

ΑΜΕΡΙΚΑΝΙΚΑΙ ΕΚΘΕΣΕΙΣ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΓΑΙΟΥ (1825-1827)

Κατὰ τὸ δύσκολον διὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Ἐπανάστασιν ἔτος 1825, αἱ μεταξὺ Ἀμερικῆς καὶ Τουρκίας διαπραγματεύσεις πρὸς σύναψιν ἐμπορικῆς συνθήκης εἶχον φθάσει εἰς κρίσιμον καμπὴν ¹.

Αἱ ἐπίσημοι ἐπαφαὶ εἶχον ἀρχίσει ἀπὸ τοῦ 1820 εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν, ἀλλὰ δὲν εἶχον καταλήξει εἰσέτι εἰς θετικὰ ἀποτελέσματα καὶ μᾶλλον ἔβαινον πρὸς ὀριστικὴν ἀποτελεμάτωςιν. Κύριος λόγος ἦτο ἡ ἐπιτυχὴς ἀντίδρασις τοῦ Γάλλου καὶ Ἄγγλου πρέσβευος, τῶν ὁποίων αἱ κυβερνήσεις δὲν ἐπεθύμουν νὰ ἴδουν ὑπογραφομένην τὴν ἐμπορικὴν συνθήκην, διότι δι' αὐτῆς αἱ Η.Π.Α. θὰ εὐρίσκοντο ἐν ἐμπορικῇ ἰσοτιμίᾳ μετὰ τῶν ἀνωτέρω ναυτικῶν δυνάμεων εἰς τὰς ἐπιζήλους ἀγορὰς τῆς Μικρᾶς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Μαύρης Θαλάσσης.

Πρὸς ἐπιτυχῆ ἔκβασιν τῶν διαπραγματεύσεων καὶ ἀποφυγὴν τῶν ὡς ἄνω ἀντιδράσεων, ὁ Πρόεδρος τῶν Η.Π.Α. Monroe ² ἀπεφάσισε νὰ συνεχισθοῦν αἱ ἐπαφαὶ ἀνεπισήμως καὶ ἐν κρυπτῷ, δηλαδὴ μέσῳ τοῦ ἀρχηγοῦ τῆς ἐν τῇ Μεσογείῳ Ἀμερικανικῆς ναυτικῆς μοίρας καὶ τοῦ Καπουδᾶν Πασᾶ ³, ἀνδρὸς διαθέτοντος ἐξαιρετικὰς διπλωματικὰς ἰκανότητας καὶ ἐπιρροὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Σουλτάνου. Οὗτοι, ὡς στόλαρχοι, εἶχον τὴν εὐχέρειαν νὰ συναντηθοῦν κάπου εἰς τὸ Αἶγαϊον, ἐπὶ πλοίου, μακρὰν τῆς παρακολουθήσεως ξένων πρακτόρων, οὕτω δὲ νὰ καταλήξουν εἰς προκαταρκτικὴν συμφωνίαν, ἥτις θὰ ἐπεσφραγίζετο διὰ τυπικῆς ὑπογραφῆς εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν ⁴.

1. Δι' ἐπιτυχῆ ἐξιστόρησιν τῶν διαπραγματεύσεων αὐτῶν, αἵτινες ἀπέληξαν τελικῶς εἰς συμφωνίαν τῷ 1830, βλ. Γ. ΚΟΛΙΑ, Αἱ Ἠνωμέναι Πολιτεῖαι τῆς Ἀμερικῆς εἰς τὴν Μεσόγειον (1775-1830), τόμ. Β', Ἀθῆναι 1960. Τὴν βιβλιογραφίαν τοῦ δημοσιεύματος τούτου, καλὸν εἶναι νὰ ἐλέγχῃ ὁ χρησιμοποιοῦν αὐτό.

2. James Monroe, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ ὁμωνύμου δόγματος περὶ ἀπομονώσεως τῆς Ἀμερικανικῆς Ἠπείρου.

3. Καπουδᾶν Πασᾶς, ἦτο ἀρχηγὸς τοῦ τουρκικοῦ στόλου, ἦτο τότε ὁ Τοπάλ Χοσρέφ Μεχμέτ, ὅστις κατὰ τὰς ἀρχὰς μὲν τοῦ βίου του ὑπῆρξε δοῦλος, μετέπειτα ὅμως ἀπηλευθερώθη καὶ κατέλαβε τὰ ἀνώτατα στρατιωτικὰ καὶ διπλωματικὰ ἀξιώματα τῆς πατρίδος του, ἀποκλιθεὶς ὁ Ταλλεϋράνδος τῆς Τουρκίας. Διωρίσθη Καπουδᾶν Πασᾶς ὅταν ὁ προκατόχος του ἐφρονέυθη εἰς Χίον κατὰ τὴν πυρπόλησιν τῆς τουρκικῆς ναυαρχίδος, Μέγας Βεζίρης δὲ τῷ 1838.

4. Βλ. ΚΟΛΙΑ, ἔ.ἀ., σ. 31.

Ἀρχηγὸς τῆς Ἀμερικανικῆς ναυτικῆς μοίρας τῆς Μεσογείου ἦτο τότε ὁ ἀρχιπλοίαρχος Rodgers¹, ὅστις εὕρισκετο ἐπ' ἀδεία εἰς Η.Π.Α. Ὁ Ὑπουργὸς τῶν Ἐξωτερικῶν John Quincy Adams² ἐνημέρωσεν αὐτὸν προσωπικῶς ἐπὶ τῆς προσθέτου ἐμπιστευτικῆς ἀποστολῆς του εἰς τὸ Αἰγαῖον, ἀπαιτήσας ἀπόλυτον μυστικότητα καί, ὕπερ σημαντικώτερον δι' ἡμᾶς, ἀποφυγὴν πάσης πράξεως δυναμένης νὰ ἐπηρεάσῃ δυσμενῶς τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ νὰ ἔλθῃ εἰς ἀντίθεσιν πρὸς τὴν αὐστηρὰν οὐδετερότητα τῆς Ἀμερικῆς.

Ὁ Rodgers, ἐπιβαίνων τῆς ναυαρχίδος του North Carolina, κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὸ Αἰγαῖον περὶ τὸν Αὐγούστου τοῦ 1825 μὲ σκοπὸν νὰ συναντήσῃ τὸν Καπουδὰν Πασᾶ. Λόγῳ ὅμως τῆς ἀτελείας τῶν μέσων ἐπικοινωνίας, τῆς προτεραιότητος τῶν ναυτικῶν ἐπιχειρήσεων εἰς ἃς μετεῖχεν ὁ Τούρκος συνάδελφος του ἢ καὶ τυχαίως ἴσως, ἡ πολυπόθητος συνάντησις εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἐπετεύχθη πολὺ βραδύτερον, μετὰ παρέλευσιν ὀλοκλήρου σχεδὸν ἔτους.

Κατὰ τὸ διάστημα τῆς ματαίας αὐτῆς ἀναζητήσεως τοῦ Καπουδὰν Πασᾶ ἀνὰ τὸ Αἰγαῖον, ὁ Rodgers ἐπισκέπτεται διαφόρους λιμένας, συναντᾷ Τούρκους, Ἕλληνας καὶ ἄλλους καὶ συζητεῖ μετ' αὐτῶν, ἐνημεροῦται, παρατηρεῖ καὶ ἀποστέλλει ἐκθέσεις εἰς τοὺς ἐν Οὐάσιγκτων ἀνωτέρους του. Τὸ πλῆρες κείμενον τῶν ἐκθέσεων αὐτῶν, τὸ ὁποῖον δημοσιεύεται κατωτέρω, διὰ πρώτην φορὰν ἐξ ὅσων γνωρίζω³, παρουσιάζει ἰδιαιτέρον ἐνδιαφέρον, ὅχι μόνον διότι ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἦτο οὐδέτερος καὶ ὡς ἐκ τούτου ἀντικειμενικώτερος⁴, ἀλλὰ καὶ

1. John Rodgers (1771-1838), ἀξιωματικὸς τοῦ Ἀμερικανικοῦ ναυτικοῦ, ὑπηρετήσας εἰς διαφόρους πολέμους, καὶ εἰς Μεσόγειον εἰς τὸν κατὰ τῶν Μουσουλμανικῶν κρατῶν τῆς Β. Ἀφρικῆς. Ὑπηρετεῖ εἰς τὸ ἐν Οὐάσιγκτων Ὑπουργεῖον τῶν Ναυτικῶν, ὅτε ἀπεσπάσθη καὶ πάλιν εἰς Μεσόγειον ὡς ἀρχηγὸς τῆς Ἀμερικανικῆς μοίρας τὴν 26 Μαΐου 1824, ἅμα τῇ ἀποφάσει τῶν Η.Π.Α. νὰ ἐνισχύσουν τὴν Μεσογειακὴν ναυτικὴν μοῖραν διὰ περισσοτέρων σκαφῶν πρὸς ἀποτελεσματικωτέραν ὑπεράσπισιν τῶν Ἀμερικανικῶν συμφερόντων, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τῶν Ἀμερικανικῶν ἐμπορικῶν πλοίων, κατὰ τῆς αὐξανομένης πειρατείας. Βλ. ΚΟΛΙΑ, ἔ.ἀ., σ. 39, σημ. 4.

2. Ὁ Adams ἐξελέγη Πρόεδρος τῶν Η.Π.Α. τὸ φθινόπωρον τοῦ 1825, διεδέχθη δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ Ὑπουργεῖον τῶν Ἐξωτερικῶν ὁ Henry Clay.

3. Ἐναπόκεινται ἐν πρωτοτύπῳ καὶ ἀντιγράφῳ εἰς The National Archives and Records Service, Washington 20408, D.C., Record Groups 24, 45 and 59 (Correspondence of Commodore Rodgers, etc.) ἐνθα καὶ ἀποσπάσματα ἡμερολογίων τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν Rodgers πλοίων. Μικρὰν περικοπὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐδημοσιεύθησαν ἑλληνιστὶ ὑπὸ Γ. Τ. ΚΟΛΙΑ, ἔ. ἀ., ὁ δὲ Ν. Γ. ΜΑΥΡΗΣ, Τὰ Ἀμερικανικὰ δημόσια Ἀρχεῖα ἐν σχέσει μετὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Ἐπανάστασιν, Βυζαντινὰ - Μεταβυζαντινὰ 1 (1946) 267-270, ἔχει δημοσιεύσει τὴν πρώτην ἐπιστολήν. Ἐκ τῆς ἀπὸ 19 Ἰουλίου 1826 ἀναφορᾶς τοῦ Rodgers δημοσιεύομεν μόνον δύο μικρὰ ἀποσπάσματα, δεδομένου ὅτι τὸ μέγιστον μέρος αὐτῆς ἀφορᾷ εἰς θέματα ἄσχετα πρὸς τὸν ἑλληνικὸν ἀγῶνα.

4. Κατὰ τὴν ΚΟΛΙΑΝ, ἔ.ἀ., σ. 42, σημ. 1, ὑποτίθεται ὅτι ὁ Rodgers εἶδε μὲ συμ-

διότι θίγει εὐθέως θέματα εὐαίσθητα καὶ λεπτά, ὡς τῆς στάσεως τῶν Εὐρωπαϊκῶν Δυνάμεων ἔναντι τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἀγῶνος ἢ τῶν προβλημάτων, ἅτινα ἐδημιούργει ἢ οὐδετερότης εἰς τοὺς Ἀμερικανούς, ὡς ἢ περίπτωσις τῆς Ἀμερικανικῆς φρεγάδας Hope, ἥτις ἀγορασθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ μετονομασθεῖσα («Ἑλλάς») ἐχρησιμοποιοεῖτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιαούλη ὡς ναυαρχίς, ἔτι δὲ τῆς παρουσίας εἰς Ναύπλιον τοῦ William Townsend Washington, ὅστις, παρουσιάζομενος ὡς ἐπίσημος ἀντιπρόσωπος τῶν Η.Π.Α. καὶ ὡς ἀνεψιὸς τοῦ ἐνδόξου Προέδρου καὶ στρατηγοῦ George Washington, ἐλάμβανε θέσιν πᾶν ἄλλο ἢ οὐδετέραν ἐπὶ ἐπιμάχων ἑλληνικῶν θεμάτων.

Πρὸς μεγαλυτέραν εὐκολίαν τοῦ ἀναγνώστου, πρὸ τῆς δημοσιεύσεως τῶν ἀνωτέρω ἐκθέσεων, ὑπεθυμίζομεν κατὰ λίαν συνοπτικὸν τρόπον τὴν κατάστασιν ἐν Ἑλλάδι, ὡς τὴν εὔρεν ὁ Rodgers κατὰ τὴν ἀφιξίν του, τὸ θέρος τοῦ 1825.

Ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνοίξεως τοῦ 1825 εἶχεν εἰσβάλει ὁ Ἴμπραῆμ Πασᾶς εἰς Πελοπόννησον μὲ στρατὸν Αἰγυπτιακόν, κάλλιστα ἐκπαιδευμένον ὑπὸ ξένων, κυρίως Γάλλων πρῶην ἀξιοματικῶν τοῦ Ναπολέοντος. Ὁ Ἴμπραῆμ, εὐρών τοὺς Ἑλληνας καταπονημένους ἐκ τοῦ μακροῦ ἀγῶνος καὶ διχασμένους ἐκ τῶν ἐσωτερικῶν προσωπικῶν ἐρίδων, κατῶρθωσε νὰ γίνῃ σχεδὸν κύριος τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἐντὸς βραχυτάτου χρόνου, ἐπιφέρων παντοῦ δῆωσιν καὶ ἀφανισμόν. Κατὰ τὸ θέρος τοῦ 1825 πρὸ τοῦ ἀδιστάκτου Αἰγυπτίου μόναι ἐστίαι ἀντιστάσεως εἶχον ἀπομείνει αἱ δυπρόσιτοι βουνοκορυφαί, ἡ ἀφιλόξενος Μάνη καὶ τὸ ὠχυρωμένον Ναύπλιον. Τὸ Μεσολόγγι ἀνθίστατο γενναίως, ἀλλ' ἔως πότε; Ὁ στόλος ὑφίστατο ἀκόμη, ἀλλὰ μὲ ἀπόδοσιν μειωμένην καὶ ροπήν πρὸς τὴν πειρατείαν, πρὸς ἐξασφάλισιν τῶν πρὸς τὸ ζῆν. Ἡ φυσικὴ ἀνέχεια τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐπηυξημένη ἐκ τῶν συμφορῶν καὶ τῆς κοπώσεως, εἶχεν ἀρχίσει νὰ διαβιβρώσῃ τὸν ἀγνὸν πατριωτισμὸν μέρους αὐτῶν, ἐνῶ ὁ ἐσωτερικὸς διχασμὸς εἶχεν ἀποκορυφωθῆ, ὑποδαυλιζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ξένων δυνάμεων, αἵτινες ὑπὸ τὰς συνθήκας αὐτὰς εὔρισκον πρόσφορον ἔδαφος πρὸς εὐόδωσιν ἰδίων σκοπῶν. Πλὴν τῶν ἀγνῶν καὶ ἀνιδιοτελῶν φιλελλήνων, καλόπιστοι ἢ κακόπιστοι ἀπεσταλμένοι, τυχάρπαστοι ἢ τυχοδιῶκται, συνέρρεον καὶ κατετάσσοντο εἰς τὴν μίαν ἢ τὴν ἄλλην παράταξιν, κατὰ τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτοῖς, μὲ ἀποτελέσμα τὴν πλήρη συσκότισιν τῆς σκέψεως τῶν δυστυχῶν Ἑλλήνων.

Πρὸ τῆς ζοφερᾶς αὐτῆς εἰκόνας τοῦ θέρους τοῦ 1825 οἱ ἀπηλπισμένοι Ἑλληνες ἤρχισαν νὰ προσδοκοῦν μόνον τὴν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἢ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐξωτερικοῦ ἀπολύτρωσιν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ Ἀγγλία εἶχεν ἤδη ἐμπράκτως ἀποδείξει τὴν συμπαράστασίν της, ἄλλοι μὲν — οἱ περισσότεροι — ἔρριψαν συμπαθῆ βλέμματα πρὸς

παθὲς βλέμμα τὸν ἑλληνικὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας κατ' ἀρχάς, μὲ τὴν πάροδον ὅμως τοῦ χρόνου ἤλλαξαν τὰ αἰσθήματά του,

αὐτήν, ἄλλοι δὲ πρὸς τὴν Γαλλίαν καὶ ἄλλοι πρὸς ἄλλους. Ἐπιστέγασμα τῶν ἐλπίδων τῶν πρώτων ἦτο ἡ γνωστὴ πρὸς τὴν Ἀγγλίαν Αἰτήσις Προστασίας¹, διὰ τῆς ὁποίας ἀνέθετον «ἐκουσίως τὴν ἱεράν παρακαταθήκην τῆς αὐτοῦ [δηλ. τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους] ἐλευθερίας, ἐθνικῆς ἀνεξαρτησίας καὶ τῆς πολιτικῆς αὐτοῦ ὑπάρξεως ὑπὸ τὴν μοναδικὴν ὑπεράσπισιν τῆς Μεγάλης Βρετανίας». Ἡ αἰτήσις ὑπογραφεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν περισσοτέρων Ἑλλήνων πολιτικῶν, στρατιωτικῶν καὶ κληρικῶν καὶ ἐγχειρισθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Μιαούλη, ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀποσταλέντος εἰς Λονδίνον, εἰς τὸν Γεώργιον Κάννινγκ, ἀπετέλεσε μὲν τὸ προοίμιον τῆς αἰσίας τελικῆς ἐκβάσεως τοῦ ἀγῶνος, ἔδωσε δὲ ἀφορμὴν νὰ ἀποκληθοῦν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιφρονούντων φιλογάλλων, φιλορώσων κ.ἄ. οἱ ὑπογράψαντες αὐτὴν «προδόται».

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Εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἔκθεσιν, τὴν ὁποίαν ἀποστέλλει πρὸς τὸν Ὑπουργὸν τῶν Ναυτικῶν Samuel L. Southard, ὁ Rodgers ἐκθέτει τὴν διάφορον πολιτικὴν τὴν ἀκολουθουμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχηγοῦ τῆς Ἀγγλικῆς καὶ τῆς Γαλλικῆς μοίρας τοῦ Αἰγαίου. Ἐνῶ ὁ Ἄγγλος ἐπιδιώκει τὴν ἐπιτυχίαν τῆς Αἰτήσεως Προστασίας τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Διοικήσεως πρὸς τὴν Ἀγγλικὴν Κυβέρνησιν, ὁ Γάλλος ὑποθάλλει τὴν διχόνοιαν μεταξὺ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, πρᾶγμα τὸ ὁποῖον θ' ἀποβῆ εἰς ὄφελος τοῦ Ἰμπραῆμ, τοῦ ὁποίου θέλει ἡ Γαλλία νὰ ἐξασφαλίσῃ τὴν φιλίαν, ἵνα τὸν χρησιμοποίησιν εἰς κοινὴν ἐνέργειαν κατὰ τῶν Ἀγγλικῶν κτήσεων εἰς τὰς Ἰνδίας. Προσθέτει ὅτι ὁ Γάλλος ναύαρχος φαίνεται νὰ ἐνεργῆ ἀπὸ κοινοῦ μετὰ τοῦ Αὐστριακοῦ ναύαρχου.

Οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔχουν ἐξασθενήσει κατόπιν τῆς εἰσβολῆς τοῦ Ἰμπραῆμ καὶ δὲν θὰ εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ συνεχίσουν τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἂν δὲν λάβουν βοήθειαν παρὰ τινος εὐρωπαϊκῆς δυνάμεως. Ἀναφέρει τέλος τὰς ἐνεργείας ἐνὸς Ἀμερικανοῦ Townsend Washington, τὸν ὁποῖον χαρακτηρίζει ὡς τυχοδιώκτην.

1. Ἡ βιβλιογραφία ἐπὶ τοῦ λίαν σημαντικοῦ θέματος τῆς Αἰτήσεως Προστασίας, κατὰ Ἰούλιον 1825, εἶναι ἐκτενής, δὲν ἀφορᾷ ὅμως εἰς τὸ παρόν. Ἐνδεικτικῶς παραπέμπομεν τὸν ἀναγνώστην, διὰ συνοπτικὴν ἀνάλυσιν τῶν γεγονότων καὶ τῆς ἐπικρατούσης τότε καταστάσεως, ἥτις ἀπέληξεν εἰς τὴν πρὸς τὴν Ἀγγλίαν Αἰτήσιν, εἰς Α. Β. ΔΑΣΚΑΛΑΚΗ, Κείμενα - Πηγαὶ τῆς Ἱστορίας τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐπαναστάσεως, τόμ. Β', Μέρος Πρῶτον (1821-1826), Ἀθῆναι 1967, σ. 429-440.

U.S. Ship N. Carolina
Smyrna 30th August 1825¹

Sir

I have to inform you that I arrived here on the 20th inst: with this ship, the Constitution, Erie and Ontario²; having on my passage touched at Tunis, and the Island of Paros where I remained five days for the purpose of filling up the water of the squadron, and affording the officers an opportunity of examining the relics of Antiquity still to be met with in it, and the adjacent Islands of Anti Paros, Delos, and Naxia.

Judging from the flattering reception the squadron has met with here, by every class of people, from the Pacha down to the meanest individual, I am led to believe that our visit will be attended with much benefit to our commercial relations, and at the same time be a means of producing the most favorable impressions concerning the strength and character of our country, and the justice, magnanimity and impartiality of its Government. For notwithstanding almost every person of intelligence in the place seems to be acquainted with all that has been said in our public prints in abuse of their unrighteous war against the Greeks, yet they appear sensible of our disposition to act so far impartially, as not to compromit our neutrality³. There is now stationed in the Archipelago⁴ an English a French an Austrian and a Dutch squadron; belonging to each of which, there is one or more ships anchored in this Port. The Austrians have had in the course of the present summer, (as I have been told by Como(dor)e Hambleton the Commander of the Bri-

1. "Ἀπασαι αἱ ἡμερομηνίαι εἶναι κατὰ τὸ Γρηγοριανὸν ἡμερολόγιον, ἐκτὸς ἂν σημειοῦται ἄλλως. Λέξεις ὑπογραμμισμέναι εἰς τὸ πρωτότυπον τυπώνονται μὲ στοιχεῖα πλάγια. Ὡρισμέναι βραχυγραφίαι ἀναλύονται ἐντὸς παρενθέσεως: Gov(ernmen)t, Com(mand)e)r.

2. "Ἀπαντα εἶναι σκάφη ἀνήκοντα εἰς τὴν Ἀμερικανικὴν ναυτικὴν μοῖραν τῆς Μεσογείου, ἦσαν δέ, κατὰ πληροφορίας ἐξ ἑλληνικῆς πηγῆς, τὸ North Carolina δίκροτον ἢ «δελίν», τὸ Constitution φρεγάτα, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δύο κορβέται. Βλ. Ἀρχεῖα Α. καὶ Γ. Κουντουριώτου (1821-1832), δημοσιεύμενα ὑπὸ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ ΔΙΓΝΟΥ, τόμ. 5, Πειραιεὺς 1927, σ. 183.

3. Τὸ κάτωθι σχόλιον τοῦ συγχρόνου καὶ συνήθως καλῶς πληροφορημένου ἐπὶ πολιτικῶν θεμάτων ιστορικοῦ Πρόκες - "Ὅσταν εἶναι ἐνδιαφέρον ἐπὶ τοῦ προκειμένου: «Ἡ ἐμφάνισις ἀμερικανικοῦ στόλου εἰς τὸ ἀρχιπέλαγος ἀνησύχησε πρὸς στιγμὴν αὐτὴν (δηλ. τὴν Πύλγν), διότι ἐφοβεῖτο ὅτι ἀποστολὴν εἶχε νὰ εἴπη πρὸς αὐτὴν συνάψετε μεθ' ἡμῶν συνθήκην ἐμπορικὴν, εἰδεμὴ βοηθοῦμεν τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Ἀλλ' ὁ φόβος οὗτος διεσκεδάσθη ταχέως». Βλ. ΠΡΟΚΕΣ - ΟΣΤΕΝ, Ἱστορία τῆς Ἐπαναστάσεως τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μετὰφρ. Γ. Ε.Μ. ΑΝΤΩΝΙΑΔΟΥ, Ἀθῆναι 1868, τόμ. Α', σ. 422.

4. Νοεῖται τὸ Αἰγαῖον Πέλαγος.

tish Squadron)¹ upwards of seventy sail of merchant vessels captured by the Greeks, laden with stores and munitions of war for the Turks; he informed me at the same time, that he had just received instructions from the Lords of the Admiralty, not to protect from the Greeks, British vessels that might be found similarly employed². The Austrian Government by its policy in permitting its merchant vessels to be engaged in the transportation of stores, and even troops, in the service of the Grand Seigneur³, has brought upon itself the detestation of the Greeks, and this too (from what I have heard) without gaining the good will of the Turks.

In relation to the Greek Cause, the British and French Commanders⁴ appear each to be pursuing a policy adverse to the supposed interest and wishes of the others Gov(ernmen)t and neither permits the other to know what he is doing, or means to do, further than he can't avoid. The general impression here is, that the British Commander has been instructed so to regulate his proceedings, as to induce the Greek Gov(ernmen)t *formally* to solicit the protection of England⁵; and that the French

1. Είναι πιθανόν ο Rodgers να είχε ήδη συναντηθῆ προσωπικῶς μετὰ τοῦ Hamilton, ἵνα κατατοπισθῆ, ὅτε ὁ Hamilton βεβαίως θὰ ἐπεδίωξε νὰ ἐπηρεάσῃ τὸν Rodgers ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπόψεων τῆς Ἀγγλίας. Ἡ πιθανὴ αὐτῆ συνάντησις ἐπραγματοποιήθη ἴσως εἰς Σμύρνην μεταξὺ 20 καὶ 30 Αὐγούστου, διότι ἔχομεν ἔμμεσον μαρτυρίαν τοῦ Hamilton περὶ τούτου, εἰς ἐπιστολὴν του πρὸς τὸν Ἀρμοστὴν τῶν Ἰονίων Νήσων Sir Frederick Adams, τῆς 25 Μαΐου 1825, ἔθθα γράφει: «σκέπτομαι νὰ ὑπάγω εἰς Σμύρνην δι' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας». Ἡ ἐπιστολὴ δημοσιεύεται ὑπὸ τοῦ DOUGLAS DAKIN, Intelligence of Events in Greece, 1824-1827: A Documentary Collection, ΔΙΕΕ 13 (1959) 143, ἀρ. 71, ὅστις προσθέτει ὅμως «Δὲν ἐπῆγε παρὰ τὸν Αὐγούστον» (σ. 143, σημ. 2), ἄνευ ἐτέρας ἐπεξηγήσεως.

2. Ἡ πληροφορία χρῆζει περαιτέρω ἐρεύνης, διὰ νὰ διαπιστωθῆ πῶς καὶ ποῦ ἐντάσσεται εἰς τὴν σειρὰν τῶν ἀγγλικῶν διακηρύξεων περὶ οὐδετερότητος, ἡ τελευταία τῶν ὁποίων ἦτο τῆς 13 Σεπτεμβρίου 1825, ἧτοι μεταγενεστέρᾳ τῆς ὡς ἄνω ἐντολῆς τῶν Λόρδων τοῦ Ναυαρχείου.

3. Νοεῖται ὁ Σουλτάνος.

4. Δηλαδὴ ὁ πλοίαρχος Hamilton καὶ ὁ ὑποναύαρχος de Rigny.

