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THE  
PRESENT STATE  
OF THE  
TURKISH EMPIRE,  
BY  
MARSHAL MARMONT,  
DUC DE RAGUSE.  
TRANSLATED  
WITH NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS,  
ON THE  
RELATIONS OF ENGLAND WITH TURKEY AND RUSSIA.

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BY  
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## INTRODUCTION.

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THE revolution of 1830 having compelled Marshal Marmont to expatriate himself, he took up his residence at Vienna, where he remained until 1834, when, becoming weary of the monotony of an inactive life, he set out on a tour through Hungary, Transylvania, Southern Russia, the Krimea, Turkey and Egypt.

Of this tour the Marshal has published a journal, in which he has minutely described every thing that came under his observation.

An attentive perusal of this work can hardly fail to suggest the idea, that the principal object of the author, has been to impress his readers with the belief of the declining state of the Turkish Empire. The Marshal's statements on this point are too clear to be misunderstood; he predicts not only that its fall is inevitable, but that it cannot be long delayed.

Any work from the pen of so distinguished a man as Marshal Marmont must ever excite attention, but the present one is eminently calculated

to create the deepest interest, and more especially at a period when the eyes of the statesman, the soldier, and the merchant are directed to the East, as the probable theatre of great political events, which cannot fail to have an influence on the well being of every state in Europe. The interference of a neighbouring power in the affairs of Turkey, must naturally be regarded with apprehension by herself, and with jealousy by the rest of Europe. The motives of such interference are open to suspicion, because the strength of this ally would most probably be increased, in proportion as that of Turkey might be diminished. England is, of all powers, the most able to exercise an influence in the regeneration of Turkey, and from her position is perhaps the least likely to have the honesty of her intentions either doubted by the Porte, or impugned by any other nation. If she will therefore exert her energies in such a cause, Turkey can still be saved from the grasp of Russia, whose future interest, whatever may be her present wishes and professions, will be advanced by destroying the Turkish Empire.

Under this impression it is thought that a translation of that part of the Marshal's work, which treats



more particularly of Turkey and her relations with other powers, may be calculated to draw attention to this important subject, and it is therefore offered to the British public, with the addition of such observations as the translator feels called upon to make in opposition to the Marshal's arguments and the theory which he has founded upon them.

In the course of his journey the Marshal saw the Austrian frontier regiments, the studs, and some of the principal towns in Hungary and Transylvania. He afterwards crossed the Russian frontier and proceeded to Odessa, where he remained for some days. During his stay in that city, he made excursions in the neighbourhood, and visited the Russian military colonies, of which he gives a most minute and valuable description. From Odessa he went to the Krimea, where, under the guidance of Count Woronzow, he inspected all that was considered most worthy of his notice, and he took leave of that amiable and excellent nobleman at Kosloff, to proceed to Constantinople.

From the period of his arrival at the city of the Sultan, the Marshal's observations will be given in as close a translation of the original, as has been found practicable. But the notice of the former

part of his work, will be confined to a brief description of the more prominent and interesting matter, contained in his relation of the journey from Vienna to the Krimea, to which will be added some information derived from other sources.

## HUNGARY.

Marshal Marmont quitted Vienna on the 22nd April 1834, to proceed on his tour, and on reaching the confines of Hungary, took the road to Buda and Pesth. He passed through Raab and crossed the field of battle where, in 1809, the French army, under the orders of the Viceroy of Italy, defeated the Austrians, commanded by the Archduke John. He visited the establishments of the Hungarian studs, a description of which will be given hereafter, and on the 24th of April reached the celebrated fortress of Komorn, situated near the confluence of the Waag and the Danube.

This fortress, when the Turks occupied Hungary, was on their frontier. It has since that period been much strengthened by additional works, and would be found capable of a long resistance if it should ever be attacked. But in the present state of the Austrian Empire, and of its relations with the neighbouring powers, such an event is not probable.

Komorn has, from the nature of its works, the peculiar property of affording accommodation for

a numerous garrison, while it is capable of being defended by a small number of men.

The country between Vienna and Buda is highly cultivated, and the view in approaching the latter city is magnificent. When the Turks occupied Hungary, Buda, its capital, was the head quarters of the Pacha. It was from hence that he proceeded to besiege Vienna, which city, through the courage of the Poles and the genius of Sobieski, has twice been the rampart of Christendom.

On the second occasion the preservation of this city was in some degree owing to the avarice of the Turkish commander, the Grand Vizier Mustapha. For being desirous of saving it from general pillage, by which he would probably have lost his personal share of booty, he hesitated to carry it by assault, and thus afforded time for Sobieski to form a junction with Prince Charles of Lorraine, and to march to its relief.

A battle ensued which ended in the total defeat of the Turks, who fled to the banks of the Raab, a distance of at least thirty leagues.

It was on this occasion that Prince Eugene first distinguished himself as a soldier.

Two years subsequent to the event above

alluded to, Buda was also the scene of a signal disaster to the Turks, who were then defeated, with the loss of many thousands of their best troops, by the armies of the Duke of Bavaria and Prince Charles of Lorraine. In this battle the celebrated Duke of Berwick, who was then only fifteen years of age, commenced the career of a soldier in which he afterwards became so distinguished. Buda, which is on the right side of the Danube, still remains the capital of this division of the country, although Pesth, which stands on the opposite bank of the river, is the chief place for the transaction of commercial affairs. The communication between the two cities, is by a bridge of boats, of about a quarter of a mile in length.

The streets of Pesth are spacious and regular, and a great proportion of the houses are handsome and substantially built. This city has various manufactories, and contains a population of about 60,000.

The roads in this part of Hungary are in a very bad state, the necessary consequence of the Government having no funds at its disposal for their repair, and of the opposition of the inhabitants to a toll being levied upon them for this purpose.

In a former journey Marshal Marmont saw the

fortress of Forchenstein, which belongs to Prince Esterhazy. It is situated on a height and contains a numerous artillery, besides arms sufficient for four or five thousand men. There is in this stronghold vast property, consisting of precious stones of immense value. A statute of the house of Esterhazy, compels its chiefs to increase this treasure, and forbids them to apply it to any other purpose than the ransom of an Esterhazy from Turkish slavery. In 1809, when the district of Eedenburg was occupied by the French army, a detachment of its cavalry appeared before Forchenstein and demanded admittance, but the soldiers of Prince Esterhazy refused to open the gates, and thus saved the treasure of their master. After a short sojourn at Pesth, in April 1834, the Marshal continued his route, over those immense Hungarian plains, known by the name of "Puszta." These plains are not only uncultivated, but even without inhabitants. They are traversed by roads which are not regularly formed, but are merely traced at the convenience or caprice of travellers. The general character of the scenery is here extremely wild, and presents a striking contrast to that between Vienna and Buda. In continuing his journey, the Mar-

shal at length arrived at the cultivated districts, but instead of finding the people dispersed, as in other agricultural countries, and inhabiting farm-houses, hamlets and ordinary villages, he describes them as collected together in villages of immense extent, to the number, in some instances, of even forty thousand.

In the spring, the whole of the males capable of working leave these villages, and encamp upon the land intended to be cultivated. Here they remain until it is ploughed and sowed, when they return to their homes, where they continue till the period of harvest.

We may trace the origin of this singular custom to the necessity of mutual protection, arising out of the contests between the Christians and the Turks, of which this country was formerly the great theatre. For it was only by collecting themselves together in large bodies that the inhabitants could find security against the predatory excursions of either party.

On the 26th April, the Marshal passed through Soroksar, Ocsa, CERkeny and Kets-Kemet, the only places in which he saw inhabitants in journeying over a space of thirty leagues. At Kets-Kemet he found a population of thirty-eight thousand

souls. Although the country he traversed on this day's journey is of great fertility, yet, from the total want of shelter, the crops are subject to be destroyed by violent storms with which this district is occasionally visited—an evil which might probably be remedied by enclosing the cultivated land with belts of trees.

On the following day he passed through Tsongrad and Szentes, the former inhabited by thirty thousand, and the latter by ten thousand peasants. He halted for the day at Mezo-Hegyeshalom, the Austrian establishment for improving the breed of horses. An idea may be formed of its magnitude, by merely stating that the land appropriated to it is fifteen leagues in circuit. It is surrounded by a broad and deep ditch, and is sheltered by a wide plantation of trees. When the Austrian cavalry was supplied with horses exclusively from this establishment, there were no less than twenty thousand colts here. But the object of the Government is now merely to breed stallions, both at this place and at Bobolna, for the provincial dépôts, where a total number is kept up of nearly two thousand. This is effected by means of an annual supply from all the government establishments,



towards which Mezo-Hegyés contributes two hundred and fifty. For this purpose one thousand brood mares and forty-eight stallions are kept there.

In the operations of husbandry there are employed two hundred mares and six hundred oxen, with three hundred and sixty ploughs.

When the provincial dépôts have received their full complement of young horses, the surplus is either sold or sent as remounts to the cavalry. At present the stock of stallions, brood mares and foals at Mezo-Hegyés amounts to three thousand. The whole of this establishment is under the direction of an officer with the rank of Major, who is assisted by two subalterns, and has under his command eleven hundred and seventy men.

The advantages of the Austrian system is, that not only a very superior description of horse is obtained for the cavalry, but that the breed is improved throughout the whole country.

On the 29th April the author continued his route, crossing the Maros at a place called Arad. Here the soil is more fertile, and more highly cultivated. The general aspect of the country also changes, for the immense villages which have been alluded to are no longer met with, but are suc-

ceded by farm houses and villages of ordinary extent. The population is composed of German colonists, who retain the manners and industrious habits of their nation.

The next place of importance he reached was Temesvar, which is a regular fortress, composed of ten bastions, with numerous outworks. It is built on the banks of the Temes, and near the navigable canal which unites the Maros with the Theiss. Although Temesvar is the central point of defence of the Hungarian frontier, it is unlikely that it will ever be required as a protection to this country, for in the event of a war between Russia and Austria, the contest between these powers would probably take place on the frontiers of Poland and Silesia.

On the 30th, Marshal Marmont proceeded to Karansebes, the head quarters of the frontier regiments of Illyria.

In the year 1809, when the Marshal was made Governor General of the Illyrian provinces, which had been ceded to the French, the six regiments belonging to this territory, were under his command. It was by his advice that Napoleon decided on maintaining the system under which they were organized,

although urged by other officers to break it up; and the gallant conduct of these troops during the war justified the favourable opinion which the Marshal had formed of them.

The system adverted to and the circumstances which led to its adoption are not unworthy of notice.

The long wars between the Hungarians and Turks, having devastated this frontier district and reduced its population to the greatest state of misery, it became necessary to devise some means for ameliorating its condition. A military organization appearing to be the best arrangement for effecting this object, the whole of the inhabitants were enrolled and formed into companies and regiments, to which certain tracts of country were assigned.

In the first instance the quantity of land allotted to each family was in proportion to its numbers, and subsequently a further grant was made to those whose industry or superior system of cultivation entitled them to such a reward.

Landed property was on no occasion vested in an individual, but in the entire family, whose chief directed the whole of the operations as in patriarchal times, and kept the accounts, which were audited at certain periods of each year. The net

proceeds of the industry of every family, were then divided among its members, the head receiving two shares.

The Government levied a small tax upon the land, to be applied towards the support of the troops, and defraying the expenses of the civil administration of the district, the deficiency being made up from the general revenue of the kingdom.

The amount of the tax was determined not merely in proportion to the extent, but also with reference to the fertility of the land; and it was optional with the proprietors, either to pay the impost in money, or in labour on the estates which remained in possession of the Government.

The population was expected to guard the frontier at all times, and also to furnish during war the number of troops that might be demanded by the Government. It therefore became necessary to adopt such an organization and system of discipline, that notwithstanding the inhabitants were scattered over a great extent of country, a well trained and efficient force might be collected whenever required by the exigencies of the state.

