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**ДВА ПИСМА БРИТАНСКОГ ВИЦЕКОНЗУЛА
НИКОЛЕ РАДОНИЋА ВАСОЈЕВИЋА КОНЗУЛУ САНДЕРСУ****

Апстракт: У овом раду су представљени извештаји Николе Васојевића које је упућивао из Скадра британском конзулу Сандерсу у Превези, а односе се на почетак његовог службовања као вицеконзула Велике Британије са представништвом у Новом Пазару. Конзул Сандерс је те извештаје преведене на енглески језик слао у Лондон. Значај ових докумената је у томе што се први пут приказује дипломатска преписка Николе Васојевића као службеника Велике Британије.

Кључне речи: Никола Васојевић, Скадар, Хасан Паша, Баларини.

Никола Васојевић свакако представља једну од најзагонетнијих личности српске историје.¹ Он је покушао тридесетих година деветнаестог века да створи посебну српску државу, којом би он управљао, на простору између тадашње Србије и Црне Горе. О њему се зна да је рођен у селу

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¹ О Николи Васојевићу су писали: Р. В. Вешовић, *Плеће Васојевића*, Сарајево 1935, 292–293, М. П. Цемовић, *Кнез Никола Васојевић*, Правда (7. XII 1932), Р. П. Губеринић, *Кнез Никола Милошевић Васојевић и књажевина Васојевићи*, Иванград 1990, Љ. Дурковић-Јакшић, *Србијанско-црногорска сарадња (1830–1851)*, Београд 1957.

Лопате у Васојевићима 1797. године. Његово презиме је било Радонић и завршио је инжењерску школу у Одеси, али не може се са сигурношћу тврдити како и када је отишао у Русију. Постоје тврдње да му је отац преминуо док је Никола још био дечак и да му се мајка преудала за човека са презименом Радонић, са којим се касније одселила у Русију и да је презиме Радонић узето од стране очуха. Са друге стране, помиње се да се Никола прво школовао у Аустрији и да је тек онда отишао у Русију.² После службовања у Русији, 1830. године долази у Цариград где га је, по препоруци руског амбасадора, српска депутација позвала да као војни инжењер учествује у разграничењу кнежевине Србије и Османског царства. Васојевић се није дуго задржао у Србији, јер му кнез Милош није излазио у сусрет и показивао је неблагонаклоност према њему. Због тога одлази из Србије у Цариград. Године 1835. одлази на Цетиње, где се упознаје са Петром II Петровићем Његошем, који је 24. новембра 1835. године издао уверење о наводном племићком пореклу Николе Радонића. Поново је Никола Радонић покушао да ступи у службу код кнеза Милоша, али је та молба остала без потврдног одговора. Тих година Велика Британија креће у дипломатску офанзиву на Балкану и почиње да шири своја конзулска представништва. Године 1837. пуковник Хоџес је постављен за конзула у Београду. Никола Радонић се у то време налазио у Превези када је именован за вице-конзула за провинције Босну, Херцеговину и Албанију, са седиштем у Новом Пазару.³ Како је неко ко није поданик Велике Британије, ко је Србин, руски ђак, постао службеник и човек од поверења британске спољне политике, није могуће утврдити на основу датих докумената.

У сваком случају, Васојевић је преко Скадра, Црне Горе, Никшића, Мостара, Травника и Сарајева стигао у Нови Пазар у лето 1838. године са својом породицом. Ту је покушао да оснује школу за српску децу, али је у самом почетку наишао на отворено непријатељство локалног муслиманског становништва. Када је први пут дошао у Нови Пазар један локални муслиман га је напао мотком у центру вароши и умало га није убио. Проносиле су се гласине да су се султан и влада у Цариграду одрекли тог простора у корист Енглеза и да је Васојевић дошао да преузме власт. Локални муселим је наредио и муслиманском и хришћанском становништву да се не упуштају у било какав контакт са британским вицеконзулом, под претњом строге казне. Једном је Никола Радонић затекао зидове своје куће и капију премазане људским изметом.

