

Бранко Момчиловић

„ТАЈМС“ О ПРВОМ СРПСКОМ УСТАНКУ

До сада су код нас коришћене и публиковане вести о првом српском устанку из аустријске и француске штампе.¹ Истраживачи су заобишли, међутим, у потпуности реаговање енглеске штампе на догађаје на тада далеком Балкану, претпостављајући, по свој прилици, да енглеска штампа није поклонила много пажње догађајима у Европској Турској у време када је Енглеска била готово стално ангажована у борби против Наполеона. Први српски устанак временски се поклапа са Наполеоновим ратовима и природно је што је штампа тога времена, не само енглеска већ и осталих европских држава, посветила највише пажње исходима великих битака које су одлучивале о судбини Европе. Међутим, и догађаји у Србији нашли су пут до страница угледних европских листова, нарочито у периодима затишја на главним европским бојиштима. Одзив стране штампе на догађаје у Србији варира у зависности од земље и стања европских послова у датом тренутку. Природно, штампа земаља у непосредном суседству, као аустријска, и земаља заинтересованих за ово подручје, као руска и француска, опширније је извештавала о догађајима у Србији. Аустрија, као најближи сусед, најлакше је и долазила до информација. Не смеју се сметнути с ума ни везе између војвођанских Срба и устаника, што је такође олакшавало добијање информација. На другој страни, Французи су на Балкану имали своју интересну сферу и били и физички присутни на Балканском полуострву. Поред тога, имали су конзулате и често добијали информације из прве руке. И Русија је била и те како заинтересована за Балканско полуострво и врло активно учествовала у свим фазама српско-турских сукоба.

У то време Велика Британија још није била јаче заинтересована за „источно питање“ и није се ангажовала у сукобу између Срба и Турака. Ипак, њени дипломатски представници у Цариграду, Бечу и Петрограду будно су пратили збивања у Србији и акције непосредније заинтересованих сила, Аустрије, Русије и Француске. Једини енглески представник који је успоставио директну везу са устаницима био је конзул у Букурешту Франсис Самерерс (Francis Summerers). Он је постављен за конзула у Влашкој и Молдавији 1803. године и до повратка у Велику Британију, 1807. године, био је главни посматрач догађаја у суседној Србији. Марта 1807. Карађорђеви изасланици повезали су се са Самерерсом и тражили помоћ у новцу и оружју. Молба је дипломатски одбијена. Други контакт уследио је јуна исте године, овог пута на Самерерсову иницијативу. Самерерс је желео да спречи француског генерала Гардана (Gardanne) да оде у Персију преко Баната и Видина, јер је претпостављао да би француско изасланство у Персији могло да

¹ За француску штампу види: Драгослав Јанковић, *Француска штампа о Првом српском устанку*, Београд, 1959. Подаци за објављену грађу из аустријске штампе такође се могу наћи код Д. Јанковића на стр. 6.

ријом. На почетку вести бр. 22 се и напомиње непоузданост извештаја са српско-турског ратишта.

Од личности највише се помиње Карађорђе. Од осталих старешина помињу се Миленко Стојковић, Милоје Петровић, Јаков Ненадовић, Станоје Главаш и Милан Обреновић.

Вести објављене у „Тајмсу“ значајне су, пре свега, за проучавање одјека првог српског устанка у Великој Британији. Треба такође напоменути да су уреднички коментари углавном објективни у односу на обе зарађене стране. И на крају, не сме се изгубити из вида да је то интересовање испољено у време када је енглеска штампа имала довољно материјала са разних европских бојишта, на којима су се борили и Енглези. О обиму тог интересовања сведочи податак да је 20. јуна 1807. године „Тајмс“ објавио о првом српском устанку вести које су имале 121 ред. Колико су те вести заузимале простора, и самим тим колики је значај придаван извештајима о српско-турском сукобу, може се схватити само ако се зна да је лист тада излазио на само четири стране.

Вести су углавном дате у целости. У једном случају (вест бр. 6) изостављен је део који се не односи на први устанак. Транскрипција имена личности и назива места углавном је лоша. Код јасних случајева нисмо давали напомену, а код оних који би могли изазвати забуну дали смо у напомени о коме имену је реч.

1.

29. јануар 1805.

Српска делегација тражи у Цариграду грчког принца за гувернера Србије. Овим поводом одржан је састанак Дивана. Порта показује спремност да удовољи захтеву устаника и контактира са принцом Ипсилантијем тражећи његово мишљење.

Foreign Intelligence
Constantinople, Dec. 6

It is three months since the Servians declared, by a deputation sent to the Porte, that they never intended, notwithstanding all the hardships they suffered, to withdraw their allegiance to the Grand Sultan; but were forced to rise, owing to the tyranny and extortion of their governors. On these representations, the Porte promised them every possible relief of their grievances, and a governor of the Greek religion.