The district assigned to each regiment is accurately marked out, and a record is kept of its

boundaries in a general register, which is so arranged, as to shew on inspection not only the amount due for taxes, from the whole body, but even from the several individuals composing it. Every member of the regiment is furnished with a book, in which an officer of his company inscribes an extract from the general register, shewing the amount of his particular debt. In time of war every regiment is required to send into the field four battalions, of twelve hundred men each, and even during peace two battalions composed of the most disposable men, properly armed and equipped, are always ready to march. The individuals composing these battalions, remain however with their families until they assemble for the purpose of instruction, or are called upon for more active duties. Each soldier is required to serve in an effective regiment for a period of twelve years; after which he is enrolled in the reserve. ,

The men, from the wool of their flocks, furnish the materials for their uniforms, which are made up in their own families; credit for the value of these clothes being given to them, as a set off against the tax due for their land. Certain officers are appointed to regulate all the details of these

arrangements, and also to direct the agricultural operations. They fix not only the amount of land to be ploughed, of grain to be sown, and of animals to be slaughtered, but also the quantity of corn to be put into store for each family, as a provision against a time of scarcity. The whole of the country allotted to the regiments is visited once a fortnight by subordinate officers, who report their observations to the Colonel, and this chief makes a general inspection once during the year. The pecuniary affairs of each regiment are conducted by a finance committee, composed of three officers, whose accounts are audited at certain periods by a commissary of the brigade to which it belongs.

There is in each company a military tribunal, called the Court of Session, instituted for the purpose of administering justice in minor cases, which is thus obtained promptly and without expence. It is composed of a lieutenant, a serjeant-major, two serjeants, two corporals, and two heads of families, who assemble once a week. The efforts of this tribunal are in the first instance directed to produce a reconciliation between the litigants, and it does not pronounce an award until these attempts

are proved to be unsuccessful. This award is not valid until confirmed by the captain.

Although the impartiality of the Court of Session is free from suspicion, yet its members may naturally be supposed to be deficient in intelligence, and therefore a higher tribunal has been established to take cognizance of civil matters of a graver or more important character. This higher tribunal is composed of two Officers and an Auditor. The latter, although of the legal profession, is obliged to bear a military title, and wear a uniform, in order to insure respect in this country, where everything has a military character. The officers sign the minutes of the evidence, and the Auditor gives the award. The offences of criminals who are not enrolled in the army, are tried by the Court of Session; but for the trial of those who are enrolled, a military court is convened, composed of the chief of a battalion, an auditor, two captains, two serjeant-majors, two serjeants, two corporals, and two privates.

As an additional protection to the accused, the sentence cannot be carried into effect until it has been approved by the colonel, who is not permitted in any case to sit as president of the court. Such

are the principal features of the Frontier Military Force. This extraordinary institution, which is supposed to have been founded by Sigismund, King of Hungary, was improved by Prince Eugene, and perfected by Marshal Lascy. It not only has a tendency to promote the progress of civilization, and to increase the welfare and prosperity of the people, but it enables the Government to draw from them the largest contribution to the exigencies of the state, that their condition admits of. The most extraordinary part however of this system, is that it insures the defence of a very extensive frontier, at a comparatively small expence. For it enables the country to furnish seven or eight times the number of soldiers, that any district of the same extent, but under a different management, could supply. This will be better understood when it is stated that the proportion of the population<sup>4</sup> from which each regiment is raised and recruited, in Austria, is 400,000 individuals, whereas each of these frontier regiments is supplied from a population of only 50,000.

At Karansebes, we are reminded of the lamentable catastrophe that befel the troops of Austria, near this place, in the latter wars between that power and Turkey.



Joseph the Second afforded on this occasion a remarkable instance of the misfortunes which a monarch may bring upon his people by overrating his qualifications as a military commander; for though personally brave, he seemed, when the lives of others depended on his decision, to be deficient in that moral courage and presence of mind which are indispensable in a General; yet he evinced great resolution, as well as indefatigable industry in conducting the civil affairs of the state, and unquestionably possessed superior talent. His political acts have been the subject of much discussion; how far they may be deserving of praise or censure this is not the place to enquire; but it is impossible to deny that the views of this monarch were directed to promoting the welfare of his country. By moving in advance of public opinion, and by promptly effecting those changes in the national institutions which the circumstances of the times seemed to demand, he nipped in the bud, so far as his own dominions were concerned, the revolutions that threatened Austria as well as the rest of Europe.

In 1789, Joseph, having collected together 80,000 men, for the purpose of attacking the Turks, established his camp near Karansebes.

The Turks were in a position opposite to the Austrian army and so placed as to cover the province of Walachia. All was prepared for the attack; the generals were assembled in the tent of the Emperor to receive their orders, and every thing appeared to promise success to the Austrian army; but Joseph, feeling a degree of disquietude respecting the result, asked Marshal Lascy if he felt sure of beating the enemy. The Marshal replied, as any sensible man would have done, under similar circumstances, that he hoped for victory, but that he could not absolutely guarantee it. Unhappily this answer so discouraged Joseph, that he immediately abandoned the intention of attacking the Turks, and resolved to retire behind the Temes.

The plan of retreat was arranged, and the army was formed in parallel columns; the infantry being placed in the centre, the cavalry on the flanks, and the baggage in the intervals. The Austrians commenced their march at midnight, but shortly afterwards Marshal Lascy discovering that the order had not been issued for withdrawing the piquets of the left wing, supplied the omission, and suddenly halted the main body to wait for

these detachments. The word of command to halt was given and repeated in the usual manner; but being mistaken for the word "allah," which the Turks are in the habit of shouting when about to fall upon their enemies, many of the Austrian troops believed that they were attacked. This was the case with the drivers of the tumbrils, who, seized with panic, put their horses into a trot, in the hope of escaping. The infantry supposing the noise made by these carriages to be caused by the charge of the enemy, commenced firing in all directions. The havoc they thus created in their own ranks was so great, that no less than 10,000 men are said to have been killed or wounded during the darkness of the night. At day-light the mistake was discovered, and the Austrian army then retreated to the position the Emperor had intended to take up behind the Temes. If, instead of giving way to his alarm, Joseph had attacked the enemy, it is probable that he would have obtained possession of Walachia without losing more than 3000 or 4000 men. As it was, he not only lost 10,000 by the disaster above mentioned, and 20,000 by sickness, which was the consequence of a prolonged occupation of an un-

healthy tract of country, but he raised the courage of the Turks, and thereby deprived his own troops of the confidence they had previously reposed both in him, and in themselves.

From Karansebes, Marshal Marmont proceeded to Orsova, on the banks of the Danube. Although at present a miserable town it is likely to be much extended, as the principal Lazaretto for the purification of merchandize and persons coming from the Black Sea has been established here.

The navigation of the river, at a short distance below the town, has hitherto been obstructed by a bar, or more properly by rapids. It is now proposed to overcome the difficulty thus occasioned by the formation of a canal, to be united to the river above, and below the obstruction. The length of this canal would not exceed a thousand yards, and two locks would suffice to make it navigable. The Emperor of Austria is very desirous to carry this project into effect, but as the canal must be formed on the right bank of the river, and within the Turkish territory, it cannot be done without the Sultan's permission, which hitherto it has been found impossible to obtain. A similar work would be required about ten

leagues above Orsova. On the completion of both, the Danube would become navigable from Vienna to the sea, which would essentially promote the wealth and prosperity of Hungary. It is calculated that the voyage from Vienna to Constantinople might then be made in twelve days. At present, from a want of the means of export, the produce of this kingdom is of comparatively little value to its owners, but if the navigation of the Danube were rendered certain, this produce would be much enhanced, as it would then be conveyed to France and Italy, at a small expense. The contemplated improvement would even facilitate the communication with India by Trebizond.

On one of the islands of the Danube there is a fortress in possession of the Turks, called New Orsova, which, if in good repair and properly garrisoned, would command the navigation of the river.

From Orsova the Marshal proceeded to the baths of Mahedia, which retain the celebrity they acquired in the time of the Romans. They are still considered very efficacious and are much frequented. He afterwards returned to Karansebes, whence he finally set out on the 4th of May, to continue his journey.

He passed through the town of Deva, situated in the valley of the Maros. This valley, and indeed the greater part of Transylvania, has an appearance of fertility, but yet it is asserted that even with the most judicious system of culture, it is far from being productive.

The Maros, which is the largest river of the principality, passes through a country rich in ores, and, in a remarkable manner, seems to form a line of separation between the several metals. Thus on the right bank there are mines of gold and of silver, and on the left of iron, lead, and copper.

The castle of Deva is beautifully situated, majestically towering over the valley, and forming an almost impregnable place of security.

The population of the principality of Transylvania, is composed of a great diversity of people, who are distinct in origin, and speak different languages.

There are 250,000 Hungarians, 1,000,000 Wallachians, 500,000 Germans, 150,000 Szeklers, and 120,000 Armenians, making a total of upwards of 2,000,000. The State however only recognizes the distinctions of Hungarians, Szeklers, and Germans.

The Hungarians and Szeklers, have at various

times conquered this country, but its ancient inhabitants were Walachians, whose descent has been traced to the Roman colonists established here by Trajan.

This province has for its defence four frontier regiments of infantry, and a regiment of hussars. The adjoining Turkish provinces of Walachia and Moldavia being comparatively but little known, it may be well to make some slight mention of them. The population of both these provinces, like that of Transylvania, is of Walachian origin, being descended from the Roman colonists and the ancient occupiers of the land. The only foreigners that have intermixed with them are Hungarians, who inhabit about 60 villages in Moldavia.

Bessarabia, which is only separated from Moldavia, by the Pruth, is also inhabited by Walachians of Roman origin. It is remarkable that these three provinces, encircled as they are by people of Slavonian descent, should have so long retained a population which remains distinct in race and insulated from the surrounding multitudes, who during centuries have never ceased to make encroachments on the south of Europe. The population of Moldavia is about 1,000,000, and that

of Walachia, 2,000,000, amongst which there are said to be no fewer than 100,000 gypsies.

Both the principalities of Walachia and Moldavia are highly picturesque and beautiful, and are celebrated for the variety of their productions, and for the excellence and number of their cattle, which they export largely. The Moldavian horses, in particular, are considered to be of a very superior breed. The principal towns of Walachia are Bucharest, Giorgewo, Tergovista, Galaez, and Brahilow.

The central and southern parts of this province are less mountainous than the northern, and contain vallies of great fertility, which are however very imperfectly cultivated. This is the natural consequence of misgovernment, for the inhabitants of a country where property is insecure, are seldom disposed to grow more than their necessities absolutely demand.

On leaving Deva on the 6th of May, to proceed to Herrmanstadt, the Marshal inspected the field of battle of Szasvaros. The Turks were marching from Hungary, and on reaching this spot they found the Hungarian army occupying a position covered by a rivulet. They attacked



the Hungarians with great impetuosity, but were repulsed and pursued into the plain; where they were completely defeated.

Marshal Marmont gives it as his opinion that there is but one way of successfully contending with the Turks. This is to endeavour to resist their first onset; and if successful in that resistance, to become the assailants, and immediately attack their position.

In the neighbourhood of Herrmanstadt, which is in the valley of the Aluta, the villages are extremely beautiful, and cultivation has there been brought to a state of great perfection. The Marshal arrived at Herrmanstadt on the 7th May, and was most kindly received by the Archduke, who was then residing there. Indeed throughout the whole tour nothing could surpass the consideration and respect with which this distinguished officer was treated.