5. Τοῦτο ἀναιρεῖ εἰς μεταγενεστέρᾳ ἐκθεσιν του, τῆς 14 Ὀκτωβρίου 1825 (βλ. κατωτέρω, σ. 171), ἔθθα ὑποστηρίζει ὅτι ἡ Αἴτησις Προστασίας ἦτο πρᾶξις ἀθόρμητος. Βεβαίως ἡ πολιτικὴ τῆς Ἀγγλίας ἦτο νὰ καλλιεργήσῃ τὴν ἰδέαν τῆς Αἰτήσεως Προστασίας, διότι, ἐνῶ δὲν προετίθετο νὰ παράσχῃ αὐτήν, ἐσκόπει νὰ χρησιμοποίησῃ τὴν Αἴτησιν, ἵνα ἀναλάβῃ πρωτεύοντα ρόλον ἐντὸς τῆς Ἱερᾶς Συμμαχίας εἰς ἐνδεχομένην μελλοντικὴν μεσολάβησιν αὐτῆς. Τοῦτο κατῴρθωσε διὰ τῆς μυστικῆς συνεργίας Ἐπιτροπῆς Ζακύνθου καὶ Ἀλεξ. Μαυροκορδάτου. Ἡ συγκαλύψις καὶ ἡ μυστικότης ὑπῆρξαν τόσον ἐπιτυχεῖς, ὥστε δικαίως ὁ Rodgers ἀμφέβαλλε καὶ ἀνῆρσε τὴν γνώμην του περὶ τοῦ ἀθόρμητου ἢ μὴ τῆς Αἰτήσεως. Περὶ τοῦ ρόλου τοῦ Hamilton εἰς τὴν πραγματοποίησιν τῆς Αἰτήσεως, βλ. DOUGLAS DAKIN, British and American Philhellenes, Θεσσαλονίκη 1955, σ. 169.

Commander Rear Admiral Rennie¹ has been directed by his Government to pursue that course which he may consider the most likely to weaken the physical energies of the Greeks, by producing distraction and disunion among them, with the expectation it is said in the event of producing such a result, that the territory they now possess, will fall an easy conquest to the Vice Roy of Egypt; to whom it appears the Porte has guaranteed the occupation and possession of the Morea, until the Vice Roy shall have indemnified himself for all the expences that may attend the conquest of it. It is currently reported here, that the French Government has been in the habit for some time past of sending to the Vice Roy of Egypt, through the hands of Admiral Rennie, presents, of the most splendid and costly kind, and that various compliments of a similar description have been lavished upon Ebrihim Pascha his son, Commanding the Egyptian Fleet and Army in the Morea now employed against the Greeks. It is impossible to say with certainty what France means by this crooked kind of procedure, but the most prevalent opinion is, that she wishes to increase the power of the Vice Roy of Egypt, to an extent that will render him independent of the Ottoman Empire; with a view ultimately of diminishing the wealth and power of England by depriving her of her East India possessions; and that this attention to the Vice Roy of Egypt is meant as the first step toward paving the way for a continental expedition against her possessions in that quarter². From

1. Νοεῖται ὁ de Rigny. Ὁ Rodgers ἐπαναλαμβάνει καὶ ἀλλαγῶν τὸ λάθος αὐτό.

2. Λαβὴν εἰς τοιαύτας ὑποθέσεις ἔδιδεν ἡ ἀλλοπρόσαλλος πολιτικὴ τῆς Γαλλικῆς Κυβερνήσεως τοῦ Villele, ὅστις ἐτάλαντεύετο μεταξύ τοῦ ἐκδήλου φιλελληνισμοῦ τοῦ γαλλικοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐχθρικῆς ἔναντι τῶν Ἑλλήνων στάσεως τῆς Ἱερᾶς Συμμαχίας, ἥτις ἐπηρεάζετο ἀπὸ τὴν δεσπόζουσαν πολιτικὴν φυσιογνωμίαν τοῦ Αὐστριακοῦ Μέττερνιχ. Ἡ πολιτικὴ τῆς Γαλλίας βεβαίως ἤλλαξε, μὲ θέσιν σαφῆ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Τσάρου, τὸν χειμῶνα τοῦ 1825. Ἄλλα στοιχεῖα διὰ τὴν περίεργον αὐτὴν στάσιν τῆς Γαλλίας ἦσαν ἡ ἀντιζηλία τῆς πρὸς τὴν Ἀγγλίαν καὶ ἡ κινήσεις τοῦ οἴκου τῶν Ὁρλεανιδῶν, ὅπως ἀνακηρύξη βασιλέα τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν Λουδοβίκον, υἱὸν τοῦ Δουκὸς τῆς Ὁρλεάνης. Ἡ κινήσις αὕτη ἐξεδηλώθη κατὰ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ 1825, μέσῳ τοῦ Φιλελληνικοῦ Κομιτάτου τῶν Παρισίων καὶ τοῦ ἀντιπροσώπου αὐτοῦ εἰς Ἑλλάδα στρατηγοῦ Roche, ἀλλ' ἦτο ἀντίθετος πρὸς τὴν ἐπίσημον πολιτικὴν τοῦ Πρωθυπουργοῦ Villele. Παρόμοιον καὶ ἔτι τολμηρότερον σχέδιον ἀναφέρουν ὁ Ν. ΣΠΗΛΙΑΔΗΣ, Ἀπομνημονεύματα, Ἀθῆναι 1852, τόμ. Β', σ. 222, σημ. 1, καὶ ὁ Ἰωάννης Ρωμαιοῦ, Γάλλος ἀξιωματικὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ, εἰς ἐπιστολὴν του τῆς 25 Ἰουνίου 1825 πρὸς τὸν Γάλλον στρατηγὸν Ροζαρόλ: «... ὁ ἴδιος Βιλέλης, δι' ὅσων μὲ ἐβεβαίωσεν ὁ Σουλεϊμάν Βέης [δηλ. ὁ Γάλλος Colonel Seve, ὅστις ἐξισλαμίσθη καὶ ὑπηρέτει ὑπὸ τὰς διαταγὰς τοῦ Ἰμπραήμ], εἶναι ἐκεῖνος ὅστις, ὑπὸ ἄλλο ὄνομα καὶ ὑπογραφήν, ἐξελέγη Πρόεδρος τῆς Ἐταιρείας, τῆς συσταθείσης εἰς Παρισίους πρὸς βοήθειαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος» (βλ. Ἱστορικὸν Ἀρχεῖον Διονυσίου Ρώμα, ἐκδιδόμενον ὑπὸ

the policy that Austria is pursuing toward the Greeks, it is thought by the best informed persons here, that an understanding exists between her and France; and that both are watching the movements of the British, for the purpose of counteracting any measures they may adopt in relation to Greece¹.

The reports here respecting the various battles and rencontres between the Greeks and Turks in the course of the present summer, are so various and contradictory, that it is impossible to come at the truth. It is pretty certain however, that the Greeks are in a worse condition than at the opening of the present campaign; for notwithstanding the Turkish Army and Fleet that besieged Misolongi have been repulsed, and the former with great loss², still the Army of the Vice Roy of Egypt, (nominally under the command of Ebrihim Pascha his son, but actually commanded by French Generals)³ is in possession of the whole of the Morea with the exception of Napoli di Romania, or at least it is so in effect, for after besieging and taking Navarin it marched to Tripolitza almost without opposition; and has there, in the very centre of the country established its head quarters. In consequence of the occupation of Tripolitza by Ebrihim Pascha, it is said the Greeks of the Morea have

Δ. ΚΑΜΠΟΥΡΟΓΛΟΥ, 'Αθήναι 1901, τόμ. Α', σ. 546). 'Επιτυχής ἐπὶ τοῦ προκειμένου εἶναι ἡ γνώμη τοῦ Γ. Κάννινγκ, ὡς τὴν διετύπωσεν εἰς ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ τῆς 27 Σεπτεμβρίου 1825: «Ἡ Γαλλία προδῆλως παίξει διπλοῦν πρόσωπον. Διὰ τῆς μιᾶς μὲν χειρὸς συντελεῖ εἰς τὴν μόρφωσιν καὶ τὸν καταρτισμὸν τοῦ αἰγυπτιακοῦ στρατοῦ, διὰ δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας ἐνθαρρύνει τοὺς Ἕλληνας νὰ ἐπιμένωσιν ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ διαδίδει διὰ μυστικῶν ἀποστόλων ὑποσχέσεις περὶ μελλούσης βοηθείας, τὴν ὁποίαν κατὰ τὰς περιστάσεις ἴσως προτίθεται πράγματι νὰ παράσχη. Ἡ πρότασις τοῦ νὰ σχηματισθῇ ἡ Ἑλλάς εἰς κράτος αὐτόνομον ὑπὸ Γάλλον βασιλέα ἐξῆλθε τῶ ὄντι ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Παρισίοις συλλόγου, ἀλλ' ὁ σύλλογος οὗτος ἔχει διηνεκεῖς καὶ στενάς σχέσεις μετὰ τῆς Γαλλικῆς κυβερνήσεως· πολλὰ τῶν μελῶν αὐτοῦ εἶναι ἀυλικοὶ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ εἶναι πιθανὸν ὅτι, ἄνευ τῆς σιωπηρᾶς τοῦλάχιστον συγκαταθέσεώς του, δὲν θὰ ἐτόλμων νὰ λάβωσι μέρος εἰς τοῦτον». (Βλ. Despatches, Correspondence and Memoranda of the Duke of Wellington, Λονδῖνον 1867, τόμ. 2, σ. 503, ἀναδημοσιευόμενα ὑπὸ ΠΡΟΚΕΣ-ΟΣΤΕΝ, ἔ. ἀ., σ. 433).

1. 'Ο Γ. Κάννινγκ ἔγραφεν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ: «ὁ σκοπὸς των (δηλ. τῶν Γάλλων) εἰς τοῦτο, ὅπως καὶ κατὰ τὸ Ἰσπανικὸν ζήτημα, ἦτο νὰ μᾶς ἐπιτρέψουν νὰ ἀποφασίσωμεν μίαν γραμμὴν πρῶτοι καὶ κατόπιν αὐτοὶ εὗρουν κάποια ἄλλη γραμμὴν πλέον ἀρεστὴν εἰς κάποια ἄλλον ἢ ἄλλην ὁμάδα τῆς Ρωσσίας καὶ Ἑλλάδος ἢ τῆς Τουρκίας, ἵνα, ἀκολουθοῦντες αὐτὴν, ἐπιτύχουν ἀδέξιόν τι πλεονέκτημα», βλ. A. G. STAPLETON, George Canning and his Times, (1859) p. 459 (ἀναφερόμενον ὑπὸ DAKIN ἔ. ἀ. σ. 37).

2. Βλ. κατωτέρω, σ. 164, σημ. 2.

3. Περὶ τῆς συμμετοχῆς Γάλλων ἀξιωματικῶν εἰς τὴν ἐκγύμνασιν καὶ διοίκησιν τοῦ αἰγυπτιακοῦ στρατοῦ βλ. Ἱστορικὸν Ἀρχεῖον Διονυσίου Ρώμα, ἔ. ἀ., σ. 537-553.

very generally fled to the mountains, and have become so disheartened at the superior skill shown by their enemies at Navarin¹, in tactics and the science of war; so dismayed, that even at the sound of their drums they are ready to fly. The Greeks have within the last ten days received a loan of £ 40.000 from England², but notwithstanding this, they will be unable to continue the war much longer it is thought without possessing a larger amount of funds than they are likely to obtain. The vessels composing their Fleet are rapidly decaying, and I had it from one of their agents that they would be unable to contend much longer at sea, unless England or the United States furnished them vessels more efficient than those they now possess. Indeed from what I have seen myself, and heard from others, I am induced to think their cause so desperate, that nothing short of a miracle can sustain them much longer. In fine from what I have seen myself and learnt from those whose opportunities of obtaining correct information were better than my own, I have come to the conclusion that without the interposition of some one or more of the European powers, they will be unable to sustain themselves twelve months longer.

Some few of the American adventurers that came out here to their aid, have behaved well but the greater part have done their cause no good; among the latter there is a Mr. W(illia)m. T. Washington, who has passed himself off as the nephew of our venerated General; he is now here under the protection of the French Admiral. The Greeks, as well as the French appear to have attached some importance to the name of this young man, as will be seen by the enclosed proceedings of the Greek Gov(ernment) and the protest of Gen(eral) Roche and himself³.

1. Νοεῖται ἡ ἕττα τῶν Ἑλλήνων περὶ τὸ Ναβαρῖνον-Νεόκαστρον κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἀπόβασιν τοῦ Ἰμπραήμ εἰς Πελοπόννησον, τὴν ἀνοιξίν τοῦ 1825.

2. Πρόκειται περὶ μιᾶς ἐκ τῶν δόσεων τοῦ δευτέρου Ἀγγλικοῦ δανείου τῶν £ 2.000.000.

3. Νοεῖται ἡ Αἴτησις Προστασίας πρὸς τὴν Ἀγγλίαν, ἀνωτέρω σ. 156. Ὁ Washington ἔφθασεν εἰς Ὑδραν τὴν 13 Ἰουνίου 1825, φέρων περίεργον στολὴν Οὐσσάρων καὶ κομιζῶν συστατικὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Φιλελληνικοῦ Κομιτάτου τῆς Βοστώνης. Ἰσχυρίσθη ὅτι εἶναι ἀνεψιὸς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ George Washington καὶ ἐπρότεινε σχέδιον χρηματοδοτήσεως μισθοφορικοῦ σώματος ξένων, κυρίως Ἴρλανδῶν, τοῦ ὁποίου θὰ ἡγεῖτο ὁ ἴδιος. Ἐφρονεῖθη τυχαίως ἐξ ὄλμου εἰς Ναύπλιον, τὴν 28 Ἰουλίου 1827, κατὰ τὰς ἐμφυλίους διαμάχας μεταξὺ Φωτομάρα καὶ Γρίβα. Περὶ W. T. Washington βλ. ΘΑΝΟΥ ΒΑΓΕΝΑ - ΕΥΡΙΑΙΚΗΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Ἀμερικανοὶ Φιλέλληνες ἐθελοντὲς τοῦ Εἰκοσιένα, Ἀθήναι 1949, σ. 32-44 καὶ 85-91, ἐνθα καὶ ἡ σχετικὴ βιβλιογραφία. Ὁ Roche ἀφίχθη εἰς Ναύπλιον τὸν Ἀπρίλιον 1825, περίπου συγχρόνως μὲ τὴν εἰσβολὴν τοῦ Ἰμπραήμ, ἐπισήμως μὲν ὡς ἐκπρόσωπος τοῦ Φιλελληνικοῦ Κομιτάτου τῶν Παρισίων, ἀνεπισήμως δὲ πρὸς προώθησιν τοῦ Ὀρλεανικοῦ σχεδίου (βλ. ἀνωτ., σ. 159, σμ. 2). Ἡ ἀφιξίς του ὑπεβοήθησε τὴν δημιουργίαν Γαλ-

This foolish young man, who calls himself an expatriate American, is permitting the French to make a tool of him, and no excuse can be offered for his inconsistent conduct unless he is insane, and which many persons believe. The proceedings of the Greek Government and the protest of General Roche and himself, I will thank you to send to the Secretary of State, as I have been frequently asked since my arrival in this quarter whether Mr. Washington was not really an agent of our Government, and to which I have as often replied he positively was not, either directly or indirectly¹.

