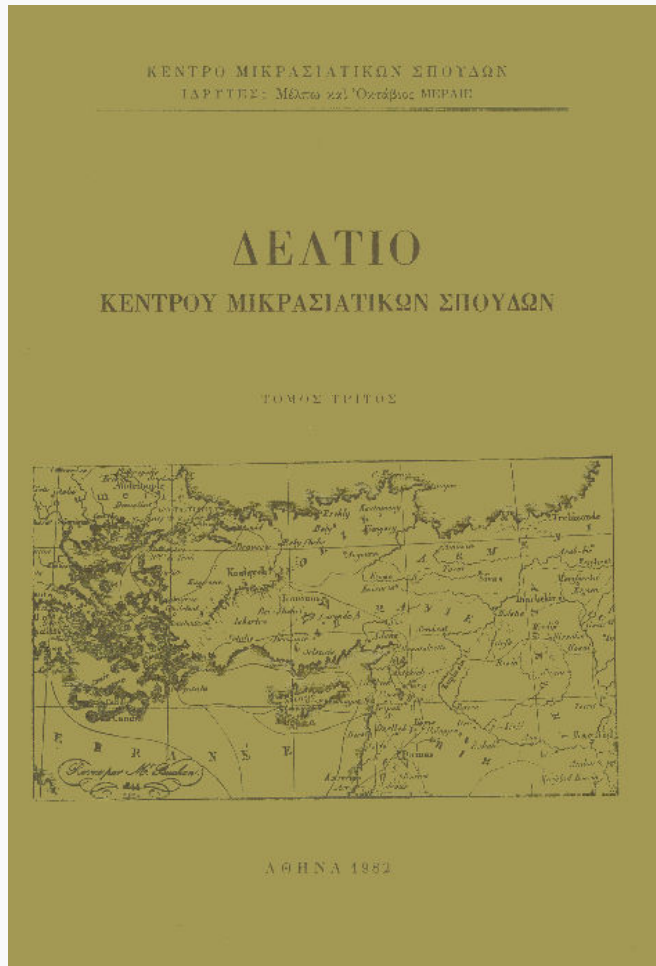


## Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών

Τόμ. 3 (1982)



### Το ρεμπελιό της Σμύρνης το 1797

*Richard Clogg*

doi: [10.12681/deltiokms.280](https://doi.org/10.12681/deltiokms.280)

Copyright © 2015, Richard Clogg



Άδεια χρήσης [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/).

### Βιβλιογραφική αναφορά:

Clogg, R. (1982). Το ρεμπελιό της Σμύρνης το 1797. *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών*, 3, 71–125.  
<https://doi.org/10.12681/deltiokms.280>

THE SMYRNA 'REBELLION' OF 1797:  
SOME DOCUMENTS FROM THE BRITISH ARCHIVES

The urban history of the Ottoman Empire during the period of its decline has been little studied yet enough research has been carried out to demonstrate that such a study is a rewarding one which can throw important light on the politics of the Empire as a whole.<sup>1</sup> It is clear that the decline in the authority of the Ottoman central government and the usurpation of power in the provinces by *ayans* and *derebeys* was paralleled by the breakdown of central control over the major cities of the Empire. The indiscipline of the janissary regiments, which had by the late eighteenth century degenerated into a hereditary caste which set itself resolutely against attempts to initiate reforms and modernise the imperial armies<sup>2</sup>, proved a major threat to law and order no less in the provincial cities of the Empire than in the capital. One of the best documented instances of such janissary inspired disorders is the urban riot that took place in March 1797 and is known as τὸ ρεμπελιὸ τῆς Σμύρνης.

Ioannis Philimon, the historian of the Greek War of Independence, put the number of Greek victims of the 'rebellion' at 1,500, a figure confirmed in the British documents published in this article, and compared the slaughter which occurred to that which ensued in the city on the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence<sup>3</sup>. It is not surprising that anti-Greek violence of this magnitude should have been reflected in a number of works of popular literature of the period, as well as prompting a number of more recent studies by Greek historians<sup>4</sup>.

1. See, for instance, H.L. Bodman, *Political Factions in Aleppo, 1760-1826*, (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1963).

2. Cf. Stanford J. Shaw, *Between Old and New. The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III 1789-1807*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1971) 119ff.

3. «Ἐκ μὲν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐθυσιάσθησαν μέχρι τῶν χιλίων πεντακοσίων, ἐπὶ ὥρας δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ὁκτὼ ἐφλέγετο ἡ πόλις ἀποτεφρωθεῖσα ὑπὲρ τὸ ἡμισυ μέρος». I. Philimon, *Δοκίμιον περὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐπαναστάσεως*, (Athens, 1859) III, 249. On Smyrna in 1821 see my 'Smyrna in 1821: Documents from the Levant Company Archives in the Public Record Office', *Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά*, XV (1972) 313-371.

4. The literature in Greek on the Smyrna 'rebellion' is extensive. Among the more

Despite the existence, however, of an extensive literature in Greek on the 'rebellion' nonetheless what is undoubtedly the most accurate and detailed source for the history of these tragic events, namely the reports of Francis Werry, the consul to the Levant Company's factory in Smyrna, have been neglected<sup>5</sup>. For besides the massacre of some 1,500 Greeks, the 'rebellion' also resulted in the destruction of much of the property of the Frankish merchant community in the city. It was clearly Werry's duty to give as full an account as possible of the events that led to the destruction of so much of the property of the British merchant community and to detail the losses incurred by British merchants. Werry was consul in Smyrna between 1794 and 1825, when, after 224 years of existence, the Levant Company surrendered its charters and privileges, and during this period he acquired an unrivalled knowledge of the affairs of the city. In this article I am publishing a number of the most important documents preserved in the Levant Company and Foreign Office papers now in the Public Record Office in London as a prelude to a more detailed study of the Smyrna 'rebellion' which I am preparing<sup>6</sup>.

Werry's first hurried account (Document 1) of the events of 15 March was written on 17 March aboard the ship Withywood in the harbour of Smyrna to I. Spencer Smith, the British Minister in Constantinople, with a copy being sent to the Governors of the Levant Company in London. A more detailed and considered account (Document 2) was sent by

---

important accounts are N. K. Kh. Kostis, «Σμυρναϊκὰ Ἀνάλεκτα. Τὸ ἐν Σμύρῃ ρεμπελιὸν τοῦ ἔτους 1797 κατὰ νέας ἀνεκδότους πηγὰς», *Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, VI (1901 - 1905) 358 - 372; Nikos A. Veis, «Τὸ Ἐργάλο ρεμπελιὸν τῆς Σμύρνης (Μάρτιος τοῦ 1797) κατὰ νεωτάτας ἔρευνας», *Μικρασιατικὰ Χρονικά*, IV (1948) 415 - 422 and Kh. Solomonidis, «Τὸ ρεμπελιὸν τῆς Σμύρνης» in *Ὕμνοι καὶ Θρῆνος τῆς Σμύρνης*, (Athens, 1956) 182 - 199; See also I. Papagiannopoulos, «Νέο φῶς στὸ ρεμπελιὸν τῆς Σμύρνης», *Μικρασιατικὰ Χρονικά*, I, (1938) 261 - 267; Antonios Sigalas, «Ὁ Θρῆνος τῆς Σμύρνης ἢ τὸ Ρεμπελιὸν τῶν Γενιτσαρῶν» in *Ἐκλαυκευμένα Μελετήματα*, II (Athens, 1971), 158 - 168 and Niketas Niphakis «Ἱστορία τοῦ Φραγκομαχαλᾶ διὰ στίχων πολιτικῶν» in S. V. Kougeas, ed., *Μανιατικὰ ἱστορικὰ σιχουογήματα*, (Athens, 1964) 181 - 187.

5. On the history of the Levant Company's factory in Smyrna see A.C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, (London 1935, reprinted 1964) passim. A brief account of the Smyrna 'rebellion' is given in the memoirs of Consul Werry's son, Francis Peter. See the *Personal Memoirs and Letters of Francis Peter Werry, Attaché to the British Embassies at St. Petersburg and Vienna in 1812 - 1815. Edited by his Daughter*, (London, 1861) 34 - 6.

6. These documents are published by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office. Minor orthographical changes have been made in the interests of greater clarity, but no systematic attempt has been made to correct spelling, punctuation etc. The documents are taken from the series FO 78/16 and SP 105/126.

Werry to the Governors on 2 April, and to Spencer Smith on 8 April (Document 3). Spencer Smith on 16 April sent his own account (Document 4) of the 'rebellion' to Lord Grenville, the British Foreign Secretary. With this despatch he included a number of enclosures, the first of which was a copy of Werry's initial letter of 17 March (Document 1). Enclosures two and three are intercepted despatches of the Imperial Habsburg consul in Smyrna to Baron Herbert Rathkeal, the Imperial *internuntius* in Constantinople, (Document 5), and of the Russian vice-consul to the Russian ambassador in Constantinople, M. de Kotzoubey, (Document 6), both dated 17 March. Enclosure four is a translation of the imperial edict (Document 7) issued at the beginning of April enjoining the *kapıcı başı* Abdullah bey, the governor of Aydin Hüsseyin Karaosmanoglu, the *zagarıcı-başı* Hacı Mehmed and other Ottoman officials to restore order in the city. Enclosure five consists of the resolution passed at a meeting on 25 March of the British merchant community (Document 8). Enclosure six is a memorial addressed by the European consuls on 10 April to Hüsseyin Karaosmanoglu, governor of Aydin (Document 9). Document 10 consists of an extract of a letter, dated 24 April, from Werry to Spencer Smith, in which he details the losses suffered by the British community in the great fire which followed the janissary outburst. The amount of the losses sustained by the British Factory and British subjects and those protected by *berats*, *fermans*<sup>7</sup> and patents

---

7. In a letter of 10 June 1797 to Lord Grenville, Spencer Smith explained the significance of Werry's distinction between British born subjects and British protected subjects. 'This latter title', he wrote, 'comprehends two descriptions of which the first consists of Ottoman Tributaries (*Rayaa*) adopted into the service as interpreters or brokers; and recognised as such by the *Beraats* and *Fermaans* of their government. The second class consists of Europeans of different nations received under the jurisdiction by the Ambassador's patent; in virtue of the privilege conceded by the Capitulations: and such have usually been either the subjects of friendly or allied powers without a minister at this court, (as for instance Portugal and Sardinia) and whose personal safety in these dominions depend upon some such countenance; or lately has been more the case, distressed victims of the circumstances of the times. Better to assist a comprehension of the exact nature of this correction I have annexed for your Lordship's examination one of these patents of the late Ambassador's which I happen to have by me in original from having been necessitated to annul the protection owing to subsequent misconduct on the part of an apostate French royalist'.

The patent of protection read as follows:

(Roberto Liston per Sua Maesta il Re della Gran Britannia Ambasciatore apresso la Porta Ottomana; a chiunque perverrano le presenti Salute.

Certifichiamo ed attestiamo qualmente abbiamo ammesso e ricevuto e colle presenti

amounted to 1,303,167 piastres and 78 aspers. In a letter of 17 April Werry had already written to the governors of the Levant Company detailing his own losses, which he estimated at 'upwards of nine thousand piastres', while the cost of rebuilding the consul's house, the chaplain's apartments and the library<sup>8</sup> had been estimated at 60,436 piastres. Document 11 details the losses, totalling 409,129 piastres suffered by a single British merchant, Joseph Franel<sup>9</sup>. This detailed inventory affords

---

ammettiamo e riceviamo per protetto Britannico il Signor *Jean Baptiste Croze Magnan*, Oriundo Francese, dimorante in Tripoli di Soria; dichiarandolo, con tutti li suoi Affari, sotto la protezione di quest' Ambasciata per godere pacificamente tutti l'immunita, francheggie, liberta e privilegi concessi alla Nazione Britannica in virtu delle Capitolazioni ed altre usanze e pretiche; ed a tal effetto richiediamo tutti li nostri nazionali ed altri di riconoscerlo e farlo riconoscere di nostro protetto. Pregando tutti l'Illustri Pascia, Molla, Vaivodi ed altri Uffiziali dell'Imperio Ottomano d'accordare al detto Signor Jean Baptiste Croze Magnan tutta la protezione che s'e accostimato di concedere alli sudditi e protetti di Sua Maesta Britannica conforme all Sacre Capitolazioni. In fede di che abbiamo sottoscritto le presenti e fatto aporre il Sigillo dell' Ambasciata.

Date in Pera di Costantinopoli adi primo Marzio. 1795

Per ordine di sua Eccellenza  
(signed) I Spencer Smith. Seq

(signed) Rob. Liston.