The new Deputation from Servia now refers, in a note delivered to the Porte, to the above promise of the Grand Signior, and prays, that the province of Servia may be placed under a Greek prince, as *Hospodar*, like Moldavia and Wallachia. On this subject the Grand Seignior demanded the opinion of the Divan; in consequence of which two conferences of State have been held within these ten days; and it seems that the Porte is inclined to grant the prayer of the Servians, as the *Hospodar* of Wallachia, Prince Ypsilanti, has been charged, by a courier sent to him, to give his opinion on this plan, to state a correct account of the revenue and taxes of the province of Servia, and to transmit the same to the Porte.

2.

5. фебруар 1806.

Батаљони резерве на аустријско-турској граници стављени у приправност због приближавања турских армија упућених против српских устаника. Порта је тражила слободан пролаз за ове трупе, али је њена молба одбијена.

Vienna, Jan. 15

It is said, that the battalions of reserve, stationed upon the Turkish frontiers, have received orders to hold themselves in readiness for service at the shortest notice. This order is said to have been occasioned by the approach of two Turkish armies, one of twenty and the other of forty thousand men, which the Grand Seignior is sending against the Servian insurgents. It is also reported, that the Porte had requested a passage for these troops, which had not been granted. But, whatever reports may state, it is certain that our Court will neglect no precaution necessary, to put our frontiers in a state of defence.

3.

Турска армија у Босни у јачини од 20.000 људи још није прешла Дрину, јер треба да се споји са трупама из Румелије.

У Београду влада оскудица у намирницама и становници су приморани да излазе из града у групама у потрази за храном. Очекује се брзи пад Београда.

Semlin, Jan. 2

The Turkish army assembled in Bosnia, consisting of twenty thousand men, has not yet passed the Drina. Before their Commandant undertakes any hostilities against the Servians, it is said he will be joined by fresh troops from Romelia.

The want of provisions prevails in such a degree at Belgrade, that the inhabitants are compelled to go out in parties; and seize whatever may fall in their way. In this situation, it is thought Belgrade will fall an easy prey to the besiegers.

4.

19. март 1806.

Аустријска војска према граници у строгој приправности. Бродове на Дунаву прате наоружане лађе.

Пораз Турака на обали Дрине. Срби напредују према Новом Пазару, који су, наводно, заузели Црногорци. Са свих страна јављају да су се Црногорци придружили Србима.

Турци поражени и на Морави у близини Ниша.

Affairs in Servia grow more serious every day; orders have consequently been given to redouble our vigilance upon the frontiers, and the posts which

form the cordon have been reinforced, and no Turk is to be suffered in future to land upon our coasts without being fired upon.

All the ships upon the Danube are now convoyed by armed galleys.

A desperate conflict occurred on the banks of the Drina, between the Turks and the Servians, on the 15th, in which the former were ultimately defeated with great loss. The Servians afterwards advanced forwards to *Novi Pazar*, which place is said to have been taken by storm by the Montenegrins. That the latter have joined the Servians is confirmed from all quarters, so that the Turks will have enough to do.

Near Moravia, also, the Turks have sustained a defeat; and it is said, that the Servians have penetrated to Topadi, near Nyssa, into which place the Turkish corps upon the frontiers had retreated.

5.

23. април 1806.

Хаос у Србији и Румелији све већи. Курири и јаничари татари опљачкани и побијени. Између осталих настрадао и енглески курир Вуд. Угледни путници избегавају Цариградски друм и путују на Исток морским путем.

Султан дуго конферисао са својим најближим сарадницима.

Срби се приближили Нишу. Турци претрпели два пораза. Одред Турака који је изашао из Београда такође потучен. Београду се, наводно, приближава турска армија од 150.000 људи.

From the „Vienna Court Gazette“
Turkey, March 20

The confusion and disorder in Servia and Romelia increase every day. Several couriers and Janizaries, that ride post, have been robbed and murdered, particularly the English State Messenger, Mr. Wood, since which, most travellers of note take their route, by sea to Varna; among others, the French Envoy, Le Roux, and his Secretary. On the 22nd of February, the Grand Seignior honoured the Vizier with a visit, and conversed a long time with him, the Reis Effendi, and Kija Bey. The Servian insurgents, and their adherents, have pushed their parties as far as the vicinity of Nissa, where two bodies of the Grand Seigniors troops have ben successively defeated. On the 16th of March another corps shared the same fate, which have ventured out of Belgrade; but news arriving on the same day, that an army of 150.000 men were advancing to their relief, a feu de-joye was fired from the walls.

The fortress of Brail, Ismael, Bender, and Chotzim,⁵ have been supplied with necessaries for a siege.

6.

23. јун 1806.

Главнина српске војске напустила обале Дрине и појачала опсаду Београда, тукући га из топова. Неуспео покушај Турака да униште устаничке топове.

⁵ Хотин.