It is the opinion of our Consul² and the American Merchants here,

λικού κόμματος ἐν Ἑλλάδι, πρὸς ἀντιπερισπασμὸν κατὰ τοῦ Ἀγγλικοῦ. Ὁ Ναύαρχος de Rigny ἄλλοτε μὲν ὑπεστήριζεν, ἄλλοτε δὲ διέψευδεν αὐτόν, ἢ ἀπεξεδύετο πάσης εὐθύνης διὰ τὰς πράξεις του. Γενικῶς, νομίζω ὅτι ὁ ἀκριβὴς σκοπὸς τῆς ἀφίξεως τοῦ Roche εἰς Ἑλλάδα καὶ ὁ ρόλος του ἐδῶ δὲν ἔχουν πλήρως διαλευκανθῆ, ἀν καὶ ἡ περιεργὸς διαγωγὴ του δύναται νὰ ἀποδοθῆ εἰς τὸ ἀνεύθυνον τοῦ χαρακτῆρος του καὶ μόνον. Ὁλίγας ἡμέρας πρὸ τῆς ὑπογραφῆς τῆς πρὸς τὴν Ἀγγλίαν Αἰτήσεως Προστασίας, ὁ Roche μετὰ τοῦ κόμητος Jourdain εἶχον προετοιμάσει τὴν ἀνακήρυξιν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Δουκὸς τῆς Ὁρλεάνης εἰς βασιλέα τῆς Ἑλλάδος, εἰς κοινὴν συνεδρίασιν τοῦ Βουλευτικοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἐκτελεστικοῦ σώματος, εἰς Ναύπλιον. Αἱ προσπάθειαι τῶν ὁμῶς ἀπέτυχον λόγῳ τῆς ἐγκαίρου ἀφίξεως τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν Hamilton Ἀγγλικῆς μοίρας, ὡς καὶ τῶν πιέσεων τοῦ Hamilton ἵνα ἡ ἀποσταλεῖσα τότε ἐκ 40.000 δόσις τοῦ Ἀγγλικοῦ δανείου μὴ παραδοθῆ. (Βλ. ἀναφορὰς τοῦ κόμητος Jourdain τῆς 19 Ἰουνίου 1825 πρὸς τὸν Ὑπουργὸν τῶν Ἐξωτερικῶν τῆς Γαλλίας, εἰς Archives des Affaires étrangères, Paris, Correspondence politique, τόμ. 2, ἀρ. 73 καὶ 75). Μετὰ τὴν ἀποτυχίαν αὐτὴν ὁ Roche, εὐρῶν πειθῆνιον ὄργανον αὐτοῦ τὸν Washington, ὑπέβαλε μετ' αὐτοῦ ἔγγραφον διαμαρτυρίαν πρὸς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Κυβέρνησιν κατὰ τῆς Αἰτήσεως Προστασίας, διατυπωμένῃ οὕτως ὥστε νὰ νομισθῆ ὅτι αὕτη προήρχετο ἐξ ἐπισήμων ἀντιπροσώπων τῆς Γαλλικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀμερικανικῆς Κυβερνήσεως. Ἡ διαμαρτυρία δὲν ἔτυχεν εὐνοϊκῆς ὑποδοχῆς, καὶ ὁ μὲν Roche ἤρχισεν ἔκτοτε νὰ χάνῃ τὴν ἐπιρροὴν του, ὁ δὲ Washington, χολωμένος, ἀφοῦ ὑπέβαλε καὶ δευτέραν διαμαρτυρίαν εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Κυβέρνησιν, ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Σμύρνην, ὅπου «... ντυμένος ὅπως ἦταν μετὰ τὴν ἑλληνικὴν ἐνδυμασίαν καὶ τὴν φουστανέλλα του, προκαλοῦσε τὸ μῖσος τῶν Τούρκων, ἀλλὰ ἀκόμα βρισκόταν καὶ σὲ ἀντίθεση μετὰ τοὺς συμπολίτας του καὶ ἰδιαίτερα μετὰ τὸν ἀμερικανὸν ναύαρχο (δηλ. τὸν John Rodgers), διοικητὴ τῆς ναυτικῆς μοίρας τῆς Μεσογείου, μετὰ ἐνέργειαι τοῦ ὁποῖου καὶ ἀπηλλάθη ἀπὸ τὴν Τουρκίαν» (βλ. ΒΑΓΕΝΑ - ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, ἔ. ἀ., σ. 89). Διὰ λίαν ἐνδιαφέρουσαν καὶ ἐμπιστευτικὴν προσωπικὴν γνώμην τοῦ Hamilton περὶ τῶν Washington καὶ Roche βλ. DOUGLAS DAKIN, ἔ. ἀ., Document ἀρ. 73, σ. 147-8.

1. Ἄν καὶ μόνῃ ἢ ἀνεύθυνος διαγωγὴ τοῦ Washington θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ δικαιολογηθῆ τὰς αὐστηρὰς κρίσεις τοῦ Rodgers, ἐν τούτοις πρέπει νὰ σημειωθῆ ὅτι ἡ παρουσία του εἰς Σμύρνην, συγχρόνως μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἀμερικανικοῦ στόλου, ἠνόχλει τὸν Rodgers τοσοῦτον μᾶλλον καθ' ὅσον οὗτος ἐξετέλει λεπτοτάτην ἀποστολὴν καὶ ἦτο ἠναγκασμένος νὰ τηρῆ ὄλους τοὺς τύπους τῆς αὐστηρᾶς οὐδετερότητος. Ὡς ἐκ τούτου δὲν εἶναι περιεργόν, ὅτι ἐφρόντισε νὰ ἀπελαθῆ ὁ Washington ἐκ Σμύρνης, ὡς ἤδη ἀνεφέραμεν.

2. Δηλαδή τοῦ David Offley, ὅστις ἔλαβεν ἐνεργότατον μέρος εἰς τὰς διαπραγματεύσεις διὰ τὴν ὑπογραφὴν τῆς ἐμπορικῆς συνθήκης.

that our Commerce at this time would be unsafe without protection. There are at present three American vessels in the port and another with a very valuable cargo, is expected hourly from the East Indies, belonging to Baltimore. I shall in consequence leave the Ontario here to afford them convoy clear of the Islands, with orders to join me at Gibraltar or Mahon¹ towards the last of November, provided her presence here, can be dispensed with. I expect to leave here in five or six days; but as I wish to make myself acquainted for the information of the Government with what is going on in this quarter, I shall probably take an opportunity of putting myself in the way of seeing the Grecian and Turkish Fleets before my return, and in this event I shall probably not reach Gibraltar before the last of October or first of November.

Our crews have continued very healthy until within a fortnight past; we have had several cases of bowel complaints, although none as yet have proved fatal except in one instance, and that one I regret to say was Mid(shipman) Charles M. Hopkins nephew of Com(mand)er Morris who, poor fellow, died after an illness of only six days.

With the highest Respect
I have the honor to be
Sir your Ob(edien)t Serv(an)t
John Rodgers

The Hon.
Samuel L. Southard
Secretary of the Navy of the U. States

2

Τὴν ἐπομένην ἡμέραν ὁ Rodgers ἀποστέλλει τὴν κατωτέρω παρεμφερῆ ἐκθεσιν πρὸς τὸν Ὑπουργὸν τῶν Ἐξωτερικῶν Henry Clay², τὴν ὁποίαν ὁμοίως σημειώνει «ἀπόρρητον», προφανῶς διότι εἰς αὐτὴν ποιεῖται μνείαν τοῦ ἐμπιστευτικοῦ σκοποῦ τῆς ἀποστολῆς του, δηλαδή τῆς ἐπιδιώξεως συναντήσεως μετὰ τοῦ Καπουδᾶν Πασᾶ. Ἐπαναλαμβάνει τὰ περὶ τῆς μειονεκτικῆς θέσεως τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔναντι τῶν καλῶς ἐκπαιδευμένων Αἰγυπτιακῶν δυνάμεων τοῦ Ἰμ-πραῆμ καὶ τῆς ἀδυναμίας αὐτῶν νὰ συνεχίσουν τὸν ἀγῶνα. Ἐσωκλείει ἀντί-

1. Λιμὴν τῆς Μινόρκας εἰς τὰς Βαlearίδας νήσους, ὅστις τότε ἐχρησιμοποιεῖτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀμερικανικοῦ στόλου ὡς ὀρμητήριον.

2. Ὁ Henry Clay ἀνέλαβε τὸ Ὑπουργεῖον τῶν Ἐξωτερικῶν ὅτε ὁ John Quincy Adams ἔγινε Πρόεδρος (βλ. ἄνωτ., σ. 154, σημ. 2).

γραφον τῆς Αἰτήσεως Προστασίας τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Κυβερνήσεως πρὸς τὴν Ἀγγλίαν, ὡς καὶ διαμαρτυρίας τοῦ Γάλλου Roche καὶ τοῦ T. Washington, περὶ τοῦ ὁποίου ὁμιλεῖ εἰς ἡπιώτερον τόνον, προφανῶς διότι ἐσκέφθη ὅτι ἦτο ἐνδεχόμενον νὰ πρόκειται πράγματι περὶ Ἀμερικανοῦ πράκτορος ὑπὸ τὴν δικαιοδοσίαν τοῦ παραλήπτου τῆς ἐπιστολῆς του, πρᾶγμα τὸ ὁποῖον ὁμως δὲν φαίνεται ὅτι συνέβαινε.

Secret

U. S. Ship North Carolina
Smyrna 31st August 1825

Sir,

This will inform you of my having left Gibraltar on the 10th ultimo on a cruise of observation among the Greek Islands, having for its object the protection of our commerce, and the attainment of an interview with the Captain Pashaw of the Turkish fleet, in the discharge of certain duties entrusted to my execution by the Department of State, and of which, on entering upon the duties of that office¹, you no doubt Sir became acquainted with.

At the time of leaving Gibraltar I was led to believe I should find the Capt. Pashaw at the Island of Mitilina, but on entering the Archipelago I found he was with the whole fleet at Mislongi, at the entrance of the Gulf of Patrasso, engaged in besieging that place by sea, in co-operation with the Pashaw of Scutari, commanding the Albanian forces by whom it had been invested by land. Finding the Captain Pashaw so situated I deemed it impolitical to attempt an interview so long as he continued thus employed, and accordingly put into this port for refreshments, with the intention of continuing here until a more favourable moment presented itself of communicating with him than I should have had any prospect of, had I gone directly to Mislongi.

Since my arrival here, I have heard of the failure of the expedition against Mislongi, and of the raising of the siege with great loss on the part of the Albanian forces, and the destruction of two brigs and several boats of the Captain Pashaw, and that after this disaster² he has sailed

1. Βλ. ἄνωτ., σ. 154, σημ. 2.

2. Ἀναφέρεται εἰς τὰς πολεμικὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις περὶ τὸ Μεσολόγγι, ὅπου οἱ Ἕλληνες, μὲ ἀρχηγούς κατὰ θάλασσαν μὲν τὸν Μιαούλην καὶ Σαχτούρη, κατὰ ξηρὰν δὲ τὸν Καραϊσκάκη καὶ Τζαβέλλαν, εἶδον τὸν Καπουδάν Ησαῖ νὰ ἀποχωρῇ περὶ τὴν 17 Αὐγούστου μὲ κατεύθυνσιν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἵνα φέρῃ ἐνισχύσεις πρὸς τὸν Ἱμπραήμ, τὸν δὲ στρατὸν νὰ ὑποχωρῇ, μὲ σημαντικὰς ἀπωλείας, δύο ἡμέρας μετὰ ταῦτα.

for the Port of Souda in the island of Candia, where he is now said to be, and where it is reported he has gone to wait the arrival of five or six thousand Egyptian troops under the escort of a division of the fleet of the Vice Roy, which, on their arrival there, he means to join and carry to the Morea, to reinforce the army of Ebrahim Pashaw, who may already be said, if the reports in circulation be true, and of which there is but little doubt, to be in possession of every place of importance in that part of Greece, with the exception of Napoli di Romania, the present seat of the Greek Government.

The force of Ebrahim Pashaw now in the Morea is stated to be about twelve thousand strong in regular troops, trained and disciplined by French officers, and when the reinforcement just mentioned joins him it is believed the Greeks will be obliged to abandon the Morea entirely, and in that event he has only to reduce the garrison at Mislongi (and this it is said he will find no difficulty in doing, having a battering train of cannon with him)¹ to make himself master of all that part of Continental Greece now at war with the Porte.

The Greek cause really appears to be in a hopeless condition. Indeed so much so that I should think it impossible with their extremely limited resources, to sustain themselves much longer, unless they should very soon receive aid from some one or more European powers, but which is by no means likely unless the British Government should take them under their protection, as it has the people of the Ionian Islands.