Cancelled 1. January 1797.  
(signed) I. Spencer Smith

H. M. Chargé d'Affaires'.

The sale of *berats* was a recognised requisite of the ambassadors of the powers to the Ottoman Porte. It was, as Sir Robert Liston, Spencer Smith's predecessor, wrote to Grenville on 25 April 1795, a 'universal practice' for 'it was natural that a patent which raised a tributary subject from a state of degradation, and procured respect to his person, security to his property and the patronage of an Ambassador at the seat of Government should soon become an object of ambition'. Liston himself made between £2000 and £3000 per year, a very large sum, through the sale of *berats*. FO 78/16.

8. The proposals of the Levant Company's chaplain in Smyrna, the Rev. John F. Usko, to recreate the library of the Factory are discussed in my article 'The Library of the Levant Company's Factory in Smyrna (1805)' *O' Egypciotis*, xi (1974) 112 - 124. Before 1797 the Library apparently had been substantial.

9. Franel was clearly a man of very considerable wealth. Werry's son, Francis Peter, wrote that Franel's house in Buca, which adjoined Consul Werry's was 'one of the most beautiful residences possible to imagine. A vast plane tree overshadowed its large stone gateway, through which we entered a large quadrangular court, shaded by smaller plane trees; this was surrounded on three sides by the house itself, a charming edifice with pilastered porticoes, overhung with a beautiful projecting roof, of Oriental work, somewhat like Chinese, that excluded the rays of the sun, and communicated

a revealing glimpse of the wealth of some members of the British merchant community<sup>10</sup>. Document 12 is a copy given to Spencer Smith of an imperial edict, dated 15 May 1797, ordering the expulsion of most of the 'subjects of the Republic of Venice denominated Sclavonians, Corfiots, Kefaloniots and Zantiots', who were held responsible for provoking the disturbances. Documents 13, 14 and 15 consist of extracts of letters from Werry to Spencer Smith, dated 2, 17 June and 17 July, in which Werry commended the speed and vigour with which Hacı Hüsseyin Karaosmanoglu had restored order in the city.

But if the Frankish merchant community was satisfied with Karaosmanoglu's attempts to restore order in the city nonetheless it would seem that the merchant's claims for financial compensation from the Ottoman authorities were unsuccessful. For on 1 February 1802 Werry and the British merchants in Smyrna (John Shoolbred, A. and E. Hayes and Co., Franel and Jackson, George Perkins, John Lee, Robert Wilkinson, John and William Maltass and Peter Duveluz) addressed a petition to the Levant Company seeking indemnity or 'some mitigation at least' for the 'grievous losses' sustained in the 'dreadful catastrophe of the 15 March 1797'. 'Your Worships', they wrote, 'have it fresh in your recollection, that the late administration pledged, in no small measure, the national honour to some reparation, for the injury suffered'.<sup>11</sup>

---

with the various apartments, the drawing, dining, and tea and breakfast rooms, which opened into this portico, with double folding doors. The other side of the quadrangle opened into the garden and vineyard, by latticework gates. . . *Personal Memoirs and Letters of Francis Peter Werry*. . . op. cit. 30 - 31.

10. A similar inventory was drawn up in 1785 by the Venetian consul in Smyrna Luca Cortazzi (Λούκας Κορτάτσης) of the effects of Giacomo Marcovich, a Venetian subject who had been murdered in Smyrna. *Archivio di Stato di Venezia*, Cinque Savii alla Mercanzia, Lettere dei Consoli, Smirne 1775 - 1797, B. 750.

11. SP 105/128.

Ship Withywood. Smyrna bay. 17 March 1797

I. Spencer Smith, Esq., &amp; c.

Sir,

I this morning received the honor of your letter; which I am prevented replying to by the necessity of making immediate application to the magistracy of this city, to lay an embargo on all shipping here, in consequence of the plunder and robberies committed, at a disastrous conflagration, on Wednesday last, occasioned by the murder of a Janizary in the Venetian service; which happened on Sunday at an exhibition of rope dancers. The *Orta*<sup>12</sup>, in which that Janizary was incorporated, demanded the delivery of the criminal, who it is uncertain if a Venetian or Muscovite: but of one of their ships he certainly was. The Dragomans had been called for on Tuesday, and the delivery demanded, but not being complied with the Venetian and Russian consuls equally disavowing any knowledge of the man: matters growing very serious, and the Turks menacing they would have blood of the Xtians, the Consuls had resolved to meet on Wednesday at the Danish V[ice] Consul's. Myself and the French met: but the others were either on board ship or fearful to come to the meeting. We could enter into no satisfactory measures, and hearing the report of firearms I returned to my house; which I had hardly reached before a body of Turks appeared threatening death to the inhabitants of a *Khaan*, called *Fasolia* (inhabited by Zantiots & Kefaloniots). Finding no opposition they returned to the other end of Frank Street, and, joined by a more numerous body they set fire to *Chiotica-Khaan*, the wind then at S. and, more effectually to finish this calamitous affair with more horror, they kept up a fire of small arms in the street to prevent all assistance to extinguish the flames.

My house, and those of Mess. Franel, Lee, Hayes, Perkins, and Maltass, are totally destroyed. The direction of the wind prevented the flames spreading to Mess. Wilkinson, and Barker's, whose are the only British houses unburnt. All the Consularian dwellings, and the French, Dutch, and Italian churches are burnt. Our factory lose [sic] much by the fire; and much by the plunderers, who came about armed in gangs, and broke

---

12. A regiment of janissaries.

fire proof warehouses, took out the goods and carried them on board Venetian and Muscovite vessels; the crews of which are no better than banditti.

In this miserable situation we have thought it the only and most effectual step to pursue to require of the *Muselim*<sup>13</sup> an embargo on all shipping. But I fear without naval force every means of that sort will be ineffectual by sending goods away in boats which can avoid the castle by going over the sands.

We shall have a general meeting of the Consuls as soon as the post departs: when I conjecture it will be necessary to send a deputation from all the nations here to Constantinople to demand redress and protection from the Porte. I shall have the honor of communicating the result, if necessary by an express.

(signed) Francis Werry.

---

13. *müselim*, an official in the employ of the *vahi*, or governor of a province.



To the Right Honorable the Governor and the Right Worshipful the Company of Merchants trading to the Levant Seas, in London.

Smyrna April 2d 1797

Right Hon(oura)ble Sir and Right Worshipful Sirs,

My last letter dated the 17th. ult(im)o gave your Worships the melancholy advice of the destruction of the Frank Street, which was inhabited by the Consuls and European Merchants of all Nations, by the Turks wilfully and intentionally setting fire to the houses on Wednesday in the morning the 15th March. By which disastrous calamity, Your Worship's Consularian house, magazines, Chaplain's Apartments and the Library are entirely consumed. Nearly the whole of the furniture of the Chaplain's rooms is burnt and a great part of mine with my whole stock of Liquor in my Cellar which was for a private stock considerable. The Chapple and the Cancellaria with a magazine used as a stable are the only remaining part of the Consularian premises, the Cancellaria by the violence of the flames has received some damage. The Hospital situated at a distance by the attention of some Greeks is also preserved with trifling damage. The loss sustained by the Merchants of our Factory is very Considerable and the very necessary attention requisite at this juncture for recovering their property from the Plunderers prevents them from ascertaining their respective losses. Of all this once flourishing place there only remains four European houses, two of which are English viz Messrs. Morier & Wilkinson and that of Mr. W. Barker, the Fire beginning or was kindled between the dwelling of Mr Maltass and Messrs Lee and Sons whose houses soon was reduced to ashes with furniture and apparel, and happy it was they had gates next to the sea from which with extream danger their familys escaped in boats to the ships. The violence and rapidity of the Flames devoured and destroyed stone buildings which had withstood the violence of former fires. But in this no assistance of Fire Engines was to be had. The Turks firing on all in the streets and massacring all they met and prevented any aid being given. The Horrors of that dreadful day is beyond description, the number killed burnt &c amount by the Greek accounts to upwards of Fifteen hundred, the Brutal violence committed on Women and taking Children into the Turk town and selling them have rendered many familys truly miserable, in Fact in the midst of peace and living under

the protection of the Capitulations We have been treated as savages only could treat enemys in the most furious rage of War.

The savage brutality of the Natives has been nearly equalled by the atrocious behaviour of the Crews of the shipping there in the Bay and I must particularly specify the Venetian Ships and the Russians whose crews are chiefly Cephaloniotos. These landed armed and broke open the Fire magazines plundering and carrying off the property they found thereon, and have damaged us equally with the fire.

The 17th Having informed your Worships that application was made to the Governor to lay an Embargo on all the Vessels in the Bay representing to him the depra-dations they had committed on our property, and not then having an answer, I am now to say that he did not find himself authorised to grant our request. To prevent however the shipping from sailing, in concurrence with other Consuls I immediately sent to the Venetian & Russian Consuls requiring them not to dispatch any of their Ships untill a regular search had been made and liberty to be given by them for examining the ships which has been complyd with and much goods found. This mode being thought the most expedient, and indeed the only one we could adopt, destitute of any naval force to compel or compulsive means, we are under the necessity of being contented with it. Tho' the only and most effectual way would have been to have discharged a part of their Cargoes, by which means nothing could have been secreted.

The Tranquility of the Place seems to be restored since the 22d ult(im)o, when after repeated endeavours we prevailed on the Slavonians not to go on shore, and the continuance of good order and our personal safety depends very much on their compliance, at least untill some superior authority comes to take the government of the City which we are minutely in expectation of.

On the 20th. a General express went of to the Ministers at Constanti-nople, the appearance was seemly very critical and at that instance disorder had began afresh. I wrote Mr Smith in the most pressing terms that he would procure a firman to be sent to the Agha at Magnesia Cara Osman Oglou<sup>14</sup>. But to our very great astonishment no measures that we know of for certain has been taken for our security. This delay may, however, have been owing to the detention of our Couriers, as the weather

---

14. On the Karaosmanogullar, see, for instance, F. W. Hasluck, 'The Rise of the Karaosmanoglu', *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, II (Oxford, 1929) 597 - 603.

has been extremely bad in the road to Constantinople. Our wishes to have the Agha of Magnesia arises from his natural kindness to the Christians as well as that he is a very great sufferer by the behaviour of his Countrymen in Smyrna.

Having very briefly communicated to your Worships in my letter of the 17th the apparent cause of the general ruin brought on us, I shall here mention it more fully.

A Company of Rope dancers came here from Constantinople about the middle of February last. Being Italians, subjects of the Emperor, they were protected by the Imperial Consul, and Exhibited their feats on a piece of Ground in a Street adjoining to Franck Street. On Sunday the 5th March some disturbance happened there, between Candiot Turks and some Zantiotes, which was however quelled. The Sunday following the Musselim had placed his guards on the spot to prevent the Exhibition, which however from some cause, was rendered ineffectual and the Exhibition went on. The Imperial & the Venetian Consuls' Janisarys were placed at the door to preserve order. A Slavonian or a Cephaloniot under either the Venetian or Russian protection climbed up the fence to overlook the place, the Janissary in obliging him to descend struck him, the fellow ran off, and very shortly returned with some of his countrymen armed. They attacked the Janisarys at the door of [?] the affray the Venetian Janisary was shot with a pistol. This unfortunate business was the immediate cause of all our misfortunes. The other Janisary comrade to the deceased, both of them of the 31st orta or regiment, took the bloody shirt & excited the strongest sentiments of revenge in the regiment. He paraded through all the Coffee houses till finally they surrounded the Molah<sup>15</sup> and demanded to have the murderer given up to them. On Monday the 13th March in the morning my drogerman Mr Boghos informed me of all the above proceedings and that the Musselim required the attendance of all the Consuls' drogermen, it was supposed on that business. I ordered him to attend and to assure the Magistrate, that it was my intention and wishes so to cooperate with the Government as to bring the delinquent to condign punishment, this was also the answer made by all the drogermen. The Musselim thought it proper, and ordered the interpreter to attend at the Molahs in the Evening. It seems as if some among the Turks had planned what they so fatally executed, and by insinuating their apprehensions for the safety of the

---

15. *molla*, chief judge.

