nahias of Belgrade and Waljewo.

The Spahis, indeed, prepared without delay to bring these districts back to their duty by force.

They threw up an entrenchment at Palesch, on the Kolubara, which it was their intention to occupy with two or three hundred men. But Milosch was already sufficiently strong to venture to leave his camp and go to the relief of his oppressed countrymen. He brought some troops with him from Ljubitsch; others collected around him; and thus he was in a position to attack the entrenchment before it was completed. In the former wars, the Servians had occasionally made use of two-wheeled cars, called Domusarabe: these were, in fact, swine-carts, which can only be called cars, because they admitted of a partition-board being fixed upright on the axletree in front of the driver. Behind these moving shields, they advanced to the charge. Milosch caused a great number of these carts to be procured in the evening, and sent the Spahis word — "That to-morrow, two hours before day-break, he would show them how they fought in Servia."

Being inferior in numbers, and badly entrenched, the Spahis did not consider it advisable to wait for an enemy, whom they knew of old. They, therefore, fled during the night; although nearly 300 strong; and only a few effected their escape.

One principal advantage derived from this enterprise was, that it once more furnished the Servians with artillery. Near the entrenchment they found a piece of ordnance, which they soon managed to render serviceable; men who had never before touched a hammer assisting at the work. They also brought forward a second piece of cannon,

which had hitherto been kept secreted from the Turks; and its possession was followed by the most fortunate results. On the news that an engagement near the boundaries had been successful, many Servian fugitives, who had remained in Sirmia and the Banat, came over. Stojan Tschupitsch, formerly Woiwode of Matschwa; Peter Moler, nephew of the Archimandrite, Ruwim; Simon Nenadowitsch, a younger brother of Prota, and son of Alexa; Bojo Bogitschewitsch, the son of that Anthony who had so bravely defended Losnitza; Paul Zukitsch, formerly a well-known Heyduc, and Woiwode under Kara George; the Kneses Miloje Theodorowitsch and Maxim Raschkowitsch; and many other distinguished men, re-appeared in their father-land, with Momkes, arms, and ammunition, and roused their adherents and countrymen to join the insurrection.

Under such circumstances, it was not very difficult for Milosch to clear Waljewo entirely of the Turks; who fled from a fortified position which they had taken on the Kolubara, at a little distance from Mount Klitschewaz, as soon as they saw his artillery. He would not allow them to be pursued. "God grant!" he exclaimed, "that they may all of them flee!"

Milosch returned to Ljubitsch with fresh forces; stronger in courageous troops than when he set out, and more terrible to the enemy from his having cannon; and victoriously repulsed the very first attack of the Turks. He was now no longer

satisfied with the old fortification, but threw up new entrenchments close to the river. He so harassed the enemy, that they at length prepared for a grand attack — an attack which was decisive on both sides, though in a very unexpected manner.

The Servians could not boast of having repulsed the Turks: but they defended themselves most courageously. An old man who had been standard-bearer under Kara George, named Raitsch, to whom one of the new fortifications had been entrusted, could not be persuaded to give way, even when all the others had fallen back: he wished to die near his guns; content to sell his life for as many of the enemy as possible. This entrenchment accordingly fell into the hands of the Turks; the other was abandoned; for on the Ljubitsch the want of men was much felt. To increase the apparent number of their remaining troops, the Servians at one time placed horses around the trenches, and poles with cloaks on them by their sides. After some time, however, reinforcements arrived; and they were once more in a condition to await the enemy with confidence.

In the mean time the resistance which the Servians offered had made a greater impression on the Turks than they supposed; though we are without precise information respecting the proceedings in their camp. The loss of the Kiaja, who had perished in these conflicts, was likely still further to increase the disorders which usually arise in an

army composed of warriors of different races and countries. One evening, a female slave who had escaped from the Turkish camp, came to inform the Servians of a great movement among the enemy; but whether the Turks meditated an attack or a retreat she knew not. The Servians prayed to God for the retiring of the enemy; at the same time they prepared to repel any attack that might be made. The next morning they learnt that the Turks were in full retreat up the southern mountain towards the height of Sjenitza. They probably thought this was the last moment in which they could carry off their booty in safety; but the Servians would not allow them to effect their object. Milosch overtook the fugitives near Ertari, and utterly dispersed them: not only the booty which they had acquired, but their own property which they had regained, as well as their artillery, fell into the hands of the Servians. Milosch took particular care to treat the prisoners well; he had them all conducted to Uschize: the wounded, having had their wounds dressed, were conveyed on barrows; those who were unhurt on horseback; the women and children, unmolested, in waggons. The women knew not how to praise him sufficiently: "they had been treated," they said, "as though they had been their mothers and sisters." "A religion which commanded such conduct must," they affirmed, "be the true one."

On the receipt of the news of this attack, the Turks fled from their entrenchments in Kragujewaz; and thus a great part of the country was

completely cleared of them. They still, however, possessed other fortified positions in the interior, which inspired them with greater confidence. The strongest of all their forts was one which had been erected in Poscharewaz; and whilst that remained untaken, nothing could be considered as decided.

Milosch, therefore, lost no time in leading his forces thither. Before he arrived at the place, the enemy came to meet him. "Delibascha!" he cried out to their leader, "I know not whether thou hast any other road than through me; but I certainly have no other than to fight with thee for life or death!" He succeeded in driving the Turks into their fortifications, and on that very evening threw up field-works around them, on the spot where one of the severest contests was now about to commence. Milosch felt strong from the conviction, that, in each of these combats, everything was at stake; and that they must hazard all, to gain all.

Once more he represented to his captains, that each one who chose was at liberty to return home; but whoever remained must lead the way at the head of his troop; and that any who fled, whether leader or private soldier, must expect death from his hand.

Towards evening, Milosch commenced the assault. On three successive evenings, he carried the first, second, and third entrenchments; though not without the most strenuous exertions. The Turks defended themselves with their knives, when they could no longer use their swords; and fre-

quently the combatants struggled hand to hand. But in return the Servians obtained as booty many superb horses, costly housings, and splendid garments.

The fourth entrenchment, which rested against the church and the mosque, was the most strongly fortified. The Servians, indeed, surmounted the works on the fourth evening; but they were still unable to succeed in driving out the enemy. They passed the night in front of the entrenchments; and the following morning began the assault anew. The church presented the greatest difficulty; for the Turks had pierced loop-holes in the walls, and fired through them. Soon, however, the Servians broke through the wall, and forced their way even to the altar.* On this holy spot the fiercest combat was fought. More than once the Servians were compelled to fall back; but after a desperate struggle, they succeeded in maintaining their footing.

The Turks were now in despair. Their only demand was, that Dmitri, who was well known to them, should bring them the assurance, that it was Milosch himself, an Imperial Knes, by whom they had been attacked: to him they consented to yield.

Milosch allowed them to depart to Kjupria under a Servian escort, with their arms (the cannon excepted), and only as much ammunition as each man could carry with him.

* In these churches, the whole of the choir, where the priest reads Mass, is termed "the Altar."

Only one fortified place worth mentioning remained: this was on the junction of the Iwar near Karanowaz; and it had been so hard pressed during the absence of Milosch, that it was ready to surrender so soon as he appeared. He did not wish to irritate the enemy with insults; but granted them a free retreat to Nowipasar, with their arms and all their property.

In this place the Pacha, Adem, resided; and several of the retiring garrison belonged to his force. Milosch sought to explain to him why the people had revolted, and how they had been constrained to do so; and at the same time sent him presents. Adem answered him in friendly terms, concluding with these poetical words: — "Raise thyself, Ban, upon fir-branches! Mow, Ban, as thou hast begun: but take heed that what thou mowest do not suffer by the rain."

Milosch made use of his victories with great moderation.

One of the Bosnian Pachas, Ali, of Niktschitsch, had come over the Drina, before the principal army of the Vizier, and had taken a firm position in the Matschwa, near Duplje. Milosch lost not a moment in seeking him out and attacking him there; and so much more confident had he become, that, for the first time he made his onset during the day, instead of in the evening, as had hitherto been his custom. The Turks were utterly routed and put to flight, and the Pacha being found behind a bush plundered of his tulbend and shawl, suffered himself

to be taken prisoner. Milosch recovered his decorations for him, regaled him with coffee and a pipe in his tent, made him a present of a horse, a fur coat, and 500 piastres, and dismissed him with permission to join the Vizier. Ali advised him not to enter into alliance with a foreign power; telling him that he would thus remain Prince and Master of the land.

The country might now be considered once more free: at least provisionally. Milosch had conducted a campaign which would not lose by comparison with any that had ever occurred in Servia. The promptitude with which he had appeared at Palesch — his well-arranged position when he opposed the Turks, far superior to him in force, at Ljubitsch — his persevering attack on the entrenchment of Poscharewaz — are worthy of all praise.

Much, however, still remained to be done. Only the forces stationed in the country had been conquered; and not even those completely. Nor had the Servians yet recovered the fortresses, the possession of which had, in former times, given them a feeling of independence. And it was certain that the mighty Sultan, who was not engaged with any other enemy, would employ every means in his power to maintain the subjection recently established in the land. Two formidable armies now appeared: one from Roumelia, under Maraschli Ali, in the neighbourhood of Kjupria; the other on the Drina, under the command of the same Churschid who had conquered the Servians in 1813,

and who at that time governed Bosnia in the capacity of Vizier.

Had these forces acted with vigour and unanimity, it is probable that Servia would again have been in a state of extreme peril.

Fortunately, the Sultan had reasons for not proceeding to extremities, and permitted negotiations for peace to be entered upon.

CHAP. XVIII.

PERIOD OF PRELIMINARY NEGOTIATIONS.

Servian Deputies coldly received by the Congress at Vienna. —Excitement of the whole Christian Population in Turkey. —The Two Turkish Armies halt on the Servian Frontier, and propose Negotiations. — Interview of Milosch with Churschid Ali. — Maraschli Ali is more favourably disposed towards the Servians. — Conciliatory Reception of Milosch and his Attendants, by the Pacha at Belgrade. — The Servians consent that the Turks shall again garrison the Fortresses. — Purport of Maraschli's Concessions. — Those Concessions not sanctioned by the Divan at Constantinople. — Consequent Disappointment of the Servians. — Renewed Oppression of the Turks. — Milosch is desired by the Pacha to deprive the People of their Arms. — Contentions amongst the Servian Chiefs. — National Assembly at Belgrade. — New Regulations. —Appointment of Moler to be President of the National Assembly. — Quarrel between Milosch and Moler. — Condemnation and Execution of Moler. — Murder of the Servian Bishop Niktschitsch. — Return of Kara George to Servia. — Turkish Terror of "the Holy Alliance." — Establishment of the Hetæria, in 1816. *— Assassination of Kara George, by the Order of Milosch, and by the Hand of one of Wuiza's Momkes. — Milosch vindicated from the Charge of having invited Kara George to return. — Resolution of Milosch to become the Head of the State. — Acknowledged as Supreme Knes. — Differences between Turkey and Russia. — Conditions of the Peace of Bucharest, as regarded Servia, not fulfilled. — A Turkish Officer sent, in* 1820, *to specify the*

Concessions to be made to the Servians. — Apprehension of an Attempt on the Life of Milosch at Belgrade. — Despatch of a Servian Embassy to Constantinople. — Proposals of the Embassy. — The Members of the Embassy detained as Prisoners at Constantinople.

IN consequence of the relations of the Porte with Russia, it was necessary that the Sultan should proceed with caution.

Deputies from the Servian nation had been sent to Vienna during the Congress held in that capital. But they were received with little sympathy; and by many an European embassy — as, for instance, the English — they had been told with harshness and scorn to apply to Russia. That power, indeed, upon which alone they had once more solely to rely, soon afterwards called to mind the peace of Bucharest. It has been stated, that the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople inquired of the Sultan — "What war is this now going on in Servia, contrary to the stipulations of the Treaty?"

The entire Christian population of the Turkish Empire was at this time in a state of great excitement. The Christians considered the victories of the Allied Powers as so many advantages gained for their own cause. The connexion of these events — which, in the heat of contest, the European Powers had not taken into consideration — had never been lost sight of in Turkey. On the return of Napoleon from Elba, subscriptions had been raised amongst the trading classes of the Christian inhabitants, in several towns of the Ottoman Em-

pire; the object of which was to assist in preventing him from again becoming Emperor.*

This last conflict with the Servians was soon decided. It would have been really dangerous for the Turks, if the expedition of their armies in Servia had, as appeared very probable, encountered severe resistance. If, at the same time, Russia had considered that there were sufficient grounds for taking part with the attacked and oppressed, a general revolt of the subjects of Turkey might have been apprehended.

The two armies which appeared on the frontier of Servia, though superior in number and strength to the Servians, instead of advancing, came to a halt, and offered to make terms.

The question now in agitation was the same that had been discussed before the breaking out of the war in 1813, as to the interpretation to be given to the Treaty of Bucharest. But all mention of that document was purposely avoided.

The principal inquiry was always—"Whether the arms which the Servians had again taken up were to be left in their possession or not?"

Milosch had still so much confidence in Churschid — who had formerly confirmed him in his dignity of Grand Knes — that he ventured to repair to the Turkish camp. The Delibascha of the Vizier, Ali Aga Sertschesma, at whose feet he had laid down his arms at Takowo, assured him on his word of

* Cet emprunt spontané fut ouvert à Janina, à Castoria, à Seres, à Adrianople, et à Constantinople. Pouqueville, Regénération de la Gréce, i. 487.

honour that he should not be detained; and gave him an escort. On some of the other points proposed to him, Churschid showed himself willing to yield; but, to the one of most importance—"that the Servians should be allowed to retain their arms"—he would not listen for a moment. Indeed, he demanded their surrender, as an essential preliminary to any negotiation; observing, that "he must send them in waggons to Constantinople, for the Sultan to see that there was again a Raja in Servia."

As Milosch would not assent to such a proposition, it appeared probable that there might be some opposition to his departure; for it was no slight temptation to the Vizier to detain this influential chief; who had hitherto headed the revolt in the country, and would necessarily continue to be its leader. Fortunately, the Delibascha respected his honour and his word. "Fear not, Milosch," said he, "as long as thou seest me and my thousand Delis alive." He carried his point; and the Grand Knes was given into his charge again; and was escorted by him unhurt to Losnitza. "Here," he said, "he had received him on his word of honour; hither he had brought him for the sake of his word. But," he added, "in future, let Milosch trust no one: not even myself, the Delibascha. We have been friends: now we part for ever." The natural antagonism between the Delibascha of a Bosnian Vizier, and a Christian Knes, was too strong for a true friendship to exist between them.

Churschid, who, two years before, as Grand Vizier, had undertaken the war on account of these very differences, could least of all be expected to give way. But the Roumelian Valessi, Maraschli Ali, who was stationed on the other frontier, and seemed to be especially entrusted with the negotiation, expressed himself more favourably: he made no difficulty in withdrawing the stipulation for the surrender of arms. "Only be submissive to the Grand Signior," said he, "and you may carry as many pistols in your belts as you please — cannon, even, for what I care! If it please God," he added, "I myself will perhaps place you on Arabian horses, and clothe you with sables."

It would almost appear that he meant to grant them precisely the three things which the law expressly forbade the Raja — horses, good clothes, and arms? In this Pacha, therefore, the Servians reposed confidence.

Nevertheless, they were cautious enough not to open the country to him on his mere word. They only permitted his Kiaja to pass, with a small troop, to Belgrade; having been assured that this would be well received at Constantinople, as an indication of their returning obedience. Whilst their deputies, in company with the Commissioners of the Roumelian Valessi, proceeded to the capital, in order to obtain from the Sultan himself a more positive assurance, the two armies remained on the frontiers opposite to each other.

In token of his friendship, Maraschli Ali sent to

Milosch the rosary on which he performed his devotions. He also intimated to the Turkish army on the Bosnian frontier, that, as peace was virtually concluded, they should not cross the Drina, since that could tend only to create disturbance. In a comparatively short time — about a month — the representatives of the two parties returned together, with a favourable answer from the Sultan. The Firman of Peace despatched to Ali Pacha, was thus worded: — "That as God had entrusted his subjects to the Sultan, so the Sultan recommended them to the Pacha; and that, by kind treatment, towards them, he would best perform his duty."

Thus it would appear that the Pacha was left to act according to his own judgment; since this document only specified that the Porte was not averse to the fulfilment of the promises made by the Pacha.

The Servians now, therefore, allowed the Pacha to proceed to Belgrade with his army; and thither, after some delay, their own chieftains also repaired. Milosch and his companions were received in an assembly of more than fifty Bimbaschas, Ayanes, and Begs; who were seated in silence on the ground, smoking their pipes. The Pacha arose and asked: — "Are ye Servians subject to the Grand Signior?" Milosch answered: — "We are subject to him." The question and answer were repeated thrice.

Whereupon the Servians were honoured with the presentation of coffee and pipes; the Turks deeming it important that their readiness to fulfil the treaty should be attested by some ceremonial act.

The Turks now garrisoned the fortresses of the country with the consent of the Servians, who again acknowledged their former state of dependence. It was understood, however, that this regulation should be enforced in such a manner as to render it supportable; and that, above all, the ancient domination, founded on the privileges of Islamism, would not again be granted to the garrisons.

Maraschli Ali's concessions embraced two principal points. He left it to the Servians themselves to collect the imposts, which were in other respects re-established on the old footing. Under his predecessors, the Turks had not only allowed this, but had even permitted the Servians to participate in the administration of justice. In the provincial towns, the Musellims were not to possess the right of passing judgment upon the Servians, without the consent of the Kneses: not even in their litigations with the Turks; much less, in their disputes with one another.

In order to carry these regulations into effect, a national chancery court, on the model of the old Senate, was established at Belgrade, to assist the Pacha; with the double purpose of receiving from the Kneses the collected imposts and delivering them to the Pacha. At the same time it constituted the Supreme court of justice; and the Pacha promised to carry out its judgments. Unquestionably this was a great advantage; as the chancery again afforded to the people a sort of representation. Still, however, many of the most im-

portant questions remained unsettled. The relations of the two populations, with reference to personal property, had not been even touched upon; and the Servians lost no time in sending a new embassy to the court of the Sultan, to obtain regulations more satisfactory and comprehensive. They bore in mind Peter Itschko's proposal of peace, and hoped now to obtain its confirmation.

But the authorities at Constantinople were far from being willing to promote such views. The Divan would not even give a positive answer, but referred the deputies to the Pacha; who, they said, was acquainted with the wishes of the Grand Signior. The Pacha, however, expressed much astonishment, and declared that he had received no instructions whatever.

Thus, instead of obtaining an extension of their rights, the Ambassadors returned without even a confirmation of those which had already been granted; the maintenance and due execution of which depended rather on the personal presence of the Pacha, by whom the concessions had been granted. When he once prepared to quit the country, the chiefs declared that in case he did so they also should be compelled to leave it: a declaration which induced him to remain.

The Servians, however, soon began to fear that even the Pacha did not intend to keep his word.

Maraschli Ali, who had, in the last Turco-Russian war, served as Delibascha, afterwards held, as Pacha of Boli in Asia, a district which under

Tschapan Oglu, enjoyed a certain degree of independence. After seeming, at first, to yield to the wishes of the inhabitants, he in the end succeeded, without exciting much attention, in leading them back to complete obedience to the Sultan. Something of this nature, it appeared, he was now seeking to accomplish in Servia: indeed it is reported that he himself expressed such an intention.

The agreement into which he had entered was not very conscientiously observed. The Turkish Musellims frequently proceeded to inflict corporeal punishment without waiting for the sentence of the Knezes; and upon one occasion, the Pacha himself allowed an execution to take place without any legal sentence.

The haughty insolence of the Ottomans displayed itself in the rudest and most offensive conduct: a Deli was seen walking through the streets of Belgrade, calling his dogs by the names of the Servian chiefs — Wuiza, Milosch, &c.

What chiefly restrained the Turks was, without doubt, the fact that the Servians kept themselves always armed. This privilege had been granted by Maraschli Ali himself; but, as soon became apparent, only in the hope of depriving them of their arms by degrees. Milosch, who frequently met the Pacha at Belgrade, dining with him at his house, or accompanying him on his rides, was at length desired, in plain terms, to deprive the people of their arms. Milosch answered, that "he himself

and his friends, and even the Kneses, were ready to deliver up theirs; but it was beyond their power to take them from the people."

Under these circumstances, it was not to be expected that the Turkish government — either the supreme authority at Constantinople, or that of the Pacha at Belgrade, — would of its own accord regulate the affairs of the Servians to their satisfaction.

At this period there arose amongst the Servians themselves a strong native power — a power of a very barbarous nature, it must be acknowledged, yet thoroughly imbued with the principle of nationality, — opposing a gradual resistance to the Ottoman Government. This was the power of Milosch.

Milosch, it is true, was an officer of the Turks: he had been appointed Grand Knes of certain districts by a Vizier, and afterwards confirmed in this dignity; but he was also the originator and leader of the insurrection, to which the country was indebted for all the security it enjoyed. He had rendered most important services in all the districts; and had also acquired, by the war itself, an authority and influence which embraced the whole Pachalic.

But other chiefs who appeared in the field raised claims of independence against Milosch. John Dobratscha, who had come to his assistance at a critical moment, refused to receive commands from him; alleging that he was as much a Knes

as Milosch himself. Milosch, however, dismissed him, and appointed another in his place; and the whole matter was settled by obedience being rendered throughout the district to the Knes appointed by Milosch.

But Milosch had not, like Kara George, to contend entirely with independent chiefs, powerful in separate districts, and possessing a certain degree of right to share the supreme authority with him. None but Wuiza could have advanced claims of this nature; and he was already actually addressed as Gospodar, and, for a long time, was mentioned by name in the Church prayers: but he kept quiet in his district of Smederewo. The rivals of the Grand Knes were of a different kind.

So far as the change of circumstances would allow, the National Assembly at Belgrade might be compared with the Old Senate. The highest authority was in the hands of one who might well excite jealousy, — that nephew of the Archimandrite Ruwim, upon whom he once rested his hopes of escape, from the circumstance of his working in the house of a Dahi as a painter, which profession obtained for him the cognomen of *Moler*. Peter Moler had at a later period taken up arms, as every one else had done: in former campaigns he had occasionally distinguished himself; but, in the last, after the occurrences at Palesch, he had rendered important services. Moler, perhaps before any one else, had conceived an idea of the institutions generally deemed essen-

tial to good order; and had expressed an opinion that the country should be divided amongst four chiefs, not one of whom could say that he was the lord of the rest. Milosch, however, had avoided having anything to do with the scheme; saying, very truly, "The hare you want to divide is still running in the wood."

