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“As a project, I have found this book particularly exciting. Firstly, it is interdisciplinary, which is unique, and has helped redevelop my own understanding of this topic. Secondly, the editorial team are forward thinking, proactive and supportive in every way. And thirdly, it has been a really engaging, constructive and meaningful place to share my research. All in all, I feel fortunate to have been invited to be part of this volume, and it’s deeply rewarding to now see it in print.”

Yianni Cartledge

Chios 1822

Betrayal, Grim Realities, and Forced Migration

Abstract

In 1822, the Aegean island of Chios (then an Ottoman possession) was decimated in one of the largest massacres during the nineteenth century. Known as the Chios Massacre, as many as 100,000 Chiot islanders were killed, enslaved, or displaced, firstly by Greek Revolutionaries, and secondly by the retaliatory Ottoman fleet. There is a growing body of literature examining the event and its repercussions during the Greek War of Independence (1821-1832) and for broader Chiot migration, especially to the West. Building on this base, this paper examines the event as a betrayal of a neutral population, while also exploring the grim realities that have often been either overlooked, or, on occasion, romanticised. The massacre additionally spurred on a forced migration of Chiots into Anatolia and other Ottoman centres, often in slavery or under the guise of re-education, which has been hitherto under-examined, and is further explored in this paper.

Chios 1822: Betrayal, Grim Realities, and Forced Migration

Between March and August 1822, the population of the neutral (and vulnerable) island of Chios was decimated by firstly Greek Revolutionaries, who had been aiming to stir revolution, and secondly by the Ottoman fleet. As many as 100,000 Chiots were killed, enslaved, or displaced, with only a few thousand left on the island. One foreign observer described it as ‘utter desolation’.¹ Viscount Strangford, the British ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, echoed this, calling ‘The whole of the island...one mass of ruin’.² Meanwhile, a Chiot escapee, who had fled to Livorno, noted that ‘Till the 10th of May, on which day we left Scio’³, there has been no cessation to murders, conflagrations, and enslaving, with all their accompanying ferocity’.⁴ One report from the time lamented that ‘an island distinguished beyond all those in the Egean Sea (sic) by cultivation, industry, and riches, is given up to misery and desolation’.⁵ Evidently, the horrendous event shocked the international community.

In essence, the Chios Massacre was the largest massacre of the Greek War of Independence (1821-32), and shocked observing nations, while sparking wider discourse and ultimately intervention.⁶ However, Chios itself was never the same, and the island did not recover its population, nor its prior

1 Anonymous, *The Modern Traveller*, James Duncan, London, 1826, 154-66, in Nikolaos K. Papagiannakis (ed.), *Chios 1822-1912: From Massacre to Liberation*, The Chian Federation, New York, 2012, 92-103.
2 Strangford to Castlereagh, 25 May 1822, FO 78/108(73), in Theophilus C. Prousis, ‘British Embassy Reports on the Greek Uprising in 1821-1822: War of Independence or War of Religion?’, *UNF History Faculty Publication*, 21, 2011, 171-222, at 211.
3 Chios is also styled as Scio in this period.
4 *Address in Behalf of the Greeks, Especially those who have Survived the Late Massacres in Scio*, Edinburgh, 1822,10.
5 ‘Turkish Descent Upon Scio’, *Caledonian Mercury*, Midlothian, 1 June 1822, 4.
6 Yianni Cartledge, ‘The Chios Massacre (1822) and early British Christian-humanitarianism’, *Historical Research*, 93(259), February 2020, 52-72.

reputation as a neutral and prosperous Aegean hub.⁷ Many fled the massacre to nearby islands and to the ports of the Mediterranean, however, the largest movement was ultimately a forced migration of enslaved and captive Chiots to Ottoman ports, with many ending up permanently settled in Anatolia. The event is a unique and devastating episode, which ultimately left the surviving islanders fragmented and grievously betrayed.

This paper seeks to contextualise the Chios Massacre by examining the realities that surrounded it, and the betrayal, mass killing, and forced migration that occurred. This is inspired by an earlier volume on the broader Greek War of Independence that sought to dispel national ‘myths’ and take new perspectives.⁸ The importance of the Chios Massacre’s place during the Greek War of Independence, as well as the regularity of violence from both Greek revolutionaries and the Ottomans, are key facets to this exploration, especially when trying to rationalise the event itself. The forced migration that occurred due to the massacre is particularly under focus, especially those that were taken as slaves into Anatolia and to Ottoman ports, or even held in slavery-like situations on Chios itself. Both the indiscriminate and systemic natures of the violence are additionally presented, as along with the socio-political climate of the era, they help unravel integral understandings of how and why the event happened.

There have been a handful of previous studies which have examined the Chios Massacre as a nexus of both humanitarian intervention and migration.⁹ However, these have mostly focused on intervention from Western actors and migratory movement to the West. A current study by the author similarly looks at the Chios Massacre and Chiot emigration from the lens of ‘forced migration’, albeit a forced migration to Britain and the British Empire.¹⁰ This study ultimately builds on this, by looking towards the larger migration that occurred of Chiots into Anatolia and to Ottoman ports. Violence and slavery in the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire have similarly been of recent focus by historians, including, notably, the work of Davide Rodogno.¹¹ This paper aims to contribute to this growing base of literature, which has dealt with many difficult, provocative, and important questions that have often been undiscussed, glossed over, or overtly avoided.

The concepts of ‘betrayal’, ‘realities’, and ‘forced migration’ guide this study. These three terms can be highly contentious, somewhat subjective, although aptly descriptive of the events of 1822. Firstly, ‘betrayal’ can be taken as a multifaceted act, that injures or undermines a relationship, and can span from breaking trust and confidentiality, to committing genocide, and be enacted through apostasy, treason, collaboration, or class.¹² Similarly, ‘realities’ encompasses the grim nature of the events that occurred, from killing, to enslavement, to systemic destruction, and to mass displacement. The notion itself is often juxtaposed to historical ‘myths’.¹³ Thirdly, the concept of ‘forced’, or ‘coerced’, migration, has been used by scholars as a broad term that can be applied to a range of situations, but not least to those fleeing persecutions, seeking refuge, or taken as slaves or captives.¹⁴ The Chiots of 1822 unwillingly participated in various forms of ‘forced migration’.

Additionally, the terms ‘massacre’, ‘slavery’, and ‘displacement’ are used in conjunction with and descriptive of the events surrounding the Chios Massacre. The event itself is an example of all three, and due to its multi-faceted nature, appears to fit somewhere between ‘massacre’ and ‘genocide’, with the terms ‘mass-killing’ or ‘genocidal’ being somewhat more appropriate.¹⁵ This is especially supported by four elements: firstly, that the orders given were supposedly to ‘kill and lay waste’ the island;¹⁶ secondly, that many Ottoman Muslims viewed it as a ‘holy war’;¹⁷ thirdly, that Chiots living in Istanbul were simultaneously executed, and specifically Christian (mostly Orthodox) Chiots were targeted on the island;¹⁸ and finally, that the event was seen as ‘revenge’ for previous massacres of Muslims by Greek Revolutionaries.¹⁹

Employed in this paper is an archival interrogation that examines existing records and reports from the time of the Chios Massacre, alongside the pre-existing literature and guiding theoretical concepts. These records fall under various categories, including: official and diplomatic records (such as dispatches and official communications); unofficial records (including newspapers, pamphlets, travel writing, and artistic expression); and memoirs.²⁰ Although, it should be noted

7 Yianni Cartledge, ‘Aegean Islander Migration to the United Kingdom and Australia, 1815-1945: Emigration, Settlement, Community Building, and Integration’, PhD thesis, Flinders University, 2024, 99-103.