The British Government at this time (in secret it would seem) appears to be holding out inducements to them² to place themselves under its protection whilst the Agents of France and Austria are clandestinely assisting the Porte, and the Vice Roy of Egypt to effect their destruction. What will grow out of the different schemes now practising by the Agents of the British Government, and those of the Governments of the last named Continental powers, it would be difficult to foretell. Many persons here, and some too who are well informed, think it not unlikely in the jawing of so many different interests it may produce a war between England and the Continental powers, for they say that all the most powerful sovereigns of the Holy Alliance are jealous of the power of England and have sworn, *in secret*, never to forgive her following

1. Τὸ πυροβολικὸν εἶχεν ἐκπαιδεύσει ὁ Γάλλος ὑποστράτηγος Livron, βλ. ἄνωτ., σ. 160, σημ. 3.

2. Βλ. ἄνωτ., σ. 158, σημ. 5.

our example in acknowledging the Independence of South America without their consent, and that a Union of their strength is now forming with a view to her future reduction¹.

Previous to my return to Gibraltar I intend, if circumstances will permit, to call at Souda to communicate with the Captain Pasha and at Napoli di Romania to obtain, if possible, such intelligence concerning the affairs of Greece, and the situation of its Government, as may be relied on, in doing which, however, I shall take especial care to effect my purpose without giving the slightest cause for offense to either party.

A party composed as well of individuals belonging to the Executive as to the Legislative Branch of the Government of Greece, has deliberately and solemnly offered to place their Country under the protection of the British Government; some of the particulars of which transaction you will be able to gather from a copy of their Declaration and of a protest signed by a General Rouch and a Mr. Washington in the name of their respective nations. General Rouch, it is said, is actually a *private* Agent of the French Government, and those in the interest of France wish to have it believed that Mr. Washington is possessed of the same powers from his. Indeed I have frequently since my arrival been asked if he was not an agent of our Government, and to which I have always replied that he positively was not either directly or indirectly. Mr. Washington is now here², and says, I understand, that having expatriated himself, and being no longer an American citizen, he has placed himself under the protection of the French. This I presume he does not tell to every body, altho he has said it before some of the officers of this ship. To answer some purpose of the French they are now making use of him on account of his name, for you understand that he is mentioned in the papers of this quarter as being the nephew of venerated Washington.

With the highest respect, etc., etc., etc.

John Rodgers

The Hon. Henry Clay
Secretary of State

3

Ὁ Rodgers, ἀφοῦ ἀνεχώρησεν ἐκ Σμύρνης, ἐπεσκέφθη τὸ Ναύπλιον κατὰ

1. Βλ. Γ. Γ. ΓΕΡΒΙΝΟΥ, ἔ.ἀ., σ. 131.

2. Δηλαδή εἰς Σμύρνην.

τὰ μέσα Σεπτεμβρίου, μὲ τὴν ἐλπίδα νὰ πληροφορηθῆ τὰς κινήσεις τοῦ Καπουδᾶν Πασᾶ καὶ νὰ κατατοπισθῆ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Κυβερνήσεως ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξελιζέων τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἀγῶνος. Μὴ δυνηθεὶς ὅμως νὰ πληροφορηθῆ πολλὰ πράγματα, ἐπλευσε πρὸς Ὑδραν¹, ὅπουθεν ἔστειλε πρὸς τὸν Τοῦρκον ναύαρχον ἐπιστολὴν, τὴν ὁποίαν ἐνεπιστεύθη εἰς τὸν συνταξιδεύοντα μετ' αὐτοῦ Ἀμερικανὸν Πρόξενον εἰς Σμύρνην Offley, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἐπέστρεψεν εἰς Γιβραλτάρ. Ἐκ Γιβραλτάρ ἀπέστειλε τότε τὴν ἀκόλουθον ἔκθεσιν πρὸς τὸν Henry Clay. Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἀναφέρει τὰς ἐπιτυχίας τοῦ Ἰμπραήμ καὶ ἀντιθέτως τὰς ἀποτυχίας τοῦ Καπουδᾶν πασᾶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, πρᾶγμα τὸ ὁποῖον ἔχει ἐπηρεάσει δυσμενῶς κατ' αὐτοῦ τὸν Σουλτάνον, ὥστε νὰ μὴ εἶναι πλέον αὐτὸς τὸ κατάλληλον πρόσωπον διὰ νὰ μεσολαβήσῃ διὰ τὴν ὑπογραφὴν τῆς σχεδιαζομένης ἐμπορικῆς συνθήκης μετὰ τῆς Τουρκίας. Ἐκφράζεται γενικῶς διὰ τὸν χαρακτῆρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀναφέρει ὅτι ὁ Μαυροκορδάτος τὸν διεβεβαίωσεν εἰς τὸ Ναύπλιον, ὅτι ἡ Αἴτησις Προστασίας ἦτο αὐθόρμητος πρᾶξις τῆς ἑλληνικῆς Διοικήσεως καὶ ὄχι ἀποτέλεσμα ἐνεργειῶν τῆς Ἀγγλίας, καὶ ἐπαναλαμβάνει τὰς ἀμφιβολίας του περὶ τῆς δυνατότητος συνεχίσεως τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Θεωρεῖ ὅτι ἡ Ἀγγλία θὰ διστάσῃ ν' ἀποδεχθῆ τὴν Αἴτησιν Προστασίας, ἵνα μὴ διακινδυνεύσῃ τὴν ἀντίδρασιν τῆς Γαλλίας καὶ τῆς Αὐστρίας, πιθανῶς δὲ καὶ τῆς Ρωσίας.

U.S. Ship N. Carolina
Gibraltar Bay, Oct. 14th, 1825

Sir,

By my letter to you of the 31st of August last, I gave you reason to suppose that I should in all probability obtain an interview with the Captain Pashaw of the Ottoman Fleet before I left the Archipelago. In this however I was disappointed, for in reaching Napoli di Romania, the present seat of the Greek Government (for which place I sailed from Smyrna a few days after I wrote to you)² extraordinary as it may appear

1. Ἡ πρὸς τὸν Καπουδᾶν Πασᾶ ἐπιστολὴ του ἐπιγράφεται «ἀνοικτὰ τῆς Ὑδρας», καὶ πράγματι, ἐκ τῶν ἑλληνικῶν πηγῶν δὲν προκύπτει ὅτι ὁ Rodgers ἐπεσκέφθη τὴν Ὑδραν.

2. Ὁ Rodgers, ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς τῆς Ἀμερικανικῆς μοίρας, ἀποτελουμένης ἀπὸ τὴν ναυαρχίδα North Carolina, τὴν φρεγάταν Constitution, τὴν κορβέταν Erie, καὶ μίαν εἰσέτι κορβέταν, ἔφθασεν εἰς Ναύπλιον τὴν νύκτα τῆς 12 Σεπτεμβρίου 1825, ἔνθα καὶ παρέμεινεν ἐπὶ ἕξ ἡμέρας. Κατὰ τὸ διάστημα τοῦτο ἀντήλλαξεν ἐπισκέψεις μετὰ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Κυβερνήσεως, ἐπεθεώρησε δὲ μετὰ τοῦ ἐπιτελείου του τὸ Παλαμῆδι, ὡς καὶ τὸ Α' Ἑλληνικὸν Σύνταγμα Τακτικοῦ στρατοῦ εἰς τὴν κεντρικὴν πλατεῖαν τοῦ Πλοτάνου. Ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὁποῖον ἐνεποίησεν ἰδιαιτέραν ἐντύπωσιν καὶ ἐκολάκευσε τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἦτο ὅτι ἐχαιρέτησε τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν σημαίαν διὰ 13 κανονιοβολισμῶν, πρᾶγμα τὸ ὁποῖον ὑπὸ οὐδεμιᾶς ἄλλης δυνάμεως εἶχε γίνει μέχρι τότε. Εἶχεν ἐπίσης ἰδιαιτέραν συνεργασίαν μετὰ τοῦ Ἀλεξ. Μαυροκορδάτου καὶ τοῦ Σπυριδῶνος Τρικούπη. Πρβ. Ἀρχεῖα Α. καὶ Γ. Κουντουριώτου, ξ.ἀ., σ. 185 κέ., καὶ ἐφημ. Ἑλληνικὰ Χρονικά, Μεσολόγγιον 1824-6, φ. 73 (12.9.1825).

it was not known to that Government at the time of my arrival where he was. This at that period I did not consider of much consequence however, as had I learnt where to find him, his situation, wherever he was, would have been such, in all probability as to have precluded a communication without giving rise to a variety of speculations and conjectures which however absurd they might be, it was desirable to avoid giving the slightest grounds for consequently instead of making any further attempt to obtain a personal interview, I determined at once that the most prudent course left for me to adopt now would be to communicate by writing, and which I accordingly did by forwarding to him through the hands of Mr. Offley, our Consul at Smyrna (in whose secrecy and prudence I could confide) a letter of which the enclosed is a copy¹.

The present Captain Pashaw has hitherto been a favourite of the Sultan, and has enjoyed his confidence to a greater extent perhaps than any other individual has ever done before, but such is the superstition and the caprice of the Sultan it is supposed, judging from the character of all who have preceded him, that in the event of his failure to capture Mislongi before his return to Constantinople, no excuse he will have it in his power to offer will be sufficient to save him from disgrace, for notwithstanding he has hitherto been so far successful in all his operations against the Greeks² as to secure the approbation of the Sultan, it is said that in the present instance, when most was expected of him, he has actually done nothing, whilst at the same time Ebrahim Pashaw, commanding the Egyptian forces, has succeeded in every enterprize he has undertaken from the day of his first arriving in the Morea, and in a manner, too, that will appear little short of a *miracle* at *Constantinople*.

Instead of the Pashaws being at Souda, in Candia, with his fleet, as I had been led to believe before I left Smyrna, I have reason to conclude, from what I afterwards heard, that he was on the 18th of last month (the time of my departure from Napoli di Romania) at Prevesa, near the entrance of the Gulf of Arta, where he had gone, it was supposed,

1. 'Απόκειται μετὰ τῆς λοιπῆς ἀλληλογραφίας εἰς The National Archives and Records Service. Ἐστάλη ἐξ Ὑδρας ὑπὸ ἡμερομηνίαν 21 Σεπτεμβρίου 1825. Δὲν συμπεριλήφθη ἐνταῦθα, διότι τὸ περιεχόμενον αὐτῆς εἶναι ξένον πρὸς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ζήτημα.

2. Τοῦτο εἶναι ἀνακριβές, δεδομένου ὅτι ὁ Χοσρὲφ Μεχμέτ διέθετε μὲν ἐξαιρετικὰ διπλωματικὰ προσόντα, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν τέχνην τοῦ πολέμου κατὰ θάλασσαν, ἰδίᾳ κατὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, πρέπει νὰ θεωρῆται ὅτι ἀπέτυχε.

after his repulse at Mislongi, to collect reinforcements with the intention of renewing the attack on that place, which notwithstanding his having retired from before it with his fleet, still remained besieged by land by the Albanian forces under the command of the Pashaw of Scutari.

In this peculiar state of things, I doubt not but that before he attempts to return to Constantinople, he will make a desperate effort to destroy Mislongi, particularly as it is said by those who profess to be acquainted with the topography of that country (Lavadia)¹ it is only necessary in its present condition to dispossess the Greeks of that fortress to insure a speedy termination to the war. Should he be successful in his next attempt it will without doubt be the means of securing to him still the favour of the Sultan. But in the event of a different result, it is thought by those who profess to know the temper of the Sultan best, that he will not only lose his favour but his head also.

I have been thus particular in mentioning the situation in which the Capt. Pashaw now appears to be placed in order that you may be apprised of the uncertainty of his retaining hereafter the power of furthering the wishes of our Government, in securing a treaty with the Porte, affording to our merchant vessels the ingress and egress of the Black Sea, and at the same time to suggest for your consideration whether, in this apparent state of uncertainty it might not be advisable to take advantage of the existing perturbed state of the political relations between the Porte and several of the principal European powers, particularly with England and France², to consummate such a treaty as our Government may desire. That such an one might be made at this time I have not the least doubt, and I feel no hesitation in saying it is my confident belief that as long as the same state of things continues at Constantinople, and we have as respectable naval force *here* as we have at present that any person our Government might think proper to empower to conclude such a treaty would, if aided by a judicious display of our squadron at the

1. Ἄγνωστον τί ἐννοεῖ ὁ Rodgers μετὰ τὴν τοποθεσίαν «Lavadia», ἐκτὸς ἐὰν πρόκειται περὶ λάθους προελθόντος ἐκ συγχύσεως τῆς γεωγραφικῆς θέσεως τῆς Λειβαδιᾶς, μετὰ παραφθορὰν τοῦ φρουρίου Βασιλαδίου, παρὰ τὸ Μεσολόγγι.

2. Ἀμφίβολον εἶναι τί ἀκριβῶς ἐννοεῖ ὁ Rodgers μνημονεύων εἰδικῶς τὴν Γαλλίαν καὶ Ἀγγλίαν, διότι, ἐκτὸς τῆς κατ' Ἰούλιον Αἰτήσεως Προστασίας πρὸς τὴν Ἀγγλίαν, αἱ δυσσάρεσκειαι τῶν Τούρκων ἐστρέφοντο γενικώτερον ἐναντίον ὅλων τῶν εὐρωπαϊκῶν δυνάμεων διὰ τὰς μὴ φιλικὰς πρωτοβουλίας των, ὡς ἦσαν ἡ διακοίνωσις τῶν πρεσβευτῶν των περὶ μεσολαβήσεως πρὸς εἰρήνευσιν ἐν Ἑλλάδι κατὰ Μάιον, ἡ διακοίνωσις αὐτῶν περὶ τῶν παραδουναβίων ἡγεμονιῶν κατὰ Ἰούνιον, καὶ γενικῶς ὁ αὐξὼν φιλελληνισμὸς ἐν Εὐρώπῃ.

Island of Tenedos (near the entrance of the Dardanelles) *pending* the *negotiation*, meet with no difficulty whatever and what strengthens further this belief, is the favourable impression which our squadron is known to have made in the minds of the people of Smyrna, in its late visit there, from the Bashaw (of 3 tails) down to the meanest individual, occasioned, I presume, as well by the apparent superiority of our ships over those of other nations, which they have been accustomed to see, as the strict neutrality we have uniformly observed between them and the Greeks, whose respect and good will I have reason to believe that we also possess in an equal degree at least. Indeed in every port in the Archipelago where the squadron has been, whether among the Greeks or the Turks, we have experienced nothing but respect, kindness and hospitality.