Vienna, June 2

From the frontiers of Turkey they write that the chief part of the Servian Army had left the banks of the Drina, and had laid close siege to Belgrade. They have erected three batteries, from which they greatly annoy the garrison. The Turks made a sally to destroy one of these, but the attempt failed. To judge from the ardour of the assailants, and the wants of the garrison, it cannot be expected to hold long.

7.

30. јул 1806.

Настављају се непријатељства између Срба и Турака на Дрини. У шуми близу Ужица Турци претрпели тежак пораз. Срби запленили топове, које ће употребити за бомбардовање Београда који бране 2.000 Турака и 600 Арнаута.

Освојен Шабац. Срби чекају Турке код Пожареваца, Ђуприје и Јагодине. Прича се о опозивању Гушанац Алије, кога треба да замени Реџеп-ага. Вест изазвала радост међу Србима.

Vienna, July 12

[...]

Our Court Gazette of this day contains the following intelligence from Turkey: — Hostilities continue between the Turks and the Servian insurgents upon the Drina. An affair that occurred in a wood near Ustuzza,⁶ and when the former thought of overpowering the Servians, ended in the defeat of the Ottomans, who left some hundreds killed and wounded on the ground. Within a few days past, the Servians have obtained some artillery, which will be immediately made use of for the formal siege of Belgrade. That garrison at present consists of about 2.000 Turks capable of bearing arms and about 600 Arnauts or Albanians.

On the 15th of May the fortress of Schabatz capitulated to the Servians, who are now divided into four corps, and are waiting in expectation of the Turkish army near Pascharovacz,⁷ and also near Esupria⁸ and Jagodin, on the high road to Constantinople. Kuschanzy Ali,⁹ it is said, is to be immediately recalled from Belgrade, and Recseb Aga, the Governor of New Orsowa, to succeed him. This rumour has occasioned great joy among the Servians.

8.

9. август 1806.

Неуспео покушај устаника да освоје Београд. Нападом руководио неки страни официр. Масакр шабачких Турака по паду Шапца. Устанак јача и у Босни. Крвави сукоби хришћана и Турака.

⁶ Ужице.

⁷ Пожаревац.

⁸ Ђуприја.

⁹ Гушанац Алија.

Semlin, July 1

The insurgents have again attempted, within these few days, to take possession of the lower town of Belgrade. They had already scaled the first redoubts; but in spite of all their efforts, they were obliged to give up the attempt and retire. A foreign Officer, lately arrived at the camp of the Servians, headed the attack.¹⁰

The fortress of Schabatz did not, as was lately announced, surrender at discretion; it was taken by assault, in the night of the 26th and 27th of June. The garrison, which consisted of scarcely 300 Turks, expecting no quarter, defended themselves to the last man. The Servians behaved like barbarians on this occasion; they massacred all able to bear arms, and cruelly treated the defenceless inhabitants.

We learn that insurrection makes great progress in Bosnia. In many districts there are bloody scenes between the Christians and the Turks.

9.

5. септембар 1806.

Коментар о обиму последњих турских пораза. Извештаји о губицима који су објављени оцењени као претерани.

Vienna, Aug. 15
From the Frontiers of Turkey, Aug. 2

The last advantages gained over the Turks, by the Servians, have been considerably exaggerated. Though the Turks were 10.000 strong, their loss did not exceed a few hundreds; but three of their Generals, Aly Bey, Achmet and Zbegs Bey, were killed.

10.

12. децембар 1806.

Склопљен мир између Срба и Турака. Мохасил Ефендија и Карађорђе извршили смотру српских трупа пред Београдом. Мохасил Ефендија затражио од Гушанац Алије да што пре напусти Београд.

Vienna, Nov. 19

By letters from Semendria,¹¹ we learn that the peace between the Turks and the Christians of Servia is finally concluded, whereupon a Courier was dispatched to Constantinople. After the signing of the peace, Mohasil Effendi repaired to the camp before Belgrade, accompanied by Czerni George, and some other Servian Chiefs. They were escorted by 700 Servian cavalry, and

¹⁰ Реч је о поручнику Илији Новокрштеном, изасланику руског генерала Михељсона. Види: Миленко М. Вукићевић, *Карађорђе*, Београд, 1912, књ. II, стр. 383—4.

¹¹ Смедерево.

were received with much ceremony. Three thousand Servian troops were arranged in two lines behind the great redoubt. Mohasil Effendi accompanied Czerni George along the lines, and seemed surprised at the respectable appearance of the troops. Afterwards a Servian and a Turk were sent into the place as Deputies carrying a letter from Mohasil to Kuzanti Ali. This Plenipotentiary from the Porte summoned the chief of the Kersales,¹² in the name of his court, to evacuate the place as soon as possible. What the issue of this step will be, remains to be seen.

11.

16. децембар 1806.

Командант Београда одбио да преда Београд Србима. Гарнизон се заклео на верност Гушанцу до смрти. Јаничарски ага изнудио исто од својих трупа. Султанов опуномоћеник вратио се у Смедерево.