On the 9th he proceeded to Carlsburg, which is situated in the valley of the Maros. This fortress was built by Charles the Sixth, and is now in excellent repair. Although of small extent, its position and construction are such as to render it capable of great resistance, for it can only be attacked

on its eastern side, and its bastions are spacious and covered with numerous outworks. Its form is that of a regular hexagon. Carlsburg has many public establishments of importance, and amongst others there is a mint, which is well managed. This part of the country abounds in mines of the precious metals, which have been worked with but little intermission from the time of the Romans, and are now carried on with great spirit.

On the 11th, the Marshal resumed his journey, still keeping in the valley of the Maros, the beauty of which he describes in glowing colours. Near Enget he saw the field of battle on which the Turks were beaten by John Hunyades, at the beginning of the 15th century. The position which the Hungarians took up was in an amphitheatre of moderate elevation, and in other respects was very similar to that which they occupied at the battle of Szasvaros. The Turks attempted to ascend the valley, but being repulsed in front and turned on their left flank, they were completely routed.

The Marshal afterwards passed in sight of the salt mines of Marorouwar, which are not only superior to any other in Transylvania, but pro-

bably surpass those of the whole of Europe, in the extreme whiteness and excellent quality of the salt they produce. He proceeded to Thorda on the river Aranyos, in which neighbourhood also there are valuable salt mines. There is reason to believe that a stratum of salt exists under a great extent of this district.

On the following day he entered the valley of the Szamos, and proceeded to Clausenburg, the capital of Transylvania. This is a modern city, and stands on the site of the ancient one, which many years since fell into decay.

The houses of Clausenburg are low ; but the streets, which are spacious, are formed with great regularity, and converge towards the square in the centre of the place. The town itself has a very dull appearance, but in the suburbs the inhabitants seem active and industrious.

The population of the city and suburbs amounts to 20,000.

The valley of the Szamos is very picturesque, although it is less beautiful than that of the Maros. The finest breed of Transylvanian horses is found in this part of the country.

From Clausenburg, Marshal Marmont went to

Dées, and on the 13th he passed the Szamos at Bethlem on his route to Bistriz. Near the latter place there is a magnificent road which crosses the mountains, and leads to Bucovina. The cost of its construction was very patriotically defrayed by the voluntary contributions of some of the principal families of Transylvania.

On descending the mountain the Marshal entered the small province of Bucovina, which in 1773 was ceded to Austria by Turkey. The object of Austria in obtaining this territory was to establish an easy communication between Transylvania and Galicia, which latter province had been annexed to the Austrian dominions at the period of the first partition of Poland.

Although in Bucovina there are very extensive tracts of wood, yet the country is in general badly cultivated. On approaching this province from Transylvania, the rich mines of copper and silver belonging to the Emperor are passed.

On the 16th the Marshal reached Czernowitz, on the banks of the Pruth. This small city, which contains only eight thousand inhabitants, is the capital of Bucovina.

## SOUTHERN RUSSIA.

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Throughout the whole of Marshal Marmont's tour in the Russian territories, he received the most marked and flattering attention, which seems to have been peculiarly gratifying to him, and in modest but feeling language he acknowledges the debt of obligation, that he considers to be due to the Emperor, as well as to the public authorities he met with in the course of his journey.

On crossing the frontier of Southern Russia he found that an officer, who had been sent by Count Woronzow to conduct him to Odessa, had been awaiting his arrival for eighteen days. Forty post horses were placed at the Marshal's disposal, and so well were the arrangements made for expediting his journey, that he considerably outstripped the ordinary speed of Russian travelling, the surprising rapidity of which is well known.

In passing through Bessarabia he found the scenery very monotonous, for although the face of the country is covered with brilliant verdure, it is neither adorned by water nor by extensive woods.

The few trees that are met with are however in so flourishing a state, as to leave no doubt that the soil is favourable to the growth of timber ; and it is therefore to be hoped that a judicious system of planting may be adopted, which would tend both to enrich the country and to give beauty to the scenery.

All the villages are built in the bottom of the vallies, and generally in such secluded situations as to escape notice, so that a traveller might pass through this district, and imagine it to be uninhabited.

On the 18th the Marshal halted at Kalarasch, and on the following day proceeded towards Odessa. He passed through Kirchenew, the chief place of the province, and crossed the Dniester at Bender, the scene of the follies of Charles the Twelfth.

The fortress on the right bank of the Dniester formerly belonged to Turkey. In the present state of the political relations of Europe there is no great probability of Bender becoming a point of resistance on the frontier, and consequently if this fortress were only considered with reference to its utility in that respect, there would be no occasion for incurring the expence of maintaining it.

But it might nevertheless be serviceable both as a place of security for stores, and of refuge for isolated troops, in case of internal revolt; and it is impossible to say what advantage might arise from its possession, in the event of a collision between Russia and Austria, on the fall of the Ottoman empire. It will therefore be prudent to keep this place in an efficient state, and at the period of the Marshal's visit, it was undergoing a thorough repair.

On the left bank of the river, and nearly three miles from it, there is another fortress which was constructed by the Russians when the Pruth was their frontier; but, as it has, from political changes, ceased to be of importance, it might now be levelled.

Beyond the Dniester commence the extensive sandy plains of this district. Although perfectly barren in the summer, they are fertilized by the rains of the winter season.

On the 19th Marshal Marmont arrived at Odessa, where he had the gratification of meeting Count Woronzow, the Governor General of Southern Russia. The Marshal expresses that high esteem which he himself feels, and which indeed is universally entertained for this distinguished nobleman,

who is no less remarkable for his great intelligence, than for his engaging and highly polished manners ; and it is justly observed that the Count is warmly attached to his country, and makes the most generous and noble use of his princely fortune.

Count Woronzow has a general superintendence over the Governors of the provinces ; but although they report their proceedings to him, as well as to the Minister of the interior at St. Petersburg, it is entirely from the latter that the orders for their guidance emanate.

The Marshal also found, at Odessa, General Count de Witt, who acts in the two-fold capacity of commander-in-chief of the troops, and inspector of the military colonies.

It is to the judgment, experience, and surprising activity of this distinguished officer, that these colonies owe their existence and success ; and as they are advantageous both to the government and to the people, he has, by establishing these admirable institutions, conferred an important benefit on the empire.

Southern Russia is composed of the governments of Cherson, Taurida, Ekaterinoslow, and Bessarabia.

Odessa, which is both the seat of civil govern-



ment, and the head-quarters of the commander-in-chief of the troops stationed in this part of the empire, is situated on the shore of a small bay in the Black Sea, between the mouths of the Dniester and the Dnieper. It was founded by the Empress Catherine in 1792, after the peace of Jassy, on a site which was previously a barren waste. The population has increased with rapidity, for in 1804 it amounted to only fifteen thousand; in 1820 it had increased to thirty thousand; and in 1834, to upwards of eighty thousand.

Buildings are being erected in every part of the city; but they are only one story in height, and the streets are unusually wide. The population is therefore spread over a large space, and there is a consequent want of animation in the appearance of the place.

The theatre, the hospital, the custom-house, and many other public buildings are very magnificent, and there are also some private mansions which are quite deserving of the title of palaces, on account of their extent and grandeur. The most striking are those belonging to Counts Woronzow and Nariskin. Odessa is seen to the greatest advantage from the sea, and the beauty of the prospect is much heightened

by the plantations with which the streets are ornamented, as well as by those of the public garden. In the middle of this garden a statue has been erected to the memory of the Duke of Richelieu, whose name is intimately connected with the founding of this city.

Count de Witt has not only the charge of the military colonies, where he rules with all the power of an absolute sovereign, but he is also the commander-in-chief of the whole of the troops stationed in this part of the Russian empire. This force is composed of three divisions of reserve of the first army.

Formerly the recruiting of the Russian army was very slow ; an evil which naturally resulted from the great extent of the empire in relation to the amount of its population ; and the assembly of a large army required long marches, which were performed under circumstances of hardship and privation occasioning a great loss of men. The Emperor Nicholas, becoming sensible of the necessity of a change, established the present improved system, by which, while a facility is afforded for the defence of the frontier, a large force may be collected with expedition at any central point. With these objects in view he subdivided the Russian territory into two parts ; the one consisting of the provinces which are the

most distant from St. Petersburg, and the least peopled; and the other comprising the central and most densely inhabited portions of the empire. The former subdivision was relieved from the necessity of furnishing levies for the active army, and was merely required to provide the troops necessary for the defence of the neighbouring frontier; and it devolved on the latter subdivision alone to supply the men requisite for the active army, which, therefore, is now recruited from a population of only forty millions of people.

The Russian military force is organized in regiments of seven battalions: six of these are kept in a complete and effective state, four being attached to what is termed the active army, and two to the army of reserve.

The seventh battalion is stationed in the district allotted for the recruiting of the regiment, and generally is not only incomplete, but composed of very young soldiers. At these depots the new levies are partially clothed, and instructed in their first military duties; they are afterwards forwarded to the battalions of reserve, where their equipments and the remainder of their clothing are supplied, and where their instruction is completed.

The active army consists of 288 battalions, each containing a thousand men.

They are formed into divisions and "corps d'armée," in the following manner. The four active battalions of four regiments, compose a division of sixteen battalions: three divisions form a "corps d'armée," consisting, of course, of forty-eight battalions: there are six such "corps d'armée," making up the above stated total of 288 battalions. The fifth and sixth battalions of the regiments which compose a "corps d'armée," are formed into a division of reserve. This division consists, therefore, of twenty-four battalions; and three divisions of reserve, that is to say seventy-two battalions, form a "corps d'armée" of reserve. There are two of these corps, one under the command of Count de Witt, and the other under the orders of the Grand Duke Michael. The former is called the corps of Marshal Sacken, and the latter of Marshal Paskewitz. Each battalion of the reserve contains in time of peace 500 men, so that the strength of the army of reserve amounts at present to a fourth of that of the active army, that is to seventy-two thousand men, making a grand total of 360 thousand; and this is independent of the corps of guards and of

grenadiers, each of which is sufficiently numerous to form in itself a "corps d'armée."

From the facility which the present plan of recruiting the Russian army affords of rapidly increasing its numerical strength, a considerable improvement has been effected in the system that previously existed. So great, however, is the extent of the Empire, that in order to have such a disposable force as might be required on any sudden emergency, the Government professes to consider it expedient to keep the army in a complete and effective state. Its present strength is as follows: In the first place there is the Imperial Guard:—This corps is composed of six divisions; three of which are of cavalry, and three of infantry.

These divisions consist of twelve regiments of cavalry, twelve regiments of infantry, one battalion of sappers, one battalion of marines, one battalion of chasseurs, one battalion of invalids, four batteries of horse artillery, and twelve batteries of foot artillery. In the Imperial Guard each regiment of cavalry has seven squadrons, and the regiments of infantry have three battalions each.

Secondly there is the corps of Grenadiers consisting of one division of light cavalry, of four regiments; of three divisions of infantry, com-

prising twelve regiments ; of two batteries of horse artillery, and of fifteen batteries of foot artillery.

In the grenadiers the regiments of light cavalry are composed of eight squadrons, and the infantry regiments have four battalions, of which three belong to the active force, and one to the reserve.

Then there are, as has been already stated, six corps d'armée :—each consisting of one division of light cavalry, of four regiments ; three divisions of infantry, each composed of four regiments, and each regiment having four battalions for active service ; two batteries of horse artillery, and fifteen batteries of foot artillery.

The total strength of the six corps d'armée is therefore twenty-four regiments of light cavalry, seventy-two regiments of infantry, twelve batteries of horse artillery, and ninety batteries of foot artillery.

There are also three corps of cavalry of reserve ; consisting of twenty-four regiments, and twelve batteries of horse artillery.

Besides the force above stated, there are two corps d'armée of infantry of reserve. Each of these corps d'armée has three divisions, and each division has twenty-four battalions, so that there are 144 battalions of infantry of reserve.