8 See: Yianni Cartledge & Andrekos Varnava (eds.), *New Perspectives on the Greek War of Independence: Myths, Realities, Legacies and Reflections*, Palgrave Macmillan/Springer Nature, Cham, Switzerland, 2022.

9 See: Cartledge, ‘The Chios Massacre (1822) and early British Christian-humanitarianism’, 52-72; See: Yianni Cartledge, ‘The Chios Massacre and Chiot Emigration: A Coerced Diaspora’, in Cartledge & Varnava (eds.), *New Perspectives on the Greek War of Independence*, 217-41; Peter Calvocoressi, ‘From Byzantium to Eton: A Memoir of Eight Centuries’, *Encounter*, 57(6), 1981, 20-6; Peter Calvocoressi, ‘The Anglo-Chiot Diaspora’, in *Greece and Great Britain During World War I*, Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki, 1985, 247-57; Gonda Van Steen, ‘The United States as a Haven for Greek Revolutionary War Orphans? Myth and Reality’, in Cartledge & Varnava, *New Perspectives on the Greek War of Independence*, 155-79; Evi L. Psarrou, *Ottoman Rule in the Aegean: Chios during the Nineteenth Century. Center – Periphery Relations*, Papazissis Publishers, Athens, 2020; Ceyda Karamürsel, *The Life and Times of Şemsinur: Slavery, Freedom and Gender in the Age of Revolutions*, *Conversation in the Library*, 2025.

10 See: Yianni Cartledge, ‘Chiot Refugees in the British Empire after the Chios Massacre (1822)’, in Andrekos Varnava, Yianni Cartledge & Evan Smith (eds.), *Forced Migration: Exiles and Refugees in the UK and the British Empire, 1810s-1940s*, Brill, forthcoming 2024/25.

11 See: Davide Rodogno, *Against Massacre: Humanitarian Interventions in The Ottoman Empire 1815-1914*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2011.

12 Avishai Margalit, *On Betrayal*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 2017, 60-1 & 82-4; Judith N. Shklar, ‘Lecture 18: Loyalty and Betrayal’, in Judith N. Shklar, Samantha Ashenden & Andreas Hess (eds.), *On Political Obligation*, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 2019, 154-65; Samantha Ashenden & Andreas Hess, ‘Thick and Thin – or Political? Avishai Margalit and Judith N. Shklar on Betrayal’, *Global Intellectual History*, 7(4), 2022, 650-65.

13 See, for example: Basil A. Reid, *Myths and realities of Caribbean history*, University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa, 2009; Wolfram Wette, *The Wehrmacht: history, myth, reality*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 2006; Denise Aigle, *The Mongol Empire between myth and reality: studies in anthropological history*, Brill, Leiden, 2015; Yianni Cartledge & Andrekos Varnava, ‘The Greek Revolution 200 Years on: New Perspectives and Legacies’, in Cartledge & Varnava (eds.), *New Perspectives on the Greek War of Independence*, 3-21.

14 Eric Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration: The British Case, 1750-1900*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2018, 3-6.

15 Andrekos Varnava, ‘Distinguishing between genocide and ethnic cleansing in the Ottoman Empire (1914-23) and why this matters’, *Griffith Law Review*, 2024, 1-18.

16 Helen Long, *Greek Fire: The Massacres of Chios*, Abson Books, Abson, Wick, Bristol, 1992, 81.

17 William St Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free: The Philhellenes in the War of Independence*, 2nd edn., Cambridge Open Book Publishers, Cambridge, 2008, 80-1.

18 Alexander M. Vlasto, *XIAXA or “The History of the Island of Chios from the Earliest Times down to its Destruction by the Turks in 1822”*, original 1840, A.P. Ralli (trans.), privately printed by J. Davy & Sons, London, 1913, 164.

19 Rodogno, *Against Massacre*, 65.

20 The author acknowledges that memoirs and oral histories are useful, although often subject to memory, thus need to be taken in consideration with biases, memory errors, and existing primary documents.

that there is a limited range of records pertaining to the Chios Massacre, due to the tumultuous and distant time period (1820s), a lack of ample recording at the time, and a lack of access to existing Ottoman source documents.²¹ The majority of extant records were produced by Europeans (usually British) or Americans connected to the events, as well as by the Chiot diaspora, thus there are crucial omissions in the historical record, especially when it comes to the specifics of Ottoman actions during the Chios Massacre, including slavery. Due to the re-education of many captives,²² it is also difficult to trace the path of many of the Chiots that were taken into Anatolia and never returned, although a few famous examples exist.

In all, this paper expands on the grim nature of the Chios Massacre and its subsequent forced migration, bringing to light many of the realities that are often overlooked, including the killing and forced movement of Chiots. It hopes to contribute to the ongoing and recent surge in discourse around the event, which has offered important insight into the actions of the Greek Revolutionaries and Ottoman forces, and to the broader Greek War of Independence period.

The Chios Massacre: Betrayal & Grim Realities

Chios, a large island in the North Aegean Sea, had historically been a prosperous centre of trade, culture, and movement within the Ottoman Aegean region. Between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries, an elite cosmopolitan class of merchants formed on the island, who both practiced endogamy and spread themselves throughout the Eastern Mediterranean and Ottoman Empire, creating a diasporic trade network.²³ Being situated close to the Anatolian coast, and near urban port-cities like Izmir, further exacerbated Chios as an economic hub through the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. During the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815), these merchant families gained significant wealth due to being neutral, which allowed them to obtain shipping licenses that were acceptable to both the British and French.²⁴ This long history as a burgeoning regional centre led Chios to remain neutral during the Greek War of Independence, as the majority of islanders had more to gain from remaining Ottoman, than from joining the proposed Greek nation-state.

The massacre occurred only a year into the Greek War of Independence. In the year leading up to the massacre, there had been a disastrous precedent of violence set. Rodogno has described massacres of Ottoman supporters, Muslim civilians and local Jews by Greek Revolutionaries taking place at Kalavryta, Kalamata, Lakonia, Missolonghi, and Vrachori during the Revolution.²⁵

21 It should be noted that there are likely some (even if only few) existing records held in Ottoman archives, however, the author has not been able to locate these successfully, or access the ones that have been located, due to lack of funding, ability to travel, language constraints with Ottoman Turkish, and lack of clarity in archive catalogues. This is a point of importance that could lead to an expanded study once access has been acquired, and if sufficient new material is uncovered.