From the Turkish Frontiers, Nov. 12

The Commandant of Belgrade has positively refused to give up that place to the Servians, consistently with the orders of the Porte. Kuzansi Ali having assembled the garrison, and represented the state of it to them, made them swear to defend it to the last drop of their blood. This ceremony finished with the exclamation of "Vive Kuzansi Ali!" The Aga of the Janizaries, in the lower town, was obliged to employ menaces to bring his troops to the same resolution. In the meanwhile the Envoy of the Porte has retired to Semandria, to wait till Czerni George shall obtain possession of Belgrade.

12.

8. јун 1807.

Победа Турака код Ниша. Велики губици устаника. Код Рушчука два српска одреда надмудрила Турке и однела значајну победу.

From the Turkish Frontiers
May 8

The Turks have had a bloody action with the Servians near Nissa, and obtained a complete victory.¹³ The following is the report published by the Servians on the subject:

"On the 22nd ult. the Turks attacked the Servians near Nissa. The attack, though not expected, sustained with the utmost intrepidity, as the Servians drove the Turks three miles; but the latter having received numerous reinforcements, renewed the attack, when, after a conflict which continued till night, the Servians were driven nine miles. Their loss consisted of 4830 killed, 7235 wounded, and 800 prisoners."

¹² Крџалије.

¹³ Вест се, по свој прилици, односи на борбе пред Делиградом. Види: М. Вукићевић, нав. дело, II, стр. 503.

In the mean while, it seems that the impetuosity of the Turks has been exceedingly prejudicial to them in another quarter, as appears from the following report:

“On the evening of the 25th of April, a corps of Servians presented themselves before the little fortress of Oscuruk.¹⁴ Being observed by some of the Turkish outposts, a sortie was made upon the enemy in the night; when a number of the latter, who had approached near the works before the place, were forced into the ditches. *Milo*, the Servian Commandant, having afterwards collected his people, retreated through a valley, where he effected a junction with the corps that had been defeated before Nissa. *Milo* then concerted measures with the Commandant of that corps, and made a feint of retreating together, merely to draw on the Turks. This had the desired effect. Having reached a second valley, the Servians made a stand to wait for the enemy, who soon came up, and made a vigorous attack; immediately after which, the second corps of Servians made their appearance, and fell upon the Turks, much inferior in number, who were compelled to retreat, leaving 400 men upon the field killed and wounded. They also lost upwards of 700 pistols and kanghiers, or Turkish knives. The Servians had 170 killed, and 98 wounded.

13.

У Сарајево и Травник стигли француски инжењери који ће градити пут кроз Босну. Бећир-паша одложио почетак радова док не добије мишљење Порте.

Semlin, May 6

Several French Engineers having arrived at Sarajevo and Travneck, to form a new road across Bosnia, Bekir Pacha has obliged them to defer the execution of their plan, alledging that it was necessary for him to write to the Sublime Porte.

14.

Редакцијски коментар о устанку. Признање устаницима за храброст и војничке способности.

London, Monday, June 8, 1807

Some farther extracts from the French and Dutch Journals, received by us *exclusively* on Saturday, will be found in another part of our paper. The intelligence from the Turkish provinces begins to be important. If we are to credit the French accounts, the fortune of war has been variable in that quarter. The Turks and Servians have obtained reciprocal advantages over each other. The losses of the latter are of course represented as far greater than those of their opponents. The accuracy of these reports, however, is very questionable. We think, when the truth transpires, it will be found that

¹⁴ Рушчук.

the Servians have proved an overmatch for their opponents. They are fully equal to them in point of personal prowess and bravery, and by far superior to them in point of military skill.

15.

20. јун 1807.

Води се борба за Ниш. Порази Турака.

Карађорђе продире према Софији а затим се повлачи пред надмоћнијим снагама Исмаил-паше. Заузимање одбрамбених положаја на линији Алексинац—Ниш.

Semlin, May 14

Authentic advices from Servia have brought the following particulars of the further operations of the army commanded by the General in Chief, Czerni Georges:

While Czerni Georges pursued, on the road to Sophia, the advanced Turkish guard, which he defeated on the 2nd, the column of 5.000 men, which he left behind him at Nissa, and which was reinforced by 2.000 more, invested the place, and constructed redoubts, in the erection of which the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages were employed. When the works were completed, Miloje Petrowich, commanding this Servian corps, placed nineteen pieces of cannon and some mortars on them. On the 3d in the morning, the Servians began to fire upon the town: the Turks answered it vigorously. At two o'clock, the garrison made a sortie at several points, and attacked the redoubts. The Servians suffered the Turks to approach within 200 paces of the batteries: they then began so vigorous a discharge of artillery and musketry on them, that they were obliged to retreat. On the 4th, about six in the evening, 600 Turks made a fresh sortie, but the Servian cavalry coming up immediately, charged them so vigorously, that they were again obliged to retreat. The cannonade was kept up in the mean time with great vivacity on both sides.