The undermentioned corps are raised for special service.

1st. The corps of the Caucasus, consisting of one regiment of dragoons; three divisions of infantry; and sixteen batteries of foot artillery.

2nd. The corps of Orenburg, consisting of one division of infantry, of sixteen battalions; and sixteen batteries of foot artillery.

3rd. The corps of Siberia, of one division of infantry.

4th. The corps of Finland, of one division of infantry.

There are also for the service of the interior:—

Ten battalions of sappers.

Fifty „ for duty in the fortresses, and

One division of horse artillery of reserve, consisting of nine batteries.,

Besides these there are

Four battalions of horse artillery of the Don,

Two „ „ of the Black Sea,

Two „ „ of Orenburg, and

Two „ „ of Siberia.

The Cossack force is as follows:—

Fifty-six regiments of the Don.

Twenty-one „ of the Black Sea.

Twelve regiments of the Caucasus.

Two „ of the Danube.

One „ of Azoff.

Three „ of Astracan.

Three „ of Baschkirs.

Two „ of Navropol.

Twelve „ of Ural.

Twenty „ of Orenburg.

Twelve „ of Siberia.

Two „ of Little Russia.

Total, 146 regiments of 800 men each ; that is to say, 116,800 Cossacks.

In addition to the force comprised in the foregoing details, there are at St. Petersburg, as models for the rest of the army, a regiment of cavalry ; one of infantry ; a battalion of sappers ; and, two batteries of foot, with one of horse artillery. There are also four regiments, each consisting of four battalions, formed of the sons of soldiers, who are educated and instructed in such a manner as to qualify them for being placed as non-commissioned officers, in the regiments of the line.

Hence it appears that the total strength of the Russian infantry is upwards of five hundred thousand men.

A Russian cavalry regiment consists of six



effective squadrons of 180 men each; making a total of 1440 men, independently of a squadron which is kept at the regimental depôt. Thus if the Marshal's statement be correct as to the number of regiments of cavalry in the Russian army, the effective strength of that branch of the service may be computed to be upwards of ninety thousand men, exclusive of the Cossacks.

Judging from the expense incurred in maintaining the armies of the other great powers of Europe, it might naturally be concluded that the finances of the Russian empire would be seriously crippled in having to bear the expense of an army of the magnitude above stated; but the cost of a soldier in any other European country is so much greater than it is in Russia, that she has no real cause for apprehension on this account.

The following statement, which is founded on data afforded by Marshal Marmont, will shew the relative expense to their respective countries of the English, French, Prussian, Austrian, and Russian soldier:—viz.

120 English soldiers cost as much as		538 Russian soldiers.
120 French	„ „	340 ditto.
120 Prussian	„ „	240 ditto.
120 Austrian	„ „	212 ditto.

While preparations were making by Count Woronzow for the tour of Marshal Marmont in the Krimea, the latter occupied himself in inspecting the Russian cavalry colonies, of which a description will be hereafter given.

On the 26th of May, he proceeded from Odessa to the river Bug, passing through a country which presented a picture of desolation.

At the village of Paulowsky he met with an old General of the name of Korés, who had served as chief of the staff of Suwarrow's army. It would appear that we are but little acquainted with the real character of this extraordinary man, judging from the interesting conversation of General Korés ; for, although Suwarrow pretended to have a contempt for learning and science, few persons were, in reality, more studious than himself. He spoke no less than seven languages ; he was a good historian ; and, in short, was a highly educated and enlightened man. Yet, from thoroughly understanding the feelings and inclinations of those around him, which were the very opposite of his own ; and from knowing the character of the Russian soldier, he thought it prudent to appear anything but what he really was, and to ascribe the successful issue of his various enterprises to inspiration rather than to the result of deep

reflection and military skill. Indeed, he often at Court acted more like a buffoon than a rational being, and the presence even of the Empress Catherine did not always restrain him. There was one man, however, and only one, for whom he had a profound respect, and before whom he never committed any extravagance;—this was Marshal Romanzoff, who was the first Russian Commander that had succeeded with small armies in beating the Turks.

Suwarrow's *coup d'œil* was as extraordinary as his judgment in the presence of the enemy, and the accuracy of his calculations when concerting combined movements with other armies was no less surprising. The following anecdote, which was mentioned by General Korés, affords an instance of this quality, as well as of the coolness of his former chief. When Suwarrow was at Ryminik, and commanded a corps which did not exceed 18,000 men, he was threatened by the Grand Vizier, who had 80,000 men under his orders. The Prince of Coburg had promised to come to Suwarrow's succour with the Austrian army at a certain time; but as the movements of the Turks were such as to give reason to suppose that they intended an immediate attack, and as the Austrians had not yet arrived, Suwarrow naturally

became anxious and impatient. But in order to hide these feelings from others; and to impress the officers around him with an idea of his indifference both as to the non-arrival of the Austrians, and to the manœuvres of the Turks, he went into a bath, where he remained until it was announced that the Austrian columns (who were in fact punctual to the appointed time) were seen to be approaching.

He then quitted the bath; mounted his horse; marched against the enemy, who was in the act of taking up his position; defeated him, and put him to flight.

Suwarrow on this occasion caused no slight surprise to the Austrian officers, by nimbly climbing to the top of a high tree, for the purpose of getting a better view of the country, and of reconnoitring the enemy.

Early in this battle, a body of 6000 Janissaries jumped up behind an equal number of Turkish horsemen, and were carried at full speed to occupy a commanding eminence, of which the Austrians were also desirous of taking possession. The Janissaries held it for upwards of an hour, but were at last repelled at the point of the bayonet.

Suwarrow better understood the feelings of the soldier than almost any other General, and he never

omitted to turn this valuable knowledge to a good account. He possessed moreover an inestimable quality in a military commander—the power of enduring great privations and fatigue. By being always ready to share the wants of his soldiers, and even to set them an example of contentment, in cases of suffering, he acquired considerable moral influence over the army.

Suwarrow appears to have taken a deep interest in the campaigns of Italy, which afforded the earliest evidence of the military genius of Napoleon, and presented the first reason for predicting his future greatness. Suwarrow was not more astonished at the talent displayed in the plans of so young a general, than at the energy of their execution; and he considered the operations of Napoleon's army as worthy of study and imitation.

Potemkin, when Commander-in-chief of the Russian army which was opposed to the Turks, principally relied on Suwarrow, whose conduct rendered him worthy of the confidence of his chief. Among the many instances of Suwarrow's extraordinary activity the following may be mentioned. On the death of Sultan Abdul Hamet, in 1789, he was succeeded by Selim III. who determined to direct

his forces against Walachia. The Prince of Saxe Cobourg, who at that time commanded in this principality, hearing that the Turks were advancing against his camp on the Sereth, sent the information to Suwarrow, who was then at Birlat. Suwarrow immediately set out to join the Prince, and marched with the whole of his army, no less than sixty English miles, in thirty-six hours, and by joining the Austrians before the Turks could attack them, enabled the Prince to maintain his position.

When Marshal Marmont arrived near the banks of the Bug, he found the appearance of the country much more fertile, than at the commencement of his journey from Odessa. He was about to enter the district of the military colonies, and the allotment of the regiment of Vosningschensky. As this regiment was then in Moldavia, he could only see its establishments, which he found in most complete and excellent order. The houses were neat and clean; the cattle remarkably fine, and every thing in short, bespoke such a state of ease and contentment, that he could neither doubt the prosperity, of the peasants, nor the care bestowed on the comfort of the troops.

On the 27th the Marshal went to Constantinaska,

where he saw the reserve squadron of the regiment of Vosningschensky. Being composed entirely of young soldiers, he had only an opportunity of judging of their riding, of which he speaks in favourable terms. He also saw, in the course of that day, three squadrons of the regiment of Odessa, which he describes as being in a most perfect state.

On the following day, he inspected the reserve squadron of the regiment of Obschanska, and its agricultural establishment. Each plough was drawn by three pairs of oxen, and a fourth pair was held in reserve to replace the others when necessary. All the utensils of husbandry were in good order, and suitable for their purpose: and the bearing of the men, though respectful, was such as to afford evidence of their feelings of independence, as well as of their state of contentment. They appeared strong and well formed, and their clothes were good, and suitable for the season.

The Marshal went to Dobrenka, where he inspected the stud of this regiment. He there saw 180 brood mares, and was informed that when the number should be increased to 250, the remount of the regiment would be rendered a matter of certainty.

In fact, it was expected that by the year 1839, the remount of the whole of the cavalry frontier corps would be furnished by the depôts without any expense to the public revenue; and that the horses would be superior to those of any other cavalry in Europe.

The Marshal saw at New-Prehongelsky four squadrons of the lancers who bear that name. He found them equally efficient with those he had previously inspected. New-Prehongelsky is the frontier station of the military colonies on the side towards Ukrania.

On the 29th of May, he reviewed the Hussars of Paulograd, whose manœuvres he describes as having been performed with wonderful precision and rapidity. He dined with the officers of this regiment, and had reason to be much gratified with their hospitable attentions. The soldiers sang some of their national airs. The Marshal approves of this practice, as tending to raise the spirits of the men on long and fatiguing marches, and especially when the music is so full of melody as that of the Russians, and when the words relate, in simple, though touching poetry, deeds of heroism.

On the 3rd of May, he reached Elizabethgrad,



which is situated at another extremity of the military colonies. Count de Witt had ordered a brigade of lancers and a brigade of cuirassiers to assemble there. The former consisted of the regiments of De Witt and of Novograd ; and the latter of the regiments of the Grand Duchess Heléne, and of Raradonbeff. Each regiment having in the field eight squadrons, the whole force exceeded five thousand men. Besides the cavalry, there was a detachment of horse artillery, with sixteen guns.

Marshal Marmont reviewed these brigades, and passes the highest eulogiums on them.

Two things struck him as worthy of being adopted by other nations. The one was, that the troops were not required to be in regular order at the end of a charge ; and the other, that the cuirassiers were armed with lances. He thinks that nothing can be more absurd than to p̄scribe extreme precision in a movement, which, in his opinion, cannot be conducted with too much impetuosity and energy ; and, therefore, that it is wiser to leave the soldiers at liberty to evince their individual intrepidity, than to place any formal check upon them. Under such circumstances, a certain degree of disorder he admits will result ; but this he considers of com-

paratively little importance in the field of battle, especially if the troops are accustomed to charge in the same manner at their drill, and are instructed in the proper mode of regaining their order.

In respect to the more important matter of arming the cuirassiers with lances, he says that he unceasingly, but in vain, attempted to get that system introduced into the French army. It is a point on which he appears to have felt great anxiety, and in his opinion, but little reflection is necessary to produce a conviction that the lance is more properly the weapon of the heavy, than of the light cavalry.

The adoption of the lance for light cavalry probably resulted from seeing it advantageously used by Arabs and Cossacks, without duly considering that what might be a most appropriate weapon for a wandering and predatory people in a half-civilized state, was not equally adapted for European soldiers who had the means of obtaining arms of a more suitable character.

Both the Arabs and Cossacks inhabited countries abounding in fine horses, but where arms of a superior description were either unknown or very scarce. It is therefore easy to conceive that the attention

of these warlike people would be directed to the contrivance of some offensive weapon, and that the lance should appear to them to be the most suited to their purpose, as well as the easiest to be obtained. It may also be reasonably supposed, that their dexterous use of this weapon, would naturally lead to its introduction into the armies of Europe, and that the mere circumstance of the idea having been borrowed from a people who only act as light troops, would cause this new arm to be assigned to the light cavalry of the European armies.