Drogermen to prevent their attending the Molah, for on their leaving the Musselim there were met by his nephew who counseled them not to go to the Molah's in the Evening, as there would certainly be a numerous body of Janisarys demanding vengeance for the Blood of their fellow. This intimation so affected the Drogermen that they determined not to attend in the Evening but to defer it till the morning, and declared to us their safety was so precarious that they could not reasonably be required to go. At 10 o'clock in the Evening a Message came round to the Consuls from the Molah requiring the attendance of the Drogermen. Immediately dispatched my Janisary to Mr Boghos, order(in)g him to go direct to the Molah's where he found a very full Divan<sup>16</sup> of all the great people and pass(ed) thro' a large body of Janisarys. The Venetian Drogerman was the only one there and as the Divan meant to demand the Delinquent from all the Consuls they reluctantly defer'd till the next Evening making that demand. My drogerman reported to me that the Janisarys menaced him and that they seemed determined and vociferating continually Revenge. Tuesday the 14th. In the Evening Mr Boghos attended the Divan at the Molah's, the interpret[er]s of all the other Consuls was present. The Molah demanded of the Drogermen that the murderer of the Janisary should be delivered up. The same Answer was given by all the interpret[er]s which had been given to the Musselim at the same time declaring that the British Consul neither knew the man, nor was in the least compromised in the Affair, that it more immediately concerned the Consul to whom he was subject. This brought an altercation between the Venetian and Russian interpret[er]s who mutually disavowed the delinquent belonged to them. Tired with their Disputes the Divan came to the astonishing resolution and declared they would allow one hour of time for the positive answer of the Consuls whether or no they would deliver up the Delinquent, if in that time they did not receive an answer they would no longer be answerable for the Consequences. By which declaration it appears clearly they would be no longer in function nor take any measures to prevent the danger which might ensue which was really the Case. No extra guards being fixt, or any measure whatever adopted to ensure tranquility or prevent what so fatally happened in the morning. My interpret[er] returned to me about half an hour before Eleven, reporting the extraordinary resolution of the Divan, and that the Musselim by sign as well as by insinuation gave

---

16. *divan*, council.

the Drogermen to understand they should not return that Night, indeed it seemed a very critical situation they were in. The streets was full of Janisarys and the Molah's house surrounded by 600 or 700. Upon the report they gave me, and as the only means of conveying any message to the Divan, a Janisary from each of the Consuls was sent to the Molah, requesting him to suspend coming to any determination till 12 o Clock at Noon of the next day, before which time our final answer should be known to him. This we understood by the return of our Janisary was allowed. Very early in the morning I anxiously looked for the meeting. At 7 o'clock I sent a Drogerman to the Imperial Consul informing him that I thought we ought to assemble at the Mr Hochepped's, the Danish Vice Consul's, and as soon as Possible. I set out myself soon after and found the French Consul, the Napolitan V[ice] C[onsul] & the Dane. I there learnt the Venetian Consul had retired to a ship and most of the other Consuls were prevented from coming by the report of the ill intentions of the Turks which was now currently reported that they meant to cut off & massacre the Francks. No deliberation on the part of us who assembled could avail for three hours before the time, that our answer was to be given, to say at 9 o'clock the Janisarys and a tumultuous mob entered Franck Street cutting to pieces all they met or found in shops and finally set fire in several places to the houses. From that minute all was horror and confusion, and the houses was abandoned with their furniture by the inhabitants whose only Asylum was the Ships. The furious Turks meeting no opposition passed in a body my house. My Gates was open to afford asylum to those of our neighbours who could get from their houses, they offered no violence to me, they returned and joined the main body near Mr Maltass'es who were committing all sorts of disorders. The horrors of that day is not to be described — the wilful, and I much fear the intended, neglect of Executive Power in this City are highly Culpable. Contrary to all former practice neither Molah, Musselim or any Turk officer was present, whose particularly duty it is to attend all those distressing moments to give orders to pull down houses &c. and to protect & encourage the Greeks working at the Engines. For the want of which not a Greek was to be seen.

As I conceive it of much moment that no delay should prevent any representations that your Worships may think fit to make to His Majesty, I transmit a Copy of the resolutions unanimously agreed on at an Assembly of the Factory held the 25th ult[im]o and the British Factory have requested me to forward their Humble request to your Wor-

ships that you will please to represent the infringement & violation of the Capitulations existing with His Majesty & the Sublime Porte so as your Worships may judge most Beneficial to their interests & security, firmly relying on your Worships for obtaining through your representations compensation for the heavy losses sustained. It being impossible to ascertain the loss sustained by every individual of the British nation to any exactness, I am obliged to defer the schedule of them till the next post.

I transmit to I.S. Smith Esq. by this post the resolutions and my drogerman's report of the base affair so as to be in time to make the earliest representations to the Sublime Port.

I can't but observe to Your Worships the necessity of a permanent naval force being established here which would have prevented the disaster which has befallen us. And Hope that you will obtain from the Admiralty a speedy protection without which our lives are continually exposed.

By the last Post I received from Mr Smith a Barat<sup>17</sup> for Mr Stello Raffaelli to whom it has been duly delivered.

We have had a shock of an Earthquake since the fire but no damage received by it. The health of the place is perfectly secure. The ship Withywood will sail shortly without escort.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect.

Right Honorable Sir and Right Worshipful Sirs,

Your faithful Obedient Humble Servant

Francis Werry.

17. *berat*, warrant of protection.

RICHARD CLOGG

DOCUMENT 3

Smyrna April 8<sup>er</sup> 1797

Sir,

I had the honor of writing you on the 2 inst. and covering to you the report of my second Interpreter of the transactions, which we were compelled to take in the unhappy affair, which was made a pretext to involve all the Frank inhabitants of this City in misery and ruin. At the time of my transmitting that document, I found it utterly impossible to form an exact account of the Catastrophe that had befallen us, as well from indisposition after so long an exertion which the situation of our affairs called for, as also from the want of some minutes which I had made, and could not be found.

I shall now conformable to your request, Sir, endeavour to relate the circumstances of that deplorable affair.

A company of rope-dancers came here in February, subjects of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of German[y], and as such were under the Imperial Consul here. They had attained permission to exhibit, which they repeatedly had done. Sunday March 12th. they again exhibited; it is necessary to not(e?), to protect the spectators, two Janisarys were posted at the door; a person, some say a Venetian some a Russian, attempted to see the exhibition by climbing up the fence, which separated it from the public road. The Janisary obliged the man to come down and in so doing struck him; the fellow ran off; the Janisary wantonly fired his pistol in the air. Very shortly after which the man, who is a Cefalonote, returned, and with three or four comrades all armed attacked the Janisarys, and in the Affray, the Cefalonote killed the Venetian Janisary; great confusion ensued, every one was apprehensive the Janisarys would seek revenge, and the remainder of the evening was all consternation.

Early in the morning Mr. Boghos my second Interpreter informed me that a message was come from the Muselim requesting the Dragomen of all the Consuls to attend him. It was very natural to suppose their attendance was required in consequence of the murder committed the preceding evening; and it was necessary, that an answer should be ready, if the delinquent was demanded from all the Consuls in which case he was instructed to answer, that, as British Consul, they could not demand of me the delivering up of a man who was not in my power, and was under the protection of another Consul; that altho' I would protest

against it as an act of injustice, Yet I should readily cooperate with the other Consuls, and contribute all in my power, to bring the Assassin to condign punishment.

The Muselim tho' apparently satisfied with this reply to the demand he had made of delivering up the man, ordered the Dragomen to attend the same evening at the Makemè<sup>18</sup>. The certain knowledge of the Janisarys being discontented and of their intention to be at the Mola that evening to demand the blood of the assassin, so worked upon the Dragomen that one and all declared to their Consuls how dangerous it was to go to that great Officer in the evening. We were uninformed of any thing so immediately pressing, as would justify our exposing the Interpreters, and consented that they should defer their visit to the Mola until morning. At ten in the evening, a message came to the Consuls for a Dragoman from each to go immediately to the Mola. My Janisary was sent off to order ours to attend; and the third went to the Makemè where he saw the Venetian Consul's Dragoman. The report he made to me on Tuesday morning was that the Court of the Makemè was filled with Janisarys who were very clamorous for revenge; the Mola and his Council was apparently much displeas'd and declared that there was not justice to be obtained from the Giours<sup>19</sup>; and by the tenor of their discourse was as much discontented as the Janisarys; however before the two Dragomen were dismissed he order'd that a Dragoman from each Consul should attend in the evening. All the day reports of different attempts of the Janisarys were spread; their meetings must have been known to the Government of the City, who did not take a single precaution either in augmenting the ordinary guard or placing extra-Guards. To this omission and neglect we attribute all our ruin. At eight o'clock Tuesday evening the collective body of Dragomen went to the Molà; then for the only time, the assassin of the Janisary was demanded from all the Consuls; and the answer as concerted before was made. The Venetian and Russian Vice-Consuls' Dragomans entered warmly into dispute mutually charging each other as the protector of the assassin; the Molà and the Council, being very much dissatisfied with the continual dispute of the two dragomen, took the sudden and very extraordinary resolution of allowing one hour, for our final answer to their demand declaring if in that time we did not deliver up the

18. *Mahkeme*, court.

19. *gavur*, non-Muslim.



assassin, they would not be answerable for the consequences, by which declaration it clearly appears they had predetermined our destruction, and this was a signal to the enraged Janisarys who surrounded his house to prepare themselves to put in execution a plot which, it is the general opinion, had been long planned to ruin the Frank establishments here; my Dragoman hastened to report to me this very extraordinary resolution which they had taken; three quarters of an hour was elapsed; it was impossible to assemble the Consuls at that late hour (Eleven) and to come to any resolution on the affair within the time limited; in this critical situation we saw but one resource, and Janisarys were immediately dispatched with a message to the Molà, requesting him to defer his sentence, and to allow us till twelve o'clock the next day to give in our answer, to which we received his promise to consent; depending on the faith of which, we looked forward to the ensuing day with hopes that we should be able to discover to which Consul the assassin really belonged, and thereby insist on justice being done. At eight o'clock I sent my Dragoman to the Imperial Consul to say I was going to the Danish Consul's, and to invite him there, as no notice had been sent where the meeting would be held. On my entering that Gentleman's house, I found with him the French and Sicilian Consuls, the Venetian and Spanish were already retired on board the ships of their nation. Our number was incomplete to deliberate, nor would time permit it. For I had not been ten minutes there when the alarm was given of the Turks coming into the Franck street; we heard the discharge of Fire arms, and saw the inhabitants abandoning their houses to seek a secure asylum with the Consuls, or on board the shipping. As all measures that we could take would be ineffectual, the Turks having violated the promise made, we saw no other means left to be useful to the public, but sought to secure our own houses and families from the carnage and horrors which ensued. On my return to my house, my endeavours were exerted to procure what fire-arms I could, and to arm the few English who were with me, which object I effected; and received into my house, the fugitives, soon after which a body of Turks came down a cross street, and detached a part who came opposite my Gate which was open; my sailors drawn up within side armed to those fellows, whose cry was to excite the Faithful to exterminate the Giours, I presented myself with my Janisary demanding of them what they wanted; they replied they would not attack us, but pointing their pistols at some Zantiotes some paces below us, defied them, and returned. Fear intimidated those fellows from advancing; their intention was to have burned our end of the town,

to have set fire below us, and to have cut off the retreat to the ships; for they rejoined their main Body and then marched down a back way, by doing which they turned the south end of the town. Here they commenced by killing two coopers, and would have done much mischief. A captain of a ship laying off was on shore assisting the inhabitants to escape, saw this body of Turks and made a signal to his Crew to fire. Two guns loaded with grape was fired, which had the best effect. It affrightened them, they ran off and that part of the town was secured during the remainder of the dreadful day: near as I can judge, it was ten o'clock when the alarm of Fire was first given. To be certain of the quarter in which it was said to be, I viewed it from my Kiosk, and to my surprise saw it in seven different places. The wind which blew fresh from the south freshened towards noon, the wide spreading flame soon caught the house of Messrs. Lee and Sons, whose family with the greatest danger from the balls which the Turks discharged at the windows of the Houses, escaped to a boat. It was then the horrible carnage of the poor Greeks commenced; they had no communication with the sea side to avoid the fury of the Turks who were now increased to a vast number: they shut themselves into their houses and shops; the setting fire to them, obliged them to quit them, and all without distinction they saw was butchered; those who remained in their houses, were burnt. In the quarters where the Greek houses were not fired, every cruel act and violence was committed, women violated, Children carried off, and the most abominable crimes committed. The number murdered or burnt is near 2,000; of Francks — I cannot hear any is killed, and Turks very few.

Here the omission and neglect of the great Turks is very conspicuous. None appeared to save the poor Rajaas<sup>20</sup> or protect the fire-guard and men who work the engines; on the contrary the Turks who were determined to compleat our destruction fired on our engines, and drove them away from the fire. My engines were twice sent to make the attempt, but retired with the greatest precipitation, nor could I, after that time, get a Greek to stay with me.

The ruin and misery of the inhabitants of this once flourishing street was compleated by the bands of armed robbers who landed from Venetians, Russians, Raguseans, plundering the houses which were abandoned, breaking open Fire proof warehouses, and carrying off the most valuable

---

20. *raya*, tax-paying subjects of the Sultan, often used to refer to the Christian subjects of the Sultan.