But when, according to an agreement entered upon, a new regulation actually was made, Moler was well provided for; though in a manner different from what he had designed. He was made President of the National Chancery: a station for which he was better qualified than any other person, as he spoke the Turkish language and could write the Servian. In this post he made himself comfortable in his own way. Undisturbed by any feeling of religion — at which he altogether scoffed — he had living with him a young woman who was not his wife. He was fond of having his friends about him, and his extravagance gave rise to the suspicion that he appropriated to his own use the money that came into his hands. After a time, Milosch — who was jealous of him on other accounts — ceased to send him the money collected in his own districts; and sent it to Dmitri, his confidential Chasnadar, for direct transmission to the Pacha. Moler, annoyed that another should be preferred to him, especially a foreigner, complained on the subject to such of the Kneses as were his friends, and gained over to his side some of those from the upper districts. But a far greater number, from the Schumadia

and the further side of the Morawa, took part with Milosch in this affair. When they met for the Skupschtina at Belgrade in the spring of the year 1816, a large number of Kneses one day held a preliminary conference; at which a dispute arose between Moler and Milosch. At length Moler broke out with the exclamation "Milosch, thou liest!" — On this Milosch said, "Brethren, up to this time I was your chief; henceforth Moler is so." — But the Kneses of the party of Milosch, and the Momkes who followed them, had already laid hands upon Moler; whilst the adherents of that chief, each apprehensive for his own safety, refrained from interfering. Moler was bound and delivered over to the Pacha; and the Kneses present signed a petition to the Pacha for him to be put to death; which the Pacha considered as a sentence he was bound to execute.

Thus perished the first President of the Servian National Chancery, through, what was, to use the mildest terms, a very tumultuous proceeding. At his funeral, one of his relations, with tears in his eyes, asked a bystander whether he thought such things were right? "Yes?" was the reply, "if you are a people amongst whom such things can occur." The same relation, however, though himself a chief, had not sufficient courage to oppose, with energy, the petition for his death.

The Bishop Niktschitsch, who was offended at the impiety of Moler, was also amongst those who had signed the petition: but alas! he was himself soon to experience a similar fate.

Niktschitsch was at this time a Servian Bishop: he was not, however, a Greek; but had been a Monk of Studenitza, and afterwards Archimandrite under Czerni George. He had gone with an embassy to Constantinople, and had returned a Bishop; since which he had evinced such a degree of pride as had brought him into universal disrepute. As he rode along equipped with his busdowan and sword, he considered himself of greater importance than any one else in the country. He spoke contemptuously of the Kneses, of whom he said he could himself make twenty; and avoided addressing Milosch as Gospodar. Towards the Priests he conducted himself in a domineering and tyrannical manner; and it was thought that he aimed at investing himself with an authority such as the Wladika enjoys in Montenegro. His ambition, however, was only personal, and not national. He expressed to the Pacha his belief that it was by no means impossible to deprive the Servians of their arms, if Milosch only wished it; and he had been heard to utter a similar opinion among the people. Thus he excited suspicion, hatred, and apprehension. Whilst going a diocesan journey, in June 1816, he was murdered: it was reported by robbers, but every one knew that it was the result of a plot.

This was a state of things in which little regard was shown for a sense of right or the principles of justice; craft and violence seemed to constitute the essential elements of authority; scarcely any pains were taken to save appearances; and life was held of little value.

Even the former Commander-in-chief of the Servians, Kara George, had to expiate by a dreadful death his return to the country of which he had been the liberator.

The circumstances were these: it has been already noticed how powerfully the great change in the affairs of the whole of Europe operated on the entire population of the Turkish Empire. The Turks were terrified at the very name of the Holy Alliance, as though it were especially dangerous to them; and the hopes of the Raja, in all the provinces, rose in proportion. An assurance that it was not intended by the Allied powers to interfere with the relations of the East, sufficed not to appease this movement; which assumed the form of a secret league. The Hetæria was founded; the members of which swore to fight, harass, and persecute the enemies of their faith and fatherland, until they should all be annihilated.

In the year 1816, the Hetæria was established in Odessa, Bucharest, and even in Constantinople; and already had one of its delegates endeavoured to win over the Beg of Maina, by holding forth the illusive hope of a dominion over the whole Morea.* It was the intention of this league to excite an insurrection, as early and as extensively as possible. And since Servia, however well prepared for a new revolt, appeared again doomed to Turkish rule, we can hardly condemn the design formed by the He-

* Gordon's History of the Greek Revolution, i. p. 27.

téria of commencing the general insurrection there. To enable them to realise their anticipations, they engaged the victorious Commander-in-chief of the Servians, Kara George; who had left his country only in the hope of returning thither under more auspicious circumstances. He had received pressing letters from Servia, assuring him that the people longed for his reappearance amongst them; and he was not reluctant to accept the invitation. Without a passport, and concealed amongst the attendants of a member of the Hetæria who was on his way to the baths of Mehadia, Kara George came from Bessarabia, which had afforded him a refuge, to the Servian frontier. By a handsome present, the ferryman was induced to carry him across the river; and he hastened to Smederewo, to Wuiza, by whom he had been expressly invited. Here he spoke only of a new revolution; pledging himself that an insurrection of the same character would simultaneously burst forth in the Morea: and moreover that Servia would receive far more powerful assistance than on former occasions. He even requested Milosch to join with him, and to renew the war without delay.

But it was not in accordance with the views of Milosch to join in a movement, the result of which

* According to an authority not wholly unworthy of credit, (quoted by Blacquiere, chap. ii.) their design was to allure the Turkish force into Servia, where a powerful nation would offer effectual resistance, and by these means facilitate the rise of the Christian subjects in other provinces.

rested on combinations so uncertain. Besides, he had no wish for the restoration of the Commander-in-chief's authority, with which his own could not for one moment coexist. He, therefore, did not hesitate to send news of Kara George's presence to the Pacha; who, in return, indicated the danger that would attend the renewal of revolutionary measures; and stating that, in such a case, the Grand Signior would undoubtedly send a fresh army into the country, and withdraw the concessions already made, he concluded with desiring Milosch to bring him the head of Kara George.

Milosch accordingly sent the following laconic message to Wuiza: — "Either the head of the Black George, or thine own!" A few days afterwards he reiterated this command.

Kara George soon perceived how matters stood, and into what danger he had thrust himself: there was no escape for him, and mercy was not to be hoped for. He was murdered by one of Wuiza's Momkes, one day, when, after long and painful watching, he had fallen asleep.

How much better for Servia and — since even the mode of death is of some importance — how far more fortunate for himself, had he, ere this, fallen sword in hand in the Servian entrenchments, fighting against the Turks! Now he was slain at the instigation of Turks, by his own countrymen: one of the first victims of the new movements which were about to take place in Europe.

Milosch has been accused of himself sending

an invitation to Kara George to return to Servia, in order to rid himself of his dreaded rival. But this accusation is certainly unfounded. Kara George was too much admired and beloved: his renown had even increased by his temporary absence; and the condition of Servia was much too unsettled for Milosch to have ventured to allure him into the country at so great a risk. The Pacha would hardly believe that the head produced before him was that of Kara George; but when assured by the inhabitants of Belgrade that it was, he sent it to the Sultan; by whom it was received with as much satisfaction as the head of any other rebel or adversary.

As regarded Servia, however, the result did not prove so great or so decisive as the Sultan was led to believe.

Milosch, thus freed from all who could have opposed his influence, — from his spiritual and administrative rivals, and also the former Commander-in-Chief, — now resolved to become the head of the nation.

In November, 1817, he was acknowledged supreme Knes (Werhowni Knes) by all the Kneses of the country. The metropolitans of Belgrade and Uschize, Agathangel, and Gerasim, both of them Greeks, and three Servian Archimandrites, were present, and assisted at this nomination. It was even settled that, after his death, his next relations should succeed him.

The position which Milosch Obrenowitsch now occupied was strangely equivocal.

His authority was partly derived from the Ottoman government; and in the midst of his rebellion, he had come forward as an imperial Knes. Since then the Turkish government had leased out to him the crown demesnes, and—as elsewhere granted to a Pacha—the impost of Haradsch, besides other imposts of minor importance; also the right of ferrying over the Save and the Danube, as well as the Morawa and the Kolubara, with all the customs he had appropriated to himself. He was, moreover, appointed Basergjanbaschi at Belgrade. All this procured him riches and authority; and thus he became the most influential man in the country, with whom no one else could compete. It must not be forgotten, also, that he had effected the re-deliverance of the nation, and that he now became their chief by their own election; whilst by zealously taking care of their interests, prospects of increasing advantage were daily opened to him.

When it was no longer doubtful that the affairs of Europe were to be arranged by a peace, and when the relations of the great powers had been so far strengthened that the army of occupation could be withdrawn from France, the concerns of the East again became of prominent importance; and amongst them the differences still pending between Russia and Turkey, despite of the peace of Bucharest.

It could not be said, as we have shown, that the

conditions of the peace, as regarded Servia, had been fulfilled: in fact, it had not hitherto been possible to bring the Porte to a definitive arrangement.

At length however, in the year 1820, the authorities of Constantinople conceived that it would be necessary to have a settlement of this business; especially that they might not be further exposed to the unceasing demands of Russia. The Servians wished above all things that a Plenipotentiary should be sent to them, who would take cognisance of the state of their affairs, and through whom a negotiation might be opened. But at Constantinople, even then, it was judged more desirable to avoid discussion; and one of the Chodschagars (officers of the Reis Effendi) was immediately sent with a Firman specifying such concessions as would be made to the Servians.

These were by no means unimportant. In order to render the administration and jurisdiction of Servia still more independent of the Porte, a certain sum of money was demanded, which the country was bound to pay in future, without any further stipulations regarding the mode of its collection. The authority of the Musellims was to be restricted to the fortresses; and no objection was made to the acknowledgment of Milosch as Grand Knes of the whole Servian nation.

But favourable as this appeared, there were yet some points left unnoticed: particularly as regarded the Spahis, who lived in the fortresses and claimed the rights of landlords over the villages;

and some demands were set forth, to which the Servians entertained a strong antipathy. The Servians were to remain *Imperial Raja*, as their forefathers had been; and they were bound, according to old custom, to provide for the imperial army whenever it might happen to pass through the country: above all, they were to affirm that they were content with what had been granted — for it was a great point to prevent their ever laying claim to further assistance from Russia; and they were required formally to promise, that they would never again demand any thing more from the Grand Signior.

The Servians, who had obtained at least a partial knowledge of the contents of the Firman, did not require much consideration to decide whether they should accept or reject these proposals.

Their former glorious warlike exploits; the promises of the peace of Bucharest; and the general movement amongst the Christian population of the Empire, which was still daily increasing, led them to entertain very different expectations.

The Ottomans, who thought that they had conceded much, were enraged at perceiving the dissatisfaction of the Servians.

When Milosch left Kragujewaz, where he was at the time residing, to proceed to Belgrade, for the purpose of hearing the Firman read in due form, he was warned of the danger in which he would place himself. It was asserted that the

Pacha had falsely informed the Spahis that it was the intention of Milosch to re-stipulate for the conditions of peace formerly proposed by Peter Itscho, and to drive the Spahis from the country; and that they had in consequence provided themselves with powder and shot, to rid themselves of such an enemy so soon as he should enter the gates of Belgrade. The friends of Milosch affirm, that, if he had gone thither, he would certainly have experienced the fate of Deli-Achmet; whom Ebu-Bekir had ordered to be shot.

Milosch relinquished his design of going to Belgrade alone; but he assembled a considerable number of Servians around him, and declared that he would enter only if accompanied by them. But the Pacha refused to receive him so attended; sending him word, that he was to present himself with twelve Kneses, unarmed, and not with such an army: for whom he knew not who could provide. Milosch replied, that he came only with peaceful followers, to hear the Imperial Firman read: they were the same who had provided for the Pacha and his attendants at Belgrade, and for him at Kragujewaz, and they would undertake to provide for themselves; but they would not suffer him to proceed alone to Belgrade. The Pacha, however, could not be induced to open the gates; neither would the Servians yield. At length it was arranged between the Chodscha and the Grand Knes, that a meeting should take place at Toptschider, at the distance of a mile from Belgrade.

But what could be expected from a negotiation conducted under such manifestations of mutual distrust and animosity?

In Toptschider, the Servians declared that "they would not be debarred from again having recourse to the grace of their Master." The Chodscha asked, "What could be their further request?" Their reply was, "that they demanded their rights, granted them by the Peace of Bucharest." This was the first time, since the year 1813, that the Servians had expressly referred to that treaty. To mention a treaty concluded with a foreign power appeared to the Chodscha nothing short of a crime; he therefore called for his horses, and instantly rode off. He always affirmed that there was no longer a Raja in Servia: that he had seen none but armed people there; and he went back through the Austrian territory and Wallachia, as though he would not risk the danger of travelling through Servia.

Thus the opposition which had originally separated the two parties again sprang up: it comprehended the claim of the Spahis to maintain their manor, and the claim of the Servians to wear arms.

From that moment no amicable feeling could exist between the antagonist parties. The Servians, at least, considered the treaty in which the Pacha had personally been associated with them as cancelled; and they ceased to obey him. New negotiations were nevertheless carried on at Constantinople.

The Porte expressed itself in mild terms: to the effect, that, if the Servians would be less pertinacious on certain points, the Turks would concede something more in their favour; and it was required, that persons of authority should be sent to the seat of Government, by which so much writing to and fro might be spared.

It was in consequence decided in Servia, that the demands of the nation should be more explicitly stated than hitherto; and a numerous embassy was formed to plead the cause of the Servians.

This embassy consisted of two of the Clergy the Archimandrite Samuel and the Arch-Priest Wukaschinowitsch, of Jagodina; and three Kneses, Wuiza, Ilia Markowitsch, and Dmitri. Abraham Petronjewitsch was appointed Secretary.

The substance of their demands was a confirmation of their internal independence; and an extension of this privilege to all the districts beyond the Province of Belgrade: which had for the most part been conquered under Kara George. That the Servians should possess an independent jurisdiction, both in returning verdicts and in carrying them into effect. That they should elect their own Magistrates*; and be allowed to build Churches, Hospitals, and Schools, without asking

* It is thus stated in the documents which were published at a later period. In the country it was never understood otherwise than that the confirmation of the already chosen Werhowni Knes had been distinctly solicited.

permission; and especially, that they should live entirely separated from the Turks. It was not their desire that the Spahis should be actually expelled from the country; but that their rights should be bought off by an annual rent; and that the said rent should be added to the tribute, in fixed sums, and the aggregate be received in lieu of all the taxes hitherto paid.

The Treaty of Bucharest was thus interpreted by the Servians, in the same manner that it had formerly been interpreted by Kara George himself.

That no doubt might be left respecting the countries beyond the Pachalic which should enjoy the same independence of interior administration, they were specified as six separate districts.

The miniature monarchy, as it had existed in 1811 and 1812, was to be re-established—not indeed, as it had been sometimes hoped, with extended privileges — but rather under Turkish supremacy: although furnished with a large share of internal administration.

It could hardly be expected that the Porte would be very willing to accede to demands of this nature. They were accompanied by threatening symptoms of a general rising of the Christian population throughout the Empire, which induced the Sultan to put the Servian Deputies under arrest. The Servians had not much need for apprehension at this act; for it was generally felt that one day or another, such proceedings would not fail to call forth the sympathy of Europe.

Milosch now withdrew his credentials from the Plenipotentiaries, who were kept prisoners; and devoted his whole attention to the task of bringing the country into good order, and more firmly establishing his own power.

CHAP. XIX.

INSTITUTIONS AND RULE OF MILOSCH.

Courts of Justice. — The Kneses. — Disagreements between them and Milosch. — He obtains the Control over them. — Revolt and Death of Gjurowitsch and Rathowitsch — General Outbreak. — Failure of the Troops under Jovan. — Demands of the People. — Miloje Djak. — He places himself at the Head of the Revolt. — His Successes. — He is encountered by Wutschitsch and defeated. — Movements of the Tscharapitsches. — Increased Power and Authority of Milosch.

It was of infinite advantage to Milosch that the principles upon which a free Servian Commonwealth could be based were already prepared. That he should commence anew was unnecessary: it would be sufficient for him to re-establish matters upon the same footing as they were at the time of the first emancipation under Kara George.

This was especially the case as regarded jurisdiction. Acts of violence of which the Turks had been guilty in this respect, were a principal cause of the last disturbances; and this rupture with the Pacha had been induced by disputing the power which, in the former treaty, had been conceded to his Musellims.

Courts with different degrees of jurisdiction, were introduced.

The Village Court consisted of the Elder of the place and the rest of the Kmetes, and was principally charged with preserving order: in civil suits, it was restricted to the settlement of disputes by compromise.

They who chose not to abide by its decision might refer to one of the district town Courts; to which Magistrates were appointed, as they had been under Kara George. These Courts were composed each of a President, two Members, and a Secretary. Of course, these were not learned men; but they gave their verdicts according to the custom of the country, and to the best of their knowledge. Complicated cases, in affairs of trade, for instance, were usually brought before the most experienced and most respectable individuals of the same calling; and as they were generally found very judicious and intelligent, their opinion was, on most occasions, accepted as decisive.

Others, who would not consent to act in accordance with such decisions, went before the Supreme Court of Justice; the same as that which under Kara George was called *Sowiet*, and which, since 1815, had formed a national Court of Chancery.

When it is considered how such affairs had formerly been allowed to proceed—that the Gospodars and Woiwodes had exercised the real power, and that the new movement had originated in a warlike rising under single leaders — it will be readily

understood that the judicial power had not enjoyed much real independence.

It is true there were now Kneses at the head of the districts; but in reality they were successors of Woiwodes, and military Commanders.

The Kneses executed the judgments of the district Courts; but maintaining their superiority over them, they in general paid them but little attention. Milosch considered himself head of the Supreme Court, which followed him whenever he changed his residence; and it was not until the year 1825 that the same court was established in an improved form at Kragujewaz. Milosch also reserved to himself the right of pronouncing sentence of death: his Brother Jephrem being the only one to whom a similar power was granted, in the districts of Schabaz and Waljewo.

As the National or Supreme Court was the continuation of the old Senate, people never ceased to regard it as possessing the right of assisting in the administration of the government. But the exercise of this right was not assumed: Milosch did not consider it necessary to seek counsel, or to ask advice in his administration.

At first it appeared likely that he would at least respect the Kneses. Such as were of distinction amongst them, he treated as his equals—addressed them as "Lords"—presented them with pipes when they visited him, and expressed himself satisfied with whatever they thought proper to do in their own districts.

When they brought him Poresa and Haradsch, which were rated according to the number of households and of persons, he did not much inquire whether the sum they delivered to him corresponded with that number; nor did he seem to grudge the profit which they probably appropriated to themselves.

After a time, however, a misunderstanding arose between the two parties on this very point. Milosch had, as it is known, leased the Haradsch; and he was not always satisfied with the irregular or arbitrary returns. He at length sent his own people, with Momkes, into the respective districts, to make out correct registers. The Kneses regarded with apprehension this interference with their office: but their complaints on the subject, to one of Milosch's most confidential officers, were in vain: they were answered, "His Highness did not receive advice in affairs of that nature."

The twofold power which had been given to Milosch rendered him more and more independent. Against the Turks he vindicated the rights of the nation, whose President he was considered; against the native chiefs he maintained the prerogatives with which he had been invested by the Turkish government. Since the Peace of Bucharest, a combination of the two powers had been a sort of political necessity. But was this to be upheld exclusively for his own individual interest?

In the spring of 1821, Milosch had again to encounter resistance; and from both parties. Two

of the most distinguished Kneses from the further side of the Morawa — Mark Abdula, and Stephen Dobrinjaz — having, during their sojourn at Belgrade, formed an alliance with the Pacha (who promised to acknowledge them as independent Kneses), and with the Spahis, they declared openly that they would no longer receive commands from Milosch. Milosch, however, knew how to deal with them. He promptly ordered troops to advance towards their districts, and their destruction was inevitable unless they could receive assistance from the Pacha of Belgrade. Maraschli Ali despatched a body of troops into the neighbourhood, under the pretext of wishing to assist in suppressing the insurrection; but Milosch answered him:—"that he knew these people best, and understood how to treat them; and unless the Pacha were desirous of seeing the whole country in rebellion, he had better not meddle with these affairs."

This was at the time when the disturbances of the Hetæria broke out in Wallachia, and occasioned a general movement. The Pacha was alarmed lest the Servians should join Ypsilanti, and consequently recalled his troops; whereupon the Kneses, and all their adherents, were put down without further trouble. One of them — Topalewitz, Knes at Gruscha—who thought he had compromised himself by a letter, feigned insanity, and fled out of the country. Milosch appointed Wutschitsch his successor.

Under these circumstances, the Kneses began gradually to accustom themselves to subordination

and obedience, and to acknowledge in Milosch, whom they had formerly regarded as their equal, a superior. Milosch not only appointed them, but he had also the right to dismiss them: he gave them a salary, and reserved to himself the power of increasing it, at discretion. By degrees he became reluctant to style them Kneses, and preferred calling them Sirdars or Captains: in fact their functions were those of military men or police: they were all his officers.

As they, on their part, made their inferiors feel the severe authority which they themselves were under, the natural result was that the lower classes should once more rise, — particularly as they were not restrained by habitual obedience.

The authority of Milosch could scarcely be considered dissimilar to that of a Pacha. He collected the imposts with at least equal severity, and to precisely the same amount, as they had always been paid under the domination of the Turks. And the Kneses also, in the manner they now conducted themselves, resembled the Musellims: they were guilty of the same outrages; and to severe exactions they added personal coercion.

When the peasants reflected upon what was demanded of them, and upon the manner in which they were treated, they found that they had gained but little by all their efforts, and by so many bloody engagements. Perhaps they endured the power exercised over them with yet stronger aver-

sion, since those by whom it was exerted had been only a short time before their equals.