² Љ. Дурковић-Јакшић, *нав. дело*, 29.

³ Исто, 29–32.

Непрекидно је добијао претње смрћу, да би ноћу, 22. септембра 1838. године пребегао у кнежевину Србију, док га је његова породица следила. По доласку у Београд обраћао се за помоћ српским властима, као и британским, али био је одбијен. Онда се обратио аустријским властима за помоћ, али није наишао на потврдан одговор. После тога је боравио у Цариграду и Паризу, где је у француској престоници покушао да наметне причу о својој постојбини Холмији, која се простире између српских брда и планина северне Албаније, а себе је представљао као кнеза те области. У Паризу се упознао са кнезом Адамом Чарторијским, најзначајнијим представником пољске емиграције и пољског националног покрета. Са везама стеченим преко Чарторијског, покушао је да добије пристанак Француске за стварање области под његовом управом.

Према једном предању, његово активно деловање на тим просторима наишло је на неодобравање владике Петра II Петровића Његоша, који је организовао убиство Николе Радонића Васојевића. Његош је позвао Васојевића на састанак у Цетиње, да би на том путовању био убијен у селу Доњи Загарач 30. маја 1844. године. Према другом казивању, Васојевић је убијен због крвне освете.⁴

⁴ Исто, 33–56.

FO 78/339, Despatch No 4 of 1838, Translated extracts of letters from vice-consul de Wassowitch, dated Scutari⁵ December 26th 1837 and January 29. 1838.⁶

On the 9th December I reached the mouth of the Boyana⁷, where quitting the boat and leaving my family to proceed up the river as far as Oboti,⁸ I started for Scutari on horseback, which place I reached in safety the following day. My arrival caused a great sensation in the place and all parties busied themselves on their conjectures on the occasion. The Christians look upon the circumstances in favorable light as giving hopes for the improvement of their condition: the Turks in like manner consider that they may become benefitted hereby, observing, that the Sultan, through the medium of foreign agents and especially of English, may become more accurately informed as to the real estate of the affairs then by means of his Pashas, who only come to despoil without doing any good whatever.

On the other hand the Austrian agents have been struck by amazement and the vice-consul, Mr. Ballarini,⁹ exhibited some confusion on seeing me: he received me however with much civility, but under various pretexts and excuses he sought to avoid the duty of presenting me to the Pasha; at length however having given his consent, we proceeded together to the fortress.

Hassan Pasha gave me the most cordial welcome: he subsequently asked me what news I had brought and put a variety of questions upon the subject of the political affairs of Europe, which I had not be prepared to expect and in reply I informed him of the taking of the Constantina and various matters of little interest which have appeared in the newspapers. All our conversation was carried on in Turkish, so that M. Ballarini could not take any part therein, a circumstance which pleased the Pasha, as little friendship subsist between the parties.

At the moment of the departure several of the principal Scutarius merchants, who were in waiting, entreats me to intrude for one of their companions who had been without reason cast into prison, in consequence of which turning back to the Pasha, I requested that failing of the individual might be overlooked as an act of friendship to me; the favor was immediately granted and the merchant in my presence set at liberty.

⁵ Скадар.

⁶ Документи се налазе у Националном архиву у Лондону.

⁷ Река Бојана.

⁸ Речна лука на реци Бојани.

⁹ Баларини, аустријски вицеkonzул у Скадру.

With regard to the feelings of Hassan Pasha towards myself, I have understood from well informed persons around him, that my arrival in these parts has been a subject of much reflection to him and that the Austrian partisans, together with our friend Ballarini, have sought as much as possible to place the Turks in suspicion of me, saying that I had no ferman of recognition as British vice-consul and that the whole might be a work of deception.