But Marshal Marmont considers this appropriation of the lance to be very injudicious, and that it is a weapon which should belong exclusively to the heavy dragoons, whose province it is to break the infantry. In order to prove his theory, he supposes a body of cavalry without lances to be ordered to break a square of infantry. Should they, in defiance of the musketry fire of the infantry, succeed in approaching near to the square, they would be unable to effect any thing against it. For it is fair to assume that the infantry would remain firm, and if so, their bayonets would keep the cavalry at such a distance, that the swords of the dragoons could not reach the men of the square.

The effort would consequently be ineffectual, and the cavalry would be compelled to retreat, after probably a severe loss. But an equally intrepid corps of cavalry, armed with lances of such a length as to project four feet in front of the horses, could hardly fail to break a square of infantry, however undaunted and firm.

The Marshal is therefore decidedly of opinion, that the heavy cavalry alone, and more especially the cuirassiers, should be armed with lances, and the light cavalry with swords; because, while he pronounces the lance to be the best weapon for the dragoon, whose duty it is to break through infantry, he regards it as being the very worst for that description of cavalry which is likely to be engaged in single combat, as is the case with light dragoons. For he very justly observes, that if two horsemen be equally expert in the use of their respective weapons, and if one of them be armed with a sword, and the other with a lance, the defeat of the latter would be almost a matter of certainty, because of the facility with which the shorter and more manageable weapon can be made to parry the longer. He adds that it is not the mere arming of the Cossack with a lance, that makes him a formidable cavalry soldier, but

that his habits render him so, *notwithstanding* his being thus imperfectly armed.

The Marshal relates the following anecdote in support of his theory.

At the battle of Dresden in 1813, the left of the Austrian infantry having been abandoned by the cavalry, the French cuirassiers made several attempts to break through the squares, but were invariably repulsed. At length fifty lancers of the escort of General Latour Maubourg were collected and placed at the head of the cuirassiers. The whole then charged together; the lancers broke the square and the cuirassiers following them, the Austrian corps was destroyed.

The author, after a full consideration of the question, gives it as his decided opinion, that the heavy cavalry should be armed with the lance, and the straight sword; and the light cavalry with the carbine, and with the sabre slightly curved.

After the review of the lancers and cuirassiers, the Marshal proceeded to Novia-Praga. This place is not only the head-quarters of the distinguished regiment of that name, but is also the head-quarters of the division of the army of which it forms a part. He observes that the military establishments are

here, as well as at the other chief stations, in a most complete state of organization. They consist of the stud, the manege, the stables, the houses of the officers and non-commissioned officers, the buildings appropriated to the men, the hospitals, the schools and the store-houses, the whole of which he considers beyond all praise. In the evening he returned to Elizabethgrad, which he ranks next in importance to Odessa of all the cities he saw in Southern Russia. It is a place of commerce and contains about sixteen thousand inhabitants.

On the 1st of June he went to Nicolajeff, where there is an extensive naval arsenal. The town, which was founded by Potemkin, stands on the left bank of the river Bug. The situation of Nicolajeff as a building port is well chosen, for while it is conveniently placed to receive the requisite supplies of wood, iron, hemp, and leather, it is so far removed from the coast, as to be safe from any naval attack.

On the 2nd of June the Marshal proceeded to the once celebrated town of Ocsakow, the defences of which have been almost reduced to a heap of ruins. On the 6th of December 1788 this place was taken by assault, and the Turkish garrison, consisting of forty thousand men, were put to

the sword. Three months before this event, Suwarrow, who was dissatisfied with the progress of the siege, had of his own accord escaladed the ramparts with a single regiment, in the expectation that he would have received support, and that the place would have been captured ; but the army remaining idle spectators of this brilliant exploit, and Suwarrow being wounded, he was forced to abandon the position he had gained.

As a punishment for this military irregularity, Potemkin deprived him of his exalted post, and sent him to Kinbourn: but, instead of acting as a degradation, it afforded Suwarrow a fresh opportunity of distinguishing himself. He had under his command a garrison of only nine hundred men, and with this small number he succeeded in beating, and driving into the sea three thousand Turks, who had landed in the hope of making themselves masters of this important place.

What a change, Marshal Marmont observes, has this part of Europe undergone, and what progress has Russia made since that time! Hordes of Tartars from the Krimea then united with the Turks, and carried war to the banks of the Dnieper: Ukrania was a province of Poland, and the Polish

armies acted in conjunction with the Turks and Tartars; but now Russia is the mistress of Poland; menaces the very heart of Germany; and has her advanced guards at the gates of Vienna and Berlin; while she politically holds possession of Constantinople. It is only since the reign of Catharine II. that Russia has been of importance in the balance of power; and it is by efforts of consummate skill, both in diplomacy and arms, that she has raised herself to her present state of eminence.

On the 4th of June, Marshal Marmont returned to Odessa, and at length set out for the Krimea. His companions were the Count and Countess Woronzow, Princess Galitzin, Countess Choiseul, Count de Witt, and Prince Michael Galitzin. This distinguished party embarked on board a magnificent imperial yacht, similar to one of those of the king of England; and they were attended by a steamer.

The Marshal describes this voyage as having been rendered delightful by the fascinating manners of the ladies, and by the desire that all evinced to make it agreeable.

On the 10th they arrived at Sebastopol. Nature has done every thing for this magnificent port. The roadstead is deep, and its entrance,



which is upwards of fourteen hundred yards in width, is so formed, that, while it admits of vessels easily working through the passage, the anchorage is not exposed to seaward. It is defended by 350 pieces of cannon, and 30 guns “*à la Paixhans.*”

There are several small interior harbours formed by various creeks, affording a choice of anchorage according to the winds and the seasons of the year; and the holding ground is good throughout. Sebastopol greatly resembles the harbour of Malta, although on a much grander scale; for it is capable of containing an almost unlimited number of ships.

The experimental squadron, or as it may more properly be termed the squadron of instruction, consisting of five ships of the line and five frigates, had just returned to port when Marshal Marmont reached Sebastopol. He went on board one of the former, which he describes as being a magnificent vessel, and he appears to have been greatly struck by the surprising improvement which had evidently taken place in the Russian ships since he had first seen them at Cattaro, about twenty-eight years before the period of his tour. He then considered the Russian fleet as only fit to cope with the Turks; whereas, he now conceives that it might measure itself with any fleet in Europe. With all due de-

ference to the Marshal's judgment in military matters, we must, as Englishmen, be permitted to doubt his knowledge in nautical affairs, and to withhold our acquiescence from this unsupported opinion, until the Russians have either proved themselves to be thorough seamen, or have gained a victory, when fairly matched, against the fleet of one of the maritime powers of Europe.

The naval force of Sebastopol is under the orders of Admiral Coumani, who, although educated in Russia, is by birth a Greek. It was he, who, during the last war with Turkey, performed the signal service of taking possession of Sisopoli, which enabled the Commander-in-chief of the Russian forces to form a depôt, in the Gulf of Bourgas, for ammunition and provisions.

At the period of the Marshal's visit, there were under repair, in the port of Sebastopol, six line of battle ships; these, with the Warsaw, which was hourly expected from Nicolajeff, and the experimental squadron consisting of five line of battle ships, made a total of twelve, as the strength of this fleet, which is called the Sebastopol fleet. It is held in a state of readiness for active service, and for receiving on board the division of the army cantoned in the Krimea, and amounting to sixteen thousand men.

If political events should render it expedient, the embarkation of these troops could be effected in eight-and-forty hours ; the fleet might get under way on the following day, and owing to the prevalence of the northerly winds in the Black Sea, it would most probably reach the mouth of the Bosphorus in about five-and-forty hours from the time of sailing : so that within five days of the order being issued for the departure of the fleet, and in all likelihood before the Ambassadors of England and France would know that such a movement was in contemplation, the Russian armament would arrive at Constantinople.

Marshal Marmont observes that the humiliation of Turkey has rendered it impossible that there should be a conflict in this quarter between any other European power and Russia, for that on the breaking out of hostilities, or even when circumstances might give reason for supposing that such an event was possible, the Russians would make the Dardanelles a point in their frontier.

The naval force of the Russian empire is divided into two fleets : the larger, consisting of thirty ships of the line, is stationed in the Baltic, and the smaller, consisting of only fifteen, in the Black Sea.

The Marshal states that these numbers should be reversed, because he deems it impolitic for the Russians to risk a battle with the English fleet in the Baltic, (in which opinion we fully concur,) and therefore injudicious of them to retain so many ships in that sea ; but he is of opinion that by making Sebastopol the rendezvous of a powerful fleet, Russia would be enabled to impose laws in the Mediterranean. With this design, he would recommend that the Russian fleet in the Black Sea should consist of thirty sail of the line, and that, on the breaking out, or on the mere expectation of hostilities, it should be stationed in the Dardanelles, where it would have the support of the batteries and forts which defend that passage, and at the same time be near its resources. He thinks the combined fleet of England and France might thus be kept in check, as, in that position, the Russian fleet would be in readiness to enter the Mediterranean whenever circumstances might give it the numerical superiority.

In making these observations, Marshal Marmont of course assumes that no circumstance of provocation, nor any suspicion of the aggressive intentions of Russia would induce the other powers of Europe to break through, or disregard the treaty of Unkiar

Skelessi; and that, therefore, the Russians are likely to have, until the expiration of that treaty, full and undisturbed sovereignty of the Black Sea, with the right of excluding from the Dardanelles the ships of war of every other foreign nation. . That under such a state of things, the Russian fleet should occupy these straits, we freely admit; but it cannot be imagined that England, who is deeply interested in this matter, would allow herself, in a case of extremity, to be bound by the treaty in question. On the contrary, we may feel confident that she would take the justifiable step of forcing the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, and of making herself mistress of the Black Sea, from which she should never afterwards permit her fleets to be excluded.

Again, should the Russians be beforehand with the English and their allies in getting possession of the Dardanelles, and occupy this position in such force as to be enabled to defy the efforts which the combined fleet might make to dislodge them, we may be allowed to question their power to venture in safety beyond the protection of the forts. For, if the combined fleet were equal in strength, to that of the Russians, and the latter should be tempted from their place of fancied security

by the temporary absence of the ships of the allies, the Russian Commander would probably find to his cost that the prevailing northerly winds would prevent his re-entering the Dardanelles, and expose him to the necessity of fighting a battle. We may therefore conclude, that nothing but indifference on the part of England could lead to the results predicted by the Marshal.

On a height not far from Sebastopol are the ruins of the ancient city of Cherson. A short distance from hence there is a monastery, on the site of which a temple of Diana once stood.

Count Woronzow accompanied the Marshal in the tour of the Krimea, and made such arrangements as admitted of his guest inspecting every thing that was considered worthy of notice.

They first examined the works for supplying Sebastopol with water, which have been formed with much skill by an English engineer. Thence they proceeded to Karoles, to visit Adhil-Bey, a Tartar Prince, and they afterwards continued their route to Baki-Serai, passing through a country which, owing to its scanty population, is almost uncultivated.

Baki-Serai at a remote period was the capital of Taurida, and the palace which was then occupied

by the Khan is still kept in repair. This building contains numerous beautiful apartments.

Baki-Serai once had a considerable population, but it does not now contain above 8,000 inhabitants, all of whom are of the Tartar race.

It is a popular error to suppose that the Tartars of the Krimea are descendants of the tribe of Genghis Khan, for that tribe was of the Mogul race and of Chinese origin. The Tartars of the Krimea, on the contrary, are a very handsome people, and resemble the Osmanlies not only in feature, but also in their gravity and dignity of manner.

Simpheropol, the present capital of Taurida, stands in the centre of the steppes, and is the place of residence of the Governor of this district.

On the 13th of June Marshal Marmont and Count Woronzow proceeded to Tschonfort-Kalé, a village about a league<sup>\*</sup>distant from Baki-Serai. It is occupied by a sect of Jews, who are supposed to have adopted, before the birth of our Saviour, a different creed from the rest of their nation. Considerable numbers of this sect are to be met with at Kosloff, Jerusalem, and Constantinople.