Towards the end of the year 1824, two peasants of the district of Rudnik, named Gjurowitsch and Ratkowitsch, came forward with complaints against the Kneses, and against Milosch. Whether they had individually been wronged, or were desirous of being themselves made Kneses, is not precisely known; but it is certain that they showed extreme dissatisfaction, and endeavoured to excite a rebellion. However, in their district, the native country of Milosch, they met with little sympathy. The very first person whom they addressed, with the view of gaining him over, denounced their design. Ratkowitsch was in consequence seized, and brought to Kragujewaz, to take his trial before the Supreme Court. The barbarous state of the country, and the light estimation in which human life was held there, are proved by the circumstance that a Momke to whose charge the prisoner had been intrusted, with orders to guard him as safely as possible, thought the best mode of accomplishing this was by shooting him! Gjurowitsch also was brought to Kragujewaz, and examined, under torture, as to whether he had any other accomplices? His answer was "that even were he to betray his companions, he should not by that means be enabled to purchase his own life." He died upon the rack, under the most dreadful torture.

Milosch and his Kneses now watched every movement with redoubled vigilance.

When, in the beginning of the year 1825, the Knes of Smederewo, Peter Wulitschewitsch, heard of a peasant, who was said to have been connected with those who had perished, and to be still harbouring the same design, he went without delay into the village where he lived, for the purpose of seizing him. He had him arrested by his Momkes, at night, and brought into the house where he had taken up his residence.

He indulged the hope of thus crushing the rebellion in its germ; but it proved, on the contrary, the cause of an immediate outbreak.

At that very place the peasants rose; exasperated by the violent proceedings of Wulitschewitsch, who had taken one of their number from his house by night, instead of demanding him from the community, as he ought to have done — "just as robbers do," they said. They appeared in arms before the dwelling of the Knes, and forced him to give up his prisoner.

Scarcely had Wulitschewitsch returned to Asanja, his usual place of abode, when a movement against him commenced there also; which assumed the appearance of a general rising. The peasants of Asanja, and of several neighbouring districts, complained loudly against the whole body of the Kneses, and rose in open rebellion.

Milosch lost no time in sending an armed troop to Asanja, with the people of Jasenitza and Lepenitza, under the command of his younger brother, Jovan. This act, however, only increased

the evil. The men whom Jovan led on made common cause with those against whom he was to fight; and Jovan, in consequence, found himself in so alarming a predicament, that he offered to negotiate. To some of the demands of the rebels he acceded, though not unconditionally; for he was not authorised, otherwise than provisionally, and subject to the consent of his brother: who, as he said, was his master. The peasants demanded, above all, the dismissal of Wulitschewitsch from his office; and that it should be conferred on the very person who, in all probability, had been the chief author of the whole insurrection. This was a certain Miloje Djak; who, however, bore his clerical surname only from having been educated by a clergyman, with a view to his adoption of the sacred profession. Such an intention he had long since relinquished; and after having acted as secretary to Kara George, he now pursued the most lucrative calling in Servia — that of a swine-dealer. While travelling through the country in this pursuit, he became acquainted with many opulent peasants; and on such occasions, he usually entered into discussions respecting the general affairs of the state; and he had thus obtained, far and near, a high reputation.

Jovan, as already stated, gave his conditional consent that Miloje should fill the situation proposed; and certainly it would have been an important advantage for the peasants, could they have enforced the nomination of a Knes. But the Djak

was too well acquainted with the state of affairs in Servia, not to feel the uncertainty of such an appointment. Nor did the situation of a Knes, under its customary relations, suffice for his ambition. Declaring that it was Jovan's intention only to deceive the people, Miloje no sooner made his appearance at Hassan Passina Palanka, than he raised the standard of rebellion against Milosch and his government. From all quarters people hastened towards him. They complained principally of the haughtiness of the Kneses, — who were not satisfied with the treatment they met with from the peasantry on their official journeys through the villages; of the ill-usage they themselves encountered from them, just as they had done from the Turks; and of their being compelled even to perform bond-service. Some there were who brought forward matters of more general importance; particularly the impost of the Poresa, which they considered as far too heavy, and indeed insupportable.

Determined on overturning such a government, the peasants moved forward in two separate bodies: one towards Poscharewaz, against Jovan, who fled before them; the other directly towards Kragujewaz, the seat of government. The latter division was led on by the Djak himself; it increased in numbers at every step, and plundered the dwellings of the Kneses of Jasenitza and Lepenitza, who also had made themselves obnoxious. The first troops whom Milosch sent against them — a

company of Momkes—were defeated, and the men were obliged to return to Kragujewaz without their horses. Already many persons there felt ill at ease, and even Milosch seemed to waver in his determination. However, he received timely assistance from Jagodina, Poschega, and Uschize; and Wutschitsch especially—whom a short time previously he had appointed Knes of Gruscha—showed himself resolute in his determination to support him. When Wutschitsch inquired of the discomfited Momkes "where they had left their horses," their answer was, "We shall see where yours will be to-morrow." To them the approaching multitude seemed irresistible.

But Wutschitsch persisted in his opinion, that they ought not, like women, to wait for the attack of their opponents. Appointed commander by Milosch, provided with money, and promised every support,—for which, indeed, immediate preparations were made,—Wutschitsch advanced with a considerable force against the rebels, who were encamped near Topola. He fortified the opposite height, and next morning began the attack.

It was a fortunate event for the assailants that the Djak was wounded at the very commencement, and was obliged to be carried off the field. Deprived of their leader—at whose call they had assembled, and by whose influence alone they had been kept together—the rebels, incapable of farther resistance, were dispersed.

The victors threw themselves upon the villages

where the insurrection had originated, or through which it had spread, and committed the same atrocities that the Turks had been accustomed to commit on similar occasions.

It was one of the most fortunate incidents in the career of Milosch, that this rebellion was so speedily and decisively terminated.

A similar movement had commenced in the district of Belgrade, where it would necessarily have proved more dangerous to him; as two members of an eminent family, the sons of Mark Tscharapitsch (who had first acquired distinction with Kara George), were about to place themselves at its head. When, however, they heard of the ill fortune which their party had encountered at Topola, they despaired of effecting any beneficial change; and, to secure their personal safety, they passed over to Pantschowa, on the Austrian territory.

There, it is true, they soon gained fresh courage. Not having that thorough knowledge of the position of affairs which is possessed by those residing in a country, and being exposed to the delusions which emigrants are ever ready to adopt, they imagined that, if they returned, they should be enabled, by the influence of their name, again to excite general dissatisfaction. They hoped to commence a revolution, not only against Milosch and the Kneses, but also against the Turks, and to achieve something important. Some schoolmasters of Belgrade —who, however, were not natives of the country —drew up a proclamation for them, in which, if

we are correctly informed (for the paper itself appears to have been lost) a reward was offered for the head of Milosch, and one of far greater amount for that of Wutschitsch.

In order to commence the movement, the brothers Tscharapitsch, with their personal adherents, repaired to the forest of Avala. But the terror inspired by the defeat of Topola was still fresh in the minds of the peasants; and the proclamation produced not the slightest effect. The rebels were sought for in the forest, as though they had been robbers, by some Kneses and their Momkes, and at length were found in one of the mountain hollows. Well knowing that their lives would not be spared, they defended themselves with the courage of despair, and all perished! The authors of the proclamation were shockingly mutilated.

Thus were suppressed these insurrections; the object of which was, through the mass of the populace, — or, more properly speaking, the peasantry, — to cast off the entire government of Milosch.

But, subdued as they were, the people were still conscious of their own strength. The Kmetes exclaimed, that "this time Milosch had overpowered them; but another time the result might probably be different."

For the moment, indeed, the government judged it advisable to pay some attention to the condition of the peasants. Wulitschitsch was dismissed; and the Kneses of Jasenitza and Lepenitza, against whom the rage of the people had been particularly

directed, were not reinstated in their appointments. Besides the personal complaints of the peasants, there were certain questions regarding property. These also were redressed; and many points, on which the people were evidently right, were conceded. Although the originators of the insurrection were at first obliged to be left unpunished, vengeance overtook them in one way or another at a later period.

Upon the whole, it is evident that the system which had been established was further strengthened by the suppression of these rebellious movements.

The Kneses, military commanders of the nation which they knew how to hold in subjection, had on their part to render implicit obedience to their supreme leader, Milosch; who now exercised an almost absolute dominion in the country.

If it be inquired how such an authority could at this period be maintained in Servia, the answer is —that notwithstanding the manifold discontents of the people, their minds were subdued to obedience by the state of affairs.

The old possessors of military power and sovereign rule were still in the country, and in command of the fortresses; and there was no binding treaty between the parties. A few years after Maraschli Ali had died, disappointed at not having proved equally successful in Europe as in Asia; there was not even the word of a Pacha to prevent the Turks from re-establishing themselves in full possession on the first opportunity that might offer;

and they still considered the Servians under obligations to perform menial services as formerly. The only means the Servians had of maintaining their independence, the enjoyment of which they had acquired by their own efforts, was by a strong military organisation — by holding firmly together under the chief who had led them during the last few years, and whom they had solemnly acknowledged as the head of the nation; for every breach of peace that disturbed this internal unity, threatened at the same time their political existence.

Whatever misguided peasants might say, whose notions were limited to objects immediately around them, it was clear that the indisputable preference for the authority of Milosch arose from the nationality of the people forcibly representing the idea of their liberation from the Ottomans, which completely engrossed their minds. It was perfectly in accordance with the feeling of the people, that Milosch possessed himself of the rights which he had claimed, before they had been actually granted. Amongst other things, he built a number of churches, without asking permission of the Pacha, or of the Grand Signior; a proceeding which gratified the religious feeling of the people. This national sympathy enabled him to preserve an authority, otherwise only of a temporary character.

At length, however, times changed. Events occurred which, whilst they influenced Turkey, produced a general re-action upon Servia, and freed it from the uncertainty of its condition.

CHAP. XX.

SETTLEMENT OF SERVIAN AFFAIRS.

Influence of the Greek Revolution on Servian Affairs. — The Rule of Milosch acceptable to the Grand Signior. — The attention of Europe is directed towards the East. — Russia demands the Fulfilment of the Treaty of Bucharest. — The Conference of Akjerman. — Views of the Sultan Mahmoud. — The Viceroy of Egypt. — Destruction of the Janissaries. — Formation of new Troops. — Affairs of Greece. — The Russians enforce a Peace. — Terms of the Treaty. — Arrangements regarding the Tribute. — Settlement of the Claims of the Spahis. — Affairs of the Church. — The Boundaries determined on.

An event which had been foreseen for a century now occurred — the Greeks rose against the Turks. We have occasionally hinted at the movements perceptible in the Hellenic part of the Christian population of the Ottoman empire, contemporaneously with the Servian disturbances. Those movements had all one common origin — the disorders of the institutions founded on Islamism, then falling into decay, and in a state of internal confusion; and also the antagonism of the power, and the incomparably superior development of those European Christian nations, to which the people considered themselves primarily related, and upon whose assistance they relied. According to the circumstances

under which it commenced, however, the Greek enterprise displayed itself in a manner very different from that of an insurrection in Servia; the direct influences which contributed to it, the nations themselves, their occupation and their position in the world, being very dissimilar.

Thus the principle of emancipating the Christian population, for which the Servians fought, obtained a wider and more general basis. Had the Grand Signior's hands been free, unquestionably he would not so quietly have allowed the Gospodar of Servia to unite the entire public authority in his own person. Under existing circumstances, however, he could not but be satisfied that a chief ruled in the country who kept the people under strict control, and prevented their participating in such schemes as tended towards the complete overthrow of the Turkish empire. In his entire deportment, Milosch always observed the external semblance of obedience: he made no claim to absolute independence; and the Sultan had no reason to apprehend that he would take part in any demonstration excited by the Hetæria. Milosch observed amongst the adherents and friends of Ypsilanti, some members of the former Servian government whom he had excluded: the followers of the brothers Tscharapitsh, whom he had recently expelled, were equally hostile to his administration and to that of the Ottomans.

The simultaneous rising of the Greeks, and re-awakening of the Hellenic name, excited a ge-

nerous interest amongst all the nations of Europe: a sympathy such as had never been known before; in which recollections of the classic ages, popular tendencies, and an universal Christian feeling were united. This ultimately brought the Christian powers under the necessity of directing their earnest attention towards the east, which they had hitherto insufficiently regarded.

What the former Russian government had already designed, the present, which entered upon office in the year 1825, executed with decision. With the utmost energy it took up its differences with the Porte — differences which had been suffered to exist without redress for many years.

It particularly adverted to the stipulations of the treaty of Bucharest still remaining unfulfilled; one of the chief complaints of Russia being, that the concessions promised to the Servians in that treaty had not yet been granted.

The Porte, contending with the most dangerous revolution to which she had ever been exposed, and threatened at the same time by three powers, England, France and Russia — which had formerly been restrained from hostile action by their political jealousies of one another — under the pressure of the moment, consented to the demands of Russia: the Sultan set at liberty the Servian deputies who were still detained, and promised to enter into negotiations with the Servian nation, for securing to it the privileges conceded by the treaty.

At a conference held at Akjerman, in the sum-

mer of 1826, the affairs of Servia formed one of the principal objects of negotiation.

After much hesitation, not unaccompanied by occasional apprehensions of total failure, the Porte accepted the Russian ultimatum.

In the Convention, which is designated as explanatory in execution of the treaty of Bucharest, the Porte promised a more exact definition of the advantages which were at that time promised to the Servians in general terms.* In a special act are enumerated the demands which had been made by the Servians in 1820. The Porte gave assurance of coming to an understanding with the Servians regarding not only those concessions, but others which might perhaps also be made to them. It was agreed upon, that within eighteen months at the latest, a Hattischeriff containing the agreement should be forwarded to the Russian Court, and should then be considered as forming part of the Convention. †

* Convention explicative en exécution du traité de Bucharest. 25 Sept. (7 Oct.) 1826. Art. 5.

† In the *Acte séparé relatif à la Servie*, the following were stated to be the demands of the nation: "La liberté du culte, le choix de ses chefs, l'indépendance de son administration intérieure, la réunion des districts détachés de la Servie, la réunion des différens impôts en un seul, l'abandon aux Serviens des biens appartenant à des Musulmans à charge d'en payer le revenu ensemble avec le tribut, la liberté de commerce, la permission aux négocians Serviens de voyager dans les états Ottomans avec leurs propres passeports, l'établissement d'hôpitaux, écoles et imprimeries, et enfin la défense aux Musulmans autres que ceux appartenant aux garnisons de s'établir en Servie." I do

By this decree the interpretation which the Servians had given to the treaty of Bucharest obtained in reality a public recognition. If the Convention were carried into effect, the state thus regulated and arranged in accordance with their wishes, would at the same time enjoy the guarantee of a great European Power. These assurances were received in Servia with great joy; and in a Diet held at Kragujewaz, the Prince, with much solemnity, announced them to the nation.

All however depended on the Convention's being executed. But even by the proclamation of the Porte herself, it appeared from the first that it was not her intention to act with sincerity.

Sultan Mahmoud had just undertaken an enterprise, the result of which, he expected, would be the restoration of the empire to its ancient power.

The forces which the Sultan commanded (according to the constitution of his empire and army under the supremacy of the Janissaries, renewed

not know whether the following difference from the original declaration of the Porte be the effect of an accidental change of expression, or otherwise. In the "Note officielle de la Porte Ottomanne 1 (13) Mai 1826, it promises, régler avec eux les demandes qui ne seraient pas contraires à la condition de rajahs." In the "*Acte particulier de la Servie*," on the other hand, it promises, réglements concernant les demandes susmentionnées (of 1820) de ce peuple, comme aussi de toute autre qui pourrait lui être faite par la députation Serbe, et qui ne serait pas contraire aux devoirs de sujets de l'empire Ottoman.

since the year 1808) showed themselves less than ever capable of maintaining the power of the state. Expeditions on a large scale, intended to put down the Greeks, and set on foot with all the energy possible in the existing state of affairs, had entirely failed. If the Ottoman authority had not been destroyed in the territories of Greece, it was altogether owing to the Viceroy of Egypt, with his troops disciplined on an European model. What the Grand Signior at Constantinople had not dared to attempt, his vassal had been able to accomplish in a remote province. Favoured by peculiarity of situation, Mehemet Ali had utterly annihilated the authority of the Mameluke Beys, already severely shaken since the invasion of the French; and French and Italian officers of Napoleon's army had thereupon organised for him regular troops. When he came to the assistance of the Sultan, it was found that the Christians carried on an irregular warfare, according to the old barbarous practice—the followers of Islam, a warfare of military tactics: the Greeks were unable to resist the Egyptians.

These results, as may readily be imagined, made a powerful impression on the Sultan. The idea entertained by more than one of his predecessors, that internal reform was essential to the restoration of external splendour—an idea not relinquished even after the catastrophe of Selim, but concealed only by necessity—might now with more facility

be realised. The cause of the Janissaries could no longer be identified with that of Islam. It became necessary to tell them, that the resistance which they had opposed to every kind of improvement was leading the Empire to ruin—that they who desired to be regarded as the principal champions of Islam, were, in reality, its enemies. The men versed in the law now deserted the Janissaries, and in a great council of Viziers and Ulemas assembled at the house of Scheik-ul-Islam, in June, 1826, the views of the Grand Signior were unanimously adopted. A *Fetwa* was framed, and signed by all the members of the Council; directing the Janissaries to practise certain military exercises; for this reason: that it was only by encountering the infidels with a regular army that the advantage gained by them over the Moslems could be recovered. At first only 150 men out of each Orta were required to obey this order; which it was expected they would resist: but precautionary measures had been taken against such an event. As the opposition of the Topdschi had proved so destructive to the Sultan Selim, Mahmoud had the more earnestly exerted himself to gain them over to his plans. It is said that when Mahmoud heard of the manner in which Murat had cleared the streets of Madrid of the rebellious mob, the account produced so lively an impression on his mind that it was never forgotten. Accordingly, he now opposed cannon to the advancing masses of the Janissaries. The first discharge produced a

dreadful effect, and dispersed them; when a horrible massacre ensued. The force was now solemnly abolished, and the name of the Janissaries consigned to oblivion. The Sultan did not deem it advisable to revive the title Nizami Dschedid; in which even Mehemet Ali had failed in the outset: he was satisfied that Egyptian officers should introduce into the Turkish army the discipline and order which they had acquired from the Europeans. And this determination was now accomplished without encountering any obstacles.

Mahmoud neglected no means which could enable him, at the earliest possible moment, to bring a disciplined force into the field; sufficiently numerous, as the firman says, to sustain the cause of religion and of the Empire, under the designation of the "Victorious Mahometan Armies."

Thus the second movement emanating from the wars of the eighteenth century, and which produced Reform, was at length effected; though not without the most frightful acts of violence and horror. Whatever might have been the origin of this scheme, its object was the sole dominion of Islamism: Mahometans alone were to serve in an army destined to fight for the restoration of the authority of the Prophet.

The next aim of the Porte was to lead back to obedience the nations that were liberating themselves from her yoke. A book was printed and published, in which an expectation was expressed, that the new militia would not only prove efficient

for the defence of the old Provinces, but would also penetrate into the Christian countries of the Turkish Empire.

Aroused into courageous self-confidence, and animated with high and promising hopes, the Turks deliberately rejected the intervention of the three Powers in the affairs of Greece; and although the Greeks, acknowledging the external supremacy of the Porte, now claimed only the privilege of administering their internal affairs, the Divan declared that they would never agree to this concession.

The Sultan's determination was not influenced by the fact, that the intercourse between Egypt and the Morea had been most violently interrupted in the port of Navarino, and that the new Mahometan navy of the Viceroy had been destroyed at a blow.

After a solemn consultation of the Divan, the Grand Signior professed himself ready to pardon the Moreotes, and exempt them from a year's impost of the Haradsch, if they would submit. This was all that could be obtained from him.

Considerable progress having already been made in military reform, he resolved upon a most daring and speculative scheme.

In a proclamation addressed to the Ayans of Asia and Europe,—that Hattischeriff of December, 1827, which displays as strong a disposition for war as the edict of any former Sultan,—Mahmoud appeared ready to retract even the concessions he had made at Akjerman. He declared, in plain terms, that he

had entered on those negotiations only to obtain the time necessary to prepare for war; and respecting the demands of the Servians, he observed that they had been unacceptable in themselves, and that nothing but the pressure of circumstances had induced his consent to them.

This was quite consistent; for, indeed, the European powers had desired but little more for the Greeks; and this the Sultan had most indignantly refused. Moreover, in this proclamation the Christian people were represented as one nation, only desirous of annihilating Islamism. The Sultan invoked the determined valour with which, in ancient times, the Osmanlis had established in the world the true religion: above all, he endeavoured to inflame the zeal of their orthodoxy against the Russians as their principal enemies.

These were not times, however, for a general war to break out, as might have been expected. But a decision by recourse to arms could no longer be avoided: it was challenged by the Sultan himself.

The Egyptians gave way, in the Morea, before a French army; and the reformed military power of the Sultan was attacked by the Russians near the Danube.

It was evident that the Turkish troops had improved, as well in the defence of fortified places as in their bearing on the field. They obeyed more readily, and kept together for a longer period: but their military science had not advanced. Their efforts were directed now, as in earlier times, by

blind impetuosity, and always against one particular point; consequently, no attention was paid to the manœuvres of the opposing leader.

In the second campaign, the Russians having crossed the mountains, which had always been regarded as the barrier of Roumelia, appeared in alarming proximity to the capital; and enforced a peace, in which all the pending questions were adjusted according to their desire.

In this peace the Porte not only consented to the proposals regarding Greece, which she had hitherto rejected with so much obstinacy, but declared herself ready to submit to such regulations as the powers might agree upon for their fulfilment. This declaration led to a resolution for assigning narrower boundaries to Greece than had been originally intended: but, on the other hand, it caused her to be raised into an independent kingdom.*

The sympathy of the Christian populations, which had been conspicuous in the years 1788 and 1806, was not so powerfully excited by this war. The Servians, also, had been prevented from taking up arms — though not without great difficulty and to their extreme annoyance; and their only influence on the course of events had been their opposition to the intended passage of the Bosnians over the Drina.

In the peace nothing was changed in the groundwork of the relations once fixed upon for the Ser-

* Protocole, No. 1. de la conférence tenue à Londres le 3e Février, 1830.

vians; but they found cause for congratulation in the circumstance that these were now really carried into effect. At the final treaty of Adrianople the Porte pledged herself to perform the stipulations entered upon at Akjerman — stipulations which rested on the treaty of Bucharest, — "without the least delay, and with the most conscientious exactness; and, within a month, to bring under the cognisance of the Russian court the firman arranging these matters."