During my stay at Smyrna I had ample proof of the friendly disposition of the Capt. Pashaw towards our country, and of our being greatly indebted to his influence and good offices for the uniform protection, for several years past, that our merchant vessels have enjoyed in their intercourse with that port. Permit me, Sir, therefore to say that in recommending that some person should be here invested with power to conclude a treaty with the Porte, that I do not mean to be understood as intimating that I think its negotiation ought to be commenced in any other way than through him¹, as has already been proposed, provided he should still continue to retain the Sultan's favour.

Judging from the extraordinary accounts I have lately seen in our newspapers of the various victories and successess of the Greeks, I am strongly inclined to believe that their real situation is not known in the United States, for with the exception of their defence of Mislongi they have been unsuccessful *by land* in every other affair of importance from the commencement of the present campaign up to the date of my leaving Napoli di Romania on the 18th ultimo. Their ships of war during the same period have been more fortunate, yet owing to the superior size and more approved construction of the ships of their enemy, added to their having been of late somewhat better managed than they were formerly², the advantages they have been to gain have been comparatively only partial.

The cause in which they are engaged is one that naturally enlists

1. Δηλ. τοῦ Καπουδᾶν Πασᾶ.

2. Δηλ. τῶν Τουρκικῶν πλοίων.

the sympathies of the whole civilized world, but judging from what I have seen of them of late, I am led to fear that they have very little else to interest any one in their favour, for if we have a right to form an opinion of their character from the jealousy, distrust and malignancy of feeling that the most prominent and enlightened men among them are in the habit of cherishing, and in the constant practise of giving vent to against each other, we should at once be led to conclude that they possessed all or most of the vices of their ancestors with but few of any of their virtues¹.

The enclosed declaration of the Greek Government² will show the lamentable condition in which that country is now placed.

I was induced to believe at the time I wrote you from Smyrna that that Government had been led through the persuasion of certain British agents to propose to England to take Greece under her protection. It has since come to my knowledge, however, that this was not the case, for while at Napoli di Romania, and speaking on this subject, Prince Maurocordate, the Secretary of State³ told me himself that it was the spontaneous act of his own Government, and on my asking whether he believed the British Government would accede to their proposition, his answer was that he thought it very doubtful⁴.

What will ultimately grow out of the struggle that Greece has been making to gain her independence no one can foresee, yet it would seem certain, in her present distracted and helpless situation, without friends, without unanimity among the people, and without men of sufficient talent and energy to direct her councils, next to impossible that she should be able to sustain herself much longer without the aid of some powerful than her own; and it is not likely that the British Government will risk the consequences of acceding to the proposition contained in the enclosed declaration, as should she do so, France and Austria, and most probably Russia also, would oppose it, for it is known that the Austrian Government would prefer that, under certain restrictions, she⁵ should

1. Διὰ τὰ αἰσθήματα τοῦ Rodgers πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας βλ. ἄνωτ., σ. 154, σημ. 4.

2. Νοεῖται ἡ Αἴτησις Προστασίας.

3. Ὁργανικὴ θέσις Ἰπουργοῦ τῶν Ἐξωτερικῶν δὲν ὑπῆρχεν εἰς τὸ Προσωρινὸν Ἑλληνικὸν Πολίτευμα. Ὁ Μαυροκορδάτος δμως, ἐνῶ ἐπισήμως ἦτο τότε Γραμματεὺς τοῦ Ἐκτελεστικοῦ, οὐσιαστικῶς ἐξετέλεθον καθήκοντα Ἰπουργοῦ τῶν Ἐξωτερικῶν, λόγῳ γλωσσομαθείας καὶ ἄλλων ἐξαιρετικῶν προσόντων.

4. Ἐπ' αὐτοῦ βλ. ἄνωτ., σ. 158, σημ. 5 καὶ σ. 165.

5. Νοεῖται ἡ Ἑλλάς.

again be subjected to the dominion of the Porte, whilst the Government of France would oppose as far as it dare do, any change in her condition that would not be likely to benefit her commercial interests.

Being but an indifferent scribe at all times, and having at present a lame hand will I hope be considered a sufficient apology for the roughness and informality of this communication.

With great respect etc.
J(oh)n Rodgers

The Hon. Henry Clay
Secretary of State, Washington

4

Ὡς εἶδομεν, ὅτε ὁ Rodgers περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς Σεπτεμβρίου, ἀνεχώρησεν ἐκ Σμύρνης διὰ Ναύπλιον, ἄφησεν εἰς Σμύρνην τὴν κορβέταν Ontario, διὰ τὴν ἐκτέλεση καθήκοντα νηοπομπῆς. Κυβερνήτης τοῦ Ontario ἦτο ὁ πλωτάρχης Nicholson, ὅστις κατὰ τὸ διάστημα αὐτὸ ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν Rodgers τὰς ἐπομένους δύο ἐκθέσεις. Ταύτας ἐθεωρήσαμεν σκόπιμον νὰ συμπεριλάβωμεν εἰς τὴν ἀνὰ χεῖρας σειρὰν, διότι θεωροῦμεν αὐτὰς ἀναπόσπαστον μέρος αὐτῆς, δεδομένου ὅτι ἐν συνεχείᾳ αὐταὶ ἀπεστάλησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Rodgers εἰς τὸν Ἰπουργὸν τῶν Ναυτικῶν Samuel L. Southard, πρὸς ἐνημέρωσίν του¹.

1. Τὰς ἀναφορὰς αὐτὰς ἐσώκλεισε εἰς τὴν κατωτέρω ἐπιστολὴν του :

U. S. Ship N. Carolina
Port Mahon, 22 Dec(embe)r 1825

Sir

The Ontario has this moment arrived from the Archipelago, and for your information relative to the State of things in that quarter, as well as the manner in which the Ontario was employed while in that Country, permit me to refer you to the Copies of Capt. Nicholson's reports herein enclosed.

As the Ontario would have to perform 30 days quarantine at this place, I am about to send her to Gibraltar for such letters as may have reached there for the Squadron. On her return here, I shall send her or the Erie to the Archipelago for the protection of our trade and shall continue to keep one of the smaller Vessels there, as long as danger is to be apprehended.

A Schooner would be of great service, for the small boats (which alone are as yet employed in acts of piracy) frequent such nooks and bye places among the Islands, as would often forbid the pursuit of a larger Vessel.

The Hon^e
Sam(ue)l L. Southard
Sec(retar)y Navy U. States

I have the honor to be
With great Respect
Your Obt Servt
J(oh)n Rodgers

Εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐξ αὐτῶν, τῆς 30ῆς Ὀκτωβρίου 1825, ἀνοικτὰ τῆς Μήλου, ὁ Nicholson ἀναφέρει ὅτι δεκαεὶς τουρκικὰ πλοῖα εὗρισκονται εἰς Ρόδον καὶ ἄλλα πλέουν πρὸς τὴν Κρήτην καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον, φέροντα ἐνίσχυσεις εἰς τὸν Ἰμπραήμ· οἱ Ἕλληνες βασιζοῦν τὰς ἐλπίδας των ἐπὶ τῶν πυρπολικῶν. Περαιτέρω δίδει διαφόρους πληροφορίας περὶ κρουσμάτων πειρατείας ἐναντίον αὐστριακῶν καὶ γαλλικῶν πλοίων.

Copy

U.S. Ship Ontario
Off Milo, Oct. 30 1825

Sir

I waited until the 17 for the convoy consisting of Ship Sally Ann, Brig Rambler and a Dutch Brig who asked to be permitted to go in company. In consequence of a strong head wind I was compelled the day after I left port to bear up to Mytilene and went into the port of Oliver¹ where we remained two days; upon coming out I came through the Straits of Scio and looked into Chesmai where an American Brig had gone for fruit. She had however sailed; upon getting off Milo we were again met with a strong head wind, which compelled the convoy to seek a harbour, and shortly after Twenty Sail of the Greek Squadron which were cruising off, likewise came in for shelter.

From the Admiral² I learnt that they had heard that three Turkish Frigates and thirteen Brigs were seen off Rhodes, and that the rest of the Fleet were about sailing with strong reinforcements for Candia and

1. Πρόκειται ἀσφαλῶς περὶ τοῦ κόλπου τῆς Γέρας, ὅστις εἰς παλαιὸν ναυτικὸν χάρτην τοῦ Ἀγγλικοῦ Ναυαρχείου (ἀριθ. 1665, διορθώσεις μέχρις Ὀκτωβρίου 1863), ὀνομάζεται «Gulf of Iera or Olivieri».

2. Ὁ Ἕλλην ναύαρχος ἦτο πιθανότατα ὁ Σπετσιώτης Γεώργιος Ἀνδρουτζος, ὡς συνάγεται ἐκ τῶν ἐξῆς: "Ὅταν ὁ Καπουδάν Πασῆς ἀνεχώρησεν ἐξ Ἀλεξανδρείας, περὶ τὰ μέσα Ὀκτωβρίου, μετὰ 115 πλοῖα καὶ 10.000 στρατοῦ πρὸς ἐνίσχυσιν τῆς πολιορκίας τοῦ Μεσολογγίου, οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐνόμισαν ὅτι ὁ ὄγκος οὗτος προωρίζετο διὰ τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς Ὑδρας καὶ τῶν Σπετσῶν. Πρὸς ἀπόκρουσιν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔλαβον διάφορα προληπτικὰ μέτρα, μεταξὺ τῶν ὁποίων καὶ τὴν ἀποστολὴν τοῦ Ὑδροσπετσιωτικοῦ στόλου εἰς περιπολίαν μεταξὺ Κάβου Μαλιᾶ καὶ νησίδος Παραπώλας. Ἐπελθούσης τότε σφοδρᾶς θαλασσοταραχῆς, ὁ Σπετσιωτικὸς στόλος, ὑπὸ τὴν ἀρχηγίαν τοῦ Γεωργίου Ἀνδρουτζου, προσωρίσθη εἰς Μῆλον, ὅποτε καὶ θὰ ἐπραγματοποιήθη ἡ συνάντησις αὐτοῦ μετὰ τοῦ Nicholson. Ὁ τελευταῖος ἀντλεῖ ἀσφαλῶς ἐκ τῆς συναντήσεως αὐτῆς τὰς πληροφορίας του, δεδομένου ὅτι αὐταὶ συμπίπτουν ἀπολύτως μετὰ τὰς πληροφορίας, τὰς ὁποίας μεταδίδει ὁ Ἀνδρουτζος, τὴν 10 Ὀκτωβρίου ἔ.π., πρὸς τοὺς προκρίτους τῶν Σπετσῶν. Πρβ. ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΟΥ Κ. ΟΡΦΑΝΑΔΟΥ, Ναυτικά, Ἀθήναι 1869, τόμ. Β', σ. 266-270, καὶ Α. Χ. ΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΥ, Τὰ Σπετσιωτικὰ, Πειραιεὺς 1925, τόμ. Β', σ. 300.

the Morea from Alexandria; the Greeks have several look out vessels watching their movements, and are in hopes of doing something with the Fire Ships. They have now out including Fireships near one hundred Sail.

The Greeks have done but little since you left this; at Misolongi about 300 Turks were destroyed by blowing up of an outwork which they occupied. A guard with prisoners were attacked and a thousand Greeks were liberated between Tripolitza and Modon¹.

Capt. Hamilton succeeded after much opposition from the Pashaw of Egypt in making an exchange and brought to Smyrna one hundred and seventy Turks².

In consequence of your honoring the constituted authorities of the Greek Gov(ernmen)t with a salute, the French Admiral as well as the Austrian Commodore thought it advisable to do the same. The American Squadron Capt. Hamilton informs me stands high at Napoli for the politeness and attention with which they were attended to on board the several ships.

During the last month several cases of Piracy have been reported on the Austrian and French trade with one on the English in the Straits of Scio. I cannot but hope Sir our trade will remain unmolested altho' I am confident to make it respected in by keeping a competent force among the Islands to give it protection.

I am now on my way to Serigo with the Convoy, off which I intend to leave them, as I apprehend no molestation; as they have a fair wind and bids fair to increase. I shall then look into Napoli and endeavour to get some information and will do myself the honor to keep you informed as often as opportunity offers.

1. "Άγνωστον ποίαν ἀνατίναξιν προχώματος ἔννοεῖ, δεδομένου ὅτι ἡ ἀνατίναξις τοῦ προχώματος «Φραγκλίνου» ἐγίνε τὴν 22 Αὐγούστου, ἐνῶ μετὰ δεκαπέντε ἡμέρας ἐπηκολούθησεν ἑτέρα ἀνατίναξις παρομοίου ἔργου. Περὶ τῆς δευτέρας πληροφορίας, δηλ. τῆς ἀπελευθερώσεως χιλίων Ἑλλήνων, οὐδεμίαν ἐπιβεβαίωσιν ἠδυνήθηεν νὰ εὔρω εἰς τὰς γνωστὰς πηγὰς, δὲν ἀποκλείεται δὲ νὰ εἶναι λανθασμένη ἢ φανταστικὴ, ὡς καὶ ἄλλαι πληροφορίες τοῦ Nicholson, αἵτινες εἶναι ἀμφιβόλου ἀξιοπιστίας (βλ. κατωτέρω, καὶ σ. 178, σημ. 1).

2. Πρόκειται περὶ τῆς ἀνταλλαγῆς Τούρκων αἰχμαλώτων μετ' Ἑλλήνων, οἱ σημαντικώτεροι τῶν ὁποίων ἦσαν οἱ Γ. Μαυρομιχάλης καὶ Π. Γιατράκος καὶ οἱ Τούρκοι πασάδες, οἵτινες εἶχον αἰχμαλωτισθῆ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν τοῦ Ναυπλίου τῷ 1822.

I am happy Sir to inform you that my Crew and officers continue to enjoy their health.