At the time of the Marshal's tour an attempt was making at Simpheropol to obtain water by

boring, and there was reason to expect that the operation would be successful not only here, but throughout the steppes, and confer an immense advantage on this country, in which the deficiency of water is a great check to agriculture.

This system of obtaining water has long been known in Siberia, where borings have been carried to the depth of even a thousand feet.

The soil of the Krimea is peculiarly suited to the vine, and the olive tree; and from the attention bestowed on the cultivation of the former, it is expected that the wine of this district will become celebrated for its excellence.

On the 24th the Marshal and his companions reached Sudac, where the Genoese, in the days of their power, had a colony, and one of their forts has remained to the present time. This part of the coast has a very desolate and sterile appearance.

On the 25th they arrived at Theodosia, one of the most ancient cities of the Krimea. The Ionians, who were its founders, called it Caffa, but on the city being captured by Leucon the King of Bosphorus, he changed its name to that of his wife, by which it has ever since been known.

By making Theodosia a free port, Leucon con-



siderably increased its trade, and at a later period, the Genoese having purchased a large tract of country from the Khan, and established themselves in this city, it became the seat of an extensive commerce with India, by Astrakan and the Caspian Sea.

The next place visited by Marshal Marmont was Kershe, which stands on the site of the ancient Panticapæum: in this city Mithridates closed his life. Upon the spacious plains around Kershe, there are numerous tumuli, which are supposed to have been the places of interment of the Princes and distinguished people of this nation. There are also several cemeteries which were probably appropriated to the lower classes. The great extent of these cemeteries, and the number of the tumuli afford conclusive evidence that the population of this country must have been considerable. Kershe is rapidly rising into prosperity, in some degree as a consequence of its position, and partly from the regulations established by Count Woronzow to promote the commerce of the country. Formerly the corn which grew on the banks of the Don and to the northward of the Sea of Azoff, was exported from Taganrog, but this was found to be incon-

venient to trade, owing to the delays resulting from a bad administration of the sanitary laws, and to the difficulty of navigating the Sea of Azoff with large vessels.

To avoid these evils, Count Woronzow has made Kershe the entrepot for the commerce of the Sea of Azoff, and has concentrated here the whole of the quarantine establishment of the Krimea. The ships destined for all parts of the Turkish dominions are therefore obliged to come to Kershe, to undergo a quarantine. By this arrangement greater vigilance is insured in detecting cases of danger of infection from plague, and a stop has been put to those vexatious delays which occurred when each port, as a necessary consequence of the old system, had its own quarantine establishment.

The trade of the Sea of Azoff is now carried on by vessels of small tonnage, which discharge their cargoes at Kershe.

On the 28th the party made an excursion to the island of Taman, which is inhabited by Cossacks, who are descendants of a colony of Cossacks of the Dnieper and the Bug. They were placed here by Catherine the Second, to defend the frontier of the Cauban against the Circassians.

Marshal Marmont expresses great surprise that Russia, with the enormous mass of troops at her disposal, and with ample means of transporting men and ammunition to the scene of action, should have been unable to subdue the Circassians, who have long been left to their own resources.

The island of Taman is remarkable for its fertility, and abounds in fine horses. The Marshal was much pleased with the feats of horsemanship performed by some of the Cossacks of this district, who are extremely agile. The predatory warfare in which they are constantly engaged with the Circassians renders them bold, sagacious, and vigilant.

It is, in short, the continual exercise of their faculties, required by the circumstances in which they are placed, that so peculiarly qualifies the Cossacks of the frontier for the duties of light troops. Whenever another war may break out, they will be found to be far superior, as soldiers, to the Cossacks of the Don, who, from being no longer on the frontier, are free from those anxieties and dangers which make borderers both wary and enterprising.

On the 28th, Marshal Marmont and the party who accompanied him, embarked on board the steamer, and in thirty-six hours, they reached the

town of Bregenski, on the northern coast of the sea of Azoff. This place has been selected by Count Woronzow for a commercial port, in consequence of its being the nearest to that part of the country which produces the greatest quantity of grain. The anchorage is sheltered by banks and by a point of land jutting into the sea. The town at present contains only two thousand inhabitants, but as it is likely, from the advantages it offers for commercial transactions, to monopolize the trade of Taganrog, a rapid increase of the population may be expected.

After the conquest of the Krimea, Catherine established near the shore of the Sea of Azoff, a colony, consisting of about thirty-four thousand Nogais Tartars, inhabitants of the steppes in the environs of Astrakan. The object of the Empress was to people the desert she had just acquired.

These Tartars retained their manners and customs, and continued to follow their pastoral style of life, until about thirty years ago, when Le Comte de Maison, a French emigrant, proposed to the Emperor Alexander to draw them to agricultural pursuits. His offer being accepted, he settled amongst them, and devoted himself to the task

he had undertaken, in which he has partially succeeded. The Nogais Tartars are a mild and docile people, but it is singular, that notwithstanding they are faithful to any trust confided to them, they are much addicted to thieving.

Their features distinctly indicate their Chinese origin, and all the individuals of the tribe bear a strong resemblance to each other. A remarkable contrast exists between these Tartars and their neighbours, the Mennonists, a religious sect, of which the greater part live on the banks of the Vistula.

They are of German origin, and have the habits and manners of Quakers; like them, too, the Mennonists have a horror of shedding human blood. Indeed they carry this feeling so far, as even to consider self-defence a crime.

Between thirty and forty years since, the Emperor of Russia allotted some land in the steppes to this people, which they undertook to fertilize; and he gave them wood for building their houses, besides affording them every other facility for colonization. They have prospered in an extraordinary degree, and one individual in particular, of the name of Cornis, whose father commenced life as poor as the rest of these settlers, has already realized a large

fortune by his industry and intelligence. He is the owner of no less than 7000 sheep, 80 cows, and 125 brood mares, besides a large landed property.

The greatest good order prevails in this Colony, which consists of seventeen hundred families.

Although the Mennonists have no ministers of religion, they frequently assemble for prayer, and are a very pious people. Their good example has had great influence on the neighbouring Tartars.

On quitting the Mennonists, the Marshal proceeded to the district of the Duchoborgs, who form another remarkable contrast with the Mennonists.

The religious faith of the Duchoborgs is founded on tradition, and not on Scripture. They have no settled form of worship, nor ministers of religion, although they believe in a future state of rewards and punishments. They meet at certain fixed periods for prayer, but their religious rites are stated to be of a very licentious kind.

On the 2nd of July, the Marshal proceeded to Perecpe for the purpose of returning to the Krimea.

An old line of intrenchment, consisting of a deep ditch and an earthen rampart, extends across the Isthmus; and about midway between the two seas

there is a fortress, of Turkish construction, which is kept in tolerable repair.

Near Perecope there are natural salt pans of immense extent.

On the 3rd, the party proceeded towards Kosloff, and on their way examined the mud baths at Sark, which are represented as being very efficacious.

Kosloff stands on the site of the ancient Eupatoria; its inhabitants, who are chiefly Jews and Tartars, and about twelve thousand in number, are engaged in commerce.

On the 4th, the Marshal inspected an estate of Count Woronzow. The district of which it forms a part, as well as the neighbourhood of Kershe, are celebrated for their lamb-skins, which are improperly called the lamb-skins of Astrakan. The wool is curly, and of a dark greyish colour, approaching to black: its superior quality is attributable both to the excellence of the pasturage, and to the breed of sheep, which is peculiar to this part of the country.

The value of the skin is much increased by the lamb being killed immediately after its birth, and the finest, and of course the highest priced skins, are those which are taken from lambs whose mothers are killed when on the point of parturition.

Marshal Marmont here took leave of Count Woronzow, and sailed for Constantinople; but before closing our notice of this part of his work, it will be proper to say a few words respecting the Russian cavalry colonies.

Although the idea of forming military colonies in Southern Russia was borrowed from the Austrian colonies, the principle upon which the latter were founded has been much departed from. In Austria, as has been shewn in a former part of this work, the colonists perform not only the military service of the district in which they reside, but cultivate the land allotted to them; whereas the soldiers of the Russian cavalry colonies are not in any way engaged in the pursuits of agriculture, and are entirely distinct from the peasantry.

There were in this part of the Empire vast tracts of land belonging to the crown, and occupied by a considerable agricultural population. A district having been selected in 1821, by General Count de Witt, for the commencement of this colonial system, the third division of cuirassiers, consisting of four regiments, and mustering in all about 5000 men, marched into it, and perfect success having attended the first experiment, the Emperor directed that the



system should be extended, and that five divisions of cavalry should be colonized. The people on whom they were quartered were Cossacks of the Bug, Walachians, Moldavians, and some Bulgarians who had quitted Turkey.

Each regiment, consisting of about 1200 men, was quartered upon a resident population of about 12,000 souls, and the land assigned to them was subdivided into two portions; one for the use of the inhabitants, and the other for the profit of the crown.

Each peasant received the materials requisite for the construction of his house, and a grant was made to him of the land that could be tilled by one plough. As a return for these benefits he undertook to work for two days in each week on the land reserved by the crown; to lodge and feed one soldier; and to keep four pairs of oxen, two draught horses, two cows, and twelve sheep; and the whole body of the peasantry engaged to furnish the recruits necessary for keeping up the strength of the colonized regiments.

It being determined that the several squadrons, each of which consists of 180 men, should be kept distinct, and that one soldier should be lodged in every house, the villages were limited to 180

houses, and the whole were required to be built on one uniform plan.

In addition to the regimental officers of the colonized cavalry, there is a body of officers who are responsible for all matters of civil administration, and for conducting the judicial proceedings of the inhabitants. For this latter purpose a tribunal is formed, consisting of a chief of a squadron, a lieutenant, a serjeant major, the priest of the village, and three heads of families selected from amongst the peasantry.

The officers employed in the civil administration, as well as those belonging to the regiments, are under the orders of the generals of the divisions.

Criminal matters come under the cognizance of a Court Martial.

\* The regimental conscription does not remove the men from their homes, and each succeeding year it will fall lighter on the peasantry, in consequence of the rapid increase of the population. Owing to intermarriages a large proportion of the soldiers are already the connexions of those upon whom they are quartered ; and in the next generation the whole of the military will be the kinsmen of the civilians.

Great care has been bestowed in establishing schools for educating the troops and the children

of the peasantry, who, while under instruction, are subject to military discipline.

The whole of the male population is at a very early age instructed in horsemanship, and military exercises. This adds materially to the value of the colonial regiments, for thus there are always effective and well trained young men ready to fill up vacancies in the ranks. Each soldier has to serve 15 years in the active force, and 5 in the reserve, besides which he has to remain 5 years more disposable for the army, in the event of war. When the Emperor inspected one of these colonies, a regiment, consisting of 600 boys, exercised under his personal direction, the whole with their colonel, who was only 11 years of age, performing with precision and celerity all the manœuvres that would have been required of experienced soldiers.

Each regiment has a stud for breeding its horses, which are of a superior description, being large, strong, and active; and they are rendered very hardy by being allowed to run wild on the steppes until required for service.

The Emperor furnishes the pay of the soldiers, the cloth for their uniforms, and their arms and equipments, but every thing else is supplied by the

colonies. From hence it results that the expence of maintaining one of the colonial cavalry regiments is only five-twelfths of that of any other cavalry regiment in the Russian service.

Three divisions of colonized regiments are in the Government of Cherson, and two in that of Char-koff, and their whole strength amounts to no less than twenty-eight thousand men.

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We will now proceed with Marshal Marmont's journal.