The Porte no longer eluded the performance of her promise. On the first of the *Rebi-el-accher* of the year of Hejira 1245 (September the 30th, 1829), fifteen days after the conclusion of the peace, the promised firman was issued, in the manner customary to the home administration of the Ottoman Empire. In this firman the demands of the Servians, according to the form and interpretation of the treaty of Akjerman, were communicated to the Pacha and Molla of Belgrade, as being perfectly valid, and accompanied by an order for their execution.*

It was well understood, however, that there were still further arrangements necessary for carrying them into full effect; and the year 1830 brought with it the requisite decisive regulations. In the month of August of that year (7 *Rebi el awwel*, 1246), Sultan Mahmoud issued a Hattischeriff, embracing the more minute points for finally termin-

* Quoted by Friedrichstal, Serbiens Neuzeit, Appendix, I.

ating the differences which, since the days of the Dahis, had existed respecting the affairs of Servia.* The result of this was, that the fortresses were henceforth to have Turkish garrisons. Only once during the whole course of events had it appeared possible for the Servians to be freed from this necessity; and for some time past they had ceased to expect it. The treaty of Bucharest had so often been referred to by the Servians, that those parts of it which were beneficial to the Turks must also have been maintained: this was the more needful, as a neglect of it might have threatened to disturb the general relations between the country and the government.

But the question was, how to remove certain difficulties, which the principle and custom of exclusive domination by the followers of Islam had necessarily introduced.

The Sultan agreed, in the first place, that the authorities of the Sublime Porte should neither meddle with the administration, nor interfere in the quarrels, of the Servian nation.

The jurisdiction of the Musellims was now abolished by the express command of the Grand Signior. This jurisdiction, which the first Pacha after the war had re-established in its widest extent, the second had limited; but it had, nevertheless, occasioned so much misunderstanding, that Milosch had already dispensed with it, in effect.

* A translation of this document, certified by the Servian Chancery, appeared in the Allg. Zeit. of April 2 and 3. 1832.

The entire administration he left to the Knias — as Milosch now officially styled himself — by whom it was to be conducted, with the assistance of the Council of Elders.

But this would have been impracticable, had not a change been effected in the various imposts that were customary in the country; and which presupposed a direct inspection — nay, a personal interference — by the Grand Signior's officers.

The Sultan consented to an arrangement which the Servians had demanded from the commencement, and by which his treasury was at least no loser — that the amount of the taxes should be fixed, and be delivered to him in one sum; in collecting which he was to be relieved from all trouble. This arrangement had been first proposed in Servia by Peter Itschko; in Greece, it had been contemplated as long as the preservation of the Grand Signior's supremacy was thought of; and even at a later period, the practice has been maintained in Egypt. Without this, as we have said, independence of internal administration would have been impossible.

At the same time, too, this furnished the means of satisfying another claim which had hitherto proved a principal obstacle to the peace. The Spahis, as we know, still considered themselves the proprietors of the country. Their refusal to renounce this right had prevented the fulfilment of the treaty of Peter Itschko, as well as of the treaty of Bucharest; and had principally contri-

buted to the rupture which occurred in the year 1820. It was intimately connected with the principles of the Ottoman policy. The Sultan, however, now ordered that an estimate should be formed of the incomes of the Zaims and Timariotes throughout the Pachalic, and the amount paid to him, together with the tribute. Thus their claims to the tithe and Glawnitza, which they had exacted ever since the conquest of the country, were abolished; and it was left to the Sultan to indemnify his vassals for their loss.

It was also considered necessary entirely to separate the two populations; and the Sultan ordered that no Turk should henceforth have a claim to the personal services of a Servian. But this regulation alone would have been futile, there being no one to enforce obedience; the Sultan, therefore, judged it best to comply with the demands of the Servians, and absolutely to forbid any Turks not belonging to the garrisons of the fortresses, to remain in the country. To those who had landed property in Servia, a certain selling price was to be awarded by public functionaries appointed for the purpose. If any one were disinclined to part with his estates, he was not allowed to superintend them: the income derived therefrom was to be paid into the treasury at Belgrade, and thence remitted to the owner. The former influence of the Ottomans on the population, which had been the most frequent source of complaints, was thus strenuously sought to be prevented.

The army which had been settled in Servia — a warrior class whose authority was grounded on the prerogatives of their religion, and who had hitherto governed the country — now lost their claim to personal dominion. The poll-tax, formerly the sign that a person belonged to the Raja, was no longer paid — at least not under that designation. Care was expressly taken, that the Turkish officers, in their intercourse with the Servians in the other provinces, should not demand any Teskeres from them; but be satisfied with certificates from the Servian government. Thus the Servians continued to be tributary subjects to the Porte, but no longer formed a Raja or unarmed body as hitherto. No restriction existed with reference to apparel or dwellings, nor were arms any longer prohibited. Numerous churches were now built; and the Hattischeriff also contained a formal permission for the establishment of schools and hospitals, without requiring any previous application on the subject. In communicating these regulations, Milosch stated that divine service was allowed to be announced by the ringing of bells, and was to be performed in its ancient primitive solemnity without restriction.

All ecclesiastical concerns were also arranged in a manner corresponding to the wishes of the nation. It has been seen how much the former state of things was influenced by sending the bishops from Constantinople; but after the general change that had been effected, such relations

could not continue: the Dimnitza could no longer be paid to the bishops, after all taxes analogous to it had been abolished.

It was desirable, too, to be freed from the Greek bishops, who had always been regarded as strangers; accordingly, in the Hattischeriff of 1830, the Servians were permitted to elect bishops and metropolitans from their own nation. To the Patriarchal Church at Constantinople was reserved the right of confirming those elected; but the bishops were not obliged to proceed in person to the capital for that purpose. Thus it became practicable to dissolve the connexion as regarded those relations in which the Servian Eparchs stood towards the Greek church; the nation taking upon itself to pay off the debt which had accumulated. Instead of the chimney-tax — the amount of which could not be precisely calculated, but which appeared to the Servian Government excessive, the bishops were allowed a fixed salary out of the public treasury. Milosch had, on a former occasion, attempted to effect such an arrangement; but it was not till now that it could be accomplished. The clergy, in Servia, did not enjoy much influence; and the new regulation was not of a character to exalt their independence. We will not inquire whether some objection might not be urged against this; but the main consideration was, that the bishopric could no longer be perverted to a means of hostility against the nation. The possibility of such a development of the ecclesiastical relations as had been intended

by the Nemanjas, was restored to the nation: an advantage of incalculable importance, and affording great hope for the future.

Not only the inhabitants of the province of Belgrade—who had in fact been already emancipated —but those also who had joined Kara George in his later campaigns, were to participate in these advantages. This the Servians had asked in the year 1820; it had been agreed upon at Akjerman; and had been still more explicitly determined at Adrianople.

The Porte renewed her promise by the firman of 1829, and the Hattischeriff of 1830; and in the spring of the latter year, Turkish and Russian commissioners travelled over the country to settle its boundaries.

Notwithstanding all these proceedings, however, the business was not yet settled. The Pachas would not believe that the Porte could even think of reducing the extent of their territories, or of placing them under the dominion of the Servian Knes.

When the Servian deputies mentioned the business at Widdin, the Pacha not only sent them away in disgrace, but added serious threats in the event of their venturing to excite disobedience amongst his subjects.

He treated with ridicule their statements concerning the advance guards of Kara George; and that the Heyduc Weliko had once galloped his horse in defiance before the fortress of Widdin.

Some Servians went into the districts on the Drina, furnished with money, and intending to purchase such property as the Turks possessed there; for it was understood that the provisions of the Hattischeriff were to be executed without delay. But they were attacked by armed men, and robbed of their money, as well as of their horses, and were thus forced to retrace their steps.

A servitude yet more severe, was also for some time imposed on the Christians in the disputed districts.

In Kruschewaz and Alexinaz, we again find the arbitrary administration of Subashaws and Tschitluksahibis. The Albanians belonging to an army engaged for an expedition against Bosnia, which was at that time in a state of rebellion, were guilty of violent outrages; and the people of these districts consequently rose in self-defence.

Several Albanian chiefs having forcibly carried off some young girls, the people — no longer disposed to submit tamely to wrongs — took a fierce revenge on all the perpetrators of the outrage. In Kraina and Kliutsch a regular rebellion broke forth; and at Gurgussowaz, where the Woiwode proved more than usually obstinate, a sort of war ensued between the two parties.

Milosch took little precaution to appease disturbances, which were evidently beneficial to him; but he brought the affair under the consideration of Russia and the Porte in a more effectual manner.

In a conference held at Constantinople, on the 25th May, 1833, the boundaries were agreed to by the Turks, according to the report of the commissioners.* Some time elapsed before the formal decree respecting them was issued; but the taking possession of the districts, for which every thing had been prepared, could no longer be difficult.

The boundaries were fixed in conformity with the representation made when speaking of the conquests of Kara George. We are not, however, prepared to indicate them with accuracy, or to state the extent of the territory, and the number of its inhabitants; but it was estimated that the country and the people were augmented about one third.

Every thing had thus been settled concerning the relations of the Servians to the Ottoman Empire, and to the Mahometan population in general. The great causes of contention had been removed: but there were yet other questions which now came prominently forward, and led to events that could not have been foreseen.

* According to an article, considered to be official, in the Allg. Zeitung, July 9. 1833.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION OF MILOSCH, AND THE OPPOSITION AGAINST HIM.

Position of Milosch. — He is elected Knias. — The Porte makes the dignity Hereditary in his Family. — He assumes arbitrary Power, and neglects to advance the Interests of the Nation by promoting its Civilisation. — The Code Napoleon adopted as the Model for the proposed Laws of Servia. — Arbitrary Proceedings of Milosch. — He endeavours to monopolise the Commerce of the Country. — His Treatment of the public Officers. — He refuses to bestow Lands and Estates on his Courtiers. — Conspiracy against him. — He pledges himself to accede to the Wishes of the Chiefs. — Skupschtina of 1835. *— Concessions of the Knias.*

Of the various demands made by the Servians in 1820, that relating to the individual position of Milosch was left unsettled by the treaty of Akjerman; which only stated that the nation had the right of freely electing its chiefs. How this point was overlooked is not known; though the fact is reported from Servia on credible authority.

In the year 1817, Milosch had already been elected by the Servians as their chief; and in 1827, at the diet in which the articles of the treaty of Akjerman were announced, this election was renewed. Grand Kneses, Kneses of the districts,

and the elders, clergymen, and members of the courts of justice — in their own names, and in the names of the nation, and of those brethren who were yet to be united to them — declared themselves willing to be subject to his Serene Highness the Prince Milosch Obrenowitsch, to him and his descendants, from generation to generation, as their Lord and Prince.

They all, in a body, signed a petition praying the Grand Signior to grant them a native metropolitan, and Milosch Obrenowitsch for their hereditary Prince.

But far too much war and violence yet prevailed for these things to be so quickly achieved. In the peace of Adrianople, as well as in the firman issued directly afterwards, it was the nation only, and not the prince, of whom mention was made. When Milosch, at the Skuptschina, in 1830, acquainted the nation with this firman, he laid great stress on the circumstance that they were no longer to be ruled by an ever-changing succession of Turkish officers, who came only to amass riches in the country; but by men who had associated with them, and who meant to live and die amongst them. He added, at the same time, that as they had so nearly reached their aim, it was his intention to retire; and the nation might then elect some other prince, the best and ablest in the country. This intimation, as he expected, proved the very means by which his election, already twice made, was again repeated. The assembly saluted

him as the "Prince given by God;" and they solicited the Porte to confirm Milosch Obrenowitsch as a Knias, legally ruling over them; and to allow this dignity to be hereditary in his family: "according," as they said, "to the for-ever-unchangeable resolution of the nation."

The Porte could no longer hesitate to comply with this wish; and acceded to it the more readily, as Milosch had rendered some services to the state in the last war: for instance, he had sent provisions down the Danube; which had proved of great importance to the imperial army. The Hattischeriff of 1830 expressly affirmed, that Milosch should be maintained as Knias of the nation, and the dignity be made hereditary in his family. The *Berate* granted by the Porte to Milosch was couched in these terms; — "that the princely dignity shall be assured to him for his lifetime; after his death, it shall pass to his eldest son; and afterwards to his grandson."

The Porte insisted, that it was by her imperial favour and election that this honour was conferred on Milosch, in consideration of his fidelity: he was to carry on the administration of the country under her auspices.

Milosch, however, could not contrive to have his name mentioned in the treaty between the European powers; which would have afforded him a security such as the nation obtained, independent of the caprice of the Porte. His position remained, as it

had been from the first — a combination of Turkish supremacy and the free choice of the Servians.

One might almost suppose that he had not a clear conception of the true nature of his princely dignity.

It had cost him much trouble to advance thus far, and he appeared to think that, after obtaining a Berate and a Hattischeriff, all had been accomplished. He seemed to consider himself the founder of a dynasty, and to regard his authority as inviolable.

But if we consider the real state of the case, it will be found that, from the very commencement, contrary results might have been expected. It must be recollected under what opposition Milosch had established his dominion in the interior; and how, after he had succeeded in removing his rivals, he was opposed by those through whom, and over whom he sought to rule: he was obliged to combat them all, and to suppress the elements of rebellion with a strong hand.

At the Skupschtina of 1827, he found it necessary to excuse the harshness and severity of his administration, by alluding to the great scheme of liberation which he had in view, and which could be accomplished by no other means. It is clear that if the nation considered it their interest to obey him, it was because they felt the necessity of a firm and indissoluble union.

Now, however, the object which had influenced them was in reality attained: under the guarantee

of a great power, they had acquired from the Turks a position of independence. All the districts were now reunited, in which, during the war, a national combination had once been formed. No fear of reaction was for the present entertained. But were the people, therefore, to endure the severe sway of Milosch, now that the necessity for it no longer existed?

Milosch ought to have attached more importance to this consideration; for whatever terms the Grand Signior might employ, the attachment of the nation and their repeated election of him as their ruler, must be regarded as the principal, though not the only basis of his power. Should the nation ever desert him, it was not to be supposed that the Sultan would continue his support merely for the sake of his Berate. He could at any time find a pretext for retracting that instrument.

Thus there was a more absolute necessity for him to keep on good terms with the people, than for other rulers to conciliate their subjects.

If, then, he had imbibed the principles of true civilisation, and had rendered his nation morally superior to the Ottomans, he would have excited sympathy for himself, and for the principle of Christian emancipation throughout the world!

This was brought under the notice of Milosch more than once; and I cannot forbear mentioning that his attention was drawn to this subject in the first edition of this work, which appeared in 1829. I trust to escape the imputation of vanity in repeat-

ing the words in which I then expressed the hope, entertained by the friends of the Servian cause, that the independence of the country, in its internal relations, would be strengthened, without arbitrary measures.

We indulged in the expectation that Milosch would employ all the power by which he had been enabled, in times of turbulence, to free himself from the Turks, and to maintain the country in peace, in promoting the welfare of the nation intrusted to his care, and in advancing the development of her capabilities.

We observed that, "all that is glorious and desirable amongst men must prompt him to attempt this. Then would the people be attached to him, if they only found themselves happy and secure through good institutions. Thus alone could they be led to hold his name, like the name of the Nemanjas, in enduring remembrance.

"But there can be no security without laws. Neither the multitude of Momkes, the power of arms, nor the apparent devotion of favoured adherents, will suffice. It is only by effecting the safety of the people, through wise laws, that he himself can feel secure. There is no doubt that he will establish laws, not exactly borrowed from Europe (for such perhaps might be little adapted to the requirements of the country) but plain and simple; such as may be in accordance with the character of the Servian people — to secure life, property, religious and civil liberty to every one,

so far as can consist with the unity of a state. On this subject he ought to consult the elders of the nation. He should give and maintain such laws as would temper severity with mildness. The nation would then appreciate his worth, and would perceive that he laboured less for his own power than for its prosperity. He need not then be under any apprehension respecting the return of those who had remained exiles and emigrants since the time of Kara George; and people of neighbouring states would be desirous of living under his rule.

"As there can be no security for an internal administration without laws, neither can there be any freedom from the Turks, without mental cultivation. It is true, the nation is free from their power; but it will be ruled by their manners, customs and sentiments, and their imperceptible influence, until it shall have raised itself above them by the cultivation of its own noble talents. The superiority indicated having been once asserted, the Servians will never again have cause for fear: Milosch will, no doubt, as he has long intended, establish schools upon a larger scale in the country, and regulate them in conformity with the requirements of his nation. In teaching the Christian religion in its purity, no difficulty can arise; for the clergy will not possess such preponderating influence as would enable them to contend for their own peculiar errors and tenets. Their songs may serve to instruct the people in much of their national history; and whatever

may be objectionable in them may be reformed and purified by the doctrines of the Gospel. They do not require a barbarous semi-learning, tending only to confuse the uneducated mind. Means can also be found to communicate gradually to the nation the scientific knowledge which Europe has acquired. Only by such measures can the Servians be enabled to rise superior to the Turks, and to participate in that mental and spiritual strength which constitutes real happiness. The soil is ready—nothing but the distribution of the good seed is wanting."

The hope that Milosch would sow this good seed has not, however, been realised.

An attempt, indeed, was made for the establishment of laws; and, as we have been assured, with especial reference to the opinions above expressed.

Milosch, like Mehemet Ali of Egypt, was convinced that the *Code Napoleon* was the most excellent of all law books, and he declared himself willing to draw up Servian laws after its model.

Accordingly the Code Napoleon was translated from the German into the Servian language; commentaries on it were ordered from Vienna; and a Polish version also was consulted. The text thus obtained was examined by a commission, in which Protitsch, Lasar Theodorowitsch, and Prota Nenadowitsch took part. The compilation of the Servian Code was entrusted to Wuk Karadschitsch and a secretary. The articles were read in turn, and accepted, or if unsuitable, laid aside. It was for-

tunate when their meaning happened to be understood. A Polish lawyer who appeared before the commissioners rendered but slight assistance in the arrangement, as it frequently occurred that the strong plain sense of the unlearned more clearly penetrated the meaning of the original. At length, in the autumn of 1830, the commissioners had made such progress, that all the clerical and lay dignitaries were summoned to hear the reading of the draft. The legislative rulers accordingly assembled in an extensive meadow, where the draft was read through, and, after a few alterations, accepted.

This, there can be no doubt, was an imperfect work; in which the eyes of the scholar would have detected many faults. Yet the establishing of these laws was very desirable. They would, at least, have acted as a check upon that absolute sway which set all order at defiance, and would have given the people some degree of security. But after the arrival of the Berate from Constantinople, they were for a time no longer thought of, and things remained in their wonted violent and tumultuous state.

The public power represented by Milosch did not yet distinctly acknowledge private rights.

Milosch took possession of whatever he pleased — fields, houses, and mills — fixing the price himself. He one day — as though he were the proprietor, and without asking leave of any one — burnt one of the suburbs of Belgrade, because it was his

intention to erect new buildings on the site. He also continued to impose the most severe bond-service: the peasants of Uschize had to come to Kragujewaz, to assist him in his hay harvest; and the traders of Belgrade were seen to close their shops that they might go to unload the hay of the Knias.*

Nor were the people remunerated for the quartering and provisions of the soldiers. Whilst the Turkish Tartars [Couriers] were already beginning to pay for what they had, the Servian messengers exacted their supplies gratuitously. It was not unusual for a Momke to leave his tired horse in the village, in charge of the by-standers, and take the first he could find as a substitute in the interim. "I should like to see," said one of the Prince's drivers, "who would dare to disobey his Highness;" and he immediately put the oxen of the peasants to his carriage.

Under such circumstances, it frequently occurred that the public power was abused for personal advantage. What had previously occasioned such great excitement against Mladen and Miloje was repeated by Milosch, who endeavoured to monopolise the most lucrative trade of the country,

* The most important document which has been published concerning the administration of Milosch, and the general feeling it excited, is a long and explicit letter of Wuk Karadschitsch to Milosch, which appeared in the Servian and German languages, in the "Serbische Courier" of April 25. 1843, and the following numbers.

that of dealing in swine. He enclosed the woods, which had hitherto been common to all, for the purpose of keeping his own cattle in them. A very extraordinary decree, by which the giving credit was impeded, or even prohibited, was interpreted by the people into an intention on his part to prevent every sort of association, in order that Milosch, as the richest man in Servia, might monopolise the entire commerce of the country. He appeared to consider that the power of the Sultan had been delegated to him, and that consequently he was absolute master over the land, the people, and their property.

"Am I the master," he was heard to say, "and shall I not be at liberty to do what I please?" Indeed he was invariably designated *Master* in the country.

And woe to the man who opposed him, or appeared dangerous to him! He exercised his power of life and death as despotically and as irresponsibly as any Turkish Pacha.

Another principle of the Turkish system of government, that the possessor of the chief authority should administer it through the medium of his servants, was also adopted by Milosch. His officers — and under this denomination were now included the Kneses — were treated as slaves: badly paid, they were raised to higher offices, or degraded to those of minor importance, without adequate cause; so that it was difficult to distinguish the superior from the inferior. They

were also punished with stripes; as were at one time the officers of the Mongol Khans: men of rank are known to have received personal chastisement, and yet afterwards to have been appointed senators.

That sense of the honour attached to a public officer, on which the modern German States are chiefly founded, was altogether wanting in Servia. A public officer would rather see his daughter married to a mechanic or a shopkeeper — to say nothing of the settled peasantry, who were always much preferred — than to any of his younger colleagues. People from Austrian Hungary who entered the Servian service were mostly such as in their own country were, from one cause or another, without prospects, and obliged to risk something for their advancement.

No one had any reason to hope that personal merit would insure his promotion. On the contrary, the conduct of Milosch induced the belief that he was rather jealous of superior talent: a species of egotism that has but rarely occurred. He was anxious to be the most powerful, as well as the only distinguished man in the country.

In the Hattischeriff of 1830, it was expressly declared that he should administer the government of the country, assisted by the council of Elders: but Milosch was not the person to abandon at the bidding of the Grand Signior, a course of proceeding to which he had become habituated; and he did not even affect compliance.

It must not, however, escape notice, that this jealousy of the infringement of his absolute power, and his unwillingness to permit any sort of rivalry, produced other consequences. Milosch resisted a demand, the concession of which would have given to the nation a Government corresponding with the Turkish system, but a grade lower. As the Spahis, up to the final settlement of affairs, continued to collect their tithes in person, and were considered the land-owners, a desire was felt by those who were about the Knias to step into their places, and to appear as the new landlords in the villages.