RICHARD CLOGG

of the effects, and even where they found any resistance threaten'd the lives of those who did resist. The horrid scene can never be affaced from those who saw the conflagration which stopt not till the whole street was destroyed; the general consternation and dismay continues; for, after the horrible scenes of the 15th. March every confidence in this Magistracy is entirely done away; the little faith to be put in them, their well known hatred to the Francks, and the avowed sentiments of the lower order of men, render our situation very insecure; nothing can inspire us with a favorable Idea of the Sublime Porte, but a severe and prompt punishment of the conspirators, and perpetrators of ruin. One of who[m] is a man of such talents as renders him very dangerous, Mohamed the late agha of Burnabat, whose sentim(en)ts are so very dangerous, that it is contemplated to accuse him to Karà Osman Oglu when that Officer makes his appearance here.

That a general massacre was intended is very clear from every information we can procure. Some Greeks who had particular intimacy with the Turks, some days before the murder of the Janisary, [were advised] not to go to Smyrna during the Bayram. And we owe our safety to the hordes of robbers who were armed, and in such numbers on the quays, that the Turks, who had declared their object of revenge was the Venetians, never dared attempt the marine side of the Town.

It is also true the Turks fired on the house of Mr. Wilkinson from the *Minareh* of a Mosque, and from the walls of Candiote Khan: very fortunately no accident ensued. But it is obvious, from many circumstances, their object was the destruction of the Franks in General. Nothing can be said to extenuate the guilty ommission and neglect of the magistracy of this Town who have shamefully betrayd the trust lodged with them. Our personal safety on that unfortunate day was the effect of meer chance. Abandoned by all, it is miraculous how such numbers escaped.

I have the honor to be with great respect

Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant  
(Signed) Francis Werry

## DOCUMENT 4

Constantinople 16 April 1797

My Lord,

Of the usual topics of correspondence from hence, those more particularly intended for notice by this occasion must stand superseded for the present by a subject of such a sort as to have lately engrossed nearly the whole of my attention; and to be likely to claim no inconsiderable portion of your Lordship's; which I rather wished to defer entering upon till better able to present my report compleat in all its parts. But the state of the case not yet admitting of the perfection in point of form that I aimed at, I am now desirous to regain the time and by thus furnishing your Lordship with such data as I am in possession of, at least keep sufficient pace with flying rumor to moderate the anxiety which an event like the one in question must give but too much cause for; and which indeed may be almost considered as an aggravating addition to the disasters of the times. But tho' the circumstance I have to relate may in one sense be said to compleat the catalogue which it has fallen to my lot to communicate during the short term of my official residence in this country: yet I am far from feeling certain that it ought to [be?] accounted as filling the measure of mischief to be apprehended from such a sinister demonstration unless such a reform of system be perseveringly adopted as I must confess is more than appearances altogether allow me hope; altho some palliative proceedings be already perceivable. But not to prolong beyond need the pain of suspense I shall proceed without further preamble to the principal point: and reserve myself for more methodical minutiae as I may be afterwards enabled.

On the 15. past a disturbance broke out at Smyrna, apparently caused by one of the frays which are far from uncommon in that place: but which, instead of being quelled by the usual means, and being aggravated by murder, produced such an unexpected catastrophe as the destruction of nearly the whole maritime suburb of that flourishing city by fire and pillage: while its Christian inhabitants were exposed to every species of outrage, even to indiscriminate massacre; which every account authorises me to estimate at not less than 1500 persons of both sexes. I am grievous beyond expression, My Lord, in this dismal sketch to have to include the loss of the British factory; with the exception of only one house of trade and two private dwellings. The rest has shared the fate of the other European establishments; of which in general little remains

beyond the naked families and the smocking ruins. I must here observe that tho' the wreck of property be universal amongst these, the loss of life has fallen heaviest upon the tributary Ottoman subjects; against whom upon the escape of the former (who appear to have been the principal objects of this atrocious attempt) the fanatic fury of their countrymen of a different religious persuasion was blindly turned.

As an introduction to other particulars, I must premise that the Levant, in almost every part, is thronged by a very disproportionate quantity of refugee Venetian subjects, of the most discreditable description: Slavonians, Zantiots, Kefaloniot, &c. which forms in a manner the ground work of the Frank colonisation of the different ports; and earn a precarious livelihood by very equivocal means. While their number and disposition render them almost unmanageable by the privileged police of their national magistrates, and an object of jealousy and awe to the indigenous inhabitants. This nuisance has been calculated to approach at least 10,000 in the three cities of Constantinople, Salonica, and Smyrna, or their environs. For which various remedies have been momentarily tried, but as soon abandoned in consequence of the vicious constitution of the Venetian embassy, combined with the disgusting venality of the Ottoman magistracy, which seems proof against shame or fear.

During the winter these chanced to wander hither from Italy a troop of tumblers and rope dancers, who being mostly Milanese subjects as such were recognised by the Austrian mission, and commenced their performances under that protection. But exhibitions of this species, in a country where the concourse of sexes be a novelty productive of infinite disorder, and where ebriety [drunkenness] generally terminates in bloodshed, were deemed by most of the other ministers so objectionable as to occasion an application to the Porte for their suppression, in which their protectors were constrained to acquiesce: and they quitted this residence in consequence. But, not losing sight of their original speculation, they strolled only to Smyrna; where meeting with a continuance of the same protection, and unfortunately with more toleration on the part of the other Consuls, their performances were renewed, and became in a great measure the proximate cause of the catastrophe that has happened in a place where the population is of a worse mixture than in the capital, and notorious for bad police.

At one of the representations which being nearly the last as it is said was attended by the bettermost company, the expedients which were employed to maintain extraordinary decorum served but to occasion increased disorder.

Some Ruffians, of the stamp before described, who attempted to force admission into the theatre, either without paying or in breach of some other regulation, on being repulsed by some of the Consular guards (of Janisaries) posted at the entrance, assassinated one in the service of their own (the Venetian) Consul. From which point the various narratives are so contradicting and obscure (in instance of which I need only mention that the *Illam*<sup>21</sup> of the Ottoman judge to the supreme Vezir treated the matter as a common riot in which 8 or 9 persons accidentally lost their lives at a fire which burnt a few shops and damaged some warehouses by the waterside) that I can only refer your Lordship to the annexed reports (Enclosure N.1<sup>22</sup>) which I have received from our Consul for the best explanation why such offenders were not delivered up to instantaneous punishment, or the impending storm averted during three days parley. For tho' the root of the evil must be traced farther back yet the impunity of the Janisary's murderers is an undeniable fact which served as the immediate pretext for the unprecedented atrocities which have been perpetrated. The Frank quarter of the town was assaulted by the sanguinary comrades of the deceased in considerable armed force, properly prepared for the incendiary plot in agitation. And, without any check from the municipal power, fire was methodically set to different parts of that quarter; which I understand to consist of a narrow lane, extending, with its secondary avenues, about a mile along the sea shore: in which they contrived an *enfilade* of musquetry to obstruct succour. Those persons who inhabited the marine side of the way, where the homes were mostly occupied by the European merchants, found just time to escape with life from the back of their magazines to the shipping in the bay. While their opposite neighbors, in general retail shop-keepers, were either consumed in the flames, or miserably murdered in their flight: for the salvation of property seems to have been out of the question from the beginning; as well from the rapidity of the ignition as from the complicated circumstance of an armed banditti, composed of the same sort of miscreants which had provoked the misfortune, who now availing themselves of the tumult not only robbed the fugitives but forced the vaulted store houses spared by the flames. In short Smyrna, for more than 24 hours seems to have presented in some sort the spectacle of Lisbon during the famous earthquake. - - - - -

---

21. *ilam*, official decision.

22. A copy of Document 1.

But to abridge a tedious narrative, and facilitate a comprehension of the scene under contrasted points of view, I subjoin copies of two confidential communications I have been favoured with from different quarters on the same subject: of which N.2<sup>23</sup> is an extract from the Internuncio's correspondence; and N.3<sup>24</sup> a letter, of the exculpatory kind, from the Russian Pro-Consul to M. de Kotzoubey [ . . . ].

Upon receiving the news of the sad state of things at Smyrna; which, owing to the season of the year, were inconveniently retarded on the road, considering in an accident of such urgent pressure and direct national concern, individual activity to be as much a natural duty as likely to prove more prompt in effect than formal ministerial concert especially in a matter susceptible of so much speculation, while I made the regular offer to other friendly missions, I did not hesitate to take in reality the lead in diplomatic operations, trusting to the palpable community of interest in the major part of my brethren to ensure me their casual cooperation. And I should not do justice to those ministers with whom we are more particularly connected if I omitted to acknowledge their proper participation in most proceedings.

I accordingly lost not an instant in conveying such a preliminary compendium of essential facts as I could ascertain from the first hurried correspondence (in N.1) and the oral intelligence of the messenger to serve as ground for such an exhortation as I felt myself justified by the times in addressing to the most attentive ear of the Reis Effendi,<sup>25</sup> and which I think may appear not to have been quite thrown away. My first object was to provoke a vigorous exercise of authority to crush rebellion in the first instance. And, besides the information from the place, my own personal recollection of transactions in consequence of the affair of Mykono at once suggested the detachment of naval force from hence, combined with the entry into Smyrna of the governor of the circumjacent province of *Aidin*, so usefully employed upon that occasion, (but whose jurisdiction in ordinary times does not pass the walls) with powers to assume a provisional supremacy in every branch of the administration and force to compel obedience. This was not only accorded but I have the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordship that the necessary orders were dispatched to the chief in question, a descendant of the famous Kara

---

23. Document no. 5.

24. Document no. 6.

25. *Reis efendi* (*reisülküttab*) Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Osman, at Magnesia, the same afternoon, and also followed within the 30 succeeding hours by two sets of supplementary instructions.

This salutary step once assured rather more leisure was taken for the discussion of further measures: amongst which my second request for a frigate and sloop of war to proceed as guardships to the bay of Smyrna to enforce an embargo on the shipping, and for other objects of marine police, altho' acceded to by the Minister for foreign affairs seemed so reluctantly received by the Capitan Pasha from a repugnance to be brought at all personally in collision with the corps of Janisaries at present far from well affected, that we were fain to compound for the alternative of a special commission from hence with extensive judicial authority, farther enlarged by the judicious improvement of selecting one of the delegates from the superior staff of the Janisary militia itself; by which means the inquisitional competency of this tribunal becomes extended to delinquents of any description, and its judgements freed from all obstacles of privilege. I cannot convey an idea of these functions better than by requesting your Lordship's perusal of the annexed translation of the Imperial Edict (N.4)<sup>26</sup> of the nomination, of which a copy has been officially communicated from the Chancery of the Porte.

Accessory arrangements for the future tranquillity of Smyrna which have been touched on in conversation, such as a correction of the conflict of jurisdictions which prevails within the city to the privation of any efficient police, so as to produce more unity of control in proper hands; the exemplary censure of culpable magistrates; some scrutiny into the abuse of European immunities, with respect to the concourse of idle strangers; perhaps a reform of the colonial garrison of Janisaries by the removal of the *Orta* most marked in the revolt. &c. These and other desirable objects which enter into our plans stand adjourned till the Porte learns the success of her first interference from the report of *Abdalla-Bey*, a Capigi Bashi<sup>27</sup> of respectable rank, who with the Janizary field officer, entitled *Zaghargi-Bashi*<sup>28</sup>, a suite of 150 attendants set out from hence for Smyrna by land on the 6 instant. I have already taken the liberty of referring your Lordship to the tenor of their instructions in the form of a *Fermaan*<sup>29</sup>; the copy of which to make use of a vacant space in this bulky packet I have annexed the extract of an order very

26. Document no. 7.

27. *kapıcıbaşı*, head of the palace doorkeepers.

28. *zagarci başı*, commander of the 64th Janissary regiment.

29. *ferman*, decree.



recently issued by the police here; which I comminuate as some farther degree of proof that the Porte does not entirely disregard the remonstrances which have been renewed on this occasion relative to the danger of trifling with the experiments of the populace of whose disposition we are not perfectly without cause for mistrust even in the capital.