From all the information which I have as yet been able to obtain, it would appear that the government of Austria inundated these parts with secret emissaries, priests, merchants and doctors, with the view of some day appropriating to herself Bosnia, Herzegovina and Montenegro. Numerous persons under feigned names have been sent here in Scutari, as well as in Scopia,¹⁰ Prisrena,¹¹ Novibazaar,¹² Seraevo¹³ and other quarters; the principal leaders of the party being the catholic bishop Albertini in Scutari, and a second bishop, at present unknown to me, at the celebrated convent of (.....)¹⁴ in Bosnia not far from Travnik¹⁵; in Montenegro¹⁶ also there is the secretary of the Vladica¹⁷ (reigning bishop) Demetrio Milacovitch of Ragusa.¹⁸

The government of Russia having heard the news that the French consul was expected in Scutari this last summer, sent an envoy to accompany the Vladica back to Montenegro. His individual proceeded as far as the Montenegrine bazaar at Tchernoevitch¹⁹, from whence he sent a person express to Scutari to ascertain whether in point of fact a French consul had arrived or not and having assured to Russia about the middle of November by the way of Cattaro²⁰ and Trieste.²¹

In the afternoon of the 30th December M. Ballarini sent to inform me that he wished to speak with me and I accordingly went to his residence; when he told me that without a ferman or at least Turkish road-pass from Constantinople, the Pasha would neither allow me to pass on to Bosnia nor even to remain the winter in Scutari. When however I asked M. Ballarini in

¹⁰ Скопље.

¹¹ Призрен.

¹² Нови Пазар.

¹³ Сарајево.

¹⁴ Нечитак рукопис.

¹⁵ Травник.

¹⁶ Црна Гора.

¹⁷ Владика Петар II Петровић Његош.

¹⁸ Димитрије Милаковић из Дубровника.

¹⁹ Ријека Црнојевића.

²⁰ Котор.

²¹ Трст.

what high I was to regard this communication, whether as coming from himself in his public capacity or simply as private intimation on his part, he replied that it was in the latter sense exclusively and that he did not wish Pasha to know that he had mentioned the circumstance. This gave rise to some suspicion on my part, the more especially as that my interview with the Pasha nothing of the sort had been mooted, but on the contrary the reception was in every respect most satisfactory.

On the 15th of January I sent to inform the Pasha that I wished to call upon him, requesting, that he would find an hour for that purpose. On my arrival at the appointed time, I found about sixty of the principal Turks of Scutari there assembled: the Pasha received me very well and after the usual compliments and some desultory conversation, he addressed me as follows:

“Esteemed friend, you as an official person, knowing the duties of a public functionary, and particularly one placed in the situation which I know occupy at one of the extremities of the Empire, surrounded on all sides by enemies from within and without, and consequently is under an especial obligation to enquire what persons pass through his district, whether they go and what may be their motive for the same; you, I say, can not be displeased if, in the execution of my duty, I put certain questions to you upon the subject of your arrival to these parts”.

I replied that he was at perfect liberty to do so and that I always felt the greater regard for those who sought to perform their duty with honor and diligence.

The Pasha then asked me whether I have brought any paper for presentation to himself, to support the character with which I was invested: upon which I laid open my passport and document of appointment, saying here is my authority for the journey and here my warrant of service, the first of which may be of some importance to you and second of none of whatsoever.

The Pasha continued: “ But have you nothing for me from my own government; no Ferman or Teskari, without which I would not be justified in allowing you to proceed?”

I replied: “Until this moment Pasha you have spoken well and with all right on your side; but here you are in the wrong, because in the first place being merely on my passage through this place, I have not the least occasion to present you with any Ferman, and you could be alone entitled to require the same of I were to remain here and transact business with yourself; that is to say if my residence were to be at Scutari instead of Novibazaar: what you now demand therefore is the duty of Vidgil Pasha in Bosnia and not your affair. Secondly, when you say that you can not allow me to proceed I would ask, whether my government is on term, of friendship or otherwise with yours; and

if the former, you, as a faithful servant of your sovereign, are bound to act in like spirit towards me, to receive one as a friend and recognize a passport of my government.”