22 The re-education often consisted of Turkish language and cultural learning, as well as the basics of Islam, at the request of their masters. The precise extent of the re-education and ultimate aims, however, are still a little vague.

23 See: Hieronimo Giustiniani, *History of Chios*, Philip P. Argenti (ed.), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1943.

24 Elena Frangakis-Syrett, 'Greek mercantile activities in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1780-1820', *Balkan Studies*, 28(1), 1987, 73-86, at 84.

25 Rodogno, *Against Massacre*, 65.

Additionally, the largest massacre pre-Chios, that of between 8,000-15,000 Muslim men, women, and children, along with their Christian and Jewish supporters, at Tripolitsa (Tripoli) in September 1821, led by Theodoros Kolokotronis, is seen as not only one of the worst atrocities of the War, but also one of the motivating factors for the Ottoman atrocities on Chios.²⁶ Eye-witness British Philhellene Major-General Thomas Gordon described the massacre vividly: 'A scene ensued of the most horrible description: The conquerors, mad with vindictive rage, spared neither age nor sex – the streets and houses were inundated with blood, and obstructed with heaps of dead bodies.' He also noted that the Greek Revolutionaries 'insatiable cruelty knew no bounds, and seemed to inspire them with a superhuman energy for evil, which set lassitude at defiance. Every corner was ransacked to discover new victims.'²⁷

Reports of Tripolitsa are abundant in particularly British publications from the period. British Philhellene and naval officer Edward Blaquiere, rationalised that after the Greek victory at Tripolitsa, 'the scenes which have followed, it were a task as needless as it would be painful to retrace those which occurred at Tripolizza²⁸...about six thousand Turks are said to have perished, and some thousands were made prisoners'.²⁹ Although, Blaquiere justified it noting that 'Indeed the Turks of this place, had always been proverbial for their oppressions and irascible hatred to Christianity'.³⁰ Meanwhile, London's *Star* wrote that:

Great atrocities are said, on what authority we know not, to have been committed by the Greeks on the taking of Tripolizza, and that three thousand inhabitants were put to death after the town had capitulated. If such excesses have been committed, every one must regret that so good a cause has been stained by such a crime; but the war between the Greeks and the Turks has from its commencement been a war of extermination.³¹

The *Imperial Weekly Gazette* reported that in one episode:

nearly three thousand souls, the majority consisting of women and children, were marched from the Greek camps... to a sort of gorge, on one side of the town, where they were all stripped naked, and most horribly butchered. The pregnant women had their bellies ripped open. Many of them had their heads struck off, and the heads of some dogs having been struck off, they...³²

The paper purposely avoided further description as it was noted that 'The circumstances omitted are too atrocious for publication'.³³ The graphic nature of these reports ultimately illustrated the shocking nature of Tripolitsa, which would have aroused the anger of Ottoman authorities.

26 Christopher M. Woodhouse, *The Greek War of Independence: Its Historical Setting*, Russell & Russell, New York, 1975, 77-8 & 87-8; Cartledge, 'The Chios Massacre (1822) and early British Christian-humanitarianism', 56.

27 Thomas Gordon, *History of the Greek Revolution*, Vol. I, William Blackwood, Edinburgh, & T. Cadell, London, 1832, 244-5.

28 *Tripolitsa* has also been historically styled as *Tripolizza* and is currently named *Tripoli*.

29 Edward Blaquiere, *The Greek Revolution: Its Origin and Progress*, W.B. Whittaker, London, 1824, 146.

30 Blaquiere, *The Greek Revolution*, 148-9

31 *Star*, London, 27 December 1821, 2.

32 *Imperial Weekly Gazette*, London, 29 December 1821, 4.

33 *Imperial Weekly Gazette*, London, 29 December 1821, 4.

It should be noted that the Greek Revolutionaries themselves were not a unified group. There were a number of ideologically opposed and regionally distinct factions, with different goals, creating fluid definitions of what it meant to be a Revolutionary. These included the Roumeliots of mainland Greece; the wealthy shipowners of the Aegean islands, particularly from Hydra, Spetses, and Psara; the Klephts, who acted as a guerilla force; the fiercely independent Maniots of Mani Peninsula; and the Souliots, who were a confederation of Orthodox Albanians clans; among others. Philhellenic volunteers and diaspora Greek idealists (such as the *Fililki Eteria*) can also be counted among these disparate groups. These ‘Revolutionaries’ were often united in name only, and in their position against the Ottoman Empire. This is best seen in the ‘civil wars’ that occurred between them throughout the course of the Greek War of Independence, as well as the assassination of the first Greek ‘president’ (governor) Ioannis Kapodistrias by the Maniots in 1831.³⁴ The term ‘Revolutionaries’ in this paper is used as a descriptive measure, however, the extent that the actors of the Chios Massacre (especially those from Samos) were linked to the mainland Revolutionaries is disputable.

The Massacre

The Chios Massacre can be seen as three stages, or as Helen Long purported, ‘three invasions’, with the second and third stage consisting of the bulk of the destruction.³⁵ The first stage was a year earlier than the core events, occurring in April 1821, just after the outbreak of the Greek Revolution, and consisted of the Hydriot fleet under Iakovos Tombazis arriving at Chios.³⁶ Tombazis wanted to stir revolution on Chios but did not receive support from the island’s *demogerontes* (elected local elites).³⁷ The seed planted by Tombazis carried over into the following year, with Revolutionaries based in Morea and Hydra shifting their plans from an ‘agitation’ to an ‘invasion’ of Chios by 28 December 1821.³⁸

The second stage is generally seen as the official beginning of the Chios Massacre. In early March 1822, Greek Revolutionaries based on the nearby island of Samos commenced the plan for a ‘liberation’ of Chios from the Ottomans, which came in the form of an invasion and occupation. The force landed at Karfas, 7 kilometres south of Chios’ main town (known as ‘Hora’ or ‘Kastro’) and defeated the Ottoman garrison. After this, the Revolutionaries set fire to the Customs House, and began attacking Muslim establishments, including mosques and coffeehouses. Once finished, the Samians were joined by Revolutionaries from Psara, and the joint force turned their violence on both Orthodox and Catholic Chiots, who had not shared their enthusiasm for the Revolution, nor welcomed their new occupation.³⁹ The violence of the Revolutionaries included targeted robberies of wealthy locals and Orthodox churches, the burning of Venetian warehouses, and widespread

rape.⁴⁰ The violent behaviour was consistent with their mainland counterparts who had conducted massacres like Tripolitsa. However, it was portrayed in Western reports as a liberation: ‘The people of the rich island of Scio, (which contains about 100,000 inhabitants), assisted by those of Samos, have defeated the Turks and driven them into the fortress, which, it appeared, could not hold out for long.’⁴¹ However, Chios massacre escapee Christophorus Plato Castanis saw it as an invasion, and reminisced that ‘The magistrates and ecclesiastics refused to communicate with the Samians, except to order them in Christ’s name to evacuate the island and not to exasperate the Mussulmans. The Archbishop from his dungeon, promulgated a general excommunication against all Greek invaders, but to no purpose.’⁴² Similarly, these same elites had attempted to bribe Tombazis to leave the island a year earlier.⁴³ This displayed that Chios’ elites foresaw the possible chain of events that the Revolutionaries’ invasions could trigger.