## CONSTANTINOPLE.

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WE made the voyage from Kusloff to Constantinople in fifty-two hours, reaching the coast before daylight; and as I was desirous of inspecting the canal of the Bosphorus, and of contemplating its beauties, I directed the Captain not to enter the Straits till sunrise. The width of the canal at the northern extremity does not exceed 1200 yards, it rapidly diminishes to 900, and narrows until it is reduced to 660 yards across. Numerous batteries which have been erected on its shores, in well chosen positions, render its defence as effectual as it is easy.\* This passage cannot be forced; and the return to the Black Sea, of any fleet that might have attempted it would be very difficult,

\* In the Appendix it will be shewn that these defences are not so perfect as the Author seems to consider them. They have been recently inspected, with great attention, by two very intelligent officers of the British Service, who concur in opinion that they require to be remodelled.—(*Translator.*)

because the prevailing winds and currents, which favour the entrance, present most serious obstacles to an exit from the Straits.

At day-break we entered the Bosphorus. The beauty of the scenery which meets the eye has often been described and highly estimated, but it is impossible for the mind to conceive a true idea of its grandeur, or of the impression it makes on those who see it for the first time. The reason is, that in man the power of feeling is almost unlimited, while that of expressing his emotions is confined within the narrow boundaries of language.

From the entrance of the Bosphorus to Constantinople frequent changes take place in the features of the country, and a thousand beautiful points of view successively present themselves. An immense population is spread upon its shores; innumerable houses are seen, which, though slightly built and of a style of architecture sometimes fantastical, appear invariably elegant and picturesque; the number of boats in motion is such as to excite our wonder; we observe a state of vegetation that shews what nature is capable of producing if man would direct its efforts, and we behold a sun whose rays possess a lustre rarely equalled.

Close to the mouth of the Bosphorus, is the village of Buyuk-déré, situated on the northern side of a small internal gulf, and opposite Therapia.\* These two villages, studded with country houses, form the summer residence of the diplomatic body. Further on, the population of the coast becomes more dense, and the banks of the canal improve in beauty.

Formerly the maritime defence of the Bosphorus was concentrated at its narrowest part. It then consisted of two castles, one on the European and the other on the Asiatic shore, nearly opposite to each other; but they have ceased to be the means of safety, for if resistance were to be confined to that position, the excellent anchorage of Buyuk-déré would be abandoned to the enemy.† The castles remain however as monuments of other days, and constitute the ornament of the magnificent scenery which surrounds them. On both shores and beyond the castles, a series of houses gives a liveliness and beauty to the country; those upon

\* Both on the European coast. (*T.*)

† In the Appendix will be found a description of the present condition of the Forts and Batteries of the Bosphorus and a statement of the mode in which these important works may be strengthened. (*T.*)

the European side have scarcely any interval between them, and amongst the number are some palaces belonging to the Sultan and his family : on the opposite coast the habitations are further apart.

The Palace of Beilonbey-Stavros, which has for some years past been occupied by the Grand Signor, is on this shore.\* Further on we came a-breast of Top-hana and Galata, and opposite the city of Constantinople. Our attention was afterwards directed to the entrance of the harbour, known at the period of the Greek empire, as the celebrated Golden Horn ; then to the opening of the sea of Marmora, which may be deemed exclusively the property of Turkey, for it is enclosed within her straits and shores ; the Asiatic coast enriched by tombs, and venerated as it is by Mussulmans demanded next our observation ; the village of Chalcedon was also worthy of remark, for there stood formerly the ancient City of the Blind ; then came

\* The author is incorrect in giving this appellation to the Palace.—“ Beyler-Bey,” is the Turkish name of a mosque on the Asiatic side.—“ Stavros,” the Greek name of a village inhabited chiefly by Greeks, near that mosque. The Palace in question is described sometimes by one name and sometimes by the other, but never by the union of both. The meaning of “ Beyler-Bey,” is, “ of Princes the Prince.” (*T.*)



Mount Olympus, towering to the clouds, as if it would aspire to be the throne of the Eternal Being. In short, whichever way we turned, our hearts were touched by the contemplation of beautiful objects, or the recollection of the names and deeds of the illustrious dead.

The steamer having anchored off Top-hana, I landed to proceed to Pera, and take possession of the house prepared for my reception.

The appearance of the Bosphorus, from its entrance to Constantinople, is beautiful beyond the power of imagination to conceive, and we are led to believe that we have reached the capital of the world ; but this bright illusion quickly vanishes, and then an afflicting picture meets the eye in all directions. For we find the population in a state of wretchedness ; the houses small and built of wood ; the streets pestiferous, ill formed and narrow ; the numerous coffee-houses filled with idlers ; all the intervals between the quarters occupied by tombs ; and animals disgusting in appearance, and without an owner, seemingly in undisturbed possession of the place.

On entering the house which you are to inhabit, you have to contend with other painful and dis-

tressing feelings, for you are told that if, during the night, a fire should break out in the quarter in which you are lodged, refuge may be taken in a convent, or in some neighbouring houses, which are built of stone. Indeed, conflagrations are so frequent in this city, that the eyes of its inhabitants are rarely closed with any feeling of security, and the rich who keep their treasures in their houses, a not unusual practice, are constantly exposed to the risk of losing both their lives and wealth.

All is so precarious and uncertain, and there are so many chances of life being cut off, at Constantinople, that the inhabitants should regard themselves as travellers whose lives and property are menaced by a thousand ills.

On the 14th of July, I took possession of my residence, and then entered on my circuit of inspection, commencing with the harbour. It is probably the finest in the world, for it is good and safe, and capable of containing an almost infinite number of ships. A forest of masts and the length of the port, give it the appearance of the Thames, near London; and we were also reminded of the entrance to the great canal of Venice, by the number

and peculiar form of the boats, which are seen gliding swiftly through the water in all directions.

Every thing at this point has so much the character of grandeur and prosperity, that it is difficult to fancy it the capital of a falling and expiring empire, having barely a municipal existence. The declining state of this power may be well compared to the human body, in which death begins at the extremities, the last struggles for life being at the heart.

I landed in the suburbs, where I saw the mosque of Eyoub. It is there that the Grand Signor, on mounting the throne, girds himself with the sword of Othman; a vain ceremony, which bringing to our minds the energy and power of their ancestors, serves but to shew more forcibly the weakness of the present race of monarchs.

From thence we proceeded to the Mall, called "the Fresh Waters of Europe." It is situated at the head of the harbour, at a point where a rivulet empties itself into the sea. The Grand Signor has a Palace there, which he occasionally visits, but never inhabits. A canal, ornamented with marble, skirts this beautiful walk, which, on certain days, is enlivened by a crowd of persons. The greater

proportion of the vehicles they use, are covered carts, drawn by oxen, and tastefully decorated. The remainder, drawn by horses and hung on springs, resemble more the form of European carriages. But oxen are more suited to the hilly, rugged streets of this metropolis. The carriages are filled with women, wearing veils, and sometimes accompanied by children.

On arriving at the walk they quit the vehicles and seat themselves beneath some shady tree, where they partake of a slight repast of herbs. The veil leaves the eyes and frequently the nose exposed, and seldom hides more than the mouth. Dancers of both sexes, with jugglers and musicians, enliven the scene, and afford to these women, who rarely quit the Harem, the greatest degree of pleasure and enjoyment. Similar fetes are held at the Fresh Waters of Asia.

On the 15th of July, I ascended the tower of Galata, from whence the best view is obtained of the vast extent of Constantinople. The eye commands the whole Peninsula on which the city stands, with Scutari, the Harbour and the Bosphorus, the Princes' Islands and the suburbs of Top-hanà, Pera, and Galata. No other spot on earth presents so beautiful a view, and we are led to

consider what it must have been in former days, when handsome buildings and splendid palaces arose in all directions ; at present there is not a vestige left of all this grandeur. Not merely have the palaces been broken down by time and by the hands of man, but even their ruins have been scattered ; and the little that remains of all the ancient power and splendour is hidden from the light of day. Their memorials must be sought for underground. An immense assemblage of huts, which a single spark might cause to be consumed, is all that now appears. These painted houses can only be regarded as a temporary shelter ; truly is it therefore said, “the Turks have merely pitched their tents in Europe.”

In descending from the tower of Galata, I proceeded to Buyuk-déré, to the house of Baron Sturmer, the Austrian Internuncio, who, in the most friendly manner, had invited me to become his guest. I found in the Baroness an amiable and clever country-woman. Thence I went to Therapia, where I saw Admiral Roussin, the French Ambassador, and I was much affected by the warm reception which he and his Lady gave me. I made such arrangements, as on leaving Buyuk-

déré, would admit of my inspecting every thing worthy of notice on this side of Constantinople, where the works have been constructed for supplying this great capital with water.

On the morning of the 16th, I set out from Buyuk-déré, accompanied by two very distinguished young men, Baron Testa, an attaché of the Austrian embassy, and Captain Folze, aide-de-camp of Admiral Roussin.

On entering the valley of Therapia we halted at the plantain of Godfrey of Bouillon, in the shade of which it is said that this great man reposed before he crossed over to Asia. It is evidently a very old tree, and its form is singular, being composed of the union of seven stems springing from the same root. The trunks of some of them are in actual contact, or are scarcely separate. They are about seven or eight feet in diameter, and together they inclose a space of between thirty-five and forty feet across.

We ascended the valley of Buyuk-déré, and shortly entered the woods, which are the beginning of what is very improperly called the forest of Belgrade. At its outskirts, the trees were of a bad growth, but on advancing farther we found them

very fine, and chiefly of chesnut and oak. We went to the aqueduct of Baktchi-kieui, and then to the reservoir of Validè.\* The latter takes its name from that of the mother of the Sultan who caused its construction; it is magnificent and lined with white marble.

The dyke that retains the water is very lofty: it crosses the lower part of the valley, in which a collection is formed of rain water and what proceeds from a small rivulet. From thence we went to the wretched village of Belgrade, which gives its title to the misnamed forest. We there rested under a tree to partake of a delicious breakfast, for which we were indebted to the kindness of Baron Stürmer. It had been brought in a car drawn by oxen. We observed a few clean and well built houses, presenting a contrast to the greater number of the habitations. The land surrounding the village is but partially and very badly cultivated. It is easy to conjecture what must be the state of things in the provinces, when they are found in this condition at the very gates of the metropolis, yet it is astonishing that the symptoms

\* The reservoirs are called "Bendts," and that alluded to should be distinguished by the name of "Validé Bendt." (T.)

of bad government should so soon present themselves.

Near Belgrade is a second receptacle, known as the small reservoir, and a circular basin where all the water is collected. From thence it diverges either by aqueducts or subterraneous channels to Pera and Constantinople. Further on is the village of Pyrgos, and near it is situated the long aqueduct, which possesses no beauty, but is extensive. I afterwards inspected what is called the aqueduct of Justinian, but its erection should be ascribed to Constantine; here Roman grandeur appears; the masonry is similar to that of the ancient Roman amphitheatres, and the height of the work is about eighty feet.

Three other aqueducts of inferior dimensions, stretching across small vallies, complete this portion of the arrangement for the water supply, which is worthy of study and admiration. In retracing our steps we visited another beautiful reservoir, the embankments of which are reveted with white marble. It was constructed by the reigning Sultan Mahmoud.\* There are also other works for the

\* This reservoir is called "Mahmoud Bendt," and ~~is~~ situated near the village of Baktchi-kieui. (*T.*)



same purpose. The general system is to take advantage of the numerous vallies of this very uneven country, all of which slope towards Constantinople, or the Bosphorus, and to collect in them the waters of the various streams, as well as the accumulation from rain, in order to conduct the whole to its destination. The execution of the requisite works and the arrangements for the distribution of the water have devolved, in an hereditary manner, on Turkish managers, who have acquitted themselves creditably in their most important office. This assemblage of spacious and magnificent reservoirs, having their embankments supported by marble walls, and of numerous aqueducts, which are visible in all directions, present a most imposing appearance.