The commissioners were not arrived when the last letters came away; but the governor of Aidin had invested Smyrna with a body of between 4, and 5,000 troops posted so as to prevent all unauthorised communication with the country; while himself had entered the city with a sufficient number for preliminary purposes. And he is reported to me as distinguishing himself by such zeal as confirms the general confidence in his character. My correspondence seems farther to fix the strong suspicion that what has happened, altho' as premised undoubtedly accelerated by unforeseen provocation on the part of the Venetian vagabonds, aided by the artful revenge of the late Turkish superintendent of a neighbouring village called *Boornabad*<sup>30</sup> (deposed and exiled in consequence of complaints from the Europeans usually frequenting that place in the summer) yet must be considered as the untimely fruit of a conspiracy: and that conspiracy a contagious consequence of the destructive doctrines so progressive in the present day; and so industriously inculcated both by precept and example during the long stay of the French squadrons in the Levant this year, particularly at Smyrna. At least it is observed as a singularity offering awful abundance of reflection that the French tricolor cockade served as an inviolable safeguard during the whole tragedy of the 15th and was, with an appearance of humanity, recommended and granted as such by Laumont their Consul. Certain it is that the company of Janisaries, numbered 31 whose head quarters are at Smyrna, is famed for such an obnoxious innovation as the honorary enrolment of a number of Frenchmen beginning with the late agent, Descorches: and who now in Const(antino)ple make the number of this *Orta* (in Turkish, *Otooz-bir*) a cant word to recognise their partisans. I am assured that the loss of the Republican French is not so great in proportion as that of most other nations: and more owing to their inveterate enemies the Slavonians than to the Turkish rioters. And it is farther remarked that, under such auspices, an infant establishment of the Court of Spain lately formed in conformity to some plan of Monsieur de Bouligni, (the Chargé d'Affaires), was enabled to save everything. This establishment

---

30. *Burnabat*

to be sure is not yet of a magnitude comparable to those of older standing in the Levant, consisting only of an experimental Consulship created almost for the purpose of superintending a speculation undertaken from Cadiz and Alicant[e], since the evacuation of Corsica: from which ports three ships arrived in the winter with the new Consul general, Don Juan de Solero, onboard. The cargoes which were mostly of colonial produce had turned to very good account: but they had still upwards of 160.000 Dollars worth of unsold merchandise onshore when the insurrection, of whose alarming tendency it appears they had a very early conviction, broke out.

Mr. Consul Werry's last communications have been concluded by the transcription of two more documents which I am impatient to submit to your Lordship's early perusal. viz. N. 5<sup>31</sup>: The minutes of an assembly of the Smyrna factory; and N. 6<sup>32</sup>: a memorial addressed by the Consuls to the governor of Aidin.

---

31. Document no. 8.

32. Document no. 9.

Extrait d'une dépêche de M. Cramer Consul Général d'Autriche à Smyrne à M. le Baron de Herbert Rathkeal Internonce à Constantinople en date du 17. Mars 1797.

Vers la fin de Février il étoit arrivé en cette ville une bande de Comédiens ou danseurs de Corde; tous gens honnêts, et avoit commencé à donner des representations dans un Théâtre construit à cet effet au quartier des Francs. Les personnes les plus distinguées de toutes les Nations s'y rendirent, et tout se passa tranquillement jusqu'à Dimanche, 12. Mars, où une troupe de sept mauvais sujets de Cephaliottiens voulut voir par force le spectacle sans payer. Les Janissaires de garde leur ordonnèrent de se retirer; il s'engagea une dispute; les Cephaliottiens furent chassés; mais ils revinrent bientôt après armés jusqu'aux dents pour forcer l'entrée, et rencontrant encore la même résistance, ils lâchèrent quelques coups de feu qui malheureusement tuèrent un Janissaire attaché au Consulat de Venise.

Le Corps de cette milice irrité de la mort de leur camarade, en exigea satisfaction du gouvernement, en consequence de quoi tous les Drogmans furent le lendemain 13. invités à paroître au Mehkemmé, et le Gouverneur y fit demander la livraison du Coupable aux Consuls de Venise et de Russie, attendu que selon la déposition des Janissaires il devoit appartenir à un bord de l'une ou de l'autre de ces Nations. Mais les Drogmans respectifs nièrent le fait, et cette journée, comme aussi celle du 14, se passèrent en des pourparlers et des messages entre le Gouvernement et les Consuls, sans en venir à aucun resultat. Le Consul Imperial sentant combien les suites de cet accident pourroient être funestes, ne negligea rien dans cet intervalle, secondé aussi par ses Collègues, d'un côté pour calmer les esprits agités et exhorter les puissances du pays à prendre les mesures nécessaires à la sûreté et au rétablissement de la tranquillité publique, soit pour engager, de l'autre, les dits deux Consuls à livrer le malfaiteur. Mais ces efforts restèrent sans effet. En attendant la fermentation avoit atteint son comble. Six cens Janissaires ressemblés chez le Cadi crioient à haute voix vengeance; et finalement le 15 au mattin ce chef de la loi aussi bien que le gouverneur déclarerent aux Drogmans, que si dans une heure de tems le coupable n'étoit pas livré ils ne repondoient plus des conséquences. Dans cette extremité le Consul Imp. s'occupa encore à concerter les moyens de prévenir l'explosion de l'orage, mais il n'en étoit plus tems. Avant même que l'époque fixée

fut expirée, on entendit déjà fermer toutes les boutiques et fenêtres de la rue franque. Il étoit 8 heures du matin. Un bruit confus, et des hurlemens affreux se firent entendu de tous côtés. Des centaines des Janissaires armés se répandoient dans le quartier portant avec eux des fagots de combustibles pour y mettre le feu; tous ce qu'ils rencontrèrent fut impitoyablement massacrés. Dans cet intervalle il s'étoit attroupé dans la rue dite *Schiotico han* une bande de Cephaloniottes tirant sur les Turcs, et tuant ou blessant deux d'entre eux. C'étoit là le signal du soulèvement. Les Turcs de tout tems animés contre cette race ne connoissent plus des bornes à leur fureur. Ils mettent aussitôt le feu dans plusieurs endroits. 'A peine les pauvres habitans appercevoient ils le commencement de la révolte, que l'incendie éclate déjà dans tout le quartier. Le Consul Imp. dont la maison se trouvoit voisine d'un des foyers, étoit en pleines flames avant qu'il eut le tems de sauver ses effects. Il ne lui resta comme à tous les habitans en general qu'à songer à sa vie et à sa famille. Mais quand il veut sortir vers la marine, il trouve toutes les avenues le long du quai gardées par une troupe de Turcs qui faisoient main basse sur tous les malheureux qui cherchoient à s'échapper à leur rage et aux flames. On n'entend que coups de feu de tous côtés accompagnés de hurlemens terribles, qui avec les cris lamentables des blessés et des agonisans formoient une scène des plus atroces.

En attendant, des centaines d'Esclavons et d'autres étoient descendus à terre pour protéger l'embarquement des francs, et des Chrétiens en general. Cinq de ces gens conduisirent au risque de la vie le Consul Imp. et sa famille jusqu'à un bateau qui étoit prêt sur le rivage et au moyen du quel il se retira à bord d'un bâtiment Anglois, qui avoit déjà accueilli plus de 150 familles; et il en étoit de même de tous les autres vaisseaux sur la rade. Un nombre infini de barques remplis de mond erroit sur la Mer pour chercher un asyle, et les balles sifflaient autour. Ces massacres et brigandages continuèrent ainsi jusque vers les 7 heures du soir, où les Turcs ne rencontrant plus personne se retirèrent du côté de la douane et y passèrent la nuit à être spectateurs de l'incendie, qui faisoit toujours encore des progrès affreux. Comme pendant toute la journée chacun qui parut sur la rue soit pour porter du secours, soit pour se sauver avoit été en bute aux coups de fusils des revoltés, il n'étoit resté à beaucoup de malheureux d'autre alternative, que de périr par les flames dans leurs maisons et boutiques, ou d'être massacrés en sortant; plus de mille personnes perdirent ainsi leur vie; tandis que les mutins entroient dans les maisons, pilloient, violeient, et commettoient toutes les horreurs imaginables. Ce n'est que le 16. après le 6 heures du matin que le feu

cessa après avoir consumés toute la rue des francs avec l'Eglise et le Couvent des R.P. Recollets, ainsi que plusieurs quartiers des grecs et Arméniens. On ne peut guère encore évaluer au juste la perte occasionée par cet incendie, mais elle doit s'élever à plus de dix millions de piastres. Durant toute cette horrible catastrophe le gouvernement étoit resté dans l'inaction.

Le 16. les Consuls résolurent d'un commune accord d'expédier une lettre à Karà Osman Oglou pour le prier de venir lui même avec un nombre suffisant de troupes rétablir la tranquillité et la sûreté prévenir des excès ulterieurs, et empêcher surtout que les bateaux du pays n'emportassent les effets depredés. Mais cette Lettre est restée sans effet; et le gouvernement de son côté a fait assembler le lendemain les plus distingués parmi les habitans pour leur faire signer à force de menaces un Arzmahz<sup>33</sup> declarant ces événemens comme accidentels et de peu d'importance.

Voilà en peu de mots les principaux détails d'une rebellion qui est sans exemple dans ces Contrées.

---

33. *arzuhal*, petition.

Smyrne 17. Mars 1797

Monsieur l'Envoyé

C'en est fait de nous; C'en est fait de Smyrne. A malheureux moment, ce jour si redouté qui devoit mettre le comble à tous les maux que nous souffrons depuis si long temps de la part des sujets Venitiens et de la foiblesse de ce Gouvernement; ce-jour, dis-je, est enfin arrivé. Smyrne n'existe plus; et si j'existe encore on doit le regarder comme un effet de la divine providence qui m'a sauvé. Je ne puis pas vous donner des détails. Une bande de Cephalonotes, Sujets Venitiens, ont voulu forcer Dimanche passé le Théâtre du spectacle où j'étois avec ma famille et une partie de la Société; ils ont tué le Janissaire qui gardoit l'entrée. Je ne vous peindrai pas l'horreur de cette catastrophe dans la quelle je trouvai ma femme enceinte de 9 mois foulée par la tumulte. Le Consul Vénitien pour se débourber de cette mauvaise Affaire a ébruité et déclaré au Gouvernement que l'Assassin est un Russe, tandis que toute le monde sait qu'il est matelot abord d'un bâtiment Vénitien. Sur cette declaration les Janissaires se sont levés en Masse en réclamant de moi l'homme avec des menaces. J'ai eu beau vouloir dissuader le Gouvernement de cette idée. Enfin il s'est laissé convaincre. Mais la populace implacable s'est livré à sa rage. Le 15. de ce Mois jour à jamais inéfaçable dans notre esprit et dans notre Coeur navré. Ma maison reçut trois differents assauts dirigés par les Janissaires du Consul de Venise; les attaques furent bien soutenues par des braves Janissaires que j'avais pris à mon secours et à qui je faisais pleuvoir l'argent et l'or que j'empruntois de tout côté. Cependant au troisième assaut où j'allois être taillé en pièces, les assaillants ayant forcé l'entrée, nous eûmes le temps de nous jeter toute la famille dans des Chaloupes Espagnoles, et de nous refugier abord du bâtiment du Consul où nous trouvons à present. Leur rage étoit également dirigée vers le Consul de Venise, qui eut l'adresse de se retirer de bon matin dans un bâtiment Vénitien. En attendant les Turcs commencèrent à assouvir leur fureur et leur vengeance sur le bas peuple et sur les innocents. Et en même temps le massacre commença, ils mirent aussi le feu à divers endroits du quartier Franc. L'Incendie dura 22 heures. Tout ce beau et riche quartier a été consumé. 9 Consuls ont été brûlés. Dans cet intervalle tous les équipages Esclavons des bâtiments sont descendus armés à terre, forcoient les maisons et les magasins, et pilloient le peu de biens que nos pauvres gens cherchoient de

sauver, et massacroient ceux qui s'y opposoient. Enfin pour moi je suis réduit à la dernière misère, partageant un morceau de pain avec ma pauvre femme et mes enfans infortunés pour ne pas mourir de faim. Smyrne est perdu pour toujours. Le plus grand et le plus riche quartier est méconnoissable, et devenu un monceau de cendres. Karà Osman Oglou est entré aujourd'hui en ville avec des troupes pour contenir la populace. Les Esclavons ont provoqués les premiers les Turcs, dont ils ont tué deux qui a été le signal de la révolte. Il faut que cette Nation soit exilée de l'Empire Ottoman, autrement les autres Européens n'y restent plus. Il faut faire un exemple du Consul de Venise et de son Dragoman, Argiro, son Janisaire, et le Janisaire du Consul Impérial. Pardonnez à ce que je vous écris. Mes sanglots m'empêchent de vous écrire. Au nom de Dieu délivrez moi de ce Consulat. Je réclame votre équité, votre humanité; par pitié pour ma pauvre famille destituez moi. Ma vie a été mille fois en danger depuis que j'en suis chargé. Il n'est pas bien clair que Karà Osman Oglou soit encore arrivé. Les Janisaires de Venise et de l'Empire ont été les Chefs de la rébellion et de l'incendie. Je ne peux pas écrire à mes deux autres ministres, parce que je n'ai ni la tête ni les forces. Je vous prie de leur donner connoissance de ma part de tout. Je vous prie de ne pas me citer pour les dénonciations que je vous fais du Consul de Venise et de ses Créatures, car je ne pourrai plus rester sur le pays. Les sujets Vénitiens me perdront. Eux sont la cause de tous nos malheurs, et eux ont fini à nous laisser nuds et crus. J'ai l'honneur d'être avec tout le respect possible

Monsieur l'Envoyé  
 Votre très humble et infortuné Serviteur  
 Joseph Franceschi.