This invasion was led and instigated by Lykourgos Logothetis of Samos and Antonios Bournias of Chios. Both Logothetis and Bournias had planned the invasion alongside Phanariot Dimitrios Ypsilantis (with possible input from the *Filiki Eteria* via his brother Dimitrios) and Chiot elite Alexander Ralli.⁴⁴ Another elite, Stephano Ralli, was later arrested and imprisoned due to their involvement in the events.⁴⁵ Despite the extent and formalities of their plans being mostly unknown, the involvement of Chiots and their fellow Aegean islanders in the invasion, marked one of the earliest instances of betrayal against the neutral population during the Greek Revolution. St Clair argued that the ‘Revolutionaries’ from Samos conducted their actions as they were trying to bait the Ottomans into committing an atrocity, to help appeal the cause of the Greeks to the international community and radicalise the wealthy Chiots for the Revolution. This was coupled with historical jealousies driven by Samos’ relative poverty, compared to Chios’ prosperity.⁴⁶ In addition to this, it is also plausible that many Samians (who were likely a mixed group of Aegean Islander ‘brigands’, acting in a similar vein to the mainland Klephts) saw an opportunity for financial and material gain by raiding and plundering Chios, under the guise of ‘Revolution’.

The third, and most destructive, stage began with the Ottomans aiming to retake Chios from the Revolutionaries. On 11 April 1822, the Ottomans offered the Revolutionaries eight hours to surrender and be pardoned. At the same time, many Chiots of the working class, who could foresee a catastrophe, began fleeing the island or taking refuge in consulates.⁴⁷ The Revolutionaries rejected the Sultan’s offer, and on 12 April, Kapudan Kara-Ali Pasha, grand admiral of the Ottoman fleet, began his offensive, and launched 7,000 men (some accounts are as high as 13,000) onto the island with orders ‘to kill and lay waste the land.’⁴⁸ Allegedly, Governor Vaïd Pasha declared that ‘Every

34 This includes the Greek civil wars of 1823-1824, and 1824-1825. See: Cartledge & Varnava, ‘The Greek Revolution 200 Years on’, 3-21.
35 See the key work: Long, *Greek Fire*.
36 Vlasto, *XIAKA*, 145.
37 Long, *Greek Fire*, 45-57.
38 Philip P. Argenti (ed.), *The Massacres of Chios: Described in Contemporary Diplomatic Reports*, The Bodley Head, London, 1932, xi.
39 Vlasto, *XIAKA*, 158-9.

40 Argenti, *The Massacres of Chios*, xx-xxi; Long, *Greek Fire*, 68-71; Charles A. Frazee, ‘The Greek Catholic Islanders and the Revolution of 1821’, *Eastern European Quarterly*, 13(3), 1979, 315-26, at 321.
41 *Niles’ Weekly Register*, XXII, Baltimore, 6 July 1822, 295, in Papagiannakis (ed.), *Chios 1822-1912*, 32-3.
42 Christophorus Plato Castanis, *The Greek Exile*, Lippincott, Grambo & Co., Philadelphia, 1851, 26-7.
43 Castanis, *The Greek Exile*, 26.
44 Long, *Greek Fire*, 59; Vlasto, *XIAKA*, 153-4.
45 ‘French Papers’, *Standard*, 240, London, 23 February 1828, 1; ‘French Papers’, *Morning Chronicle*, London, 23 February 1828; ‘Turkey – Constantinople Jan. 11’, *Standard*, London, 21 February 1828.
46 St Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free*, 79.
47 Argenti, *The Massacres of Chios*, xxiii-xxiv.
48 Long, *Greek Fire*, 81.

Chian deserves death.⁴⁹ The Revolutionaries, to avoid combat with the Ottomans, fled to the close island of Psara, which left the Chiots vulnerable.⁵⁰ Strangford confirmed this, ‘The Samiote Greeks, whose unfortunate expedition to Chios has been the cause of the calamity which has overwhelmed that once happy and flourishing island, took no part in the combat, and basely fled to Psara, hastily embarking on the side opposite to that where the Turkish troops landed.’⁵¹ Further to this, the Revolutionaries supposedly spread rumours on the mainland ‘that the Chians had behaved with cowardice, and ascribed their own failure to Chian faint-heartedness!’⁵²

The Ottomans proceeded to decimate the island, with numbers close to 100,000 being killed, displaced, or enslaved.⁵³ One observer, likely from the French consulate, noted that ‘The Turks then took possession of the town, and committed a thousand enormities’ and another account noted that ‘the misfortune is, that a population of above 100,000 souls, who would never have revolted of their own accord against a Government by which they were treated with special favour, has been led by them to ruin.’⁵⁴ Blaquiere concurred with this, noting that the Ottomans ‘Having massacred every soul, whether men, women, or children, whom they found in the town, the Turks first plundered and then set fire to it, and watched the flames until not a house was left, except those of the foreign consuls.’⁵⁵ By 25 April, Strangford reported that:

...The Turkish expedition against Chios has been successful. We are yet without complete details of this transaction, but from all that can be collected, it seems to have been productive of dreadful scenes of carnage on both sides. On the first appearance of the kapudan pasha’s formidable fleet, the Greeks who were stationed between Chesme, on the mainland, and Chios (to prevent the troops assembled at the former place from crossing over), cut their cables, and effected their escape, leaving Chios to its fate.⁵⁶

These accounts of the massacre have been told on multiple occasions. What also should be acknowledged is that there were some factors, as mentioned, that spoke to elements of systematicity, motivated by revenge. Firstly, the destructive orders by Kara-Ali Pasha and Vaid Pasha, if true and not embellishments, show a clear intent to destroy the island and its inhabitants in the minds of the Ottoman officials. This may have translated to an ideology present amongst Muslims in the Ottoman Empire, as St Clair suggested, the massacre may have been part of a larger, religiously motivated reaction to the Revolution, with Muslims from Anatolia seeing it as a ‘holy war’ and crossing over in

boats to join the reclamation of Chios.⁵⁷ Foreign diplomats also noted the fact that mosques had been desecrated by Revolutionaries at Chios, and in addition to Tripolitsa and similar events, this further motivated the Ottomans.⁵⁸ At the same time, Orthodox Chiots in Istanbul were being imprisoned, tortured, and 60 of them (all prominent merchants) were executed by hanging, showing a target on specifically Chiots in the Empire.⁵⁹ The carefulness to avoid attacking foreigners (such as the foreign consuls as mentioned by Blaquiere), as well as stories of protection for Catholic Chiots, as negotiated by the French consul, also showed discriminate killing of Christian, especially Orthodox, Chiots.⁶⁰ Essentially, the massacre, or mass killing, was a genocidal act of revenge, motivated by the previously discussed massacres of Muslims by Greek Revolutionaries.⁶¹ It also paints Chios as an example made by the Ottoman Empire. It should also be noted that some Chiots were purposely kept on the island, to tend to the mastic plantations, which were a valuable commodity for the Empire.