The General in Chief, Czerni Georges, having advanced, as we before said, towards Sophia, in pursuit of the enemy's advance guard, arrived, on the morning of the 6th of April, near Dragoman.¹⁵ He divided his army into three columns, with the intention of taking Sophia by main force; to march afterwards to Lowack, come upon the rear of the Turkish army, and effect a junction with the Russians, who had already taken post at Rudschuk. On the evening of the 6th, he learned that the Ottoman army of reserve, under the command of Ismail Pacha, marched on the 2d from Philippoli; that it had advanced towards Sophia and was joined by the advanced guard. On the 7th, in the morning, Czerni Georges reconnoitred in person, for the purpose of ascertaining the force and position of the enemy. Convinced of their superiority, he determined to retreat, and made preparations for that purpose. At 11 at night he was informed, by his spies, that the Turkish army, 70.000 strong, was to march next morning, at day break, in seven columns to attack him. Three columns were to advance towards Saribrod, for the

¹⁵ Ово Карађорђево напредовање не помиње се у нашим изворима.

purpose of turning the Servian army. Czerni Georges also received intelligence from Milenko-Stoik,¹⁶ apprizing him that he could not advance towards Widdin to support him. The General in Chief, therefore, began his march, with all his troops, divided into five columns. On the 8th, he arrived at Xerta, and after halting for sometime, he continued his route by Missoratz towards Bagno.¹⁷ In the mean time, the Turkish General advanced, at day-break on the 7th, with his whole army, towards the positions of the Servians, but what was his surprise when he discovered, that the latter had abandoned their camp. He instantly dispatched all his cavalry in pursuit of them, and followed with the remainder of the army. Notwithstanding all the exertions of the Turks, they were not able to come up with the Servians. On the 12th, in the evening, Czerni Georges arrived at Bagno. He caused his troops to take advantageous position between Alexinza and Nissa, upon a line of pretty good extent. Ismail Pacha, with his army, arrived on the 13th in the afternoon, near Chivona. In the evening there were several smart skirmishes between the Servian corps which attacked Nissa, and the Turkish cavalry.

16.

Напуштање опсаде Ниша пред надирањем Исмаил-паше. Успели напад Срба на Исмаил-пашину војску. Спајање корпуса Миленка Стојковића, Милоја Петровића и Карађорђа. Спречено спајање Исмаил-пашиних и Гушанчевих снага.

Semlin, May 18

The General in Chief, Czerni Georges, having begun his retreat on the 7th of April, ordered Miloje Petrowich, commanding the corps that besieged Nissa, to invest the place closer, and to make the greatest exertions to obtain possession of it. He, therefore, caused some heavy artillery to be brought from Kurvingrad, and on the 12th in the morning, he began a vigorous cannonade and bombardment against the town. The fire was kept up until the evening of the 13th, and a great number of houses were destroyed and damaged. The approach of the Turkish army, however, under Ismail Pacha, compelled Czerni to change his plan. He ordered Miloje Petrowich instantly to raise the siege, destroy all the redoubts which he had thrown up about it, and to fall back towards Brakul. These orders were carried into execution on the night of the 13th, and Miloje Petrowich effected a junction on the 14th, with the division of the Commander Obradowick, who was encamped on the left of the Niew.¹⁸ Czerni Georges then applied himself to prevent the junction of the army of Ismail Pacha with the corps of Kusanzi Ali. By the advice of the commander of the Infantry he did not allow the first time to take a position; and on the 14th, at day-break, he attacked it at three points between Schinova and Mitroviza. After a battle, which lasted till one in the afternoon, the Ottoman troops were obliged to retreat. A column of 6.000 men was cut off, and almost entirely destroyed. The loss on both sides

¹⁶ Миленко Стојковић.

¹⁷ Бања.

¹⁸ Ниш.

in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was about 7.000 men. The Servians took several pieces of cannon, two stand of colours, and 30 ammunition waggons. They owe their success on this day principally to the rapid and steady movements of their army.

Further advices from Semendria say, that Ismail Pacha withdrew towards Belgraica,¹⁹ and that he has taken a position extending from Widden towards Nissa. Czerni Georges had been joined by the corps of Melenko-Stoik, which was near Gladowa.²⁰ Miloje Petrovick also joined him with the corps under his orders. From the 25th to the 30th of April, the armies made different movements, and everything announced that an engagement would soon take place. Kusanzi Ali was still behind Gladowa with 10.000 men, without being able to effect a junction with Ismail Pacha.

17.

26. јун 1807.

Распоред устаничких снага. Карађорђе оперише око Ниша, Миленко Стојковић у близини Видина, Јаков Ненадовић на обали Дрине, а Станоје Главаш на граници према Македонији и Албанији.