[Declaration appended to Franceschi's letter of 17 March]

Les Capitaines, et les Sujets Russes soussignés déclarent à V.E. que le Consul de Venise ayant rejeté sur eux les atrocités que ses Sujets ont commis depuis long temps sur ce pays et surtout en dernier lieu, qui a causé la perte de Smyrne, se protester formellement envers vous contre le dit Consul de Venise du discredit et des dommages et des pertes que ce dernier accident du 15. de ce mois leur cause sur cette echelle. Il vous declare de plus, que les deux assassins du Janisaire se nomment, l'un Pietro Sana (Cousin du Capitaine Antoine Pana, Venitien, et embarqué sur son bâtiment) et l'autre Mathieu Pana, sujet Venitien venu dernière-

ment de Chio: et que la veille de la rebellion ils ont été embarqués sur un bateau du pays et envoyés aux isles. Ils vous déclarent en outre, que le jour qu'ils ont été par ordre de leur Consul chez celui de Venise pour se disculper du Crime qu'il leur imputoit, le dit Consul de Venise leur répondit qu'ils feroient bien de s'endorser cette affaire, vu qu'ils étoient plus en état que les Venitiens d'en imposer au Turcs, et de les reprimer; ce que les sujets Russes ont dedaignés.

En foi de quoi &c.

Smyrna 17. Mars 1797



*Translation*

*Copy of an Imperial Edict trascribed for the purpose of communication to the foreign Menisters residing at the Sublime Porte*

To the Molla of Smyrna; To Abdulla Bey one of the Chamberlains (*Capigi Bashi*) of my high Court, being particularly deputed as Commissary in these premises; To Hussein the Son of Karà Osman, Chamberlain and Governor of Aidin; To Hagi Mehemmed actual Zaghargy bashi in my Imperial Militia, appointed to proceed in company with the above Commissary; To the Vaivod<sup>34</sup>, to the Commander, and to the other Officers of the Janissaries at Smyrna; and to the Chiefs and Agents of the Country.

Whereas, from the tenour of reports made by persons just arrived from Smyrna, from dispatches received from different quarters, and from the purport of an *Illam*, and general Address of the community very succinctly transmitted by the Kadi and Molla of Smyrna, it appears that on the 14th. day of the Moon *Ramazan* as a performance of Rope dancers was exhibiting at a place situate in the quarter called «*Kiorler Koprusu*»<sup>35</sup> (the bridge of the blind) in the said City of Smyrna, the said place being full of people of all nations, eight or ten Zantiot Ruffians in the Venetian dependence came thither and behaved themselves refractorily, when a Janissary of the Venetian Consul's Guard, to prevent their staying there, having struck one of them with his Staff, they returned again in a larger body to the number of twenty or thirty all armed who attacked and killed the said Janissary; that the Murderer not being delivered up, and a Scuffle having ensued on that account, many Turks and *Rayaas* (Tributary Subjects) have been killed and wounded and a fire was also seen to break out at a Mansion called *Saakez Khan*<sup>36</sup> inhabited by Venetians; and that, owing to the great tumult and disturbance which prevailed, no one could attend to extinguish the Fire

---

34. *voyvoda*, governor.

35. *Körler Köprüsü*.

36. *Sakız Han*, the Chiot han.

which, thus left to itself, continued to burn for 18 hours successively during which large quantities of merchandize and other effects were pillaged and robbed; and Whereas it is obvious, that such a scene of excess and disorder as has audaciously been produced at a place like Smyrna — the resort of Franks and Merchants, — can only be owing to the negligence, carelessness, connivance, and inactivity of the Officers of the Police; and Whereas it is of the utmost importance to take effectual measures in order, in the first place, to discover and immediately punish the Zantiot who murdered the Janissary before mentioned, next to investigate and ascertain the number and the persons of those who have encouraged the perpetrators of the murders and robberies which succeeded, and who thereby have been the cause of such disturbance and commotion in that place, and to arrest them, making a report of the same to my Sublime Porte; also to find out and restore to the concerned all such property as has been stolen and carried away on this occurrence, to prevent the like in future; and to secure perfect tranquillity to all the Inhabitants of the said City of Smyrna: Now, for these reasons, it is our Imperial intention, that you above mentioned Commissary, and you aforesaid Capigibashi Governour of Aidin may be particularly charged with this very urgent business. Wherefore it is hereby directed, that (with the help of God) You the said Commissary shall forthwith depart from hence in company with the Zaghargy bashi beforementioned, and proceed with all speed to Smyrna where, in concert with the Governour of Aidin aforesaid who a few days since was by a special Command directed to repair thither with a sufficient armed force to carry into effect our Royal intentions, and in conjunction with the Kadi, with the Zaghargy bashi, the Commander of the Janissaries, and other Officers, You will first demand and receive from the Venetian Consul the Author of the said murder, inflict on him the punishment he deserves, and then use your endeavours to find out every article of property stolen from the Merchants, the *Rayaas* and others, and deliver the same to the respective proprietours, without a pin's value being withheld: You shall next enquire and examine how many and who are the people that have fomented such excesses as the assassinations, plunder, and incendiary Conflagration, which have been committed. You shall seize and imprison them by all and every means possible with the cognizance of their own national Magistrates, and make a true and exact report of the same to my Sublime Porte remaining in readiness for the zealous execution of such farther Orders as may be issued in consequence. And whereas some Venetian Merchant Ships lying in the Harbour of Smyrna with stolen

Goods on board, have been refused by the new Castle (*Yeni-Kaaleh*)<sup>37</sup> to pass to Sea after having actually attempted to get under weigh, You shall also employ your attention and efforts, that the same may continue to remain in the said Harbour, and that the stolen property on board may, with the cognizance of their respective Consuls, and the knowledge and testimony of every one, be taken out and delivered to the Concerned: bewareing not to make yourselves liable to publick censure, by acting in a manner so neglectful, as to admit of the smallest omission or impropriety contrary to our intention, and inconsistently with this our Ferman.

And You, the actual Governour of Aidin and my Chamberlain Hussein Carà Osman Zadeh aforementioned in particular, will employ your utmost attention and means to the purposes before stated, that the Zantiot Murderer in question be delivered up by the Venetian Consul; that he be punished; that all those who have been the cause of such a commotion, disturbance, and general injury by encouraging the excesses above described, be discovered and imprisoned; that the whole affair be represented to my S. Porte by Illams in writing, after which fresh Injunctions may be issued; that enquiries be made after the stolen Goods, and when discovered either in the hands of the populace or others, what belongs to the Rayaas may be delivered to the proprietours under the intervention of the Law and of the Elders of their Community, and if property appertaining to Francks has also been pillaged, the same to be returned under the inspection of their Consuls, taking receipts for the same as well from the proprietours as from the Consuls and the *Capigi bashis*; also, that a Schedule be drawn up of the quantity and quality of the pillaged property of the name and description of the concerned, which Schedule after being duly registered be transmitted higher together with the original Receipts abovementioned; that measures be concerted by the Molla, Zaghargy bashi, and other Officers, to establish such publick Order as may be expedient and necessary to restore the Country to peace, to secure ease and tranquillity to the Inhabitants, and to prevent quarrel and disturbance in future: And God forbid, that the smallest act of carelessness or omission may be shewn on this occasion, or that, under the pretence of these Orders, any molestation or violence be offered to such innocent individuals as may have had no share in these heinous outrages. Also to abstain from asking or taking a farthing from

---

37. *Yeni Kale*.

THE SMYRNA 'REBELLION' OF 1797: SOME DOCUMENTS

the owners of the property whose recovery is hereby directed, under the title of provision, fees of office, or customary recompence of the Commissary, the requisite Charges having been advanced here. And You my Mollà, Zaghargy bashi, Vaivoda, and other my Officers aforementioned, do You also on Your side, by joining with Carà Osman Zadeh and the said Commissary and by being united among yourselves, devise and adopt such proper ways and measures as may best lead to the execution of our Edict, and to the accomplishment of our Imperial wish; being particularly cautious not to admit of any neglect concerning the execution of this Imperial Command, not to make Yourselves liable to repentance by pursuing an imprudent and careless Conduct. The beginning of *Shaval* 1211 (i.e.) the beginning of April 1797.

At an Assembly held March 25th. 1797 in the City of Smyrna, By the Consul, and British Factory to take into consideration proper Measures to be taken in the present distressed situation of His Britannic Majesty's subjects, whose houses, and properties have been premeditatedly destroyed by the Turks setting fire to the houses in the Frank Street on Wednesday March 15th. 1797.

Resolved. That it is highly necessary, that a representation of our distressed situation be laid before the Sultan setting forth the ruin brought on us by a body of Turcks setting fire to the houses in the Franck Street on Wednesday 15th. inst. at ten O'clock in the morning with a wilfull, and premeditated intent to ruin the Franck Nations, who have long been established here under the sanction and protection of the sacred Capitulations, and to solicit His Majesty's Minister at the Porte, to claim a compensation for the losses which the English Nation has sustained.

Resolved. That it is a duty highly incumbent on us for our future welfare, and protection, that we humbly represent to the Sublime Porte the wilfull neglect and omission of the great Turks in office in this City, who never took any precautions to prevent the impending danger, nor during the whole time of the conflagration in the Franck street did not attend; and for want of their presence our fire-guard, and Engines were driven away by the Turks firing on them, which so intimidated, that no assistance could be had from them, that the cruel Massacre exercised chiefly on the poor Greeks prevented those people from rendering us any assistance, which on all other occasions they were wont to do.

Resolved. That this calamity has been principally owing to the want of energy in the executive power in this City, who have not put in force the Firmans lately received here to disarm the Vagabond Slavonians & others who have long infested this City; And to pray the Sublime Porte to take such measures as they in their Wisdom shall think fit, to secure our persons, and property from the assassinations, and depre-dations of this description of men.

Resolved. That it be humbly represented that the number of taverns, and Aqua Vita Shops which have very much increased within these last twelve months, are nurseries for thieves, and receptacles of stolen goods; that all the disturbances originate chiefly in them, and to pray that in future they may be removed from the Frank street or put under such regulations, as will prevent the evil complained of.

Resolved. That as in the late dreadful misfortune we experienced from the Crews of the Ships in the Bay, every kind of outrage, and violence, particularly from the Venitian, and some of the Russian Ships whose Crews landed arm'd, broke open our fire-proof warehouses, and carry'd away the goods; that we furnish to His Majesty's Minister every information on that subject, so as to obtain satisfaction, and to prevent the like evil in future.

Resolved. That as by fatal experience we cannot now consider ourselves safe in our persons, and property in this Country, that the Worshipful the Levant Company be petitioned to solicit His Majesty to grant us a permanent force to remain here; experience having on several occasions demonstrated the necessity, and utility arising from a frigate being stationed in this Bay.

Resolved. That as our losses are to a large amount, that it be represented to the Worshipful the Levant Company, the necessity there is of representing our distressed situation to the British Government; through whose mediation with the Sublime Porte we can only rely for a just compensation.

Resolved. That a Schedule of our losses be made out without delay, and transmitted to the Levant Company and to J. Spencer Smith Esqr. His Majesty's Minister at the Ottoman Porte.

Resolved. That a Copy of these resolutions be transmitted to J. Spencer Smith Esqr. and the Worshipful the Levant Company.

(Signed) Francis Werry Consul.

Mémoire adressé à Hussein, (Karà Osman Zadèh) par le Corps de Consuls Européens Residants à Smyrne.

Les Consuls soussignés s'étant réunis le 9 de ce mois auprès de Son Excellence, Cara Osman Oglou, *Hagi Hussein Effendi* à l'effet de le féliciter sur son arrivé à Smyrne & lui témoigner la confiance qu'ils ont dans ses lumières, dans son impartiale Justice, & dans la sagesse des mesures, qu'il a déjà prises, & qu'il prendra pour assurer la tranquillité publique, découvrir les coupables auteurs de la Catastrophe du 15 Mars dernier, & faire connoître à la Sublime Porte la légitimité des indemnités qu'ils ont réclamées, ou réclameront auprès d'Elle; & le dit Sieur Carà Osman Oglu, ayant invité les susdits Consuls à lui transmettre par écrit les renseignements qu'ils lui ont donné verbalement dans leur entrevue avec lui.