They represented to Milosch how difficult it would be to govern the people without an intermediate power; and what a beneficial aid, on the contrary, he would always find in those whom he might invest with possession of the soil.

"What dost thou mean to do," was asked of one, who appeared particularly anxious to obtain a few villages as fiefs, "shouldst thou receive the grant?" "I should sit and smoke," he answered, "until our master might require my assistance, and then I would fly hither with my Momkes." If they could have ruled the villages, they would willingly have allowed Milosch to retain, as his own property, the crown lands which he now held as tenant.

One of the most important acts of this Servian Prince, and that of the greatest moment for future times, was his resistance of these solicitations: although in other respects imitating the Grand

Signior, he still differed from him in this, that he did not distribute any fiefs. He was determined that the abolition of the rights of landholders, the income accruing from which was added to the tribute paid by the nation, should in return benefit the nation.

By proceeding thus, Milosch rendered incalculable service to the Servian peasantry; who acquired a degree of independence such as scarcely any other peasantry enjoy. Yet it is true this did not augment the number of his adherents; and as his conduct afforded cause for many just and well-founded complaints, a general murmur arose against him, which he alone did not hear.

Milosch had nothing to fear from independent rivals influential in large districts: they were principally his friends and adherents who conspired against him.

The first conspiracy against him was formed on the occasion of a christening at the dwelling of Stojan Simitsch, whom Milosch had appointed Knes of Kruschewaz, and presented with a Konak. Stojan had long frequented the house of Milosch, and by the cheerfulness of his disposition was become an especial favourite with the children. The consort of Milosch, accompanied by Ljubiza, who was to stand godmother to the infant; Abraham Petroniewitsch; Milosaw, Knes of Ressawa; and old Mileta Radoikowitsch, who had been standard-bearer under Kara George, came to Stojan Simitsch: Milutin Petrowitsch, a brother of the

Heyduc Weliko, was also present, with some Momkes escorting the Princess.

During the day, in presence of the Princess, the company drank the health of the Prince. In the evening, however, when they were alone, very different themes were discussed. To their former subjects of complaint a new one was added; that Milosch seemed desirous to avoid the customary Diets: as he had just then put off the one last appointed, although he had solemnly promised that it should be held.

Milosaw was the party who had the greatest influence on the minds of the assembly. He was one of the richest men in the country, possessing many farms, studs, and mills; and upon a former occasion, when the decree of the Knias was made known — that all land was to be regarded as the property of the Emperor and the highest authority — he had spoken very warmly; observing, that any such enforcement might one day cause bloodshed.

It may be recollected that, in Kara George's time, the Diets — to which the Gospodars and Woiwodes brought as many devoted friends as they could collect—became the scene of political conflicts. At the present period the assembly had determined to meet in great numbers, at the next Skupschtina, which was expected to be held; and to enforce, even by violence, if necessary, an alteration of the oppressive government.

They well knew that the general feeling was

in their favour. Milutin Petrowitsch, though he belonged to the household of the Prince, undertook to use his exertions to gain over one district. He did not deem it necessary even to conceal his intention; but on their way home mentioned it to the Princess, who, as soon as the first movement was observed, disclosed to the Prince what she had heard.

Milosch sent for Milutin, and reproached him for having made so ungrateful a return for the benefits he had received. Milutin answered,— the project had not been devised by him, but by others: "now, however," he added, "every one agrees to it." "How so — every one?" inquired Milosch. "Even he who stands next thee," replied Milutin. This was the favourite chief of Milosch; an old Momke of the Prince's family, named Joseph. On a former occasion, Milosch had already been warned of the danger into which his proceedings would plunge him: for, in fact, the murmur against him was universal. But he had despised the warning. — "Is it true, what Milutin says?" he inquired of the old man Joseph. "My Prince," was the answer, "it is true; the people say they can no longer go on in their present state."

Milosch had hitherto proceeded altogether according to his own caprice. He had thought that anything would be permitted to him — that everything would be allowed to pass. He had derided Charles X., who would not have been dethroned, he said, had the king understood how to reign, as

he did in Servia. He now saw a still worse fate awaiting himself: a defection as general, and even still more personal.

Endowed with quickness of apprehension, he at once comprehended the extent of his danger; and perceiving the superiority of his opponents, he immediately determined to leave the country.

He was entreated, however, not to be too hasty: no one desired to seize his person or his life; the people did not even wish to overthrow his government: they wanted only security and their rights.

"If that be the case," said Milosch, "I will satisfy them."

In the mean time the troops that had been assembled in the different Nahies marched onwards to Kragujewaz. Wutschitsch, who in outward appearance at least, was still a friend of the Prince, was there with some forces: he could hardly, however, have defended the place against those who were approaching, even had he been willing to exert himself; having only about as many hundred men as his opponents had thousands.

Milosaw, Abraham, and Mileta, therefore, entered Kragujewaz unopposed.* It would be wrong to give credence to the assertion that it was their intention to plunder the town or the Konak of the Prince: on the contrary, Mileta, a Servian of the

* January 8 (20), 1835. A very full report in favour of the chancery of Milosch, from which doubtlessly it emanated, appeared in the *Allg. Zeitung* of October 13. 1836, and the following numbers.

old school, had threatened to put to death with his own hand any one who should venture to hurt a hair of another's head.

Milosch, who was now neither able nor willing to oppose the chiefs by force, requested them to send their men home; pledging himself that, at the next Skupschtina, everything should be arranged agreeably to their wishes. He even went himself to meet them at Kragujewaz. His youngest son had arrived there before him; and at the head of the Kneses, he returned to his father, demanding their pardon. Milosch greeted them in friendly terms, and received them in his residence at Kragujewaz.

Thus commenced the Skupschtina of the year 1835. It was evident from the nature of events that the results would be different from those of any by which it had been preceded. In every former instance, Milosch had come forward as the conqueror — as the absolute master: now, on the contrary, he appeared rather as the vanquished; his adversaries being in the majority.

The speech with which he opened the Skupschtina, on the 2d of February, 1835, clearly explained the alteration that had taken place.

In it he promised to limit his government, not only by laws, but also by a kind of constitution; that a statute should be framed, in which the rights of the Servians should be fixed as humanity itself demanded: especially, that personal liberty and property should be fully secured.

It had often been said, that Milosch alone was

the government of his country; that with him it arose and went to sleep; that it travelled with him; and that, some day, it would also die with him. Now, he declared he would appoint a Ministry, consisting of six administrators of public affairs, answering to the established divisions of the new State, who should be at all times bound to submit public business to the consideration of a Senate, which he designated the Council of State; and that they should be responsible to the nation as well as to himself. He appeared willing to reserve to himself only the supreme superintendence and confirmation of their edicts. Lastly, the jurisdiction was no longer to be left to the arbitrary decision of the judges, but to be regulated by fixed written laws. What the people had so long been aiming at, was at length to be executed; Milosch declared himself to be amenable to the laws.

It is remarkable, what ideas, flowing from the constitutional movements of Europe, were now making their way into this half-oriental state. These ideas involved the rights and privileges of men — which especially comprehended security of person and property; responsibility of ministers; and lastly, that the Prince himself should be amenable to the laws; though, it is true, the laws had yet to be framed.

An independent share in the exercise of the public power to be held by those who had formerly been regarded as inferiors, was at the same time to be connected with this. All the Kneses, Councillors,

and other officers, who had been treated as servants —as slaves, even—were to appear as participators in power by the side of the hitherto "Absolute Master."

With this view a full and explicit Charter was drawn up, which in fourteen chapters and 122 articles embraced a new Servian *Code of Laws*, and was accepted with all due solemnity. Numerous appointments were made, titles were distributed, stipends were fixed: by one act Servia seemed to have been metamorphosed.

It is, however, one thing to frame regulations under some strong momentary impulse, and another to carry them into effect.

In Servia, enforcement of the new laws could not but be attended with many serious difficulties.

CHAP. XXII.

CHARTER OF 1838; FALL OF MILOSCH.

Opposition to the new Constitution. — Conduct of Milosch. — His Monopolies. — Jephrem and Wutschitsch are expelled from Servia. — History of Wutschitsch. — Dissatisfaction of Russia and the Porte with Milosch. — An English Consul sent to Servia. — Abraham Petronie-witsch. — Charter of 1838. *— The Senate is made superior to the Knias. — Milosch is deprived of his absolute Power. — The Exiles, Jephrem and Wutschitsch, are nominated Senators. — The Servian Ministry. — Milosch withdraws to Semlin. — He returns to Servia. — Movements in his Favour. — Wutschitsch defeats the Rebels. — He marches into Belgrade at the Head of a large Army. — Milosch sentenced to Exile. — Abdication of Milosch in Favour of his Son, and his Retirement into Austria.*

PROPERLY speaking, nothing had yet been accomplished: excepting that an opposition, whose claims were only too well founded, had forced itself into power, scarcely any object had yet been attained.

That the new Constitution should be acknowledged and carried into effect, could hardly have been expected, even at the outset.

Already had its name, the analogy it bore to other European Constitutions, and its origin in a popular movement resembling a revolution, rendered it offensive to the two great neighbouring Empires.

Besides this, it was not to be supposed that it could ever be sanctioned by the approval of the

Sultan. In it Milosch had been designated Chief of all the Servians; and at its formation, people who were present from other countries—especially some Bulgarians—had been considered as deputies of their respective nations. Milosch seemed to consider himself as the natural leader, if not of all the Christians, at least of all the Sclavonians in the Turkish empire. He made no secret of his opinion, that a Christian Government was also necessary for the other tribes of the Raja; but expressed it to every one who cared to listen.

If the Constitution, though yet imperfect, had really a charm for the ambition of Milosch, the results which he anticipated were yet distant; whilst the restrictions to which he must submit touched him closely: and to him those restrictions were odious in the extreme. The opposition of the Porte, and of the two other Powers, was therefore most welcome to him: he continued to reign, as though the Constitution had never been framed.

On a journey to Constantinople, which he undertook in the summer of 1835, upon a wish expressed by the Porte, (who is fond of bringing her vassals before her,) he met with an apparently cordial reception. In truth, he did not spare his presents; and Mahmoud is reported to have said, "His presents are as noble as he is himself." He consequently thought he might, without apprehension, continue his accustomed mode of government.

In the autumn of 1835, his official Gazette proclaimed that, in Servia, the Prince was the only

Master; that no one besides himself had any claim to political power; and that the country found itself happy under the sway of the monarchical principle.

That Milosch would not suffer any rival near him, was a point of little importance; had he only avoided those acts which had formerly attracted general odium.

But he became, if possible, yet more inflexible: his monopolies, for instance, were rendered still more systematic.

It is calculated that the country requires annually thirty millions of okas (bags of salt) from Wallachia. Without possessing even the pretext of a right for such an act, he imported the entire quantity from Wallachia, and caused it to be sold by his own people: nor would he allow any one else in the country to offer salt for sale.

He claimed the exclusive right of exporting many other articles; collecting them in the country according to his own pleasure, and fixing the prices he was disposed to pay.

This produced a still more unfavourable impression; as the money which he thus gained he expended out of the country. For instance, he purchased land in Wallachia; as though he did not consider property secure in Servia. Thus, the advantage which he had formerly pointed out as the greatest derivable from the newly obtained privileges — that Servia should henceforth be governed by men who were determined to live and die with her

—seemed no longer to influence him or his own acts: as regarded himself.

It is true, he recommenced the compilation of written laws, which for a long time had been laid aside. Two Austrian Servians, possessing a tolerable knowledge of jurisprudence, were engaged in this work; but its completion was yet distant, and in the interim the old form of despotism prevailed.

As already remarked, the effects of the Turkish system of government remained so strong that the first and simplest principle—security of person and property, was not yet established.

It is unnecessary to sum up the manifold violations of law which have been reported with a greater or less degree of truth: the fact is undoubted. It was not long before Milosch again considered his power sufficiently confirmed and strengthened to attack even his most influential enemies, who had formerly endeavoured to circumscribe his authority.

George Protitsch, who had on one occasion received personal chastisement, but was afterwards appointed a member of the National Senate, did not at first take part in the conspiracy of Kruschewaz; subsequently, however, he became as zealous in the cause as others were. It was said, that he had advised his party in the first place to rid themselves by whatever means might offer, of the Knias; who would otherwise be sure to take his revenge. It was by flight, in the year 1836, that he escaped the ruin which, in consequence, threatened him.

The Prince entertained hatred almost as violent

for his own brother Jephrem, who had formerly assisted very actively in his administration, but had for a considerable time sided with the Opposition; and who, in 1837, was obliged to leave the country together with Wutschitsch: to whom our attention must now be directed.

Thoma Peritschitsch, called Wutschitsch, was one of the favourite Momaks of the Prince, since the time that he had joined him from the party of Hadschi Prodan. During this period, however, he occasionally fell into disgrace, and found himself obliged to leave the Prince; and even after he had been made a Knes, and had rendered important services against Djak, no one experienced more frequent alternations of favour and disgrace. Nor were these unmixed with jealousy on the part of Milosch; for soon after the victory referred to, Wutschitsch was compelled to flee into Wallachia, whence he returned to be appointed Grand Sirdar.

A short time after this, he is found in exile at Semendria, whence he was recalled to fill an appointment in the retinue of the Prince's consort. He also played a prominent part at Schabaz; where, it appears, he had committed some impropriety. Milosch despatched one of his most devoted and resolute Momkes, with an order to bring him back, dead or alive. The Momke entered Wutschitsch's apartment with a pistol in one hand and fetters in the other, and demanded which he would choose. Wutschitsch only inquired by whose order this threat was made; and when the

Momke answered, by that of the Prince, he, without resistance, put forth his feet to receive the fetters. In this manner he was brought into the presence of the Prince; who then pardoned him, and appointed him member of the Supreme Court of Justice: and even, as we have stated, entrusted him with the defence of Kragujewaz. But he offered no forcible opposition to the approaching army of the conspirators; and thus excited a much deeper feeling of anger, which could not be easily appeased. At the distribution of the Turkish marks of distinction, which Milosch had brought with him from Constantinople, Wutschitsch, contrary to his expectations, saw himself passed over; and in an article of the "Allgemeine Zeitung," which was considered official, he was in plain terms designated a traitor, who had given up the town to the insurgents. When this was read to him, he placed his hand on his dagger, and exclaimed, "Whenever it shall be our turn to write, this shall be our pen!" This speech is characteristic of his disposition. Wutschitsch can neither read nor write: he is not fond of speaking, even of his own deeds. He possesses a sound understanding, and a firm spirit: is considered courageous, resolute, and merciless; and is justly dreaded.

It excited no surprise, that those who had fled, as well as those remaining in the country, who might expect a fate similar to that of Wutschitsch, should unite all their efforts in a second attempt against Milosch.

It was obvious to them that nothing could be obtained by an open revolt of the people; nor by the renewal of an attempt to establish a Constitution which had been rejected by the great Powers. Yet they hoped that means might be found to render the Sultan, as well as the Court of Russia, favourable to a change.

It was of advantage to the enemies of the Knias, that neither Russia nor the Porte was satisfied with his political administration.

The Porte considered that after she had confirmed Milosch in his station, he no longer maintained allegiance. She was of opinion that he had been on too good terms with her rebellious subject, the Scodrabashaw; and that, upon the whole, he was not favourable to the extension of the Sultan's power. It was offensive to her in the highest degree that Milosch should so unflinchingly support the principle of Servian independence, and not allow her own functionaries any participation in the government.

Any one who, during Milosch's stay at Constantinople, could have anticipated future events, might have perceived that the magnificence of his presents served only to excite ill will against him. Even some of those by whom he was accompanied brought complaints against him, and found many ready to listen to their grievances: and perhaps obtained, at that very time, the promise that, in case of need, they should find support.

Milosch wished for another Firman, and he ob-

tained it: but finding it so little in accordance with his wishes, he was not inclined to make it publicly known. His adversaries, however, were acquainted with its contents: for it had been framed at their suggestion; and they, in consequence, more confidently indulged in the hope of soon finding themselves in a position to rise against their Chief.

Considerations of a different nature may, at this moment, have influenced the Court of Russia.

These events occurred at the time of a serious disunion between Russia and the two great Western Powers, England and France. Their estrangement had principally originated in the existing state of Eastern affairs, which was still the subject of dissension: war seemed continually on the point of breaking out. It was not without some object in view that England had sent a consul to Servia; where he experienced the most favourable reception from Milosch. Commercial subjects were discussed, which agreed well with the monopolising system of the Servian Prince; and a permanent union accordingly appeared desirable to both parties.

On former occasions Milosch had displayed peculiar dexterity in steering, amidst the shoals which impeded his course, through the opposing interests of the different Powers, and without exciting their enmity. But now he evinced an inclination which, and it cannot excite surprise, gave offence at St. Petersburg: it was impossible that the authorities there should observe, without dissatisfaction, that in those inland regions, a foreign influence,

frequently in opposition to them, was about to be established.

But the point of greatest moment was, that the outrages of which the Knias was accused were flagrant and undeniable. In the year 1837 a high Russian dignitary, of an ancient family, visited Servia for the purpose of seriously and urgently warning the Prince.

At length, also, inquiry was made from Constantinople, as to the cause of there being so many malcontents in Servia; and the Prince was required to send a deputation to the Porte, for the final regulation of the interior administration of the country.

The discord of the European Powers, which occupied the world, had slightly touched upon these concerns, if it had not actually influenced them. The English consul was certainly in favour of an extension of the princely power in Servia; and it is affirmed, with much credibility, that the instructions of France were to support Milosch. Their joint opinion was, that in a country like Servia — in a state little above barbarism — a strong and severe exercise of power was indispensable.

Thus the Constitutional States were in favour of an absolute Prince; whilst the absolute Powers contended for a restriction of his authority.

Under their combined influence, a short time before, limits had been prescribed to the powers of the Gospodars of the two Principalities. This was effected by an edict. precisely detailing the regula-

tions for the government, and at the same time conceding advantages to their general assemblies.

With respect to Servian affairs, the hands of Russia were entirely free. She had never interfered in favour of the Prince in authority at the time; but had only guaranteed that the Country should enjoy the rights of a free internal administration.

The Porte, it is true, had granted to Milosch the governing power for his lifetime; and to his family the right of succession: but in her Hattischeriff it was expressly stated that the Prince should rule with the assistance of the Council of the Elders. She thought proper now to refer to this stipulation, and to carry it into effect.

It was an unfavourable omen for Milosch, that the Porte demanded the admission of Petroniewitsch into the deputation; who had himself complained of the Prince's proceedings, and was one of his declared enemies.

Abraham Petroniewitsch was the son of one of those Servians who entered the service at the outbreak of the Austrian war of 1787: his father being a subaltern officer of the corps of volunteers. He himself had been brought up for a merchant, but not proving successful in this pursuit, he returned to Servia. There he made such progress in the Chancery Court, in a great measure owing to his knowledge of Greek, that he soon became a person of some importance. For a time he served the Prince as Predstawnik (chamberlain), and considered him-

self his Kiaja. But the nearer the relationship in which he stood to him, the more irreconcileable his enmity became after the rupture of 1835. He is described as a good-natured man, not liking to give a refusal to any one; but if called upon, he would act only in conjunction with others. He had acquired some influence with the Turks; having shown himself skilful and subtle during the long detention of the Servian deputation of 1820. He might be considered as the leader of those who endeavoured, by founding a new form of government under the auspices of the two Courts, to protect themselves against the danger they were threatened with from Milosch.

It was in vain that Milosch hoped to counteract the efforts of his opponents, by the zealous aid of a devoted friend whom he placed in the deputation; or through the influence of the English consul: the direction which events were to take had already been determined.

The Servian deputies and the Porte—not without the participation of the Russian Court, which was informed of all that passed, and gave its consent—now framed a Charter for Servia; the tendency of which was, to yield only a limited degree of power to the Prince; who had hitherto acted just as he thought fit. It is true, the execution of the laws, the fulfilment of the juridical verdicts, the right of pardoning, the nomination of dignitaries, the raising of the imposts, the supreme command of the army, were all conferred on him in honourable

and flattering terms. Moreover, the Charter directed that the Senate, which was formed for him, should assist him with its counsel. But the latter was invested with rights which far exceeded those of the Prince.

The Prince was to superintend the Collectors of the imposts; but the Senate had to estimate the amount of expenditure, and to fix the ways and means for raising the supplies. No tax could be levied without the sanction of the Senate.

Hence it followed, that the Senate had also the regulation of the number and pay of the troops; the salaries of public functionaries; and the creation of new offices.

The legislative power was almost exclusively allotted to the Senate. When it had consulted respecting laws which it might consider beneficial, and had come to a determination by a majority of votes, the statute, signed by the president, was to be laid before the Prince. No order was to be issued without the consent of the Senate having been obtained.

In all disputes regarding rights and laws, the Senate had to pronounce the final verdict.

The responsibility of the supreme administration was carried to the utmost extent. The Prince had the appointing of four Popetschiteli; of whom one presided over the Department of Foreign Affairs; another administered the Home Department; the third the Finances; and the fourth Justice and Education. These departments were kept entirely

distinct from each other. Every act of the government had to be signed by one of the Popetschiteli. Annually, in March, they were required to submit to the Senate a report of all the business that had come before them in the course of the preceding year, with the necessary vouchers, in order that the details might be discussed. The public accounts were also to be placed before the Senate for examination.

This Senate, consisting of seventeen members, agreeing with the number of Nahies, was, it is true, to be nominated by Milosch; but it was then to be considered as a permanent body. No member could be dismissed, unless proved before the Sublime Porte to have been guilty of transgressing the laws.

What Louis XVIII., upon his entry into France, said of the project submitted to him by the Senate appointed by Napoleon — "the Senate would sit, whilst he, the King, would have to stand before them" — was in this case realised; though under circumstances widely different. A Senate, the members of which he had not the power of dismissing, was henceforth to restrict the independence of the Servian Prince within the narrowest possible limits; and to possess the virtual authority.

The judges, also, could not be dismissed, any more than the Senators; unless charges brought against them should be legally established.

The other officials were no longer subject to the

absolute sway that had hitherto existed: henceforth they could be punished only after solemn evidence of their guilt.*

Many other remarkable regulations, to be mentioned hereafter, were comprised in this Charter. At present we have only to bear in mind — and to this point attention was exclusively directed — that on its arrival in Servia, in the early part of the year 1839, Milosch was to be deprived of the absolute power which he at that moment enjoyed. The greater part of his authority was to pass into the hands of those whom he had regarded as his servants.