The Pasha replied: “ I well know that my government is on terms of harmony and friendship with Great Britain; and myself have never hesitated to acknowledge the right of the letter, her officers and their passports; I look upon and esteem you as a friend, but why at least have you brought me no letter or document for myself from your own government?”

I replied that having here the Austrian vice –consul specifically charged with the duties of British agent, this appeared wholly unnecessary and would have been an obvious slight to the latter his person rendering all further introduction superfluous.

The parties now began to feel half persuaded upon the subject and I therefore asked the Pasha in conclusion whether he would give me the bonjourdi for Travnik and recognize my passport or otherwise?

The Pasha replied: “When you are prepared to start, send your man to me for the paper; meanwhile as I shall be sending a tatar²² tomorrow to Constantinople, be as good as to give me a copy of your passport ; but first I will ask you to peruse the same.”

I accordingly read it over to him and afterwards sent him a copy thereof, which was transmitted by the tatar on the following day; and some days after (that is to say on the 7/29 of January) the Pasha without further hesitation gave me the bonjourdi for Travnik.

Returning to the subject of Austrian official personages visiting these parts, I should mention, that on the 10th January one of these, lately arrived from Novibazaar and Prisrena, called at my house. Signor Muller, of Bohemian²³ origin, attached to the military station at the Bocche di Cattaro²⁴, who, in his capacity of medical officer, had been sent into Turkey under the pretext of seeking information relating to the plague and other maladies, his real object being however of quite another character, for doctors do not in general trouble themselves much with regard to taking plans of the country and so forth. The next day on returning his visit we entered into much familiar conversation and after seeking to prevail upon me to enter into correspondence with the military governor of Bocche di Cattaro, count Karatchay, I succeeded in obtaining full knowledge of his commission, supported by documentary evidence, from whence it appeared, that he was instructed to make a minute and

²² Татар – назив за гласника.

²³ Чешка.

²⁴ Бока Которска.

particular survey, political, topographical and statistical, of the cities, mountains, roads, passes and defiles of the Pashaluk, of Scutari, Prisrena, Djacova,²⁵ Pristina,²⁶ Scopia and Caleandele, comprehending also the district of Dibra,²⁷ Mati, Ochrida²⁸, Giordja and Albassan²⁹. He is now waiting to proceed in this latter direction where he has not yet been.

This same gentleman made me acquainted with some details relating to Novibazaar, where he had met another doctor, an agent of Russia, who had made himself remarkable by many extraordinary actions tending to deceive the lower orders and work upon their religious superstitious.

I have been lately assured with all precision that the Austrian consulate at Scutari has been spreading reports of most humiliating nature with regard to the latter of introduction furnished me for that agency; stating, that the protection of the office solicited on my behalf, and that, but for the assistance afforded me in this quarter, I should have been insulted and sent away from Scutari. However I have not failed on my part to make known to all, and to the Turkish author in particular, that the Austrian vice-consul is at the same time acting as British agent and that the letter addressed to him from the British consulate at Prevesa required him in his latter capacity to afford me a proper introduction to the authorities, a British vice-consul having no need of Austrian protection: and with a view to ascertain the real feelings of M. Ballarini upon the subject, I addressed a letter to him as acting British vice-consul at Scutari, requesting that he would obtain from the Pasha the bonjourdi to allow me to proceed to Travnik.

To this letter (bearing the date 7/19 January) I received a verbal reply in the presence of the secretary of M. Ballarini, his dragoman, and other persons, by which M. Ballarini made clearly known to me his sentiments, saying:

“Sir, we are under great misunderstanding and for some time it has been my intention to beg to be released from the charge which weighs heavily upon me and which I feel the more sensibly in this my advanced age: I neither was, neither am, a British agent; the Turks will not acknowledge me as such; and so much the more as I possess no orders upon this head nor document of authority to act in that capacity; and I have therefore experienced constant difficulties in this respect from all the authorities up to this time, who will only acknowledge me as Austrian agent and nothing more; and what I may have

²⁵ Баковица.