The disturbing realities of the massacre were discussed widely, especially in British and American newspapers. The *Caledonian Mercury* described the destruction of the Ottoman troops: ‘They (the Ottomans) set fire to the Greek quarter, and to that of the Catholics: all the houses were plundered and dismantled, the church profaned, and even the dead unburied and scattered about the streets.’⁶² Other papers published appeals from Chiot merchants living in port cities, aiming to raise awareness and garner Western support. One letter from ‘Greeks at Constantinople’ read ‘Who can, without shuddering, read of the total ruin, the universal desolation, of our famed and once happy isle (Scio); the destruction of all its inhabitants, nearly one hundred thousand, who... have fallen victims to the sword, to fire, hunger, and slavery – that worst of all evils?’⁶³ Chiots in Livorno similarly noted that ‘it was one continued scene of murder, conflagration, and plunder, both in country and town...All the women were sent into slavery; the men and male children (above 12 years of age) were massacred...The number of slain amounted...to 25,000; of captives, to 30,000.’⁶⁴ One account found its way into *Paulson’s American Daily Advertiser*, which had claimed to come from an American witness that was now residing in Izmir, and that ‘it will be seen that the European accounts have not exaggerated the horrid excesses of the Turks towards the Greeks. The unparalleled massacre at Scio is confirmed.’ The account stated that ‘All the men in Scio have been killed, and all the women and children made slaves. Not content with this, the Government at Constantinople are beheading the poor Sciots as fast as they can find them, although residents in that place for thirty of forty years.’⁶⁵ Echoing this, Rev Henry Daniel Leeves of the British and Foreign Bible Society based in Istanbul, Izmir, and Athens, visited Chios in September 1822 and wrote that

49 Argenti, *The Massacres of Chios*, xxv.

50 Strangford to Castlereagh, FO 78/107(55), 25 April 1822, in Argenti (ed.), *The Massacres of Chios*, 12.

51 Strangford to Castlereagh, 25 April 1822, FO 78/107(55), in Prousis, ‘British Embassy Reports on the Greek Uprising in 1821-1822’, 210.

52 Argenti, *The Massacres of Chios*, xxv.

53 For a discussion of numbers, see: Cartledge, ‘Aegean Islander Migration to the United Kingdom and Australia, 1815-1945’, 99; Cartledge, ‘The Chios Massacre (1822) and early British Christian-humanitarianism’, 57-8; Anthony Brandt, ‘Tears of Chios: the slaughter of civilians on this Aegean island finally prompted Europe to help Greece throw off four centuries of Ottoman rule’, *Military History*, 33(1), 2016, 24-31, at 29.

54 ‘Turkish Descent Upon Scio’, *Caledonian Mercury*, Midlothian, 1 June 1822, 4.

55 Edward Blaquiere, *The Greek Revolution; Its Origin and Progress*, G. & W.B. Whittaker, London, 1824, 187-204, in Papagiannakis (ed.), *Chios 1822-1912*, 48-56.

56 Strangford to Castlereagh, 25 April 1822, FO 78/107(55), in Prousis, ‘British Embassy Reports on the Greek Uprising in 1821-1822’, 209-10.

57 St Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free*, 80-1.

58 Strangford to Castlereagh, 26 August 1822, FO 78/109(140), in Argenti (ed.), *The Massacres of Chios*, 28-9.

59 Vlasto, *XIACA*, 164; Massacre of the Greek Hostages’, *Aberdeen Press & Journal*, Aberdeen, 10 July 1822, 4.

60 Charles Frazee noted that: ‘The attack on Chios saw the Orthodox community suffer the more severe losses. The British ambassador in Istanbul wrote his government that the bulk of the Catholic population survived due to foreign protection. Charles A. Frazee, ‘The Greek Catholic Islanders and the Revolution of 1821’, *East European Quarterly*, 13(3), 1979, 315-26, at 322.

61 Rodogno, *Against Massacre*, 65; Woodhouse, *The Greek War of Independence*, 77-8 & 87-8; Varnava, ‘Distinguishing between genocide and ethnic cleansing in the Ottoman Empire (1914-23) and why this matters’, 1-18.

62 ‘Turkish Descent Upon Scio’, *Caledonian Mercury*, Midlothian, 1 June 1822, 4.

63 ‘Massacre of the Greeks at Constantinople and Scio’, *Sun*, London, 28 June 1822, 2.

64 ‘Massacre of the Greeks at Scio’, *News*, London, 7 July 1822, 4.

65 ‘From Smyrna’, *Paulson’s American Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, 15 August 1822, 1, in Papagiannakis (ed.), *Chios 1822-1912*, 24-6.

he ‘walked through the town, which was handsome, and built entirely of stone...One every side were strewed fragments of half-burnt books, manuscripts, and furniture; and, what was most shocking to the feelings, numerous human bodies mouldering in the spots where they fell.’⁶⁶

A pamphlet, published by Philhellenes from Edinburgh (presumably connected to the Edinburgh Philhellenic committee), titled *Address in Behalf of the Greeks, Especially those who have Survived the Late Massacre in Scio*, included a series of letters from Chiots who had experienced and escaped the massacre. One man, identified as ‘a Young Greek’, wrote that his father and ‘two brothers, Theodore and Constantine, and your father-in-law, were amongst the hostages shut up in the castle...they were placed in two lines, and were either hung or put to death with prolonged torments...Our sister Henrietta is a slave; and I have not yet succeeded in discovering to what country of Asia the infamous ravishers have carried her.’⁶⁷ Another pamphlet, by Anglican Rev T.S. Hughes, spurred by the execution of Chiot hostages and appealing for Western support for the Greeks, noted that ‘Acts of barbarity...had been committed on both sides’, but that the Ottomans were ‘an infidel exterminating government’.⁶⁸

The Revolutionaries did launch a series of successful counterattacks on the Ottoman fleet docked at Chios between May and June 1822, led by admirals Andreas Miaoulis of Hydra and Konstantinos Kanaris of Psara, and Captain Georgios Pipinos.⁶⁹ The Ottomans lost thousands of troops, and Kapudan Kara-Ali Pasha was wounded aboard his ship, and died a day later in Chios’ *kastro*. His death was celebrated in Western newspapers.⁷⁰ On the death of Kara-Ali, London’s *Mirror of the Times* noted that ‘Divine vengeance begins to be displayed, and the cause of humanity has found avengers. The Capitan Pacha, that ferocious Mussulman, who plunged all the inhabitants of Scio into the abyss of calamity, no longer exists.’⁷¹ These counterattacks, however, triggered further killings of Chiots in July 1822, especially those that survived in the mastic villages, as Strangford recorded, ‘The Turks at Scio were driven to desperation on witnessing the destruction of the Captain Pasha’s Ship. They immediately proceeded to wreak their vengeance upon the remainder of the Mastic Villages which had been spared’.⁷²