Les soussignés tant par déférence personnelle pour ce desir de S. E. que pour rectifier les faits omis, attenés ou falsifiés dans le compte, que le Gouvernement de Smirne s'est permi d'adresser au Ministre Ottoman, & quoiqu'ils ayent déjà fait parvenir la vérité au trône du Sublime Sultan par le Canal de leurs Ambassadeurs respectifs, déclarent unanimement.

1. Que le Janissaire qui a peri dans la journée du 12 Mars der. dans l'intérieur du Spectacle où il y avoit sept hommes de la garde du Gouverneur, n'a été tué par aucun de leurs Nationaux ou protégés respectifs.

2. qu'ils n'ont jamais contribué ni directement ni indirectement à recéler le meurtrier, qu'ils ont au contraire cherché de bon foi à le découvrir dans l'intention de le livrer au Gouvernement local, ou de le faire punir sévèrement eux mêmes suivant l'exigence du cas.

3. que leurs Droguemens respectifs, dans deux assemblées tenues l'une chez le Gouverneur le 13, & l'autre chez le Mollà le 14 Mars au soir, ont constamment déclaré, que les Nationaux des soussignés n'avoient aucune part ni à la mort du Janissaire ni au refus qui auroit été fait, ou pourroit être fait de livrer le meurtrier.

4. que dans cette assemblée du 14 la surété personnelle des Droguemens a été compromise.

5. que le Mollà, & le Gouverneur ayant fait signifier aux Consuls soussignés dans la même soirée du 14 Mars, qu'il falloit livrer le Meurtrier dans une heure, ceux-ci obtinrent un delai jusqu'au lendemain à midi, en protestant néanmoins, & contre l'injustice d'une pareille demande

faite à des personnes notoirement étrangères à la mort du Janissaire & contre la barbarie qu'il y avoit à l'affaire au milieu de la nuit, and dans un moment où l'on savoit bien qu'il étoit impossible d'y satisfaire.

6. que plusieurs des soussignés étoient déjà assemblés le 15 Mars au matin pour aviser aux moyens de satisfaire le Gouverneur en tout qui dependroit d'eux, & pour lui proposer les mesures d'ordre, & de répreition qu'il paroissoit avoir negligé par insousiance, ou par mauvaise volonté, lors qu'on les avertit que l'on égorgoit impitoyablement les sujets du Grand Seigneur & qu'on venoit de mettre le feu aux maisons des Francs.

7. qu'il est constant par le rapport, & le témoignage unanime de tous les habitants de Smirne, que ce sont des Turcs excités par quelqu'un d'entre eux, & enhardis par l'innaction, & la malveillance du Gouvernement, qui ont commis tous les Meutres, Incendies les maisons en commençant par celles des Francs, tiré sur les Pompiers qui vouloient arrêter les progrès du feu, coupé les tuyaux, & rendu ainsi l'incendie general.

8. que c'est une verité également incontestable, que le meutre du Janissaire n'a été que le prétexte de la rebellion qui a été évidemment premeditée par les ennemis du Grand Seigneur, puisque non contents d'incendier le quartier des Francs, les révoltés ont en même temps massacré ou brûlé des Papas, des femmes, des enfants, tous rayas, absolument étrangers a l'événement du 12 Mars, and tenté de briser les Portes de l'Englise Greque.

9. que les Turcs en commettant ces affreux desordres ont procuré aux Esclavons, Zantiotes, Cefalionotes une occasion d'exercer leurs brigandages en l'absence des malheureux Négotians, que les Flammes, & les assassins avoient chassé de leur maison, lesquelles ont enfoncé à force ouverte ainsi que les Magasins où l'on a pillé les Meubles, & les marchandises qui y étoient déposé; que malgré la visite scrupuleuse faite dans plusieurs bâtimens Venitiens partis depuis l'événement du 15, il y a lieu de craindre qu'on ait enlevé une partie des dépouilles, attendu que les bâtimens au lieu de mettre à la voile immédiatement après la visite, ainsi que l'ordre leur on avoit été donné n'ont quitté le Port de Smirne, que deux jours après.

10. que les mêmes Turcs qui avoient commencé le meutre & l'incendie, ne pouvant pénétrer directement à travers les flammes dans la rue franque, se sont repliés par les rues adjacentes vers l'extrémité de cette même rue, & que, affamé du carnage transporté du fureur and tous couvert du sang de leurs victimes, ils voulaient attaquer les derrières des maisons Franques du côté de la Marine, mais qu'ils furent arrêtés



par un ou deux Coups de Canon qu'un Vaisseau Vénitien ou Russe tira sur eux, sans leur tuer une âme, ce qui néanmoins les affraya assez pour leur faire rébrousser chemin du côté des quartiers Grecs où ils alloient commetre d'autres meurtres.

11. que ces hommes qui ont écarté de la marine les Incendiaires & les assassins en leur tirant ces coups de Canon, sont les mêmes, que quelques moments après descendirent par la marine dans le quartier franc pour piller; & enfoncer des Magasins, & enlever les dépouilles des Incendies, les quelles ont été emporté par les Turcs, ou cachés à bord des vaisseaux Russes, ou Vénitiens.

12. que les soussignés ne peuvent pas se dispenser de joindre leurs voix à celle de toutes les Nations, pour attester, que le Gouvernement de Smirne s'est rendu coupable de la malveillance, & de la négligence la plus condamnable avant, & pendant le Catastrophe du 15 Mars dernier, puisqu'il a negligé de faire executer le Firman de la Sublime Porte, qui prescrivait les mesures les plus sages pour le rétablissement de l'ordre public, & la punition des Brigants, & cela malgré l'invitation pressante & formelle qui lui en avoit été faite par tous les Consuls réunis, ainsi qu'il conste par l'acte officiel déposé au *Mehkemé*, puisque au lieu d'apaiser les Janissaires, comme ils en avoient le pouvoir, le Musselim & le Mollà ont au contraire partagé leurs mecontentement, & leurs fureurs au point de souffrir, que l'on exposa dans un lieu public pendant 24 heures le cadavre du Janissaire, & la chemise sanglante, pour exciter le peuple à la vengeance, and que la sûreté des Droguemens fut compromise dans la séance nocturne du 14. Mars, d'exiger des consuls soussignés, ainsi que l'exigoiert les revoltés, qui se rendissent responsables sans distinction d'un fait auquel les soussignés, and tous leurs Nationaux respectifs étoient étrangers & de violer la promesse faite solennellement d'un delai jusqu'au 15 à midi.

Pendant la Catastrophe, puis qu'ils ont souffert, que les Turcs descendissent dans la rue franque sans s'opposer ni au meurtre ni à l'incendie, ni à l'infenalle scélébratesse des revoltés qui tiroient sur les Pompiers pour ôter toutes ressources aux malheureux Incendiés.

Enfin qu'il resulte de cette exposé sincère, & véridique, que les Droits sacrés de l'hospitalité garantie aux francs par les Capitulations avec la Sublime Porte, ont été indignement violés dans la journée du 15 Mars; qui l'ont été le dessein prémédité; que cette violation dont des Turcs se sont rendu Coupables, n'a été ni prevenue dans son principe, ni reprimée au moment de la Catastrophe par le Gouvernement de Smirne, & qu'en consequence les Consuls soussignés ne peuvent que s'adresser à la Su-

THE SMYRNA 'REBELLION' OF 1797: SOME DOCUMENTS

blime Porte par l'intervention de leurs Ambassadeurs respectifs, & par celle de Son Exc. Cara Osman Oglou pour obtenir de la justice les réparations éclatantes, and les Indemnités qui sont dues à leurs Nationaux.

Smirne le 10 Avril 1797.

RICHARD CLOGG

DOCUMENT 10

I have the honor to transmit you authenticated Copies of the losses of the British Subjects resident in Smyrna by the fire of the 15th. of March last. The ruined situation of some and almost so, of the whole of them, inspires them with hope, Sir, that you will forward their Claims of indemnification as much as is possible, previous to the Instructions which you wait, and which the justice of their demands inspires them with confidence, that their Country's Government will espouse with such effectual zeal, as to procure them the redress they seek.

Mr. Anthony Hayes the person named as deputy to represent the British factory, and who we intended to have sent up with the Claims; we have deferred his departure, observing that you wait instructions from the British Court. As we think it may be very serviceable to our cause, if it meets your consent, we propose delaying his departure no longer, than till we receive your opinion on the efficacy of it.

I have inclosed Lists of the persons sufferers, distinguished under the Classes; British Subjects, and those protected as such, whose situation is for the most part deplorable.

Estimate of loss of the British Residents in Smyrna the 15th. March 1797, by the Turks premeditatedly setting fire to the Houses in the Franck Street.

Consularian House &c. ....	p.	60,918
British Consul .....	»	19,600
Joseph Franel .....	»	409,129.40
A & E Hayes .....	»	101,520
Heirs of Charnaud .....	»	83,500
Anthony Hayes .....	»	38,500
Edward Hayes .....	»	15,000
John Shoolbred .....	»	21,480
Samuel Hayes .....	»	6,500
John Charnaud .....	»	5,500
George Perkins .....	»	21,100
Lee & Sons .....	»	155,000
In. Maltass & family .....	»	75,500
William Tomlinson .....	»	1,500
Widow Santi .....	»	31,403
Peter Cunningham .....	»	260
James La Fontain .....	»	700

THE SMYRNA 'REBELLION' OF 1797: SOME DOCUMENTS

Leon Gabia .....	p.	213
Charles Edwards .....	»	600
Widow Iflak .....	»	2,680
James Inkster .....	»	6,698.90
James Ogilvie Stuart .....	»	20,498.90
John Rivers .....	»	430.34
George Mitchel .....	»	1,362.24
Elenora Foster .....	»	300
Thomas Jackson .....	»	850
George Boddington .....	»	16,000
Catharine Boddington .....	»	1,500
Valentine Boddington .....	»	946
Benjamin Boddington .....	»	684
Joseph Boddington .....	»	571
George Soudimore .....	»	3,416
Peter Emanuel Duveluz .....	»	1,436
The widow of the late Mr Frede(ri)c Hayes 1/4 of a house left to her by her father Count Hochepped .....	»	25,000
	p.	<u>1,130,346.38</u>

Statement of Losses sustained by those protected as British Subjects.

Boghos Ioussoff .....	p.	426.20	Berat
Stellio Raffaelli .....	»	580	ditto
Isaac & Brothers Missir .....	»	25,000	ditto & Nefers
Paolo di Pietro .....	»	20,000	Firmanly
Haim Saul .....	»	8,950.40	ditto
Giuro Ciochagi Oglu .....	»	12,000	ditto
Pietro .....	»	29,494.20	ditto
Steffano Cortauck .....	»	63,744.30	Patent
Steffano Roboli .....	»	6,500	ditto
Nicolo Novella .....	»	14,200	Courtesy
Elena Caralambi .....	»	4,120.30	ditto
Giorgi Foti .....	»	5,500	ditto
Lewis Vallery .....	»	951	Stew. of the Hospital



## DOCUMENT 11

A list of the loss sustained by Joseph Franel in the fire & rebellion of the 15th. March 1797. Viz.