From the Banks of the Maine June 6

The Servian army is divided into four corps. The first, under the orders of the General in Chief George Czerni Petrowich, acts in the environs of Nissa and Sophia; the second, commanded by General Molinko Stoick, is stationed in the vicinity of Widdin; the third, under the command of General Honodovick,²¹ acts on the banks of the Drina and Buzana;²² and the fourth, under the orders of General Stanzin Stamadovic,²³ observes Turkey, on the confines of Albania and Macedonia.

18.

25. јун 1807.

Побуна у војсци великог везира. Убијени главни интендант и Кади паша, један од главних заговорника европске тактике.

Успеси Срба разгневили Порту до те мере да је на заседању Дивана одлучено да се са побуњеницима поступа без милости, без обзира на пол и старост.

Јединице генерала Мармона ушле у Босну.

Срби и даље нижу успехе и припремају озбиљан напад на Видин.

¹⁹ Белогрецик.

²⁰ Кладово.

²¹ Ненадовић.

²² Рзав?

²³ Станоје Стаматовић Главаш.

French and Dutch Papers
Vienna, June 6

The Court Gazette of this day contains the following from Turkey:

“The Grand Vizier proceeded with his advanced guard on the 4th of May from Adrianople, towards the Danube, to relieve the fortress of Ismail, which is closely invested by the Russian General Megenberg, and also to bring the forces under General Michelson, in Wallachia, to a decisive action.

„On this occasion, the spirit of insurrection manifested itself among the troops. On the 8th of May, Hussein Effendi, Director General for provisioning the army, was massacred in the middle of the camp; the Treasurer would have shared the same fate, had he not saved himself by flight. Kadi, Pacha of Couga,²⁴ was also murdered by his troops, while upon the march; he was one of the strongest advocates for the new European tactics.

The late advantages of the Servians have displeased the Porte to the utmost degree, and in a sitting of the Divan on the 11th of May, it was determined to spare neither age nor sex among those rebels; those that remained after battle, are to be made slaves. This decret has been sent to all the Pachas of Bosnia, Nissa, Widdin, and Salonica. The Pacha of Janina is ordered to send 5.000 Albanians against the Servians, that were to act with the Grand Vizier.

General Marmont, having completed the roads in Dalmatia, has sent his advanced guard to Trebigna, near the frontiers of Bosnia, and we now learn that a column of 35.000 French has approached Trawnick.

“On the other hand, we learn that the Servians continue to push their successes, and, it is said, intend a serious operation against Widdin.

19.

23. јул 1807.

Тежак пораз Срба на Дрини. Сарадња Турака и Француза. Турци продиру у Србију.

From the Turkish Frontiers, 17 June

What we expected has taken place; the Servians are defeated on the Drina by the Pacha of Bosnia, with 12.000 infantry and 4.000 cavalry. He attacked the Servians in their camp on the banks of that river; he has taken above 8.000 prisoners; their cannon, ammunition, etc. all have fallen into the hands of the Turks. The Pacha had written to the French General Marmont to send him cannon, but obtaining this booty from the Servians, he afterwards sent him the word he had no occasion for artillery, etc. A number of French artillerymen, arrived at Trawnick, are exceedingly well treated. The Turkish troops continue their march into the heart of Servia.

²⁴ Тура.

20.

29. децембар 1807.

Продор босанских Турака. Срби добијају појачања, одбијају Турке и продиру до близу Сарајева. Бећир паша мобилисао Турке да би зауставио продор устаника.

Vienna, Dec. 2

The Court Gazette of this day contains the following article from Turkey:

"Tranquility is again disturbed in the frontier and Eastern provinces of the Ottoman empire. The following particulars of the passing of the Buzawa²⁵ by the Turks have been received from Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia:

"At the commencement of October, the body of Ottoman troops on the Drina, which amounted to 16.000 men, was secretly increased by successive reinforcements to 25.000. On the 8th of October, Hassan Pacha assembled all his force at Kraila, on the Buzawa, not far from Seniza, and on the 10th he passed the river. He immediately advanced against the Servian positions; but the latter fell back at every point, and in the evening the Turks reached the castle of Socco. On the four following days the Servians made several attacks, and on the 15th, having received large reinforcements, they repulsed the Mussulman. Following up these advantages, they re-passed the Buzawa, and advanced to Vartz,²⁶ a few miles from Sarajevo. To stop their progress, Bekir Pacha, Vizir of Travenick, summoned a levy *en masse* against the Servians. He marched out of Travenick on the 18th with 2.000 men.

21.

6. јануар 1808.

Најава вести о Србији и Карађорђу.

Some amusing details will be found concerning Servia and Czerni Geor-ges; but we know too little of the bearings and ties of this province towards the Porte, its ancient sovereign state, and the three Emperors, who are, we doubt not, preparing to overthrow that state, to feel a strong interest in these events.

22.

6. јануар 1808.

О доношењу Устава у Србији. Улога Родофиникина у томе. Седиште Синода сели се из Смелерева у Београд. Кратак историјат устанка. Коментар о Карађорђу. Похвала Јакову Ненадовићу.