Furthermore, the Ottoman fleet would go on to conduct similar massacres on other islands, such as at Psara (known as the Destruction of Psara) and the Kasos Massacre (conducted by the Egyptian fleet). Both massacres were carried out in June 1824. Psara itself was driven by the success of the Psarian fleet, led by Kanaris, against the Ottomans.⁷³ The entire population of the island was

killed or enslaved.⁷⁴ Many Chiots and other refugees that had sought refuge on Psara, were killed or experienced a second displacement during the events.⁷⁵

The Betrayal & Slavery

Essentially, the Chiots were betrayed by both their fellow Greek-speaking Christians, and by the Ottoman administration that they were loyal to. There was also a betrayal from some Chiot compatriots and other Aegean Islanders who had participated (and in some cases led) the invasion by the Revolutionaries. The fleeing of the Revolutionaries, which left the Chiots vulnerable to the Ottoman attack, was a further element of betrayal. This betrayal can be seen as a forced disconnect and isolation between Chios and the broader Aegean community (both Greek and Ottoman), however, in some ways it also fuelled the long-term retainment of the independent Chiot identity, especially amongst those in the merchant diaspora. However, the discussion of identity is beyond the scope of this study.⁷⁶

The violent realities experienced by the Chiots were telling of the ultimate intents of the massacre. In Nea Moni, an eleventh-century Byzantine monastery in Chios’ mountains, which was being used as a place of refuge during the massacre, 2,000 Chiots alone were killed in one episode, which was followed by the building being set on fire. Nea Moni is today a UNESCO world heritage site, and the skulls of Chios massacre victims are on display (Image 1).⁷⁷ The famous iconographic mosaic of ‘The Betrayal’ of Jesus Christ by Judas Iscariot fittingly is displayed at the monastery.⁷⁸ Both Long, in her study of the massacre, and Vlasto, in his look at Chios’ history, also provide lists of 89 notable hostages taken by the Ottomans, with 49 of them being hung, and others being killed after release.⁷⁹

Slavery of women and children became a traumatic reality of the destruction. One letter from a Chiot escapee based in Livorno emphasised the nature of the slavery:

All the women were sent into slavery, the men and male children above twelve years of age were massacred, the children of the tenderest age, and the most beautiful from among the young women they sent on board the ships, with great pomp and solemnity, under a salute of guns. They circumcised the male children in token of conversion to the Mahometan faith, and then sent off the children, of both sexes, by land to Constantinople, by way of Smyrna, under an escort of a body of Turkish soldiery. Two regiments of Turks had assembled and

66 Henry Daniel Leeves, ‘Mediterranean and Black Seas Report’, *The Missionary Register*, London, January 1823, 19-20, in Papagiannakis (ed.), *Chios 1822-1912*, 28-30.
67 *Address in Behalf of the Greeks*, 5-6.
68 T.S. Hughes, *An Address to the People of England in the Cause of the Greeks, Occasioned by the Late Inhuman Massacres in the Isle of Scio*, Simpkin & Marshall, London, 1822, 2-6. See also: Robert Chatfield, *An Appeal to the British Public in the Cause of the Persecuted Greeks*, John Hatchard & Son, London, 1822.
69 Long, *Greek Fire*, 97-105.
70 ‘Greece’, *Glasgow Herald*, Glasgow, 9 August 1822, 1.
71 ‘Postscript’, *Mirror of the Times*, London, 27 July 1822, 4.
72 Strangford to Castlereagh, 10 July 1822, FO 78/109(104), in Argenti (ed.), *The Massacres of Chios*, 27.
73 C.M. Woodhouse, *Modern Greece: A Short History*, 4th edn., Faber & Faber, 1986 48-9 & 142.

74 George Finlay, *History of the Greek Revolution*, II, William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh & London, 1861
Finlay, *History of the Greek Revolution*, II, 49-52; Emmanouil M.L. Economou, Nicholas C. Kyriazis & Annita Prassa, ‘The Greek merchant fleet as a national navy during the war of independence 1800-1830’, *Munich Personal RePEc Archive (MPRA)*, 76414, 12 February 2016, 1-16, at 10.
75 Finlay, *History of the Greek Revolution*, II, 49.
76 For a discussion of Chiot identity, see: Cartledge, ‘Aegean Islander Migration to the United Kingdom and Australia, 1815-1945’, 199-220.
77 Long, *Greek Fire*, 92.
78 ‘The Betrayal’, Nea Moni, Chios, mosaic of the inner Narthex, 1043. See: Charles Barber, ‘Mimesis and Memory in the Narthex Mosaics at the Nea Moni, Chios’, *Art History*, 24(3), 2001, 323-37; Henry Maguire, ‘The Mosaics of Nea Moni: An Imperial Reading’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 46, 1992, 205-14.
79 Long, *Greek Fire*, 162-4; Vlasto, *XIACA*, 169-71.

shut up, in a place in the country, about seven hundred persons, chiefly peasants, which they meant to divide among themselves as slaves, but not being to agree in the partition, began disputing.⁸⁰

This story was reported widely, and the group of slaves were ultimately massacred due to not being able to be divided fairly among their capturers.⁸¹ Similarly, Strangford, in a dispatch to Castlereagh, noted that ‘No quarter was given after the action. Every person taken with arms in his hands was instantly put to death. The women and children have been thrown into slavery.’⁸²

The forced conversion of particularly male slaves was a prominent feature of the post-massacre movement of Chiots – many young boys were circumcised, renamed, re-educated, and sold to Muslim families in Anatolia, who raised them, usually in servant roles. Castanis documented his own brief time in slavery, where he was renamed ‘Mustapha’, performed house duties, laboured, and attended school with other slaves, where they learnt the Turkish language and basics of Islam.⁸³ Some Chiot slaves eventually rose to prominent positions in Ottoman society, such as Ibrahim Edhem Pasha, Ottoman Grand Vizier between 1877-78, who was originally a member of the Scaramanga family; and Mustapha Khaznadar, prime minister of Tunis from 1837-73, who was born Georgios Kalkias (Halkias) Stravelakis.⁸⁴

Essentially, the number of Chiots that were killed, was surpassed by the number that were taken into Ottoman slavery.⁸⁵ Of the between 100,000-120,000 inhabitants of the island, 25,000-30,000 were killed, between 30,000-45,000 were captured or enslaved, and about 20,000 were displaced, with 20,000-30,000 left on the island.⁸⁶ The large numbers of Chiots taken as slaves, as well as the re-education and forced conversions many children underwent, were used as a further call to action by Chiot writers trying to engage particularly British (and likely Philhellenic) support, such as when:

85 (men) in Scio were hung outside the castle, in that very square where so many of the slaves were placed, in sight of the Turkish fleet, who had their decks covered with Greek slaves...call, dear countrymen, your attention to the miserable naked state of thousands of our Sciots, with which the markets here, at Smyrna, and Scio, are glutted. Picture to yourselves children of the tenderest age...driven about with only a piece of cloth round their

infant limbs, without shoes or any other covering, having nothing to live upon but a piece of bread thrown to them by their inhuman keeps – ill treated by them – sold from one to the other, and all in this deplorable situation, exposed to be brought up in the Mahometan religion, and lose sight of the precepts of our holy religion.⁸⁷