2 fine houses, which could not be rebuilt now in the state they were in .....	p.	120,000
House-hold furnitures of every kind chiefly English, for 2 large halls and 12 rooms and kitchen Utensils .....	»	11,500
Cloaths and wearing apparels of every Kinds .....	»	1,500
Cellar stock of Port, Sherry, Malaga, Cyprus, and common wine, Coniac Brandy, Rum, several Iron bound Casks, bottle stands with many Dozen of bottles upon, several large and small leghorn & marseille Glazed Jars, kinegar, butter & several other things at least .....	»	2,500
1 very strong and long Oak & fir-chest, made with 4 partitions to contain each 100 «killows» of corn, barley, flower & bound all round with Iron Plates .....	»	150
6 Months provisions of straw and barley for 3 horses and 2 Jackasses .....	»	600
5 English saddles, one of which brand new, with their bridles and furnitures; 1 Turkish saddle for the servant, 6 English whips, 2 fine new Turkish bridles, brass gilt finely ornamented and four new horse hair cloths lined with felt, to cover the horses with, worth together at least .....	»	500
1 New English wheeled Phaeton, with double shafts and wheels with harness for 2 horses and 2 long whips &c... ..	»	1,000
1 Large sedan chair, lined with Bay .....	»	40
1 fine brand new English silver hanger with my name upon it, a pair of fine English pistols, plated .....	»	200

RICHARD CLOGG

2 English beams made by Freeman, with several brass and Iron weights, triangles &c. ....	p.	350
1 Strong Iron chest, with all the moveables and necessaries made use of in commercial houses .....	»	1,600
Provisions of all kinds, such as coffee, Sugar, Rice, wood Coals, Soap, spices, & oil &c., &c., .....	»	700
Extra expences occasioned by the fire .....	»	2,500
	carried over, p <sup>rs</sup>	143,140
	brought over p <sup>rs</sup>	143,140
850 sacks of madderroots kts.1920, with charges at p.30 p <sup>r</sup> kl.		57,600
255 sacks of fine <i>Kirkagatch</i> Cotton-wool. D. <sup>o</sup> .....		51,000
12 large bales of superfine black pickt Goatswood «Cheques» 872 with Charges .....		12,360
14 D. <sup>o</sup> more or less damaged by the fire and water thrown upon it, to extinguish it .....		6,000
20/m <i>Okes</i> of yellow berries at 54/40 p <sup>r</sup> Oke including charges .....	»	27,000
1215 <i>Okes</i> of Gum Draganth at 115/40 p <sup>r</sup> Oke, .....	»	3,493
206 D. <sup>o</sup> of <i>Coculus Indicus</i> .....	»	350
1 case of Opium, <i>Cheques</i> 220 with charges at p. 9 .....	»	1,980
15 sacks of Galls, kts 56 at p. 70 p <sup>v</sup> kl with charges .....	»	3,320
1 small Drum of scamoney <i>Okes</i> 8 at p. 30 p <sup>r</sup> Oke .....	»	240
Sundry hair sack and Canvass bagging and cords for Cottons, and yellow berries .....	»	1,500
33 Large Drums of pickt Figs for present kts 20 a pa 14 .	»	280

THE SMYRNA 'REBELLION' OF 1797: SOME DOCUMENTS

Sheep wool, kts. 36 . . . . .	p.	930
40 sacks of pepper <i>Okes</i> 4640 at p. 30/8 . . . . .	»	15,660
18 barrils of Indigo D. <sup>o</sup> 378 at p. 20 . . . . .	»	7,560
4 Casks of St. Domingo Indigo <i>Okes</i> 400 at p. 22 . . . . .	»	1,012
17 barrils Tin, B 6265 at p. 118 p <sup>r</sup> kl. . . . .	»	7,382
45 Casks lead shot 157 1/2 at p. 27 p <sup>r</sup> . . . . .	»	4,252
30 boxes Tin Plates. . . at p. 70 . . . . .	»	2,100
1 Cask nutmeg % 70 at p. 80 p <sup>r</sup> <i>Oke</i> . . . . .	»	5,600
1 D. <sup>o</sup> Clove. . . 205 at p. 18 D. <sup>o</sup> . . . . .	»	3,690
1 D. <sup>o</sup> Cochineal, 80 at p. 44 p. <sup>r</sup> D. <sup>o</sup> . . . . .	»	3,520
1 Do of fine Verdet 180 okes at p. 8 1/2 . . . . .	»	1,530
7 Dozen of Amber pipes mouth pieces at p. 18 each . . . . .	»	1,512
3 watches, name paph Gout at p. 80 . . . . .	»	240
3 D. <sup>o</sup> . . . D. <sup>o</sup> Geom. Clark . . . D. <sup>o</sup> . . . . .	»	240
1 Chiming Clock . . . . .	»	250
Diamonds and Jewells, set and unset, deducting some few that were saved, in a bad condition . . . . .	»	8,850
25 pieces of flowered Chermesuts at p. 50 p. <sup>cl</sup> . . . . .	»	1,250
1 D. <sup>o</sup> of Florence Silk Stuffs and 1 p. <sup>ce</sup> of English Cambles . .	»	300
3 Brass seales with 5,0 okes of brass weights each, to weigh the Cochineal with and 1 Stillyard . . . . .	»	300
1 Case of Chocolate from Genoa . . . . .	»	435
	carried over p.	384,584



RICHARD CLOGG

	brought over	p.	384,584
1 Case of fine hardware, with several things mounted in Gold and Silver .....		p.	500
For sundry things, which do not come to my recollection at present, on account the loss of my principal Books .....	»		2,500
In silver Plates of all kind Diamonds and Jewels, Gold Bracelets, Diamond Rings and divers other articles belonging to my Brokers, and which were in a case in their room .....	»		7,200
Money missing from the Iron Chest that was broke open by the Sclavonians &c. ....			
1200 Venitian zecheens at p. 7 5/8 piece .....	»		3,150
1104 <i>Roubiais</i> , at 70/40 Do., .....	»		1,757
304 <i>Conspli</i> zecheens, at p. 5, D. <sup>o</sup> .....	»		1,520
82 <i>Bajacklis</i> , at p. 7, D. <sup>o</sup> .....	»		574
102 half Alexandria zecheens, at p. 2. D. <sup>o</sup> .....	»		204
800 <i>Roubiais</i> of 55/40, D. <sup>o</sup> .....	»		1,100
In silver .....	»		1,040
		p.	15,345
	[TOTAL]	p.	409,129

It is to be observed that the fire has consumed the *Temesucks*<sup>38</sup> of my 3 houses and lands, as well as the notes and obligations of my debtors, for Goods, sold and money lent to the Amount of upwards of p. 350/m, that I may meet with some difficulties on the part of some of my Debtors, particularly of the Turks, for the renewal of their notes, in which case my loss would be greatly increased.

Smyrna the 20th. April 1797.  
 (signed) Joseph Franel  
 Copia vera quod attestor  
 (signed) Geo. Boddington, Cancellier.

38. *temessük*, title deed.

THE SMYRNA 'REBELLION' OF 1797: SOME DOCUMENTS

We Francis Werry His Britannic Majesty's Consul in Smyrna and Its dependencies, Certify and attest to whomesoever it doth or may concern, that the above written Mr. George Boddington, Cancellier, sworn thereto, is a person of good fame and reputation; to whose public writings by him Signed and attested full faith and credit is and may be given in Judgement Court and thereout. In Witness whereof we have hereunto set our hand and caused the public Seal of our Office to be affixed, dated in Smyrna the Twenty second day of April: one thousand, seven hundred, and ninety seven.

Certain subjects of the Republic of Venice denominated Sclavonians, Corfiots, Kefalonians, and Zantiots who have taken up their residence in the Sea-ports of the Ottoman Dominions particularly in the City of Smyrna, and who frequent these places in Shipping, being people of a savage rebellious description, habitually addicted to heinous practices which disturb the tranquillity of the natural Subjects and other Inhabitants wherever they may be, to the infringement of social order, and never failing to create much injury to the public by their quarrels and disturbances; this state of things has frequently been made known to the Venetian Ambassadors residing at the Sublime Porte, with repeated insinuations of the urgent necessity for their taking care to remove these villanous people, and of their Consuls abstaining from protecting Individuals of such nefarious habits. It behoved them therefore to keep a constant eye towards this important point, and, & by adequate forcible instructions, to warn their Consuls against a conduct which might commit good Order, and against giving countenance to such people.

No regard being paid thereto, many disorders have taken place from time to time, contrary to the duties of good neighbourhood, and to the dictates of friendship; and manifold outrages have occurred tending to destroy the general peace of the Inhabitants. May, as is known to every one, these people, besides attacking with arms and putting to death a certain Ottoman Subject of the Order of Janisaries have been moreover audacious enough to engage in a pitched battle with the Comrades of the said Janisary in the same City the next day; and, taking advantage of a Fire which happened during the fight, to pillage and plunder the goods and effects of the foreign Inhabitants and of the *Rayas* (tributary christian Subjects:) thus, by various mischievous excesses, becoming the cause of flourishing Town like Smyrna being reduced to a state of ruin.

In order therefore to prevent the probable renewal of the Scenes which the above Tribe are, from one period to another, daring enough to commit, in future; and, besides re-establishing good order in the City of Smyrna, to provide such complete means as may lead to secure as well the said City, as the other Seaports from the farther injury of that Tribe; a measure which is become of urgent expedience: — this present Regulation is determined upon, to wit; that, except such of the above described persons as be already married and settled at Smyrna or elsewhere — who may be engaged in professions peculiar to the Inhabitants

THE SMYRNA 'REBELLION' OF 1797: SOME DOCUMENTS

of such places — and who submit to become tributary subjects of the Country, all the rest be expelled: that if they dare to return, they be considered as thieves and be imprisoned; that those of them who arrive in the Merchant Ships be not suffered to come on shore without good motive and unarmed but be made to keep themselves on board; that, in the event of a quarrel or any other misdemeanour on their side, they be, on no account, privileged as foreigners, but be apprehended, and punished by the Officers of the Place, as is customary in all other Countries; and that none of the Tribe before mentioned who are not married be henceforward admitted, even if they be desirous of becoming tributaries to the Government.

This Regulation has been notified at Smyrna and other places where necessary; and, that it may also be known to the English Mission, this piece is written and given to the Chargé d'Affaires our Friend.

19th. Zilkaadeh 1211 (15. May 1797.)

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Consul Werry, to Mr. Spencer Smith,  
his Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Const(antino)ple,  
dated Smyrna 2. June 1797.

It is with much satisfaction that I can inform you, since my last letters under the 17. past that the appearance of tranquillity and future security are much greater than they have been since the unfortunate 15 March. The commands of the Sublime Porte which have been read and put in force with rigor meet no opposition from the populace; and execution of 18 Turks, on the 19. past created no new disorder. This act of justice was preceded by the execution of 3 Venetian subjects. The banishment also of nineteen, amongst which number is comprised the infamous Ex-Agha of Bornabad, we hope will have every good effect. The new regulations of Hagi Hussein Effendi, if maintained with the same vigilance they now adopt, will be of great service. That personage has ordered no Turk to wear arms, excepts only the guards; no vagabonds to lodge in the coffee houses of Khans, more than twenty four hours, without finding a bondsman for their good conduct; which is also exacted from other strangers and from the porters.

(signed) Francis Werry

## DOCUMENT 14

Extract of a letter from Consul Werry to Mr. Spencer Smith  
dated Smyrna 17th. June 1797.

I have the honor of your dispatch dated 3<sup>d</sup> Instant, and have duly noted with you communicate on the subject of *Temessucks* destroy'd in the fire the 15th. March which I have no doubt will be found sufficient, and shall avail myself of the clause in the Ferman for my government in that business.

It is with much satisfaction, that I inform you, Sir, the prospect of tranquility, and security in this City wears a pleasing appearance. And I can't omit to testify the very great obligations we have to the Agha, *Hagi Ussein Effendi*, who has since his arrival on the 8th. of April incessantly and invariably laboured to restore Order. On his first coming he took such effectual measures to render abortive any dangers the Janisarys had plann'd by incorporating a great number of his men with the guards of the Town, that they were intimidated from making attempts: the arresting of the persons suspected or known to be Abettors of the late disorders, and obliging the Porters, and Janissarys to find security for their conduct, conduced much to the general security. And having issued very strict orders for preventing strangers from lodging in the *Khans*, and Coffee houses more than 24 hours, without finding security, which it was difficult for many of them to do, they were obliged to leave the place, this rid of us a great number of dangerous men. And, previous to the executions which took place on the 19th, all private assemblys, and meetings of more than three persons were forbid under the strongest penalty. This order was followed up by the very necessary one of ordering the Turks not to wear Arms, which will prevent many disorders. We can only regret, that the Agha, having a superior in the *Capigi Bashi*, could not proceed, as he assuredly would have done, had he been sole here; the due administration of justice which has, since his being here taken place has given great satisfaction to all ranks of people.

On the 4th. inst. this Agha set out for Aidin; as no intimation was given to the Consuls we had not an opportunity of waiting on him before his departure, it is said he will return, in his absence Hassan Agha Governor of Kirkaghatch, assists the Musselim in the Government.

Notwithstanding we can't but acknowledge we are tranquil and quiet; yet experience teaches us how little we are to rely on the Government of this Country for protection; and the danger we have so lately escaped

RICHARD CLOGG

of being massacred, makes us naturally turn our thoughts to seek safety from our Country, and nothing can give us equal confidence with that of a ship of war being permanently stationed in this Bay; our representations to the L.C.<sup>39</sup> has been repeatedly made. And the British Factory solicit your good Offices in representing it; the good effects it will indoubtedly have is too conspicuous to dwell longer . . .

(signed) Francis Werry

---

39. Levant Company.

DOCUMENT 15

Extract of a letter from Consul Werry to Mr. Smith  
dated Smyrna 17th. July 1797.

Since my last which I had the honor of writing you on the 1. Instant your dispatch of the 5th came to hand.

I have the satisfaction of confirming what I have before wrote on the restoration of tranquility and safety here; the measures taken by this Government and the attention of the new Musselim produces the happiest effects, and mutual confidence begins to aid the reviving commerce of this scale, which I hope no sinister accident will interrupt. The democratical badge which the Venetians began to display a few days since it is much to be fear'd will be the means of readmitting a great number of the Vagabonds of that Nation whose ill conduct caused the late misfortunes. We hope the Sublime Porte will prevent their admission which is the only security against their insolence.

RICHARD CLOGG