The change which took place was so sudden and so extensive, that, after the election of the Senate, which had been appointed under the Charter, Milosch could no longer exert any influence; being subject to the will of the members of the National Court of Justice: who even usurped his power of nominating the Senate. In the National Court of Justice they only had a seat who agreed on every point with the prescribed order of the Charter: viz., that those whom the Prince appointed must be men of wealth and distinction, and enjoying public esteem: the recollection of the rights of the Senate still continued to be connected with this tribunal.

The very men whom Milosch had last sent into

* In the Appendix, I have given the Charter, from an authentic translation.

exile, but who had since returned — Wutschitsch and Jephrem, leaders of the Opposition — were the first Senators nominated. Amongst the whole seventeen who were elected, there was not one who could be considered friendly to the Prince.

Nor was Milosch better pleased respecting the Ministry which he was to elect. Abraham Petroniewitsch, who may be considered as the principal author of the Charter in its latest form, (but who had been on various points, in favour of the Constitution formerly agreed upon,) was charged with the administration of Foreign Affairs. To George Protitsch — who, after the events of 1835, had been the first to encounter the vengeance of the Prince — was intrusted the administration of the Interior.

It may readily be imagined that the Knias, who for so many years had been accustomed to receive implicit obedience, found it quite insupportable to submit to this order of things.

To offer open and violent resistance was not, however, his usual mode of proceeding; and at this time it would have proved the less practicable, as the Powers had already sanctioned the Statute or Charter. It seemed more advisable for him to cause a movement, which might appear a voluntary one, and oppose to the ordinances of the higher Powers the wish and will of the nation; whose right of election had been guaranteed by the former Treaties.

Milosch had, in reality, no inconsiderable num-

ber of adherents amongst the peasantry; who were mostly indebted to him, and had suffered less by his tyrannical proceedings; being far removed from his influence. It was of no advantage to them that the officials whom he had hitherto restrained were to become independent: they were told, and they re-echoed the assertion, that they would henceforth have seventeen masters instead of one. Milosch hoped the peasants would rise in his favour, so soon as the slightest movement should be apparent.

But the clamour against him now burst forth in a thousand accusations, just and unjust; and people spoke of calling him to account for his expenditure of the public money. Either from apprehension that he was no longer safe, or animated by other hopes, Milosch suddenly passed over into the parlatorium of Semlin; declaring that he would not return, unless his bitterest enemies, Jephrem and Wutschitsch, were removed, and he himself were entirely exonerated from accounting for the past. At length, however, he was persuaded to return without these concessions being granted. But at the same time, reports were spread that a movement, directed against the Charter, had commenced at Kragujewaz, and in other remote places. Milosch offered to allay the excitement, and bring the people back to reason. But no one doubted that he himself had secretly kindled the fire; and instead of being allowed to take the field, at the

head of the troops, a watchful eye was kept over him.

Hence it could not be expected that the re-action would at its commencement prove successful. The legality of its position was in favour of the Senate. Milosch himself had to confer his princely power on Wutschitsch, to fight against the rebels; and Wutschitsch now led the troops which were intrusted to him, far better than the hostile chiefs led theirs.

The adherents of the Prince, who had appeared in the field in considerable numbers, and with artillery and cavalry, were encamped on an open part of the forest, when Wutschitsch surprised them. He closed up all the outlets by barricades of trees; so that they could neither deploy their cavalry, nor bring their artillery to bear; and having no provisions, they were obliged to surrender without resistance.

In the neighbourhood of Kragujewaz, Milosch's brother, Jovan, was taken prisoner, whilst employed in collecting more men. He did not deny that it was he who had brought the troops into the field, with the view of re-establishing the authority of his brother.

Under these circumstances, no one came forward in favour of Milosch. The senate had sent proclamations into all the Nahies, to stir up the people against him; and Wutschitsch soon saw himself at the head of several thousand soldiers. With a choice of the most daring men — who might be

considered as representatives of the whole army — he hastened back to Belgrade, determined to bring the whole affair summarily to an end. Halting at an inn, an hour's journey distant from Belgrade, the mother of a priest, who had recently been sentenced to death by Milosch, appeared with her hair dishevelled, demanding justice and revenge.

Some Senators advanced to meet the commander, and arranged with him the measures to be taken; and at the head of a victorious troop, ready for fresh acts of resistance, they all entered Belgrade.

After the first encounter, the horses of the vanquished cavalry had been led in triumph before the residence of Milosch; and the completion of his defeat was now announced to him by the removal of the guards from his house, and from that of his Consort.

For some time past, the Princess Ljubiza had sided with the opposition, rather than with her husband; from whose tyranny she also had been a sufferer. When Milosch called her attention to the fact, that, despite of her favouring his opponents, the guard of honour had been taken from her also, she burst into tears: she had never thought that affairs would proceed to such a length.

The adversaries of Milosch all agreed on one point, — that he could no longer continue their Prince. Some even suggested that he should be put to death; as the only means of ensuring their safety. But others considered that it would be an everlasting disgrace to the nation, were they to

sacrifice the man whom they had so long obeyed as their ruler; and they accordingly came to the determination that he should be sent into exile.

Wutschitsch, completely armed, and surrounded by Momkes, went to his house to inform him of this decision. He told him that the nation would no longer have him as its head: if Milosch wished it, he would call the assembled multitude, who would confirm his assertion. Milosch answered, — "If they no longer desire to have me, it is well: I will not obtrude myself further upon them."

Upon this, an instrument was drawn up, in which Milosch formally abdicated in favour of his eldest son.*

He uttered not a word, when, accompanied by some senators, who showed no personal enmity to him, he proceeded towards the Save, to cross over into the Austrian territory. Several of his attendants, and even some of the senators were moved to tears; and it was said that Wutschitsch wept on their departure, and that they left many behind sorrowing.

* 13th June, 1839. Given by Boué, iv. 359.

CHAP. XXIII.

MICHAEL OBRENOWITSCH.

Causes of Milosch's Downfall. — His eldest Son, Milan, being in ill Health, does not assume the Princely Power. — Wutschitsch with others form a provisional Government. — Dissensions among them. — Michael, the second Son of Milosch, succeeds at the Death of Milan. — The Porte includes Wutschitsch and Petroniewitsch in the Government. — Disturbances among the People. — Their Demands are acceded to in Part. — Arrival of a Turkish Commissary. — He retires with some of the Malcontents. — Excellent Designs of Stephan Raditschewitsch. — They excite much Opposition. — Complaints against the Government of Michael. — Family Disunion. — The Seat of Government is transferred to Belgrade. — General Discontent. — A Movement against Michael commences. — Wutschitsch rouses the People. — Temporary Successes of the Government. — Michael is, however, compelled by his Troops to negotiate. — Policy of Wutschitsch. — Michael refuses to grant his demands. — His Troops disperse. — He is forced to retreat, and take refuge in Austria. — Wutschitsch enters Belgrade, and assumes the supreme Power.

Thus was overthrown a government raised up by the force of events, and which had, through its innate power, exercised the supreme authority.

It is evident that the Porte had regained her influence, in opposition to that spirit of independence which had already become externally offensive

to her; by assisting a party (scarcely before heard of in Europe) in the victory it had obtained; by prescribing a charter which embraced all the departments of public affairs; and by directing her Pacha to see that it was carried into effect.

Though the assertion may seem paradoxical, we are not yet warranted in saying that a retrograde step had been taken in the path of emancipation from the Turkish power.

It is an undeniable fact, that Milosch was attached to notions which he had imbibed under the former rule; and, through his intercourse with so many Pachas, possessing unrestrained authority, he had attempted to reign according to the old unreformed system of the Ottoman empire. It is one of the most remarkable combinations of circumstances, that the Porte herself, in conjunction with his adversaries, should have been compelled to impose laws restricting his power; which laws, however, had not been framed by her, but were based upon forms peculiar to the Western States.

We do not mean to assert that the opponents of Milosch were men advanced in civilization, or possessing peculiarly enlightened minds; but they adopted the Western ideas as a means for their own deliverance. What Milosch had neglected to perform, as Master and Prince — for he was more powerful under the ancient system — the Opposition now took upon themselves; since it was the

course most conducive to their own personal advantage.

But public affairs had been so disturbed by these changes, that they could not speedily be brought back into a peaceful course of progress.

Correctly speaking, Milan, the eldest son of the exiled Prince — in whose favour Milosch had abdicated, and who, under the Hattischeriff, was unquestionably entitled to succeed him — never came into possession of his father's power. He was so ill at the time, that it was thought best to conceal from him his father's misfortune; and there was no difficulty in so doing: he was merely informed that the Prince had gone upon a journey on business, out of the country, and had left him behind as his representative. If at any time a congratulatory word reached his ear, he understood it was addressed to him only as holding that power temporarily; and he died without having known that he was Prince of Servia.

During this period, Wutschitsch, Petroniewitsch, and Jephrem, carried on the government, with the sanction of the Porte.

A perfect understanding did not always exist amongst them. At the first Skupschtina, assembled immediately after the abdication of the Prince, Jephrem had the mortification of finding that the salary formerly allowed him under his brother was to be much reduced: this he laid to the charge of his two colleagues; who, indeed, appeared unable to

forget that they had once been compelled to kiss the hem of his brother's robe.

After Milan's death, the question arose, whether it would not be desirable to discard the family of Obrenowitsch altogether? Michael, a younger son of the Prince, was still alive: but many persons considered the terms of the Berate did not imply that the succession had been expressly secured to him.

As yet, however, they knew not whom to elect in his stead. It is possible that the Porte might have accepted Petroniewitsch, whom she knew to be her friend; or the nation might have preferred Wutschitsch, who was admired for his bravery and heroism. But there were not sufficient grounds for the preference of one to the other; and as neither of them possessed a greater right to the succession than other leaders, most of the chiefs would have been dissatisfied at the selection.

The Senate at length determined, at the instance of Mileta and Simitsch, to solicit that the young Michael should be their Prince.

For some time Milosch seemed to hesitate about parting with his son: but he finally consented.

The Porte did not object to this choice; though she availed herself of the opportunity afforded by the issue of a new Berate, to avoid mentioning the princely dignity as hereditary: and indeed we cannot ascertain that it was even stated to be for life.

This vestige of power, producing a change so

much to her own advantage, the Porte conferred on the young Prince, who was then in Wallachia, by one of her chief officers: he was received in the handsomest manner when he came to Constantinople, and escorted to the Servian boundary by the same officer.*

On considering the general state of affairs, it seems possible that a peaceful and progressive government might then have been called into existence; since the young Prince, not yet accustomed to the enjoyment of power, was resolved to rule according to the statutes. Moreover, his party had a majority in the Senate; and amongst the people, they who were attached to the name of Milosch, as well as those who were anxious for a relaxation of the severe regulations of the government, seemed well satisfied.

But difficulties immediately arose, with which the new administration had to struggle.

To ensure her friends against any sort of reaction, and to reward their zeal, the Porte judged it right to place by the side of the young Prince — although she had acknowledged him to be of age — the two powerful Chiefs, Wutschitsch and Petroniewitsch, as official Counsellors; without whose consent he was not to perform any public act. Michael did not receive any intimation of this at Constantinople; it was only at Alexinaz, on the Servian frontier, that he was informed of the arrangement by the Effendi who accompanied him.

* Michael arrived on the 12th March, 1840.

But did not the Porte herself, by this measure, open the way to a new contest? Some time previously the nation had been granted the right of electing their own magistrates; the nomination of functionaries had also, in the Charter, been granted to the Prince; and the creation of new offices to the Senate. What right, then, had the Porte to impose further restrictions on the Prince, (whose legal authority was already so much reduced,) by Counsellors who were thus thrust upon him?

Every one felt the injustice of this; and public opinion, which even in Servia had already become sensitive with respect to national rights, showed itself very unfavourable to the two chieftains.

The Senate was adverse to such an arrangement; and the elders of the villages, also, who had come to Belgrade to salute their new Master, being assembled according to their districts in the court-yard of the Senate-house, declared themselves against it, by a large majority.

Encouraged by this declaration, the avowed partisans of the former Prince came forward.

A large number of the peasants contended that they were better governed by one ruler, who had procured them peace, than by so many: all of whom would be desirous of amassing riches at their expense. "One ditch," they were heard to say, "they had already filled; now, seventeen new ones were to be opened for them." Under the elders of the villages and the Kneses (though the Kneses rather inclined towards the other side,) armed crowds col-

lected in many parts of the country, and made *three* demands: namely, the removal of the seat of government to Kragujewaz, where it would be safer and more independent than at Belgrade; a judicial prosecution against Wutschitsch and Petroniewitsch; and, lastly, the recall of their former Prince.

The new government, principally led by Jephrem and George Protitsch, spared no pains for the suppression of this movement, which was far from being welcome to them: but their efforts were in vain. Protitsch, who went himself into the districts, was even detained by the peasants. At length, Michael returned the following answer: — that the recall of his father was a question which depended not upon himself, but upon the Porte; that whatever lay in his own power he would willingly do towards removing the seat of government back to Kragujewaz; and that as for bringing Wutschitsch and Petroniewitsch to trial, they should either clear themselves or be subjected to punishment.

Thus, those who had even hoped to govern the country, saw themselves threatened with a trial; which, considering the prevailing feeling, might cost them their lives: they therefore judged it expedient to withdraw into the fortress, under the protection of the Pacha.

Some others, also, who, though not declared enemies of the Obrenowitsches, had always opposed them, began to fear the restoration of Milosch's authority: they refused to follow the government,

which had now been actually removed to Kragujewaz; and also retired into the fortress. These were Stojan Simitsch, Garaschanin, Prota Nenadowitsch, Lasar Theodorowitsch, Stephan Stephanowitsch, and their adherents; all of whom were readily received by the Pacha, and taken under his protection.

At a Skupschtina at Toptschider the difficulties in which the government of Michael was involved, through the agency of these contending parties, became apparent.

From Branitschewo, as well as from Uschize, the partisans of Milosch rose in open rebellion: they considered it to be entirely the fault of Jephrem and Protitsch that their exiled Prince was not allowed to return; and they, in consequence, determined to overthrow them: and, in fact, to put them to death.

On the other hand, there appeared a Turkish Commissary, Musa Effendi, who demanded the re-establishment in office of the men who had taken refuge in the fortress, with full guarantee for their safety.

Even in Servia, a sort of *juste milieu* was necessary; not so much with reference to political opinions as to the opposing of personal interests: one party endeavouring to carry their point through the authority of the Porte, the other by means of a national rebellion.

At this juncture, the government of Michael displayed great force and energy.

Mitschitsch, the only one of the Kneses who, up to that time, had sought for the restoration of Milosch, appeared at the Skupschtina with a number of followers, who had no right to be present: he was compelled, not only to dismiss his people, but even to take part in an expedition which had been undertaken against the other rebels; who were easily dispersed without the occurrence of any serious collision. The men acknowledged that they had been misguided by their leaders; who were therefore made prisoners.

Nor were the demands of the Turkish Commissary complied with: he was told, with almost offensive abruptness, that, through the Hattischeriff, the Sultan had pledged himself that there should be no interference with the internal concerns of Servia. Musa Effendi, consequently, judged it advisable to remove from the country those who had sought refuge in the fortress, and to take them with him. Some of the refugees accompanied him only as far as Widdin: amongst the number, even an inoffensive poet; others went on to Constantinople, where they were maintained at the expense of the Porte: who, however, reserved to herself the right of obtaining a pecuniary settlement from Servia at some future period. Now, for the first time, the government of Michael was comparatively at ease: it had cleared away difficulties on both sides, and was consequently able to devote more attention to the promotion of the public welfare.

It would not be correct to say that the govern-

ment had mistaken its duty; or that it had not in reality thought of emancipating itself more completely from the Turkish system, and of advancing to a higher state of civilization.

Stephen Raditschewitsch, a right-minded man, and not without abilities, was intrusted with the administration of Justice and Education. He was one of those Austrian-Servians who had entered the service of Milosch, because they despaired of improving their condition in their own country; and was much respected by the Servians, because he had, whilst holding an official station in Austria, become impressed with the necessity of an adherence to strict forms in the management of all public business. Many were the comprehensive schemes which he projected for the advantage of the country; his plans of improvement being founded chiefly upon what he had witnessed under the Austrian government.

It was his desire that the clergy should no longer live as the peasants lived; and he proposed that they should have houses built at the expense of their own congregations, and that their land should be cultivated for them.

He wished for the adoption of written proceedings in the Courts of Justice, according to the Austrian custom. Investigations of the peasants' complaints were sometimes refused, in consequence of their inability to find writers, at the moment, to draw up the requisite statements.

Statistics now received due attention: but it was

with alarm that the peasants saw their plum-trees numbered; apprehending that taxation must be the object of such a measure.

The intentions of Raditschewitsch were excellent: he proposed to erect new schools, and not to rest until every Servian could read and write. Moreover, he aimed at the establishment of a society of learned men; and steps were already taken for promoting this desirable object: into this institution, however, persons who could neither read nor write were freely admitted.

With a view to the improvement of architecture, it was his intention, in the first place, to raise a mausoleum for the princely family. In order to cultivate a taste for music, operas were to be introduced: and a theatre was erected at Belgrade: the Turks, however, soon complained, that plays were performed there in commemoration of exploits, such as those of Milosch Kobilitsch.

But these endeavours, better intended than considered, excited ill-will in several quarters. The natives, for instance, took offence at the employment of so many Austrian-Servians: though, considering the notions people entertained of the government, their presence was decidedly serviceable; and because they betrayed something of German origin in their manners, they were reproachfully called *wise Suabians*. But many still more irritating circumstances occurred.

In the Matschwa, disputes ending in violence had arisen between the peasants: by severe mea-

sures they had been quieted; proceedings were taken against the offenders, on many of whom corporeal punishment was inflicted.

Not satisfied with this, the government sentenced those who had been punished, to pay the expenses also; which payment was exacted with severity, and not without recourse being had to seizures. In some cases, unfortunately, the demand was excessive, and Raditschewitsch had to return a part of the amount levied. Those who had been distrained upon were extremely exasperated: they asked with bitterness, "Who would restore the cow that had been taken from them at the seizure?"

The government was blamed for allowing Austrian dealers to make potash in the Servian forests; and in consequence of this permission, sanguinary fights occurred.

But what most displeased the peasants was that the Poresa was again increased. Originally that impost had been fixed at six *Austrian dollars* a year; and at the fall of Milosch—probably with the view of securing the support of the people rather than from a conviction that it would prove sufficient for the purposes of the State—it was reduced to *five dollars*. It could, therefore, produce no favourable impression upon the minds of the peasants that Michael should again exact the remitted dollar: for where is the country in which the excellence of the government is not estimated according to its cheapness? Another grievance was, that the government, at the same time, de-

preciated the value of the gold coin: the people felt it sorely, that their ducat, which they had taken at *twenty-four* piastres, should be reckoned only at *twenty-three* in their payments to the State.

Much discontent was thus accumulating against Michael's administration; and amongst that class from which the Obrenowitsches had formerly experienced the warmest sympathy: to the people it appeared that every thing was again in the power of the officials; by whom he allowed arbitrary acts to be committed, to the prejudice of the nation.

In addition to this, the personal friends of the former Prince were unceasingly vigilant in their endeavours to produce a re-action. In the year 1841, a conspiracy against the ministers was discovered, at the head of which stood Gaza Wukomanowitsch, the brother of the Princess. Ljubiza herself would much rather have seen her husband than her son in possession of the princely authority: she thought the latter would not be sufficiently strong to defend himself against rivals so formidable as those by whom he was threatened.

Much disunion existed in the family of Milosch.

Jovan was dissatisfied that no other appointment had been found for him than that of adjutant to his nephew. He wished to be Minister of the Home Department: but the government could not venture to intrust an office of so much importance to one who had played a conspicuous part in the revolutionary movements against the Charter. Jephrem, on the other hand, was fearful of being

ruined in the first successful rising of his brother's friends; and did not feel secure at Kragujewaz, in its unfortified state.

Thus it happened, that the operations of the Turks, and of those disaffected Servians who had sought their protection, were not watched with sufficient diligence.

At the earnest request of the Porte, the malcontent fugitives were at length again received by their countrymen: in the first instance, those only who had been the least violent and conspicuous; but ultimately Wutschitsch himself was allowed to return.

Michael suffered himself to be prevailed on to remove the government again to Belgrade, within reach of the Turkish fortress. The Kmetes endeavoured to dissuade him from this step; urging that they should have more difficulty in assisting him, should he, at any future time, stand in need of their services against the opponents of his government, who were in favour with the Turks.

From that quarter, however, Michael was under no apprehension. Having met the wishes of the Porte, he felt assured of her friendship. He relied upon the Pacha's word that Wutschitsch should be kept quiet; and when the ministers were informed that he was, nevertheless, fomenting disturbances, they seized the informants, under the impression that their depositions were false, and that they themselves were the persons who would cause disorder. Even were they to be attacked, they con-

sidered themselves secure, through the Charter; and they were heard to say, "the bullet is already cast to punish such a one."

The administration of Michael might rather be censured for its want of the vigilance and severity, which characterized that of Milosch, than for the undue exercise of these qualities; consequently, the Turks hesitated less in advancing their claims, and were incessantly pressing some new demand.

Under these circumstances, the entire nation raised its voice against the men who had the guidance of the State. The returned malcontents beheld in them their greatest enemies, and refused to solicit appointments: which, after the reconciliation effected, would not have been solicited in vain. The officers and Kneses, who feared the return of Milosch, and the peasants and Kmetes, who probably still wished it, were equally their adversaries. No security was felt in any quarter; and the Senate itself expressed apprehension. Lastly, the Turks could no longer endure the peremptory refusals they had formerly met with, and still experienced; especially from Protitsch, who was in the habit of expressing himself very freely. A new Commissary of the Porte arrived, and with strong representations demanded the dismissal, not only of the determined Protitsch, but of the whole ministry.

Even Michael himself no longer entered fully into the views of his ministers: he was not altogether indisposed to dismiss them; but he wished to do so at a later period, and of his own free-will. Since the

restrictions to which the chief authority had been subjected, he considered that the right of appointing and removing Ministers constituted the best portion of its remaining power; and he by no means felt inclined to surrender it to the Turks without resistance. Least of all was he disposed to receive into his service *protégés*, whom he regarded as his enemies.