These types of reports also engaged artistic resonance, with painters, poets, and other artists romanticising the struggle of the Chiots. Key pieces included the works of visual artists Eugène Delacroix, Thomas Barker of Bath, Sir Charles L. Eastlake, Joseph Denis Odevaere, and Olfert Dapper, sculptors Hiram Powers and Robert Forrest, and poets Henry Pickering and Victor Hugo, among others.⁸⁸ One anonymous August 1822 poem, titled ‘The Capture of Scio’, published in *Wooler’s British Gazette*, wrote:

Green Scio! There’s gloom on thy fair-blowing fields,
And the shrieks of thy children through hamlet and wood.
While the tyrant the red sword of massacre wields,
And steeps the bright tents of thy valleys in blood.
...
There, desolate daughter of Greece, must thou bear
A bondage, the darkest, the foulest, the worst,
That e’er fixed soft eyes in a tearless despair,
And the young heart of innocence wither’d and cure’d.
And there thou art doom’d to be ever oppress’d,
By the smiles of the tyrant, the taunts of the slave;⁸⁹

Slave narratives and memoirs also became popular written forms conveying lived experiences.⁹⁰ The most notable of these being Castanis’ 1851 autobiography *The Greek Exile*, which detailed his capture during the Chios massacre, his escape from Ottoman slavery, and migration to the United States. *The Greek Exile* begins with the ominous lament ‘That moment of woe, the isle of Scio’.⁹¹ Castanis essentially described the massacre in vivid, but also orientalist, language, emphasising its beginnings on Good Friday, the defacing of icons by Ottoman troops, the execution of hostages, and

80 *Address in Behalf of the Greeks*, 10-1.

81 ‘Massacre of the Greeks at Scio’, *News*, London, 7 July 1822, 4.

82 Strangford to Castlereagh, 25 April 1822, FO 78/107(55), in Prousis, ‘British Embassy Reports on the Greek Uprising in 1821-1822’, 210.

83 Castanis, *The Greek Exile*, 44-58.

84 Eldem Edhem, ‘Greece and the Greeks in Ottoman History and Turkish Historiography’, *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique*, 6, 2009, 27-40; Antonios Chaldeos, ‘The Greek community in Tunis between 1803 and 1881: Aspects of its demographics and its role in the local economic and political context’, *The Journal of North African Studies*, 24(6), 2019, 892-4; Antonis Chaldeos, ‘George Stravelakis: The Enslaved Greek who Became Ruler of Tunisia’, *Greek Reporter*, 2 July 2021.

85 See reports such as: ‘Massacre of the Greeks at Scio’, *News*, London, 7 July 1822, 4.

86 Cartledge, ‘The Chios Massacre (1822) and early British Christian-humanitarianism’, 57-8; Prousis, ‘British Embassy Reports on the Greek Uprising in 1821-1822’, 184-5. Strangford noted that he had heard numbers of up to 45,000 killed, as reported by Naxiot soldiers: Strangford to Castlereagh, 25 May 1822, FO 78/108(75), in Argenti (ed.), *The Massacres of Chios*, 21-3; while Franci Werry, British Consul in Izmir, suggested that the numbers killed were lower, at 12,000 (although, this was on 1 June 1822, and the massacre continued in a smaller scale beyond this date): Werry to Levant Company London, 1 June 1822, Izmir, in Argenti (ed.), *The Massacres of Chios*, 40-1.

87 ‘Massacre of the Greeks at Constantinople and Scio’, *Sun*, London, 28 June 1822, 2.

88 Areti Devetzidis, ‘Revolution, Death, Transformation and Art: Delacroix’s *Scenes from the Massacres at Chios*’, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, special issue, 2013, 209-20; Victor Hugo, ‘L’Enfant’, XVIII, June 1828, in *Les Orientales: Édition Elzevirienne*, J. Hetzel, Paris, 1869, 102-4; Thomas Barker of Bath, *The Massacre of the Sciotes*, fresco, Doric House, Bath, 1825; Joe Rock, ‘Robert Forrest (1789-1852) and his Exhibition on the Calton Hill’, *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, 7, 2008, 127-38; Hiram Powers, *The Greek Slave*, marble sculpture, Florence, 1847; Papagiannakis (ed.), *Chios 1822-1912*, 27, 66-75, & 79. See: Cartledge, ‘Aegean Islander Migration to the United Kingdom and Australia, 1815-1945’, 103; Christopher Helali, ‘Devoted to the Cause of Freedom: Jonathan Peckham Miller, Philhellenism, and the Transatlantic Struggle for Liberation’, in Cartledge & Varnava (eds.), *New Perspectives on the Greek War of Independence*, 243-70.

89 ‘The Capture of Scio’, *Wooler’s British Gazette*, London, 11 August 1822, 5.

90 Steve Frangos, ‘Tales of Greek Slavery in 19th Century America’, *The National Herald*, New York, 15 January 2000, 1, 9-10.

91 Castanis, *The Greek Exile*, 11.

the use of beheading on many occasions: ‘Before me, stood a Turk, holding the trunkless head of one of our neighbours...The dead were beheaded and searched.’⁹²

Forced Migration & Aftermath

While there is a growing base of research on Chiot emigration during and after the massacre, with a strong focus on the movement to the West, little is said on the eastward migration. According to Ottoman customs authorities’ reports, this was the largest movement from the island during and post-massacre, with 41,000 arriving at Ottoman ports.⁹³ Izmir, Kuşadası, possibly Thessaloniki, Trabzon, and nearby islands, such as Psara, were the logical ports of arrival, and many of these Chiot, particularly those in slavery, remained within the Ottoman region. It should be noted, though, that a portion of those, especially who fled freely to Aegean islands, eventually migrated westward – there was no one direction of mobility. A key group of merchant families did end up in Egypt as well.⁹⁴

Chiot slaves ultimately ended up in two places before disappearing into the empire. Firstly, most ended up destined for the markets of Istanbul. St Clair noted that Chiot women were sold for around £30 each in Istanbul, almost double the price of female African slaves who had come to the city via the trans-Saharan slave trade.⁹⁵ American anti-slavery advocate Dr Richard Robert Madden was an eye-witness to the slave markets, and noted that ‘The poor Greek women were huddled together: I saw seven or eight in one cell, stretched on the floor...some of them were from Scio (Chios), others from Ispara (Psara); they had nothing in common but despair!’⁹⁶ Castanis claimed that Chiot women were being bought for \$3-\$4 by Jews and resold for \$1,000, however, this observation was an antisemitic exaggeration.⁹⁷ Castanis also went on to claim that Jews, Armenians and the French were buying and selling previously Chiot-owned luxury items, and trading them to the United States and throughout Europe.⁹⁸

Secondly, many were held in Chios by Muslim locals and post-massacre occupiers. It is apparent that members of the Ottoman fleet occupied Chios’ main town for a short time after the massacre, where many kept and sold slaves. This was the case for Castanis, who with his master Soliman Aga, resided ‘in one of the dwellings, in the broad area of the citadel, occupied only by the Turks.’⁹⁹ Strangford noted that ‘The kapudan pasha has left a considerable body of troops on the island, who will, I fear, pursue the work of destruction to the very utmost.’¹⁰⁰ Strangford later argued in July 1822

that ‘It is evident from the vast numbers of Asiatic Turks which are pouring into Scio, that it is the intention of the Porte to replace the Greek Population of that Island, which have been banished or destroyed, by Mussulman Settlers.’¹⁰¹ Although, he also noted that this was followed by a famine which made these settlements unsuccessful.