With sentiments of respect
I remain y(ou)r ob(edien)t S(er)v(an)t
signed John B. Nicholson
Commander

To Com(modore) John Rodgers
Comg U.S. Naval Forces
Mediterranean

5

Εἰς τὴν δευτέραν του ἐπιστολὴν, ἀπὸ 21 Δεκεμβρίου 1825, ὁ Nicholson ἀναφέρει, ὅτι μετέβη εἰς Ναύπλιον, Κόρινθον καὶ Ἀθήνας, καὶ ὅτι ὅλαι αἱ ἐλπίδες τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Διοικήσεως στηρίζονται εἰς τὴν ἄφιξιν τοῦ ναυάρχου Κόχραν. Δίδει διαφόρους πληροφορίες περὶ συγκεντρώσεως τουρκικῶν πλοίων περὶ τὸ Μεσολόγγι, αὐξήσεως τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ τακτικοῦ στρατοῦ εἰς 3.000 καὶ περὶ ἀναχωρήσεως τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ στόλου ἐκ Μεσολογγίου πρὸς ἀνεφοδιασμὸν αὐτοῦ εἰς Ὑδραν, κτλ.

Copy

U.S. Ship Ontario
Off Port Mahon Dec. 21. 1825

Sir

I do myself the honor to inform you of my arrival off this port in obedience to your orders; having left Smyrna on the morning of the 3^d and having only one American Brig in port, which arrived on the 2^d; as she was not immediately to be loaded for the U. States, nor a convoy requested or thought absolutely necessary by the owner, I deemed it necessary to hasten my departure to rejoin the Squadron.

My communication of the 30 Oct^r. informed you of my intention to visit Napoli di Romania after seeing my convoy safe through the Archipelago. Upon my arrival at this port¹, I waited on the heads of

1. Ὁ Nicholson εὐρίσκατο εἰς τὸ Ναύπλιον τὴν 1 Νοεμβρίου. Ἐκεῖ συνέφαγε καὶ συνεζήτησεν ἐπὶ τοῦ πλοίου του μετὰ τῶν Σπυρίδωνος Τρικούπη καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου Μαυροκορδάτου, οἵτινες ὑπῆρξαν, ἴσως, οἱ πληροφοριοδότες του, δεδομένου ὅτι ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν ἐλαχίστων γλωσσομαθῶν ἐν Ναυπλίῳ (βλ. Ἀρχεῖα Α. καὶ Γ. Κουντουριώτου, ἔ.ἀ., σ. 338-9, καὶ κατωτέρω, σ. 180.

the Government and found that all their ulterior hopes of success depended much upon the arrival of Lord Cochrane¹ and the force which it was supposed would accompany him; an attack was expected to have been made upon Hydra and Spezzia from the combined Turkish and Egyptian Fleets, which it was understood had put into Rhodes². Since they had the honor to receive your visit with the Squadron, nothing of moment had transpired; they however strengthened their Government, by placing a portion of the regular force at Athens, and augmented the number to near two thousand effective men. I regretted however to see that a strong feeling existed among the Militia, against the regulars³, and faction instead of being soothed by their critical situation, had rather augmented, which I fear will ultimately be the rock on which they will split.

In my cruise after leaving Napoli, I called off Spezzia and Hydra; the latter place appeared capable of making a defence, so long as they could command supplies from the main; Spezzia, if attacked with the slightest vigour, must fall, as it is accessible upon most points. From thence I proceeded to Athens, and regretted to see the Acropolis in the hands of the partisans of the chief Goura (he being with his division of irregulars at Salona, which place had just surrendered to his arms). The regulars under the Command of Col: Fabier, and the Com^t of Cavalry Count d'Angely, had possession of the town with about 500 men⁴, but

1. 'Η εἰδήσις περὶ τῆς ὑπογραφῆς τῆς συμβάσεως μετὰ τοῦ Κόχραν μόλις εἶχε φθάσει εἰς Ναύπλιον μὲ τὸ ἐκ Λονδίνου ταχυδρομεῖον. 'Ὡς γνωστόν, δι' αὐτῆς ὁ Κόχραν ἀνελάμβανεν, ἀντὶ ἀμοιβῆς £ 57.000, νὰ ἔλθῃ εἰς Ἑλλάδα ἡγούμενος στολισκοῦ ἀτμοκινήτων πλοίων. Τοῦτο, συνδυαζόμενον μὲ τὴν μεγάλην φήμην ποῦ εἶχεν ἀποκτήσει ὁ Κόχραν κατὰ τὸν ἀπελευθερωτικὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς Βραζιλίας, ἐνεποίησε, πρὸς στιγμὴν, ὑπέρμετρον ἐνθουσιασμὸν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

2. 'Ὡς εἶδομεν (ἀνωτ., σ. 173, σημ. 2), ὁ πραγματικὸς προορισμὸς τῶν τουρκοαιγυπτιακῶν δυνάμεων ἦτο ἡ πολιορκία τοῦ Μεσολογγίου, τοῦτο ὅμως δὲν ἦτο ἀκόμη γνωστόν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, δεδομένου ὅτι ἡ ἀπόβασις τῶν Τούρκων εἰς Νεόκαστρον ἔγινε τὴν 5 Νοεμβρίου, ὀλίγας ἡμέρας δηλ. μετὰ τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν τοῦ Nicholson εἰς Ναύπλιον.

3. Διάφοροι προσπάθειαι δημιουργίας τακτικοῦ στρατοῦ εἶχον γίνεи ἐπανειλημμένως ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Ἀγῶνος, ἀλλὰ προσέκρουον πάντοτε εἰς τὰς ἀντιρρήσεις τῆς πλειοψηφίας τῶν ἀτάκτων ὀπλαρχηγῶν καὶ ὀρισμένων πολιτικῶν. Μετὰ τὴν εἰσβολὴν τοῦ Ἱμπραήμ καὶ τὰ ἐντυπωσιακὰ ἀποτελέσματα ἅτινα ἐπέτυχε μὲ τὸν ἄριστα ἐκπαιδευμένον τακτικὸν στρατὸν του, αἱ ἀντιρρήσεις ὑπεχώρησαν, καὶ τελικῶς ἡ Κυβέρνησις τοῦ Ναυπλίου, τὴν 22 Σεπτεμβρίου 1825, ἐψήφισε τὸν περὶ ἀπογραφικῆς στρατολογίας νόμον (βλ. Γ. Δ. ΔΗΜΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, 'Ὁ Κῶδιξ τῶν Νόμων τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐπαναστάσεως, 1822-1828, ΕΑΕΔ, 10-11 [1963-4] 164-5).

4. Τὴν 12 Ὀκτωβρίου ὁ Φαβιέρος μετὰ πέντε λόχων πεζικοῦ καὶ ὁ d'Angely ἐπὶ

was not allowed to visit the Citadel without a passport from its Governor. From observation of the Country made between Athens and Corinth I saw but little reason to believe that the struggle could be long maintained with a prospect of success, should the Government be left upon its own resources. The country is uncultivated and its few inhabitants most miserable; their villages in ruins, their flocks and herds have fallen a prey to their enemies. Corinth itself is but a name. Its roofless houses, dilapidated walls still and silent streets, overgrown with weeds and whitened with the bones of its defenders, offer a sad spectacle to a visitor. The castle cannot be taken with any force, if those who hold it will but supply themselves with provisions and do their duty¹.

I visited several Islands and showed our flag which met with that attention and consideration which is its due.

Upon my return to Smyrna, I found no American vessels had arrived since my departure, but regretted to hear that several vessels under the English and other flags, had been met by pirates and plundered. So far we have escaped but it is impossible to foresee how long this forbearance will exist. Your wisdom will no doubt apply as far as in your power the only safeguard for the protections of our valuable commerce in that sea. After leaving Smyrna, owing to southerly winds I was compelled to make Cape D'Oro passage and when off Hydra on the 7 inst: sent in an officer to procure information. He informed me that a courier had but just arrived from Napoli bringing intelligence that a partial engagement had taken place between a small force of the Greeks, consisting of a few hundred, under command of Cecinia against a body of Turks said to contain 5000 under Ebrihim Pacha near Gastroni, which resulted in the loss of 70 Greeks and 150 Turks; nothing however of advantage to either party was the result². About the 1st inst: an attempt was made by the Greeks with their fire ships, which was unsuccessful, having lost one, by a grenade thrown by the Turkish Fleet; the crew however were saved³.

κεφαλῆς 150 ἰππέων εἶχον φθάσει εἰς Ἀθήνας, ἀλλ' ὁ Φαβιέρος μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας διετάχθη νὰ ἀπέλθῃ μετὰ μέρους τοῦ τακτικοῦ, διὰ νὰ ὑπερασπίσῃ τὰς Σπέτσας.

1. Οὐδαμῶθεν ἔχομεν ἐπιβεβαιώσιν, ὅτι ὁ Nicholson ἐπεσκέφθη πράγματι τὴν Κόρινθον, τὴν ὅποιαν περιγράφει.

2. Πρόκειται περὶ σοβαρᾶς ἀψιμαχίας, ἣτις ἔλαβε χώραν εἰς Βαρθολομιό, πλησίον τοῦ Κάστρου Χλεμούτσι, περὶ τὴν 21 Νοεμβρίου (βλ. Ἱστορικὸν Ἀρχεῖον Ρώμα, ἔ.ἀ. σ. 760-761).

3. Νοεῖται τὸ πυρπολικὸν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου Βώκου, τὸ ὅποιον ἐκάη τὴν 26 Νοεμβρίου παρὰ τὰς νήσους Σκρόφας (βλ. ΟΡΛΑΝΔΟΥ, ἔ.ἀ., σ. 278, σημ. α).

The Turks with Ebrihim Pacha were advancing upon Miselongi, which place they are determined if possible to reduce as their force consists of 115 sail, of which 15 are Frigates, 30 Sloops, the rest Brigs, Schooners and a small steam boat. Should the Turks succeed in reducing Miselongi, their whole force, will be exerted against the Morea and the Islands. Hydra and Spezzia it is supposed will be attacked among the first. To oppose these measures the Greek Gov(ernmen)t had increased its regular force to about 3000 men; and Colokotroni and Goura¹, were endeavouring to collect a force of irregulars to threaten Tripolitza, where 5000 Turks had been left in garrison. The proclamation of the English Gov(ernmen)t² had damped the feelings of the friends of liberty; yet were they in hopes to hold out for another campaign, or until some favorable change in the opinion of the European powers, who, it was believed could, nor would not, see them swept from the face of their long oppressed and injured country.

On the 12 inst. off Navarrine, I fell in with and spoke two of the Greek Fleet, from off Miselongi, which place they left on the 7th inst: They confirmed the loss of the fire ship as well as the report of the action between Cecinia and Ebrihim Pacha, which however resulted in favour of neither party.

The Greek Fleet had dispersed and was on its way to Hydra to provision and augment their fire ships not deeming an attack practicable at this time with any prospect of success³.

They left at Patras 70 sail of the Turkish Fleet, the remainder it was supposed had gone against Miselongi as they had lost sight of them.

I take leave to state that I have on board as passengers, Mr. Scott the Master of the Brig Chillian of New York, and two of the Crew, who

1. 'Εσφαλμένη πληροφορία. Μόνον ό Κολοκοτρώνης εύρίσκειτο εις Τρίπολην πρός όργανωσιν τής άποτυχούσης δευτέρας πολιορκίας, κατά Νοέμβριον-Δεκέμβριον του 1825 (βλ. ΤΡΙΚΟΥΠΗ, έ.ά., σ. 346).

2. Προφανώς έννοεί την από 13 Σεπτεμβρίου 1825 διακήρυξιν του Γεωργίου Δ', ητις επανελάμβανε τας περι ούδετερότητος αρχάς τής 'Αγγλίας. 'Η διακήρυξις άπεγοήτευσε φυσικά τους 'Ελληνας, οστινες άντ' αυτής άνέμενον την εύνοϊκην άπάντησιν τής 'Αγγλίας εις την αίτηθεισαν προστασίαν.

3. 'Η κυριώτερα αίτία τής αναχωρήσεώς του ήτο ή άμεσος και απόλυτος ανάγκη άνεροδιασμοϋ του στόλου εις τροφάς, ως αναφέρει ό Ίδιος ό Μιαούλης εις έπιστολήν του πρός τους προκρίτους τής 'Υδρας, τής 4 Δεκεμβρίου 1825, εκ Μεσολογγίου: «... ήμεϊς με θλίψιν βλέπομεν ότι τὸ ψωμί σχεδόν μᾶς έτελείωσε και δέν μᾶς έρχεται άλλο, ώστε άν δέν μᾶς προφθάσῃ σήμερον αύριον, αναγκαζόμεθα νά αναχωρήσωμεν διά τούτην μόνην την αίτίαν» (βλ. 'Αρχείον τής Κοινότητος "Υδρας, έ.ά., τόμ. 11, σ. 641).

were unfortunately capsized in the Gulph of Lyons from Genoa bound to Tampico South America. They were taken off the wreck by a French vessel and brought into Smyrna by a Schooner of the Navy of France, and treated with that attention and humanity which their unfortunate situation required.

I have the honor to be
Respectfully, Sir
Your ob(edien)t S(er)v(an)t
(signed)
John B. Nicholson
Commander

To John Rodgers Esq.
Com(mand)er in Chief of the
U.S. Naval Forces
Mediterranean

6

Ὡς εἶδομεν, ὁ Rodgers, μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησίν του ἐκ Ναυπλίου, τὴν 21 Σεπτεμβρίου 1825, ἀνέθεσεν εἰς τὸν Ἀμερικανὸν πρόξενον τῆς Σμύρνης David Offley νὰ κομίσῃ ἐμπιστευτικὴν ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τὸν Καπουδᾶν Πασᾶν¹. Ὁ Offley, ἀφοῦ ἐξετέλεσε τὴν ἀποστολὴν του καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν εἰς Σμύρνην, γράφει τὰς ἐντυπώσεις του πρὸς τὸν Rodgers, ὅστις ἀποστέλλει ἀντίγραφον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς του πρὸς τὸν Henry Clay καὶ συνοδεύει αὐτὸ διὰ τῆς κατωτέρω ἐπιστολῆς. Χαρακτηριστικὸν εἶναι τὸ τέλος τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ὅπου ἀναφέρει ὅτι ὁ Μκυροκορδᾶτος καὶ ὁ Σπ. Τρικούπης ἐπανελάβον εἰς τὸν Nicholson, ὅτι αἱ ἐλπίδες τῶν Ἑλλήνων στηρίζονται εἰς τὴν ἐπέμβασιν μιᾶς τῶν εὐρωπαϊκῶν δυνάμεων.