²⁶ Приштина.

²⁷ Дебар, западна Македонија.

²⁸ Охрид.

²⁹ Елбасан.

done for the British government has been not as British agent but as Austrian vice-consul. M. Meyer the late consul general in Albania wrote me a letter, not so much officially, as privately, saying: "Sir, until some agent of our own shall be established in Scutari, I beg of you to protect British subjects there in the same way that Austrian subjects receive protection from myself at Prevesa"; and this is the only authority I possess and therefore once more I have honor to acquaint you, that that I am not agent here of any other government but that of Austria and would wish to be relieved of all other charge whatsoever."

In reply to this declaration of M. Ballarini I addressed to him a second letter, begging that he would reconsider my first application written under an enormous impression, and that consequently he would regard the same as withdrawn.

On the other hand many Ionian subjects and traders under the Ionian flag come to Scutari, where they can obtain no protection and are therefore exposed to an infinity of trouble and vexation by the custom house and even sometimes to personal chastisement. Among others an Ionian subject, a native of Corfu,³⁰ who happened to be in Scutari, from the want of protection was obliged to accept the Muhamedan faith to escape the rage of the Turks; and on my arrival this individual did not fail to present himself to me and make known what had befallen him. Under these circumstances I beg to recommend the subject as one of the utmost importance and deserving a serious consideration. It would also be well if you would address a friendly letter to Hassan Pasha, taking notice of the abuses and vexation treatment practiced by the custom house and the Turks in general towards British protected subjects visiting these parts; begging that he would use his authority to put a stop to a such obnoxious proceedings.

Here and in all the surrounding parts much activity is observable in regard in military preparation; and the same at Sofia, Widdin, Nissa.³¹ This circumstance is subject of much talk and has created some alarm here. My arrival therefore has led all classes, Christians as well as Turks, to consider whether by availing themselves of the influence of the English government they might be enabled to bring to the knowledge of their own sovereign the peculiar circumstances in which they are placed and the state of misunderstanding which alone prevents reconciliation. This I repeat is the first object which the people at this moment have in view; or otherwise all are prepared either to throw themselves into the arms of some other power or to decide their common destiny by the force of arms. Of this I have secretly been

³⁰ Острво Крф у Јонском мору.

³¹ Софија, Видин, Ниш.

informed and I am told that application will ere long be made to me upon the subjects; therefore I would beg of you to make known to the government the desire and intention of the people, who place every reliance upon the English name, which they think sufficient to terminate all their woes and make their peace with the Sultan.

Signed:
Nicolay de Wassoewitch

P.S. February 7

I have just received precise information to the effect that the Emperor of Austria, formally recognizing the independence of the Montenegro, had ordered that boundaries between his territories and the latter be laid down and marked with all due form; and that the commission deputed for the purpose arrived a few days back at Cattaro to commence operations in the ensuing spring, together with the commission appointed by the Vladica for the settlement of the confines as preliminary to a treaty between Austria and Montenegro. I fear that the arrival of this communication may be delayed by reason of the great floods which have inundated all the plains between Zadrima³² and Beratti³³ and rendered the roads and rivers for the moment impossible.

³² Област која обухвата град Скадар и слив реке Бојане у Јадранско море.

³³ Берат, град у јужној Албанији.

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**TWO LETTERS FROM BRITISH VICE-CONSUL
NIKOLA RADONIC VASOEVIC TO CONSUL SAUNDERS**

Summary

This contribution presents the reports from British vice-consul Nikola Radonic Vasoevic to consul Saunders at the beginning of his service as British diplomat. The reports show his arrival at Skadar in December 1837. and his impressions of the local people, Skadar sanjak-beg Hassan Pasha, Austrian vice-consul Ballarini as well as the problems that he faced as the first British diplomat in that part of Balkan peninsula.

Keywords: Nikola Radonic Vasoevic, Skadar, Hassan Pasha, Ballarini.

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