But by the opposition he evinced, the anger of the Turks was inflamed. Probably they also felt irritated, that the Bulgarians, who were desirous of participating in the privileges of the Servians, should have addressed themselves to Michael: though he did not encourage them, he was the man on whom they had placed their hopes.

The Turks were, in fact, glad to perceive a movement in progress likely to effect a change, or even an overthrow, of Michael's government.

For this the malcontents, who since their return had enjoyed the especial protection of the Turks, had long prepared themselves. They had every where friends amongst those in office, who were indebted to them for their independence.

Though Michael had not violated the Charter, they who had obtained it, and particularly their friends, distinguished themselves as "*Ustavo Branitelji*," (Defenders of the Law): a phrase which they had every moment on their lips, and which always produced a certain effect.

A movement now commenced; especially in such districts as were under the influence of Prota

Nenadowitsch, Resawatz, Garaschanin, and Lasar Theodorowitsch: all of whom were of this party.

Nor was Wutschitsch slow in perceiving that his connexion with the Turks no longer prejudiced him in the eyes of the nation; that he could constitute himself the head of the united Opposition; and that those by whom he had been excluded from the government, would now be made to feel what he was capable of executing.

After having left Servia for a time, he returned to the neighbourhood of Smederewo. He hastened through the districts on an Arabian courser, which Resawatz had kept in readiness, and found his friends every where ready to assist him. A report spread through the country that a Skupschtina was on the point of being held, for the purpose of compelling the Prince to change his administration.

Michael was determined to resist this dictation, as also that of the Turks; and to oppose force to force.

He entertained no doubt that his party was still the most powerful; and without even taking time to secure Poscharewaz, or to furnish himself with the artillery of that place, he, on the night of the 19th of August, 1842, proceeded on his march to Kragujewaz, with a small, but regularly disciplined force of six hundred infantry and thirty cavalry.

He sent forth orders throughout the districts; and they were not ineffectual: auxiliary troops joined him in large numbers on his way; so that in a short time he assembled around him a force

of ten thousand men. From all quarters favourable reports were raised: Prota and Lasar had been taken prisoners in their districts; Stephanowitsch and Jankowitsch, who had been endeavouring to rouse Poscharewaz and Smederewo, were obliged to make their escape into the Austrian territory; and the old Garaschanin, who had ridden through the district of Belgrade to stir up the people, was overtaken and slain. All these successes encouraged Michael in the hope of being able to rid himself of his principal adversary; and perhaps even to seize him alive. Wutschitsch, though he had taken Kragujewaz, now stationed himself on a hill before the town with only two thousand men.

But civil commotions generally take their own peculiar turn.

These Servians, who would have undauntedly attacked a Turkish army, hesitated to fight against their own countrymen. If any favourable result were to be expected, Michael's government ought to have stood in higher favour and authority than it did.

When the troops beheld Wutschitsch they urged the Prince to send a deputation to him; which he accordingly did.

Wutschitsch exercised much tact in treating with the deputies. He represented to them, that he was far from desiring to oppose the Prince himself; who was as welcome to walk over his body as he was to walk over the ground: his only wish was to free him from unworthy ministers: he

desired nothing farther than to proceed with his friends to Belgrade, to lay his complaint before the Imperial Commissary. He then inquired whether "Rebel" was a proper designation for a man who declared himself ready to bring his cause before the judge.

Those who composed Michael's army soon began to discover that Wutschitsch was not altogether in the wrong; and the Prince found himself under the necessity of hearing his proposed conditions.

The three following were the most important: — the dismissal of ministers, and also of Jephrem; the re-appointment of the men who had retired the year before; and the reduction of the Poresa. Wutschitsch did not neglect clearly to indicate to the people that he was chiefly actuated by anxiety for their interest.

Affairs had already proceeded so far, that Michael was advised, by his retinue, and even by Jephrem, to yield to necessity, and to grant the required conditions. But he felt it derogatory to his honour to give way to an open enemy, far his inferior in military force, and whom he yet hoped to conquer.

However, he misunderstood the character of his own nation.

Michael's soldiers disliked the idea of fighting against one who had professed that it was only his desire to change an administration of which they disapproved, and again to reduce their taxes; not to

overthrow the Prince; therefore when Wutschitsch began to discharge his cannon, and the balls flew along over their heads, they rapidly dispersed.

Michael suddenly found himself alone with his troop of regulars, and was obliged to retreat.

Near Schabari, however, a numerous force from Poschega and Rudnik, estimated at about 15,000 men, once more assembled around him: but, the very largeness of the number was rather a disadvantage than otherwise; as there were, no doubt, enemies amongst them. Wutschitsch, in the interim, had received from Resawatz a reinforcement commanded by the Parakjiner Kapetan Bogdan, who was now regarded by the nation almost as a hero; and on their approach it required only the first sound of their cannon-balls to cause the army of Michael to disperse.

It soon became obvious how important it was to the Turks that the capital of the country, the seat of the government, should have been in their possession. Michael well knew that the Pacha favoured his enemies; and he would not therefore place himself within reach of the Turkish cannon. When the Russian consul, who came to meet him at Toptschider, advised him to retire into the fortress, he replied, "that he could not reckon upon protection where his enemies had been so warmly received."

Nothing then remained for Michael but to leave the country. To this his whole suite now advised him; and, being still young, it is probable that he looked forward to some future time, when fortune

might prove more favourable, and reinstate him in his government.

Troops from different parts still came to meet him; having assembled for his support: but he sent them back to their homes. Seven days after he had left Belgrade, full of hopes, he, without re-entering that town, passed over into the Austrian territory at Semlin.

Protitsch, Raditschewitsch, and Mileta, whom he apprised of his leaving the country, hastened to follow his example.

Wutschitsch, on the other hand, entered victoriously into Belgrade. He now styled himself "Leader of the Nation," and, with the aid of his friends, assumed the supreme authority.

CHAP. XXIV.

ALEXANDER KARA GEORGEWITSCH — CONCLUSION.

A Provisional Government is formed, and the Skupschtina convened. — Alexander, Son of Kara George, chosen as Prince. — Wutschitsch exercises the Supreme Authority. — General Increase of the Ottoman Power. — Views of Russia regarding the Election of Alexander. — Georgewitsch is re-elected. — Present State of Servian Affairs. — Review of the Servian Revolutions. — Probable Progress in the Civilization of the Country. — Effects of the Charter. — Islamism and the Spirit of the Western Countries opposed. — The Necessity of separating the Christians from the Turks. — Inhabitants of Servia. — Conclusion.

Thus, by an open attack, in which the Turkish authorities and the malcontents amongst the Servians united, had this question of personal supremacy been brought to a decision. If the Obrenowitsches had succeeded in their design, they would have attained a position resembling that of the families of the hereditary Pachas of Scutari and Uskub; whom, for centuries, no Grand Signior had been able to displace. But the son, the brothers, and the immediate adherents of Milosch, were expelled, as he himself had been. They could not agree amongst themselves: one worked against another, secretly or openly, which led inevitably to their total ruin, and gave their adversaries the ascendency.

The latter were determined never again to pursue a middle course, but to organise the government entirely according to their own views.

Whilst Michael complained, to the European Consuls who followed him, of the violence to which he had been subjected, without legal authority; the victors hastened, with the sanction of the Turkish commissary, to form a provisional government, in which Wutschitsch, Simitsch, and Petroniewitsch, shared. They then convened a Skupschtina.

It must be recollected that, under Kara George, the Skupschtina, properly so called, served only to display the degree of authority which had established itself in the country. Under Milosch, the Skupschtina had always confirmed what he laid before them; and howsoever displeasing it might be to him to have a Senate at his side, he would willingly have continued to reign with a Skupschtina in its accustomed form. Regular debates do not take place at these Diets; which resemble rather those *parlamenti* of the Italian cities in the middle ages, where the party happening to possess the ascendency dictated the law, to the exclusion of the conquered. No one would have ventured to enforce his own personal views in opposition to the general opinion approved of by the existing rulers.

The Skupschtina, which assembled on the 14th of September, 1842, consisted chiefly of the adversaries of the Obrenowitsches; the very men by whom the victory had been gained.

A proclamation had, to some extent, prepared

the public mind for the business to be brought forward. In that instrument it was alleged that the people, intending nothing more than to lay some complaints before the Effendi of the Grand Signior, had on their way been attacked by the Prince; that they conquered him; and, he in consequence, had fled the country.

When all were assembled, Wutschitsch made his appearance, accompanied by the Turkish Pacha and the Effendi. The parties present were asked, whether they were disposed to have the fugitive, Michael, any longer for their Prince? Kiamil Pacha himself put the question, in broken Servian, to the different parties. They all answered "No!"

And they were not at a moment's loss respecting whom they should set up in his place.

Had Kara George lived, it is probable that, long ere this, he would have demanded back from Milosch the principality which he had originally founded. But the very recollection of him was hateful to the Obrenowitsches.

The son of Kara George, Alexander, born during the decisive campaign of the year 1806, had, after his father's death, accompanied by his mother, come into Servia, where he was supported by a pension from Milosch. Hitherto he had been in the service of Michael, as adjutant. He was a young man of irreproachable character, cheerful disposition, and agreeable manners; and had not participated in the quarrels of the contending Chiefs. Wutschitsch had for some time pointed him out to his

friends as their future Prince, and they had without difficulty influenced the multitude in his favour. After the assembly had renounced Michael, Wutschitsch asked them, "Whom will you now have?" They all instantly exclaimed, "Kara Georgewitsch!" He was immediately led forward, and received with a general shout of joy.

Wutschitsch, who made himself Minister of Home Affairs, and was all powerful, took especial care not to fall into the same error which had proved so injurious to the late government, by suffering his adversaries to remain in the country. He was relieved from the presence of the more influential by their own voluntary flight; and he judged it necessary to dismiss from their offices a large number of those who were less distinguished. He also removed those Kmetes whose authority and opinions were avowedly hostile. Others he kept prisoners; some he banished; and not a few, fearful of his power, fled beyond the frontier.

The Porte did not hesitate a moment in declaring Michael dethroned, without bringing him to trial, and without proceeding against him: and as promptly acknowledged the newly elected Chief to be Knias of Servia.

On the whole, she considered this epoch as one of renewed good fortune.

We have made no further mention of the quarrel of the Porte with Mehemet Ali, which broke out after the Russian war, (though it might in other respects be worthy of attentive consideration,) be-

cause it has too little immediate connexion with Servian affairs. In the year 1840, it had, at length, through the interference of the greater part of the European Powers, been decided in favour of the Porte.

Since that time, the self-confidence of the Porte had considerably increased. In Syria she no longer allowed the hereditary authority of the Emir Beschir, of the family of Schehab; which had become odious to her by changing from Islamism to the faith of the Maronites: it was even ordered that no one should again pronounce the name of this race. In Syria, in Crete, and also in Bulgaria, every description of atrocity was committed, with the view of re-establishing the dominion of the Porte. The resolution already taken, to have the Haradsch collected by the Christian chiefs, was again retracted. The Raja considered themselves happy when they did not suffer from violent outbreaks of ferocity on the part of the Arnauts. Montenegro was several times attacked. In Wallachia, an opportunity presented itself for executing an act of supreme authority: the pronouncing sentence on a Gospodar, and dismissing him, with the consent of Russia.

The Ottoman authority was also generally increased, since the Porte had now succeeded in entirely removing from Servia the family which had resisted her influence, with a spirit of sturdy independence, and in raising to the management of

affairs a party which had always shown itself favourably disposed towards her.

In these proceedings, however, the European Powers, especially Russia, no longer sided with the Porte.

The Emperor Nicholas declared that the Porte ought to have convicted Michael of the offence alleged to have been committed, and that she should not have undertaken to change the Government of the Principality without consulting Russia: least of all ought she to have sanctioned a rebellion, as she had here done; and for his part he could not acknowledge the change.

At length, after long hesitation, the Porte, confirmed from other quarters in the conviction that no one had a right to interfere with her affairs, ventured officially to countenance the change of government which had occurred in Servia. The Porte would not admit that this had been an act of rebellion; since it had been approved of by the Commissioners, whom she, as the Power in possession of the Sovereignty, had appointed; and she refused to allow any sort of encroachment on these her supreme rights.

At times it appeared likely that this determination would produce serious disputes, endangering the general peace.

It is unnecessary to collect all the fragmentary statements—many of them of doubtful authenticity—which have appeared, respecting the negotiations of the Powers in this business.

They who are desirous of ascertaining the relations of the West with the East, and the reaction of Eastern on Western affairs, may examine the Egyptian question; for forming an opinion upon which, sufficient materials exist in the events that are known to the world.

Austria coincided with the declaration of Russia, that the concerns of Servia did not properly fall within the discussion of the Five Powers. At the same time, she observed, that the authority of the Porte would be annihilated on the Danube, were she forced to reinstate Michael merely to remove him after he should have been condemned.

In this case, as frequently happens in disputed questions, a middle course was taken for the sake of preserving peace.

Russia no longer insisted on the reinstatement of Michael; provided the election, which, after his flight, had been carried in a tumultuous manner, were not deemed valid, but that a new election, in a more regular form, should take place; and that the authors of the revolution, the Pacha Kiamil, as well as the two Servian Chiefs, Wutschitsch and Petroniewitsch, should be deposed.

And thus matters were arranged. There was no difficulty in removing the Pacha from the country: instead of suffering a punishment by his removal, he was advanced to the Viziership of Bosnia; where, however, the Christian population have had no cause to feel grateful for his protection.

Some embarrassment, however, arose respecting the two native Chiefs.

When the election of the new Prince was to be made — for Kara Georgewitsch had been induced to resign his dignity *pro tempore* — the Russian Plenipotentiary was satisfied with the understanding that Wutschitsch and Petroniewitsch should not take a direct part in the Skupschtina.

But whether they were personally present at this Assembly or not, its result could not be doubtful.

The Porte, by the force of her sovereign right, distinctly excluded young Michael, as one unacquainted with the mode of governing the country according to her views. Therefore, by the side of Kara Georgewitsch, there was no competitor with an equal claim to success but Milosch himself. It was natural that they who had come into power through the banishment of Milosch, should use their utmost exertions to prevent the return of that Chief: as in such an event they would have had strong reason to fear the loss of their authority: or, even as matters stood, the utmost personal peril. Neither was the majority of the nation at this moment in his favour.

We have remarked that the national feeling had become lively, and easily excited. A report, prejudicial to Milosch, had spread, of his possessing the good opinion of the Courts. It was said at Belgrade, that those who desired any other Prince than the one who had been already elected, Alexander Kara Georgewitsch, might come and reinstate him by force; but such an undertaking would meet

with resistance in a conflict for life or death. Anticipating commotion, the people began to prepare their arms.

Most likely, however, no one entertained the thought of forcing a Prince upon them. Measures were not even taken, preparatory to the meeting of the Skupschtina, to ensure the return of the parties who had gone into Austria; — a matter which might have been more easily carried out.

On the 15th of June, 1843, a free election was made. The Servians placed themselves according to their Nahies; as the Poles, at their elections, had at one time been accustomed to arrange themselves according to their Woiwodeships. The new Pacha, the Consul, as well as the Plenipotentiary in the name of Russia, and the Metropolitan, went up to them, and asked them whom they desired for their Prince. The seventeen Nahies unanimously demanded Kara Georgewitsch. Several private individuals even were asked, who returned the same answer.

Thus the Servian peasants did, in fact, maintain the right which had been granted at Akjerman; that of choosing their Prince. The two protecting Powers now declared themselves content with the election which had been made.

At first it seemed probable that the two Chiefs might remain in the country; for the Russian Minister did not, at the moment, demand their removal: but soon afterwards, the Emperor insisted

on the complete fulfilment of his agreement with the Grand Signior.

Whilst the Porte had the satisfaction of finding herself freed from the presence of those whom she could not but regard as her enemies, the instruments who had served her were not, at least for the present, to enjoy the fruits of their exertions. The Servians were informed that the Prince whom they had elected would not be confirmed in power so long as Wutschitsch and Petroniewitsch should continue in the country. Now, however great their authority might be, no one thought of exposing the Servian cause to fresh dangers for their sake: the addresses offered to them could not have been couched in terms of greater sympathy or respect; yet they were obliged to leave the country.

Upon their removal, Kara Georgewitsch, "the distinguished among the Princes of the Mœsian people," — for the Turkish Government favour such recollections,—was again confirmed Knias of Servia.

In reading the Berate, it is impossible to avoid remarking how earnestly and repeatedly allegiance to the Porte and close observance of the *Ustav*, containing the Charter, are indicated as the chief duties of the Prince. If he evince this allegiance, it is stated, he shall not again be deprived of his dignity. Senators and holders of office, and the nation at large, are directed to acknowledge him as their Prince, and to render obedience to the ordi-

nances which he may issue in accordance with the Charter.

Thus it is seen that the Prince's right falls far short of the claim of the Obrenowitsches to hereditary and unlimited power. He is bound to conditions which might afford a pretext for arbitrary encroachments.

The experiences of late years lead us to believe that the Porte will not venture on any encroachment: at least on her own responsibility. Setting this aside, however, it cannot be asserted that the present position of Servian affairs is such as to inspire much confidence.

A Prince who is not indebted to his own meritorious acts, or even to his ambitious views, for his elevation; whose claims rest merely on some remembrance of the past; and who, at the moment when he attained the highest dignity, was deprived of the support of those by whom he had been raised to it, must assuredly, even though that support should be restored, have eventually to struggle with the reaction of the party overthrown; who, as their frequent movements prove, are still numerous and influential in the country.

Occasionally we observe a still deeper opposition between communities and the peasantry; who, in the last disturbances, not only asserted their old privileges, but acquired new ones: they might, perhaps, have entertained the idea of forming a self-elected government, or a party of their own, against official rulers, whom they considered forced

upon them; but who, in reality, under whatever form it may be, constitute the state.

In addition to all this, external influences were at the same time in operation: influences frequently in opposition to each other, and proceeding no longer exclusively from the neighbouring inland Powers, but also from the Western nations, whence the prevailing ideas were derived.

Under such circumstances, the fundamental law (the Charter), to which an absolute autocrat would not submit, presents, perhaps, a fortunate state of things to his less powerful successor; it establishes the unity of the nation on a broader basis, and gives a firmer guarantee for the distribution of the power: provided always that it be not used as a pretext for personal enmity.

If the Servians unite earnestly, for the purpose of carrying this law into effect, so that it shall take root amongst them, and be carried out peacefully, it may be always considered as a great means for the advancement of the nation—a fresh step on the road to emancipation.

This subject has already been alluded to, and we may be allowed, in conclusion, once more to touch upon it.

In order to have a general view of the question, let us, in the first instance, recollect the state in which we found the Country, in its internal and external relations, and what it has acquired since the commencement of the revolutionary disturbances.

The difference is immense.

Every thing turns upon this fact, that the immediate domination of the soldier-caste, resting on the prerogatives of their religion, has been discontinued in this province. The Grand Signior no longer exacts the capitation tax: which he regarded as a redemption from the penalty of death incurred by unbelief; the Spahis no longer enjoy a distribution of the village lands amongst them; the Turks are restricted to the fortresses. It was at first understood that none of them should be allowed to reside outside the fortified works. This is the case at Schabaz and Kladawo; and so it was expected to have been at Belgrade. At one time, the Turks began to dispose of their possessions there, and to prepare for emigration; but they soon received orders from Constantinople to desist, as the whole town was considered to be a fortress: they therefore remained at Belgrade in considerable numbers. But, although under Turkish jurisdiction, there is no possibility of their enforcing any of their ancient personal prerogatives; and many old Spahis must now condescend to perform manual service in Christian habitations.

It must not be forgotten that this independence was not, in reality, acquired through a rebellion against the Sultan; but in the course of a contest originally undertaken against his rebels: so far, therefore, the Servians asserted a well-founded claim, though at the cost of a most sanguinary war.

But this was not enough.

The national spirit, as expressed in their songs, assisted greatly in kindling the flames of war; though it was not adequate to the founding of a state, or to the liberation of a people from the spiritual domination of the Ottomans.

The Sultan himself in some measure conduced to the amelioration of their condition by granting the Charter; which in its main points rests on the received principles of Western States. And that he might overthrow a dominion which he disliked, but which still retained many analogies to the old Turkish system, he ordered regulations to be proclaimed under his authority, by which the work of emancipation was continued.

It is our province to consider, not so much the establishment of forms of government, as the general tendencies of the civilization attained.

It may be questionable whether the restrictions by which, as we have mentioned, the Prince's power was limited, are in all respects beneficial, and likely to be permanent; but there can be no doubt that restrictions of some sort were necessary. It was contrary to the nature of things that the entire public authority, such as the Pachas had possessed in the unreformed empire, should be transferred to a Christian Knes. The very idea of this power, as it had hitherto been exercised, was offensive, and they had always been anxious for its suppression.

This was now effected, in the case of functionaries. Still, as before stated, the most barbarous

Mongolic customs prevailed. The Ustav first had to declare that the holders of offices should not be subjected to corporeal punishment; a proper arrangement of the authority being altogether impossible, so long as such arbitrary power in the promotion and degradation of officers was allowed to exist. Unless a change in this respect were introduced, no true sense of honour, no endeavour to merit distinction or reward could be expected.

We need not enlarge on this subject for the purpose of proving that the development of a civil power among the people could not be hoped for, so long as the outrages which prevailed were suffered to remain unchecked, and personal security was wanting. Sooner or later this leading principle must be earnestly promulgated; and it would be well if a greater interest in upholding it were manifested.

The same remark equally applies in reference to property; with respect to which it has been seen what enormous violations were still practised, according to Oriental custom, through the ruling power. The Ustav decreed that property could be sold, and entailed upon others, without the interference of any but the judicial power. It was a regulation of great importance, that title-deeds should be drawn up, and entered in the public registers; as this insured the property of every landholder.

The first foundations of a Commonwealth had yet to be strengthened.

The separation of the Departments of Administration and of Justice, which now took place, may be thought to indicate a greatly advanced condition of society; yet that proceeding had in Servia a signification, different from that usually ascribed to it in our own country. It must be recollected with what violence Pachas and Musellims, in former times, had encroached upon the Turkish jurisdiction; and, at a later period, the Knias and his functionaries upon the Servian. Under the pretended sanction of the Supreme Judicial Power, the general insecurity had increased. This separation had, therefore, become an absolute necessity. In other respects, the regulations made under Kara George and Milosch, regarding the administration of justice, were retained in the Charter; excepting that the various Courts were separated, and their duties more strictly defined.