U.S. Ship N. Carolina
Port Mahon, Dec^r 25th 1825

Sir,

By the arrival of the Ontario from Smyrna I have received a letter from Mr. Offley our Consul, of which I enclose a copy for your information. Mr. Offley you will perceive by the information it contains, is intimately acquainted with the policy and feelings of the Turkish Government and people, and this he has acquired by a residence of fourteen years in Smyrna, the greater part of which time, I believe he has discharged

1. Βλ. ἀνωτ., σ. 167-8.

the duties of Consul, and in a manner too, judging from the estimation in which he appears to be held by the public authorities of that place, and the different European Consuls as well as American merchants residing there, not only creditable to himself, but beneficially for the commercial interests of his country. As his statement so fully corroborates that contained in my letter to you on the same subject, under date the 14th of October last¹, feel it unnecessary to say more at present, than that I shall be at Gibraltar with the Squadron some time towards the last of March or first of April next, in readiness to execute any further commands you may see fit to honor me with.

For information concerning the changes that have taken place in the political relations of Greece since I left Napoli Di Romania in September last, permit me to refer you to Mr. Southard the Secretary of the Navy, to whom I have sent the official report of Capt. Nicholson², who has just arrived from the Archipelago, last from the Island of Hydra, where he saw Prince Mavrocordato the Secretary of State, and Tricoupi³ a leading member of the Greek Senate, both of whom spoke to him of their situation in terms of despondency, intimating that their further hopes of success depended entirely upon the speedy interference of some of the powers of Europe.

With great respect etc. etc.
J(oh)n Rodgers

The Hon. Henry Clay
Secretary of State, Washington

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Μετὰ παρέλευσιν πολλῶν εἰσέτι μηνῶν, ὁ Rodgers κατορθώνει ἐπὶ τέλους, τὴν 6 Ἰουλίου 1826, νὰ ἐπιτύχη τὴν πολυπόθητον συνάντησιν μετὰ τοῦ Καπουδᾶν Πασᾶ εἰς τὴν Τένεδον. Κατὰ τὴν διάρκειαν τῆς συναντήσεως αὐτῆς, ἥτις ἐπραγματοποιήθη εἰς φιλικὴν καὶ ἐγκάρδιον ἀτμόσφαιραν, μὲ προπόσεις καὶ

1. Νοεῖται ὁ τρόπος διὰ τοῦ ὁποίου ἐνόμιζεν ὅτι ἔπρεπε νὰ συνεχισθοῦν αἱ διαπραγματεύσεις μετὰ τῆς Τουρκίας εἰς περίπτωσιν κατὰ τὴν ὁποίαν ὁ Καπουδᾶν Πασᾶς θὰ ἔχανε τὴν ἐπιρροήν του ἐπὶ τοῦ Σουλτάνου.

2. Ὁ Rodgers ἐκ παραδρομῆς ἀναφέρει «ἐπίσημον ἀναφοράν», δεδομένου ὅτι ἀπέστειλε δύο ἀναφορὰς πρὸς τὸν Southard, ὡς γράφει εἰς τὴν συνοδεύουσαν αὐτὰς ἐπιστολὴν (βλ. ἄνωτ., σ. 172, σημ. 1).

3. Ἡ συνάντησις ἐπραγματοποιήθη εἰς τὸ Ναύπλιον καὶ ἔχι εἰς τὴν Ἰδραν (βλ. ἄνωτ., σ. 175, σημ. 1).

ἀνταλλαγὴν φιλοφρονήσεων καὶ δώρων, ὁ Τοῦρκος ναύαρχος ὑπεσχέθη νὰ μεσολαβήσῃ παρὰ τῷ Σουλτάνῳ πρὸς ὑπογραφὴν τῆς συνθήκης καὶ νὰ εἰδοποιήσῃ τὸν Rodgers περὶ τοῦ ἀποτελέσματος.

Περὶ τῆς συναντήσεως αὐτῆς ὁ Rodgers ἀποστέλλει τὴν 19 Ἰουλίου πρὸς τὸν Henry Clay, ἀναφορὰν τῆς ὁποίας παραθέτομεν δύο μόνον παραγράφους, διότι αὕτη καὶ μακροσκελὴς εἶναι καὶ ἀναφέρεται εἰς ἄσχετα πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα:

The second day after my arrival at that Island, a division of the Turkish fleet, commanded by the Capudan Bey¹, consisting of two ships of the line, four frigates and several corvettes and brigs, amounting in all to twenty three sail, passed on its way to Candia, as was then said, for the purpose of forming a junction with the Egyptian fleet, previous to proceeding against Napoli di Romania and Hydra. From this officer I learned that the Capudan Pacha would leave the Dardanelles with the second and principal division of the fleet in eight or ten days from that time . . . The Capudan Pacha reached Tenedos on the 5th instant.

.....

The success of the Campaign against Missolongi has made him (δηλ. τὸν Καπουδὰν Πασᾶ) a greater favourite than ever with the Grand Signor, and it is said that on his return from the present cruise, should it prove successful, that he will most probably be appointed Grand Vizir².

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Ἑπτὰ καὶ πλέον μῆνας μετὰ τὴν φιλικὴν καὶ ἐγκάρδιον αὐτὴν συνάντησιν τοῦ Rodgers μετὰ τοῦ Καπουδὰν Πασᾶ, οὐδὲν τὸ θετικὸν εἶχεν ἐπιτευχθῆ, καὶ ὁ Rodgers ἐξηκολούθει νὰ παραμένῃ μόνον μετὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας του. Ὁ Τοῦρκος ναύαρχος, δι' ἀγνώστους εἰς ἡμᾶς λόγους, καθυστέρει τὰς ὑποσχεθείσας ὑπηρεσίας καὶ τὸ θέμα ἐφαίνετο νὰ χρονίζῃ.

Ἐν τῷ μεταξύ, κατὰ τὰς ἀρχὰς Δεκεμβρίου 1826, ἡ ἙΑμερικανικὴ κατασκευὴς φρεγάδα Hope παρεδόθη εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας μετὰ πυρομαχικῶν καὶ, μετονομασθεῖσα «Ἑλλάς», ἐχρησιμοποιεῖτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιαούλη ὡς ναυαρχίς. Ὁ Rodgers λέγει ὅτι οἱ ξένοι πράκτορες διέδιδον ὅτι τοῦτο ἐγένετο τῇ ἐγκρί-

1. Τίτλος ἀπονεμόμενος εἰς τὸν ἐκάστοτε κυβερνήτην τῆς Τουρκικῆς ναυαρχίδος, ἐπὶ τῆς ὁποίας ἐπέβαινε καὶ ὁ Καπουδὰν Πασᾶς.

2. Ὁ Καπουδὰν Πασᾶς πράγματι μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγένετο Μέγας Βεζίρης (βλ. ἀνωτ., σ. 153, σημ. 3).

σει τῆς Ἀμερικανικῆς Κυβερνήσεως, γεγονός τὸ ὁποῖον ἀπετέλεσε βαρὺ πλῆγμα κατὰ τῆς λεπτῆς ἀποστολῆς του, δηλ. τῆς ὑπογραφῆς τῆς ἀμερικανοτουρκικῆς ἐμπορικῆς συμφωνίας.

U. S. Ship N. Carolina
Malta, February 14th 1827

Sir,

Very much to my surprise I have not yet received the communication of the Capudan Pacha of the Ottoman fleet which he promised to make on his return to Constantinople, and I know not how to account for his not having complied with his promise, unless it is to be attributed to the unfriendly reports which have lately been circulated by the agents of certain European powers in relation to the Frigate Hope¹, in which they have represented to the authorities of the Porte, that large quantities of arms, and naval and military stores² had been transmitted to in Greece for the use of their enemies, and that this had been done with the knowledge and sanction of our Government.

I have taken pains to counteract as far as possible the injurious effect which such reports are calculated to have on our commercial interests, and I still am induced to think that in long I shall receive the Pasha's promised communication.

The Pacha, not more than ten or fifteen days before the arrival of the Hope, sent me a splendid portrait of the Sultan which he, the Sultan, sat for at his, the Pacha's request, knowing at the time, it was to be presented to me; and I mention this as a proof of the friendly feel-

1. Δύο φρεγάται, ἡ «Ἐλπὶς» καὶ ἡ «Σωτηρία», εἶχον παραγγελθῆ εἰς Ἀμερικὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ 1825. Ἡ παράδοσις των ὅμως καθυστέρησε μεγάλως καὶ σχεδὸν ἐματαιώθη, λόγῳ τῶν ἀλλεπαλλήλων καὶ ἀπροβλέπτων δυσχερειῶν, αἱ ὁποῖαι ἀνεφύοντο συνεχῶς καὶ σχεδὸν μυστηριωδῶς. Τελικῶς ἐξ αὐτῶν μόνον ἡ «Ἐλπὶς» (Hope) παρεδόθη εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ τοῦτο κατόπιν δικαστικοῦ ἀγῶνος καὶ προσωπικῆς ἐπεμβάσεως τοῦ Προέδρου τῶν Ἡνωμένων Πολιτειῶν. Εἰς ὅλα αὐτὰ δὲν ἀποκλείεται σχέσις μεταξὺ καθυστερήσεων εἰς τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν φρεγατῶν καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον χρόνον ἀμερικανοτουρκικῶν διαπραγματεύσεων, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο χρῆζει περαιτέρω ἐρεύνης. Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀμερικῇ δυσχερειῶν βλ. Α. ΚΟΝΤΟΣΤΑΥΛΟΥ, Τὰ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀμερικῇ ναυπηγηθειῶν φρεγατῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ Νομισματοκοπέιου, Ἀθῆναι 1855, καὶ Ν. ΣΠΗΛΙΑΔΟΥ, Ἀπομνημονεύματα, Ἀθῆναι 1857, τόμ. Γ', σ. 134. Δι' ἐκτενῆ βιβλιογραφίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ θέματος βλ. ἐν Α. Μ. ΑΝΔΡΕΑΔΟΥ, Ἱστορία τῶν ἔθνικῶν δανείων, Μέρος Α', Ἀθῆναι 1904, σ. 40, σημ. 1.

2. Ἴσως ἀναφέρεται εἰς τὸ ὅτι ἡ «Ἐλλάς» ἐφθασεν εἰς Ἑλλάδα συνοδευομένη «μὲ ἄλλα τέσσερα φορτηγὰ φορτωμένα πολεμοφόδια καὶ ζωοτροφάς» (Ἀρχεῖον τῆς Κοινότητος Ὑδρας, ἔ.ἀ., τόμ. 12, σ. 446).

ings entertained by the Sultan and himself towards our Government and country, previous to the arrival of the before-mentioned frigate, for before that time it had been acknowledged, not only by the authorities of the Porte, but by every body else that we had maintained a strictly neutral character.

(Other nations, and particularly England, I find, is becoming jealous of our increasing commerce in the Archipelago, and her agents will leave nothing undone that lying and discrimination can effect to prevent our participating in the trade of a section of the Globe of which she had not long since almost the exclusive monopoly).

The Capudan Pacha since his return to Constantinople, is reported to be more popular then ever, and it is said that he is to be appointed Grand Vizir, that the present Pacha of Smyrna is to be appointed Capudan Pacha.

In justice to myself permit me, Sir, to say that if I should fail before my return in executing the business which led to my communicating with the Capudan Pacha, it will not be my fault.

With the highest respect etc.
J(oh)n. Rodgers

The Hon. Henry Clay
Secretary of State

Διὰ τῆς τελευταίας φράσεως ὁ Rodgers ἐπιχειρεῖ νὰ ἐπιρρίψῃ προκαταβολικῶς τὰς εὐθύνας ἐνδεχομένης ἀποτυχίας τῆς ἀποστολῆς του εἰς τὴν ἄκαιρον, κατ' αὐτόν, παράδοσιν τῆς Ἀμερικανικῆς φρεγάτας Hope εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, διὰ τοῦ σχολίου δὲ τούτου τελειώνει καὶ ἡ συμμετοχὴ του εἰς τὰς ἀμερικανοτουρκικὰς διαπραγματεύσεις, αἵτινες συνεχίσθησαν ὑπὸ ἄλλων.

Αἱ ἐπιστολαὶ Rodgers-Nicholson ἐνδιαφέρουν ἱστορικῶς, διότι διευκρινίζουν τὰ κίνητρα τῆς πολιτικῆς τῶν Μεγάλων Δυνάμεων ἐναντι τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἀγῶνος, ἐπιβεβαιώνουν τὴν οὐδετέραν στάσιν τῆς ἐπισήμου Ἀμερικῆς καὶ ἐξηγοῦν τὰ πιθανὰ κίνητρα, συνάμα δὲ θίγουν λίαν ἐνδιαφερούσας πτυχὰς συμβάντων ἢ προσώπων τῆς ἐποχῆς.

Τέλος, νομίζω ὅτι εἶναι ἀξία ἐξάρσεως ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν διαφανομένη δξυδέρκεια τοῦ Rodgers, ὅστις ἐντὸς βραχυτάτου διαστήματος κατώρθωσε νὰ συλλάβῃ καὶ νὰ μεταδώσῃ τὴν πολὺπλοκον εἰκόνα τῆς ἐποχῆς, ἐὰν δὲ ἐνίοτε γίνεται τραχὺς εἰς τὰς κρίσεις του, δὲν πρέπει νὰ λησμονῆται ὅτι προήρχето ἐκ χώρας νεωτᾶτης καὶ λίαν ἀπομεμακρυσμένης τότε ἀπὸ τὰς μηχανορραφίας τῆς ἤδη γηραιᾶς Εὐρώπης.