From the Frontiers of Turkey, Dec. 3

If we may credit the reports from Servia, which, however, as experience has taught us, are neither certain nor accurate, that country will soon receive

²⁵ Рзав.²⁶ Вареш.

a fixed Constitution. It is announced from Belgrade, that the Councillor of State Rodofinikin received on the 16th and 20th of the last month, two Couriers, with important dispatches from the head-quarters at Bucharest. It is even asserted, that one of these Couriers has brought the new constitution of Servia. In pursuance of this Constitution, the Assembly, hitherto known by the name of the "Synod of Servians", is to assume the title of Senate, and be transferred from Semendria to Belgrade.

On occasion of the turn which affairs are taking in Servia, and the consequence which the Servian General Czerni Georges will probably retain, the public papers mention the cause which first induced this brave man to put himself at the head of his discontented countrymen. At the time when the mutinous Janissaries of Belgrade, by their acts of violence and murder, filled the whole district with despair, one of their troops entered the village of Kamenika, in order to assassinate one of its richest inhabitants. This was George Petrowitz, surnamed Czerni, or the Black. This since so celebrated Servian, seeing his house environed, rushed out, armed with a fire lock, a sabre and two pistols. With the first shot, he levelled two of the Janissaries to the ground, with his sabre he dispatched several others, and succeeded in fighting his way to a neighbouring forest. Here he was met by another fugitive Stanoch Slavach,²⁷ famous for his extraordinary valour. Two or three hundred of the Christian inhabitants, who were roving the woods and forests, without any dwelling, collected around these two chieftains. A corps of 400 men, sent to disperse them were defeated and driven away by Czerni Georges, with only 80 men. This first good fortune was the signal of an universal insurrection. The Servians made themselves masters of some *palan- kas*, or intrenched places. The Turkish Generals, who remained faithful to the Porte, secretly aided the Servians, furnishing them with artillery against the common enemy Paswan Oglou. Such was the origin of the Servian insurrection, which has arisen to so alarming an height in so short a time. Czerni Georges is represented to be a very honest and brave man, yet void of military talents; it is said, that he cannot even write. Military matters are conducted principally by Radis Petrowitz, late a Captain in the Austrian service. Among the Superior Officers is Jacob Stephanowitz,²⁸ who surpasses almost all the rest in political knowledge, humanity, and science.

23.

Нове вести о Уставу. Добри односи између Карађорђа и Родофиникина. При-
мирије са Турцима се поштује. Младен Миловановић послат на Дрину. Милан Обре-
новић га наслеђује на положају команданта Београда. Миленко Стојковић стигао у
Београд, где је дочекан с великим почастима.

Детаљне одредбе српског Устава.

December 4

The new Constitution of Servia seems in fact to be already established, and is in part made known. The Servian Congress assembles daily, in order

²⁷ Станоје Главаш.

²⁸ Јаков Ненадовић.

to consult upon the measures and provisions which the execution of the new Constitution may require. General Czerni Georges attends these sittings, and has a vote in them. The best understanding and reciprocal esteem is kept up between the General and the Russian Minister M. de Rodofinikin. The part which Russia is taking in the concerns of Servia, does not, however, appear to be hostile, to the faithful execution of the armistice with the Turks. It is even asserted that the Congress sent, on the 21st of November, a Courier to the Army of Bosnia, with orders to retreat instantly within their own frontier, and raze all the batteries and ramparts which had been thrown up; for though the Turks broke the armistice, it was designed only to punish their breach of faith by an incursion, but on no account by any serious military operations to act contrary to the Armistice of Rudschuck. Five days afterwards, on the 26th, the Commandant of Belgrade, Mladen Millanowich,²⁹ was sent by the Commander-in-Chief to Drina, to assume again the command, in person, of the Light Corps returning from Bosnia. He is succeeded in the command of Belgrade by Melan Obrenowich. The *ad iterum* Commander of the Servian army in Bulgaria, Melenko Stoick, is also arrived in Belgrade, and has been received with public honours.

As to the articles of the constitution of Servia, it is understood, that in Belgrade and the other towns, Supreme Tribunals are to be erected under the presidency of a Civic Magistrate or Mayor. In the villages there are to be Justices of the Peace. All these posts are to be filled by those who have served in the field as Officers or Subalterns, and who can read and write. Measures are to be taken for promoting the civilization of the country, and the introduction of the arts and sciences. All who partake of the Government are to direct their attention to the establishment of schools, and other institutions for education. Throughout all Servia, the military conscription is to be introduced, every one is to be a soldier, but they only who are in actual service are to carry arms. The sale of houses and lands is to be made by formal instruments; but foreigners cannot possess them. The territory of Servia is to be divided into 12 or 13 districts.

24.

5. септембар 1811.

На помолу велики догађаји. Срби брижљиво утврђују Делиград. Турски пљачкашки одреди прелазе Дрину.