But every thing acquired another character by these restrictions: that no member of a Court of Justice could hold an office in the political administration; and that a political functionary was not allowed to assume the exercise of judicial power. If, for instance, a dispute should arise relating to the re-assessment of the taxes on the various households, the cause would be decided by the Court, and the officer would be commissioned to execute the sentence pronounced.

The same rules are observed with reference to commercial affairs. Those arbitrary restrictions which Mladen and Miloje, and then also Milosch,

adopted, after the example of the Janissaries and their leaders, were no longer practicable. They rested on Eastern notions — notions which, in our times, the Viceroy of Egypt still acts upon successfully. But they are more justifiable there than in Servia, on account of the connexion of the population with industry and the cultivation of the land, and the extraordinary position Egypt occupies in the world. In Servia they only served to render personal superiority more keenly felt, and more odious. The Charter makes regulations of this nature dependent on the understanding subsisting between the Prince and the Senate; so that in this respect also, it puts an end to arbitrary actions: and it is understood that a better, because a freer, development of energy is already beginning to show itself.

Thus, in this Turkish land, the idea of government authority, which pervades all classes, has been altogether changed. The nation has freed itself from the heavy yoke under which it laboured: the Raja have become a nation. Yet, though those fundamental principles which are absolutely essential may differ from the outward form in which they are manifested, still this change is of great importance. It rests upon the fact, that it was the Opposition who at last carried the great measure, and not the Prince, as at first appeared. It can hardly be denied, that this circumstance has mainly contributed to its success.

But, even in the event of affairs not always re-

maining in the same state, and the question of personal rights being once more decided in some other way, no fear need be entertained of retrogression or of deviation from the course now entered upon. It is as likely that the Turkish rule should be restored, as that any government framed on its model and example should ever be established. Should fortune once more favour the Obrenowitsches they would not be able to effect this; nor is it probable that they would make the attempt.

It would be hazardous to assert, that, at some future time, a stronger monarchy, or perhaps even a still more republican form of government — possibly under the elders of the nation alone, as in former times — may not be established; but neither the former, nor much less the latter, would revert to the principles of the old Turkish system: they could not destroy the elements of education, which have in some measure taken root.

The spirit of reform in the West is far too powerful, and its secret or open advance too universal, to admit of its ever being deprived of the results of that ascendency which it has begun to acquire in Servia; giving a fresh impulse and introducing new ideas.

This progress of the West towards the East has again taken a prominent part in the aspect of the world.

Islamism continues to be, as it has been for twelve centuries, the most inflexible adversary to

the Western spirit; and in those countries where it is embraced by the entire population — from Bokhara to Morocco — excitement and hostility prevail: but in the interior of the Turkish territory its antagonism is displayed in the most energetic manner.

Though the Porte, driven along in her own course, and not uninfluenced by the spirit of the age, has granted meliorations to the Christian inhabitants; she has her Islamite subjects too little under control, and still adheres too closely to the leading religious principles of her domination, to expect that affairs may in this way be brought to a conclusion.

So long as the Porte shall maintain the exclusive prerogative of the followers of Islam to conduct military and state affairs; so long as that stubborn selfishness, which regards the masters from whom they obtained instruction as infinitely below themselves, shall remain unsubdued; and so long as their fanaticism shall continue to be nourished by events; outrages will incessantly be renewed, and the simplest and most rightful claims of the Christian population will be allowed to remain unheeded. If such obstacles impede the improvement of the Turks, how much more pitiable is the condition of the poor helpless Raja, who are as uncivilized as themselves!

The spirit of modern times, which operates only by political means, does not aim at the annihilation of Islamism, either by conversion or force. Still

we are perfectly right in restraining it within due limits; and we are fully justified in endeavouring to prevent the followers of the Christian religion from being trampled on, simply because they are Christians.

This view of its results constitutes the deep interest excited by the Servian emancipation: an interest which extends far beyond the boundaries of that country.

We need only cast our eyes around, and glance at the other Servian tribes in Bosnia and Herzegovina; at the nearly-related Bulgarians; or direct them towards Syria, to the Christian inhabitants of the Lebanon; in order to estimate correctly the value of what has been effected in Servia.

It is impossible to avoid observing, how much still remains to be desired in her present condition. One thing, if we may be allowed to give our opinion, is especially wanting — the development of a more elevated tone of morality. The highest problems of moral and intellectual life which ennoble mankind have not yet been solved in this Country. The worst consequence of this barbarous subjugation is, that it does not conduce to an awakening to the consciousness of moral duties.

Yet much has been achieved: the foundation of another state of things has been laid, and a noble prospect for the future has been opened. An example has been given which it is eminently desirable should be followed in the other provinces.

What is most necessary everywhere is a separa-

tion of the two populations; whose entire relation has undergone so thorough a change, that it can never again become what it was.

Even personal intercourse, inasmuch as it may still serve to keep alive former ideas of the domination of the one and the servitude of the other, should henceforth be avoided. The Christian nations must obtain an administrative and judicial independence; which may insure them a development consistent with their original state, and in accordance with the doctrines of that religion which animates them as well as ourselves.

In stating this, we of course assume that the European Powers will continue willing to preserve the integrity of the Turkish Empire; and that no events which are now beyond human foresight, will occur to disturb it.

The eternal destinies of all nations are in the hands of the Omnipotent; and the decrees of Providence, alike unfathomable and irresistible, will be accomplished in their due course of fulfilment.

APPENDIX.

December, 1838.

STATUTE IN THE SHAPE OF A FIRMAN, GRANTED BY HIS HIGHNESS TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE PROVINCE OF SERVIA.

[From the Translation printed by order of Parliament.]

To my Vizier Mouhliss Pasha (may he be glorified), and to the Prince of the Servian nation (Milosch Obrenovitz), may his end be happy.

IN virtue of the privileges and immunities granted to the inhabitants of my province of Servia on account of their fidelity and of their devotion, and in conformity with the tenour of several hatti-sheriffs issued previously and at different dates on my part, it has become necessary to grant to the said province an internal administration, and a stable, special, and privileged national statute, on condition that the Servians punctually discharge for the future the duties of fidelity and obedience, and pay exactly at the appointed periods to my Sublime Porte the tax, whereof the exaction has been fixed and determined upon.

In conformity then with the organic statute which I have just granted to the Servian nation, the dignity of Prince is conferred upon thee and upon thy family in recompense of thy fidelity and of thy devotion, and agreeably to the contents of the Imperial berate which thou hadst previously received.

The internal administration of the province is entrusted

to thy faithful care, and 4000 purses of annual revenue are assigned unto thee for thine own disbursements. I confide unto thee, at the same time, the appointment of the different officers of the province, the execution of the established regulations and laws, the chief command of the garrisons necessary for the police and for preserving from all infraction the good order and tranquillity of the country; the duty of levying and receiving the public taxes and imposts, of giving to all the officers and functionaries of the province the orders and directions for their conduct which may be requisite; of inflicting the punishments to which the guilty shall have been condemned according to the regulations; and I grant unto thee the right of pardoning, under suitable limitations, or at least of modifying the punishments.

These powers being entrusted unto thee, thou wilt consequently possess the absolute right, for the good administration of the country and of the inhabitants, whereof the duties are imposed upon thee, to select, nominate, and employ three persons, who, placed under thy orders, shall form the central administration of the province, and shall occupy themselves, one with the affairs of the interior, another with the finances, and a third with the legal affairs of the country.

Thou shalt constitute a private chancery, which shall be under the direction of thy lieutenant, the Pristavnik, whom thou shalt charge with the delivery of passports and with the direction of the relations subsisting between the Servians and the foreign authorities.

There shall be formed and organized a Council composed of the Primates and of the persons of the greatest consideration among the Servians.

The number of the members of this Council shall be seventeen, one of whom shall be the President. No person who is not a Servian by birth, or who shall not have received the character of a Servian in conformity with the statutes, who shall not have attained the age of thirty-

five years, or who is not in possession of real property, can form part of the national Council, nor be reckoned among the number of its members.

The President of the Council, as well as the members, shall be selected by thee, on condition that they be perfectly well known among their fellow-citizens, by their capacity and their character for rectitude, for having rendered some services to their country, and for having merited general approbation. After the selection of the members of the Council and their nomination, and previously to their entrance into office, each and all of them, beginning with thyself, shall swear in the presence of the Metropolitan that they undertake to do nothing contrary to the interest of the nation, to the obligations which their offices impose upon them, to those of their conscience, or to my Imperial will; the sole duty of the Council will be to discuss the public interests of the nation, and to afford unto thee its services and its aid.

No statute shall be adopted, no new tax levied without its having been in the first instance and previously adopted and approved by the Council. The allowances of the members of the Council shall be fixed by thee, by common consent and in a suitable manner, and when they shall have met together in the place where the central administration of the principality is fixed, the circle of their activity shall be confined and limited to the following matters.

To discuss and decide upon questions and matters concerning the institutions and laws of the country, justice, taxes, and other contributions.

To fix the allowances and emoluments of all the servants of the country, as likewise to create new offices if there should be occasion for them.

To estimate the expense annually requisite for the administration of the country, and to deliberate upon the means most suitable and best adapted for imposing and levying the contributions by which the expenditure is to be met.

And, finally, to deliberate upon the compilation of a law which shall specify the number, the pay, and the service of the national troops entrusted with the maintenance of good order and tranquillity in the country.

The Council shall have the right of drawing up the draft of any law which shall appear to it to be beneficial, and of submitting it after the President and Secretary of the Council shall have affixed their signature thereto; on condition, nevertheless, that such law in no way affects the legal rights of the Government of my Sublime Porte, which is master of the country. In the questions debated in the Council, the decision which shall have had in its favour the majority of voices, shall be adopted.

The Council shall have the right to demand every year, in the course of March and April, from the three directors above mentioned, a summary of their proceedings during the course of the year, and to examine their accounts.

The three high functionaries, directors of Internal Affairs, of the Finances, and of Justice, as likewise the director of the chancery, so long as they exercise their functions, shall form part of the Council, after having taken the oath. The seventeen members of the Council cannot be dismissed without cause, unless it shall be made evident to my Sublime Porte that they have been guilty of some offence or infraction of the laws and statutes of the country.

There shall be chosen and nominated from among the the Servians a Kapu Kiaja, who shall continue to reside at my Sublime Porte and carry on the affairs of the Servian nation, in conformity with my sovereign intentions, and with the national institutions and privileges of Servia.

Attributes of the three Functionaries designated above.

The affairs of the police, and of the quarantine, the transmission of the Prince's orders to the authorities of the districts of the country, the direction of the establishments

of public utility and of the post, the repair of the high roads, and the execution of the regulations respecting the troops of the country, shall all be within the province of the officer charged with the affairs of the Interior.

The officer charged with the administration of Finance will have to revise the accounts, to make commerce prosper, to look after and manage the public revenue, the amount of which shall be fixed by the laws of the country, to cause the laws with regard to commerce and financial affairs to be carried into effect, to settle the expenses of the country according to the accounts drawn up by the other officers. He will take care to keep the register of the public and private property, as well as of the real estates both of the country and of the Government, and of the management of the mines and of the forests, as also of the other affairs which relate to his department.

The director charged with the administration of Justice having also within his province the Department of Public Instruction and the diffusion of science, will have to examine and watch whether the sentences which have been passed have been executed or not; to hear and write down the complaints which may be made against the judges; to examine the qualification of those who are called upon to administer justice, and to cause them to deliver to him every three months, the return of all the causes which have been decided during that period; to interest himself in the state and in the condition of the prisons, and to improve them. He will also occupy himself in forming the public character by the establishment of new schools, and in encouraging instruction in necessary knowledge. He will have to inspect the hospitals and other establishments of public utility; and will put himself in correspondence with the administrators of the churches for the purpose of regulating all that relates to religion, to worship, and to the churches.

No person who is not a Servian by birth, or who may not have been naturalized, according to the fundamental

laws of the country, as a Servian, can hold any of the three situations above mentioned.

The three directors in question shall be independent of each other in the exercise of their respective functions, none being subject to the other, and each shall have his office apart from the others.

The department of each of them shall be divided into several offices and sections, and every official paper emanating from any one of them on State business must be signed by each respectively; and, moreover, any case which may come within the province of the departments belonging to them respectively, cannot be acted upon without having been previously countersigned by the head of the department; and, in like manner, no order and no case can be acted upon without having been previously entered and registered in the books of the office to which they belong.

The three directors must, in the months of March and April in each year, make an abstract of all the business which has been carried on in their own offices and in those which are subordinate to them, with a statement in detail; and present it, signed and sealed by them, as well as by the heads of departments, to be examined by the council of the province.

Composition of the Tribunals for Legal Matters.

It is my express will that the inhabitants of Servia, subjects of my Sublime Porte, shall be protected in their properties, their persons, their honour, and their dignity; and this same Imperial will is opposed to any individual whatever being deprived, without trial, of his rights of citizenship, or exposed to any vexation or punishment whatsoever; wherefore it has been judged consistent with the laws of social wants and with the principles of justice, to establish in the country several kinds of courts, in order to punish the guilty or to do justice to every individual,

public or private, in conformity with the statutes, and after the right and justification, or, on the contrary, the fault and the criminality of each, shall have been decided by a trial.

Accordingly, no Servian shall be exposed to the law of retaliation or to any other punishment, corporal or pecuniary, that is to say fine, before that, in conformity with the terms of the law, he shall have been tried and condemned before a court. The established courts shall take cognizance, according to law, of matters under litigation, of commercial disputes, and shall examine into and determine upon definitively crimes and offences; and in no case shall the punishment or confiscation of property be inflicted.

The children and kinsmen of the guilty shall not be responsible for the fault of their fathers, nor punished for them. Three Courts are instituted for the administration of justice in Servia.

The first shall be established in the villages, and composed of the old men of the place, and called Court of Peace.

The second shall be the Court of First Instance, established in each of the seventeen districts of which Servia is composed.

The third shall be the Court of Appeal at the seat of Government.

The Court of Peace of each village shall be composed of a President and two Assessors, elected by the inhabitants of the place; and each of these village Courts shall not have cognizance of any matter above 100 piastres. Furthermore, they shall not inflict punishments exceeding an imprisonment of three days and ten blows. Causes can only be there pleaded and decided upon summarily and verbally. The sentences of the two other Courts alone shall be drawn up in writing. The village Court must send before the Court of the district of which it forms part, a suit of more than 100 piastres, and the trial of a

charge which involves a punishment of more than ten blows; and likewise the plaintiff and the defendant.

The district Court, which is to take cognizance in the first instance of a case, shall be composed of a President, of three Members, and a sufficient number of Registrars. The President and the Assessors of the Court of First Instance who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, shall not be entitled to be thereunto appointed. This Court shall have the right of examining into, and determining upon, as well law-suits as crimes, offences, and commercial disputes.

A delay of eight days shall be allowed to every person who, having lost his suit before the Court of First Instance of his district, may be desirous of appealing from it to the Court of Appeal. And if, within the space of eight days, the said person who has lost his suit shall not have appealed to the Court of Appeal, the sentence of the district Court shall be valid and carried into effect. The Court of Appeal shall only have exclusive cognizance of the revision and decision of the causes and disputes which shall have already been brought before the Court of First Instance, and both the President of the Court of Appeal and also the four Members who shall be associated with him, must absolutely be thirty-five years old.

The members of the Servian courts must be Servians by birth, or naturalized as such, in conformity with the statutes. As regards the suits which are carried from one Court to another, the President of each Court must deliver to the plaintiff and to the defendant an abstract of the sentence, under his hand and seal.

The members of the village Courts of Peace cannot be members of the two other Courts. If one of the members of these two Courts should die, his successor must be chosen from among the lawyers who shall have held offices in the Courts; and among these the senior in age or service shall be appointed in his turn.

No member of the Court shall be dismissed on the charge of having deviated from his duties before the matter shall

be legally proved according to the statutes. When officers having military or civil rank, or priests, after their crime shall have been solemnly proved in consequence of a judgment according to the statutes, shall have been condemned to be punished, as corporal punishment cannot be inflicted on these persons, they shall be punished, either by severe reprimand, or by imprisonment, or by degradation, or, finally, by banishing them to another place. No officer of the principality, civil or military, high or low, shall take part in the business of the three Courts aforesaid, but they shall only be called upon to execute their sentences.

Commerce being free in Servia, every Servian may freely exercise it, and the slightest restriction upon that freedom shall never be allowed; unless the Prince, however, in concert with the council of the country, should deem it a matter of urgency to impose a temporary restriction upon some article or other.

Every Servian, acting in conformity with the laws of the State, is at full liberty to sell his own goods and properties, to dispose thereof at pleasure, and to bequeath them by will. He cannot be deprived of this right, except by a legal sentence of one of the Courts established in the country.

Every Servian who shall have a law-suit, must have recourse to the Court of the district which he inhabits; he can only be summoned before the Court of the district in which he resides.

All forced labour is abolished in Servia, and no forced labour shall be imposed upon any Servian.

The expense occasioned by the maintenance and keeping in order of the bridges and highways shall be apportioned among the municipalities of the villages in the neighbourhood.

In like manner as the central administration of the principality is entrusted with the direction and care of the main post-routes, of the bridges, and other buildings of

public utility, individuals must also know that it is necessary on their part to direct their own zeal and attention to that object.

Thou shalt fix, in concert with the Council, and equitably, a daily payment for the poor who are employed on these works; in the same manner as thou shalt agree with the members of the Council to assign fixed annual salaries to all those who are employed in the different services of the principality of the country.

Any officer who for a legal cause shall be desirous of retiring after a certain number of years' service, shall be at liberty to do so; the suitable pension which he shall have deserved, shall be assigned to him after his retirement.

Every employment, whether civil, military, or judicial, shall be conferred in Servia by an ordinance of the Prince, on condition that every officer shall in the first instance commence by the lower ranks, and shall be, progressively and after having been tried, promoted to the superior ranks and employments.

Lawyers entrusted with judicial offices shall never be at liberty to change the nature of their employment, and to occupy places other than those in the courts, and devoting themselves exclusively to their improvement in judicial matters. No civil or military officer shall be employed, even temporarily, in the courts.

The Servian Rayahs, tributary to the Sublime Porte, being Christians of the Greek religion, otherwise called the Church of the East, I grant to the Servian nation, full liberty to observe the usual forms of their religion, and to choose from amongst themselves, with thy concurrence and under thy superintendence, their archbishops and bishops; provided that they shall be subject to the spiritual power of the patriarch residing at Constantinople, considered as the head of the religion and of its synod. And as in virtue of the privileges and immunities granted, of old, to the Christian inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire

since the conquest, the administration of the affairs of religion and of the Church, as long as it does not interfere with political matters, should belong entirely to the heads of the clergy; as likewise the assignment on the part of the nation of the allowances to their metropolitans, bishops, igouménés, and priests, as well as to the religious establishments belonging to the Church; the same rule shall be observed with regard to the allowances and preferment of the metropolitans and bishops in Servia. Places shall be appointed for the meeting of the Special council of metropolitans and bishops for the purpose of regulating religious affairs, the affairs of the metropolitans and bishops, as well as those of the priests; and those relating to the churches of the country.

The sipahiliks, the timars, and the ziamets, having been abolished in Servia, this old custom shall never be introduced there for the future. Every Servian, great or small, is liable to the payment of taxes and contributions. The Servians of a certain rank employed in the business and in the offices of the country, shall pay their quota in proportion to the property and lands which they possess; the clergy alone shall be exempted from the payment of taxes. Servia being composed of seventeen districts, and each district comprising several cantons, which, again, are composed of several villages and municipalities, each head of a district shall have an assistant, a clerk, a treasurer, and other officers who may be required. The chiefs of districts shall occupy themselves with the execution of the orders which may reach them from the central Government of the principality relating to all the affairs of internal administration which belong to their functions; they will confine themselves to imposing and levying the contributions according to the registers which they will receive from the Finance Department; and they will not meddle with the disputes to which the levy of the taxes in their districts may give rise, but they will content themselves with referring to the district Court the disputes and law-

suits which take place, reserving to themselves only the execution of the sentence of the Court.

The chief of a district shall employ his efforts for the preservation of the goods and lands of the villages from all injury, and for the protection of the people from evil-disposed persons, and from vagabonds, and from persons without character. He must inspect the passports of all persons arriving within his district, or departing from thence; he cannot keep a person in prison beyond twenty-four hours; but he will send to the district Court the differences and suits which may arise in his district, and apply to the head of the police of the district, if the differences are matters of police. He must, moreover, watch over the village Courts of Peace, and be careful not to meddle with the affairs of the churches and village schools, nor touch the revenues and lands which depend on other pious establishments. As regards the lands and properties assigned to the churches, boroughs, inhabitants, and establishments of public utility, as well as those belonging to individuals, there shall be delivered to each separately, documents establishing the right of property, and these shall, moreover, be registered in the offices of the country.

Every Servian, in general, and without exception, shall be exempt from prosecution and molestation, covert or open, before he has been cited and tried before the Courts.

My Imperial will having settled and established the aforesaid regulations, this Imperial firman has been drawn up expressly in order to communicate them unto thee, and has been sent unto thee decorated with my illustrious imperial signature. I order thee, therefore, to watch over the security of that Imperial province, as well internally as externally, having entrusted the rule thereof to thee and to thy family only on the express condition of obedience and of submission to the orders proceeding from me, to ensure the prosperity thereof, to employ thy efforts to devise means for securing to all the inhabitants repose and

tranquillity, to respect the position, the honour, the rank, and the services of each; and, above all, to take care that the clauses and statutory conditions above expressed are carried into execution wholly and for ever, thus applying all thy zeal to draw down upon my Imperial person the prayers and blessings of all classes of the inhabitants of the country, and in this manner to confirm and justify my sovereign confidence and benevolence towards thee.

In like manner, I enjoin all the Servians in general to submit themselves to the orders of the Prince, acting in accordance with the statutes and institutions of the country, and carefully to conform themselves to what is necessary and fitting. I command that this Imperial Hatti-Sheriff be published, in order that the nation may have cognizance thereof; that every one, impressed more and more with gratitude for these concessions and benefits granted by my sovereign munificence to all alike, shall conduct himself under all circumstances in such a manner as to merit my approbation; and that the clauses of the present statute be executed, word for word, and for ever, without any infringement thereof at any time.

And thou likewise, my Vizier, thou shalt so understand it; and thou shalt join thy efforts to those of the Prince for the exact and strict execution of this present Imperial firman.

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