Barca con i Greci fuggitivi dalla strage di Sciò, 1835,
Francesco Hayez (1791-1882), Boat with Greeks Fleeing the Massacre of Chios,
oil on canvas, 27.5 x 36 cm, Florence, Uffizi Galleries, Galleria d’Arte Moderna di Palazzo Pitti.

92 Castanis, *The Greek Exile*, 33-4 * 40-3.

93 Long, *Greek Fire*, 88.

94 See: Alexander Kitroeff, *The Greeks and the Making of Modern Egypt*, The American University in Cairo Press, Cairo & New York, 2019.

95 St Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free*, 228-9.

96 ‘The Slave Market at Constantinople’, *Vermont Gazette*, XX(39), 8 September 1829, from Richard Robert Madden, *Travels in Turkey, Egypt, Nubia and Palestine*, 1, Henry Colburn, London, 1829, 5-8.

97 Castanis, *The Greek Exile*, 44-5.

98 Castanis, *The Greek Exile*, 45.

99 Castanis, *The Greek Exile*, 44.

100 Strangford to Castlereagh, 25 April 1822, FO 78/107(55), in Prousis, ‘British Embassy Reports on the Greek Uprising in 1821-1822’, 210.

101 Strangford to Castlereagh, 25 July 1822, FO 78/109(114), in Argenti (ed.), *The Massacres of Chios*, 27-8.

Importantly, however, the sale of Chiot slaves only was allowed in Istanbul for a short time. On 20 June 1822, a Sultana (sister to the Grand Signor) sent ‘an Imperial Order...to the Slave-market prohibiting the further sale of Sciot Captives...(she) expressed herself indignant at the cruelties which have been exercised there (Chios), and which she attributes to the mismanagement of the Pasha’, according to a dispatch from Strangford.¹⁰² This was done ‘to save the innocent inhabitants of Scio who have been conducted to this place, many of whom have been sent back to the Island at her expense.’¹⁰³ This is important as it displays that there were criticisms around the handling of Chios by the Ottoman fleet coming from the Ottoman imperial authorities.

Chios’ notarial registers noted a number of ways that surviving Chiot families found, redeemed, or received inheritances from enslaved relatives, as well as began rebuilding society.

- A. Finding and paying a sum of money to redeem enslaved relatives.
- B. Allocate an inherited share in the movable and immovable property of the people who survived, were captured or are missing.
- C. Appointment of trustees/administrators of alienated property with the aim of finding missing (mainly enslaved people) relatives.
- D. Entering into a second marriage after the absence of the missing or enslaved spouse.
- E. Return of converts to Islam and claiming their right to the family property.
- F. Need for the restoration of churches and Orthodox institutions after the atrocities and desecration suffered by the Orthodox church.¹⁰⁴

One example was of a man named Pantelis N. Pouleres of Kallimasia who in 1829 paid 1,500 grossia (currency used by the Greek Revolutionary government) to free his son Kostantis from slavery, as noted in a letter to a certain Stamatis Likaris.¹⁰⁵ Similarly, some Chiots appointed trustees to look after their estates so that they could search for and hopefully free relatives, such as Ploumou N. Krithinas, who appointed the deacon Michalis N. Metonis as her trustee, while she searched for her enslaved daughter in March 1826.¹⁰⁶ At the same time, in order to maintain their possessions, the surviving Chiots claimed the properties of missing relatives, such as the Boudas family in 1828, who had lost their brothers Dimitrios N. Boudas and Stamatis N. Boudas during the massacre.¹⁰⁷ Very few Chiots returned to Chios, especially those that were forcibly taken into Anatolia, and presumably most that were taken were assimilated into Ottoman Turkish life. This is testified to by Chios’ population numbers, which did not recover during the nineteenth century, as only 20,000 residents were recorded in 1831, and 40,000 recorded between 1881-93.¹⁰⁸ In 1847, however, two brothers did return to the island, Ioannis and Stamatis, sons of Hatzi Giorgis tou Michali Vroulliotis,

who were taken as children, converted to Islam, and raised in Anatolia by Bakırcı Osman. These brothers ultimately claimed their family’s property in Efthymiana, which appeared to be a successful process.¹⁰⁹

Conclusion

In all, the Chios Massacre was an example of betrayal, violence, and forced migration. The Chiots were not only betrayed by the Ottoman Empire, but were initially betrayed by the Greek Revolutionaries, who not only violently invaded the island, but also fled when the Ottoman fleet arrived. This led to the violent and grim realities of murder, enslavement, and destruction that proceeded, and continued. The shock that the massacre caused went on to spur Philhellenic and romanticist sentiments from Western observers.

Systematic killings and enslavement were also evident, especially given the nature of the killings by the Ottoman fleet, as well as the targets on Chiots in Istanbul, and the brief occupation and resettlement of the island. These can be seen as examples of a purposeful mass killing, with genocidal acts committed. The massacre had many motivations, although vengeance was the clearest, especially for past massacres carried out by Greek Revolutionaries against Ottoman Muslims, such as at Tripolitsa. Chios was also an ‘example’ made by the Ottomans, which no doubt sent a clear message to the other neutral Ottoman Aegean Islands. Ultimately, the Chiots were unfortunately caught in between violent Revolutionaries and vengeful Ottomans and suffered the brunt of the destruction from both parties.

Stories like Castanis and those portrayed in newspapers and diplomatic dispatches are important windows into the tragedies and long-term impacts of the events on Chios. Similarly, the story of Şemsinur Hanım, who was a 12-year-old Orthodox Chiot girl that was taken into slavery and sold in Istanbul, is further dealt with in this volume, and provides an important look at the consequences of the Chios Massacre and similar events.



102 Strangford to Castlereagh, 25 June 1822, FO 78/108(93), in Argenti (ed.), *The Massacres of Chios*, 24-5.
103 Strangford to Castlereagh, 25 June 1822, FO 78/108(93), in Argenti (ed.), *The Massacres of Chios*, 25.
104 Οι νοταριακοί κώδικες της Χίου μαρτυρούν [The notarial codices of Chios’ martyrs], ΓΑΚ Chios, 2022, A-F.
105 Οι νοταριακοί κώδικες της Χίου μαρτυρούν, A.
106 Οι νοταριακοί κώδικες της Χίου μαρτυρούν, C.
107 Οι νοταριακοί κώδικες της Χίου μαρτυρούν, B.
108 Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914: Demographics and Social Characteristics*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wisconsin, 1985, 108-51; Ottoman Census, 1881/82-1893: Sakız Sancag 1, Sancak: Sakız, Vilayet: Cezair-i Bahr-ı Sefid.

109 Οι νοταριακοί κώδικες της Χίου μαρτυρούν, E.