Anholt Mail
Vienna, July 31

Hostilities have already commenced between the Turks and Servians; there have been in fact but some unimportant affairs, but every thing announces that great events will immediately take place on the Servian frontiers. We are assured that the Turks are preparing for an attack on the Servian entrenched camp at Deligrad; this camp has lately been fortified with the utmost care. The respective corps d'armée which are to occupy the banks of the Drina have not yet arrived. Strong detachments frequently pass, and commit robberies on the opposite side. The country is devastated.

²⁹ Миловановић.

25.

8. јануар 1813.

Прихваћени услови устаника за поновно успостављање турске власти у Србији. Одбијено посредовање Русије.

French Papers
Vienna, Dec. 22

Several accounts received here from Servia, state, that the submission of the Servian nation to the dominion of the Porte has just been accepted by the Grand Seignor, on the conditions laid down by the Servians.

The letters which announce this intelligence (which nevertheless are not official) add, that the Porte persisted in entirely rejecting the mediation of Russia in this affair, and that no Russian Agent was admitted to the negotiations which took place. The Grand Vizier will not permit the Russian Government, or its agents, to meddle in any manner in objects which regard the interior of its empire. We are assured, that conformably to the agreement concluded, there will be, as formerly, a Turkish Pacha, at Belgrade; that this Pacha shall only bring into that city 200 Turkish troops; and that the remainder of the Ottoman military in it shall remain with the Servian authorities, as well as the collecting of imports; but the Servian authorities will pay the Pacha of Belgrade an annual tribute for the Grand Seignor, the amount of which is not yet known. In case of war, Servia, it is said, is obliged to furnish the Porte 15.000 men, viz. 10.000 infantry and 5.000 cavalry, who will be maintained at the expense of the Porte.

26.

3. новембар 1813.

Турци заузели Пореч. Српски гарнизон масакриран. Аустријске власти дозволиле прелаз у Аустрију женама и деци из Београда.

Semlin, Sept. 30

The Turkish army which is on the banks of the Morava is commanded by the Pacha of Widdin, who has been appointed a Pacha of Three Tails.

This army, on the 21st instant, took the fortified Isle of Boretsch.³⁰ The Servian garrison was put to the sword. The Turkish flotilla contributed greatly to this advantage. The enemy afterwards occupied a camp at Peleka.³¹ Some Servian troops are opposite upon the Semendria road.

The Servians have been allowed to send from Belgrade to the Austrian territory, their women, children, and goods; but men capable of bearing arms must remain to defend the fortress, and the country.

³⁰ Пореч.³¹ Петка.

27.

9. новембар 1813.

Поново о паду Пореча и покољу бранилаца.

Semlin, Sept. 30

After a very strict blockade which lasted 8 days, the fortified island of Boretsch was at last taken by assault, on the 21st, by the Turks, and all the garrison put to the sword. Not a single man escaped. The Turkish flotilla particularly contributed to the conquest of that island.

The Turkish corps, about 55.000 men, immediately after the taking of Boretsch, occupied a camp at Pettka and in its neighbourhood near the Morava. The Servian army is posted opposite it, upon the Semendria road.

28.

Велики успеси Турака у борбама са устаницима. Срби ужурбано снабдевају Београд. Карађорђе послао своју имовину у Земун. У Београду хаотично стање.

Vienna, Oct. 20

The accounts which arrive from Turkey state, that the Turks are now making great progress against the Servians, abandoned by all the forces which they drew from the Christians. The Servians are hastily provisioning Belgrade; but they began this rather too late, for if the Turks had not been detained by bad weather, they would already have been at the foot of the walls of that fortress. It is said, that Czerni Georges went with 30 boats to Semlin, for the purpose, it is supposed, of placing his treasures, and every thing he could save from pillage, in safety; he has returned with an escort to Belgrade, where his presence is the more necessary, as disorder and confusion reign in it.

„THE TIMES“ ON THE FIRST SERBIAN UPRISING

“The Times” published 28 articles on the First Serbian Uprising, the first on January 29 1805, and the last on November 9 1813. It would not be correct to exaggerate their importance for several reasons. First, they are not original information but mainly translations from French and Austrian newspapers. Secondly, their choice is not representative in two ways. They do not cover all aspects of the Uprising and even the aspects which are given are mostly dealt with superficially. The military aspect is dominant, but even here the articles omitt valuable material. For these reasons they cannot be a useful source to the historian.

However, it would be altogether wrong to deny their importance in another sphere. They show the response of the English press to the Serbo-Turkish war, then a minor

conflict in Europe which was then the scene of the Napoleonic wars. "The Times", and possibly the other leading newspapers of the period, gave the English public fairly enough information on this war. The attitude of "The Times" is independent and fair to both parties in the conflict. The articles are mostly short, but at times they are quite long, as, for instance, the article published on June 20 1807, which is 121 lines long. It shows that the English were fairly interested in the events in Serbia.

Branko Momčilović