Although placed in an almost desert country, these works are in good repair. This would seem a contradiction were it not that they are indispensable for the great population of the city.\* This

\* The population is computed at six hundred thousand souls. In the Appendix will be found a note shewing their present dependence on the existing arrangements for their supply of water,—the primary necessary of life to a Turk; and this dependence is one of the causes of the weakness of Constantinople in a military sense. (*T.*)

little tour of nine hours, in which I went over a space of fifteen leagues, was full of interest to me.

On the 17th of July I commenced my regular inspection of the capital. I crossed the Harbour to see the Baktchi-kapoussi, or Gate of the Gardens, a very inferior Greek structure. We then went to the Egyptian Bazaar, an extremely old building, detached from the great Bazaar. It is here that spices, medicines, balsams, resins, and all the articles of Eastern merchandise are sold. This, like all the Bazaars in Constantinople, is very beautiful and extensive. So spacious are these markets that if collected together they would equal in size an extensive city, having all its streets covered. Men, horses, and carriages easily circulate throughout them. They are a creation of the East, for nothing similar is elsewhere to be seen.\* They are cities appropriated only to commercial matters, where the various sorts of merchandise are classed according to their several kinds. In the great Bazaar, which is of immense size, there may be procured nearly every article that can be

\* The Bazaars of the West of Europe resemble those of Constantinople, they are not so spacious, but are handsomer. (T.)

required, and particularly such as have not a special establishment.

On leaving the Egyptian Bazaar, we directed our steps towards the "Sublime Porte." In our way we saw the mausoleum of the Sultan Abdulhamid, father of the reigning monarch. It consists of a small rotunda, surrounded by cypress trees, and lighted by several windows; the tomb being in the centre of the space. There is a sameness in all the places of sepulture of the Sultans and their mothers, which are situated in this quarter. Some of them hold the remains of several persons; they have a fountain at their entrance, and water is so scarce in this dry and naked country, and so costly, that it is an act of great charity and munificence to provide it for the poor in all directions, as is here the case. What is called the "Sublime Porte," is a spacious building opposite to the principal entrance to the Seraglio. The Grand Vizier resides there, and all the other Ministers have their offices within this edifice. The etymology of this name is doubtless taken from the time when all the affairs of state were conducted in the open air, — at the gate of the Palace, — or of the house; as with us, the word "Court," in its diplomatic sense, is derived from the use that was formerly

made of the uncovered space enclosed within the walls of mansions. At Constantinople, the "Sublime Porte" is, properly speaking, the Palace of the Government.

It is very remarkable, that the most absolute of empires should have been the earliest to adopt the distinction which now prevails in representative governments, between the Sovereign who reigns and the Ministers who rule. This has been ever held sacred in Turkey. The Sovereign is there only to occupy the summit of the edifice, but he forms the base of the structure by selecting his Ministers, and when they are condemned by public opinion, or things are badly managed, they are punished by his will, but he is not supposed to take a part in the direction of affairs, and this principle is carried to such an extent, that when the Grand Vizier takes the command of the army, and the government is carried on by his Lieutenant, who is called the "Kaimacan," this officer is not responsible to the *Sultan*, but to the *Vizier*. Sultans have sometimes fallen victims to popular fury, but these events have been exceptions to the general rule, and are at variance with the usual workings of the state machine. They have been the results of re-

volutions, and we know that when they happen, nice distinctions are not kept.

After having looked through the Palace of the Porte, we entered the Seraglio, or Palace of the Sultan ; it occupies a triangular space at the extremity of the peninsula on which Constantinople stands.\* The walls constructed on the two sides towards the sea, join those of the city, which the third side separates from the Seraglio. The principal entrance is in the middle, opposite to the Sublime Porte, and near to the mosque of Saint Sophia.†

We passed the gate and entered a spacious enclosure, which includes the Mint and a very large court. It is under the very eyes of the Sultan, that during the last fifty years the standard of gold and silver has daily undergone a change ; that the administration in ruining the country, ruins itself, and by an ignorant cupidity, gives an uncertainty to cash transactions, which so far from at-

\* The Appendix contains a Map of Constantinople and its environs, on which the position of the Seraglio is marked.

† The Imperial gate, which is considered the principal entrance, is not exactly opposite the Porte, but fronting one of the handsomest fountains in Constantinople, situated on an open space adjoining the Mosque of St. Sophia. (T.)

taining the desired end, effects an opposite result. Fifty years ago, the Turkish piaster was worth fifty French sous : at a still more distant period, its value was the same as that of Spain ; now, it may be reckoned as being equal to only five sous ; and it will not remain at that rate. The annual coinage would, at first sight, appear to produce a fraudulent benefit of some millions, since the Government pays in gold and silver inferior in value to that which should be issued to liquidate its debt. But, on the other hand, it is wronged in what it receives, for as the rates of duties and taxes do not change, and as the amount annually paid into the treasury is in a depreciated coin, the Government gets a sum intrinsically smaller than its due, and thus its avarice is punished.

This state of things has produced a still more deplorable result, in the ruin of those who had debts of long standing due to them ; and daily makes new victims, creating confusion and uncertainty in all commercial transactions. The only means of avoiding its effects, and this the European merchants have adopted, is to make bargains in a foreign coin of fixed value, so that payments can be made in piasters at their current price.

The Turks not having equal intelligence, have sacrificed the fortunes they embarked in commerce.

The machinery of the mint is tolerably regulated, although of an old construction, and notwithstanding the dies are worked by hand, the coins are well struck. Those of gold are of twenty, of ten, and of five piasters; those of silver are of five, of three, of two, of one, and of half a piaster; and those of copper washed with silver, of one para, that is, of the fortieth part of a piaster, which is equivalent to the  $\frac{25}{40}$  part of a French centime. The para is so light, that the wind will blow it from the hand.\*

We could not effect our entrance to the second court of the seraglio, as we were prevented by a miserable old eunuch, who called out loudly to stop us. But through the gateway we perceived its form, including the diminutive colonnade towards the left hand. It is there that the ambassadors of the Christian Powers are first admitted to their solemn audience, and that the Grand Vizier receives them. It is known what extravagant pride the Turks feel in this ceremony. The practice, was as follows, a few years since:—

\* A table, shewing the value, in English money, of the Turkish coins will be found in the Appendix. (T.)

The ambassador being introduced to the second court, was there desired to remain. The Sultan was apprised of his arrival in words like these, "A poor Christian, naked and perishing with hunger, demands to be admitted to an audience of your Highness." The Sultan answered, "Clothe and feed him;" thereupon a pelisse was given to the "poor Christian," and he was taken to the banquetting hall.

From the point where we were standing we saw the third gate, which opens directly into the apartments of the Grand Signor. In this third inclosure are two beautiful cupolas; one is appropriated to the sacred standard, and the other to covering the throne room.

Not being able to penetrate farther, we returned, and presented ourselves at a gate which opens from the first court into the gardens, and leads towards the point of the Seraglio. We were stopped by a sentinel, but I entered into conversation with him, through my interpreter. Finding he was a poor recruit, I asked him if he knew his exercise; and, on his answering in the affirmative, I put him through the motions. He entered into this with great good humour, and we became such friends that he per-



mitted us to pass. The first gardens that we crossed are composed of flower-beds, formed with but little taste. On the Square of Shells there are fine cypress trees, and these comprise the only beauty of the place. We then advanced to another inclosure, which is called the Place of the Column. The column, which is still standing, is ancient and of beautiful proportions; on its base it has the following inscription—"Fortunæ reduci ob devictos Gothos," and it is an object of peculiar superstition to the Turks. From thence a ramp conducted us into a garden, or rather grass plot, adorned with beautiful flowers. I was told that it belonged to the treasurer.

Our walk gave us a general idea of this seraglio, so undeservedly celebrated and extolled, for its only beauty is in its position. The interior of the building, of which we had made the circuit, was not open to us, but it did not much excite our curiosity. We quitted the palace by a different gate from that by which we had entered it, and then proceeded to the Hippodrome.

There is not any ruin to recall the former appropriation of this place. The only antiquities that we observed were an Egyptian obelisk of red gra-

nite, known at the time of Theodosius, and the lower part of one of brass, of small proportions.\* They produced no impression on the mind, but it was otherwise with the cisterns which we afterwards examined. Of all that is now to be seen at Constantinople, the remains of these subterraneous works alone bear the stamp of Roman greatness. The first that I observed contained some water. The supporting columns of the vaulted roofs were large and handsome, but I could not ascertain their number; formerly a palace stood over this cistern, but its ruins have disappeared, scarcely a trace of them remaining to mark the spot. The cistern of the thirty-two columns being dry, it is occupied by workmen who spin yarn for shoemakers. These columns, which are of the Doric order, are equally handsome and lofty as those I saw in the other cistern, and doubtless served in the same manner for the foundations of a palace, though there are not any remains to confirm this hypothesis. Lastly, we repaired to that called the Cistern of the Thousand Columns.† There are three hundred of

\* This brazen column is supposed to be of extreme antiquity, and to have originally supported the Tripod at Delphi. (T.)

† It is called the "Bin-bir-Direk" Cistern. (T.)

them which support the arches, and the space they occupy is truly immense. It is here that the silk-spinners carry on their work ; and it is imagined that above this cistern stood the palace of Constantine ; the extent of the subterranean works which I have just described seeming to warrant this opinion.\* But the palace of the master, like the habitations of his subjects, has been unable to resist the effect of ages united to the efforts which the passions and cupidity of man produce. We can comprehend that time will make its havoc on the structures of antiquity, yet it will leave a stamp of greatness on the fragments that remain, and the imagination then may paint the past in all its magnificence and splendour ; but man destroys the ruins, and obliterates the works which centuries have honoured. If the remains of the ancient palaces and other buildings had been used like those of Rome, in the re-construction of a crowd of monuments, we might feel the less regret ; but with the exception of a few portions of the walls of the city, and of some mosques wherein they have

\* In the Appendix, a detailed description will be given of the present system of reservoirs, aqueducts, and cisterns, and of the means by which the inhabitants of Constantinople might be deprived of the supply of water they afford. (T.)

been used as *mere materials*, they are no where to be found.

We saw the Column of Constantine, possessing no beauty, and in many fragments.\* We then returned to the great bazaar, which we thoroughly examined. The quantity of merchandise it contains is immense and of great value.

Being desirous of seeing the Slave Market, we next proceeded thither. It is a distressing spectacle, for no difference is made between the sale of a horse and that of a human being. The unfortunate slaves are exposed in cells, which open on a covered gallery. The purchasers make their circuit of the whole, examine, draw comparisons, select, and bargain, as their taste or judgment may decide. The worthy Dr. Seng, a true philanthropist, was at first most sensibly affected, by this horrid and distressing scene. To the moralist and Christian it is a most revolting sight, and regarded as a temporary state of the individual it inspires the greatest

\* This column is of red porphyry, and although partially injured and disfigured by having been blackened in the various conflagrations that have raged around it, yet it is one of the most striking objects in this city; and it is even now 100 feet high, notwithstanding the destruction of its capital. (T.)

pity ; but considered as his final lot, slavery in the East has nothing in it mournful, toilsome, or abject. It is, indeed, the opposite of these, and rather creates respect; for it is a system of adoption which incorporates the slave in his master's family, attaches him to his destiny, and puts him in the path of fortune. He knows that his master has unlimited power over him, but it is exercised directly, and free from the interference of others, for the most docile slave rejects with indignation any order which his master has not personally given him, and he feels placed immeasurably above the level of a free or hired servant. He is as a child of the house, and it is not unusual to see a Turk entertain so strong a predilection for a slave whom he has purchased, as to prefer him to his own son. He often overloads him with favours, gives him his confidence, and raises his position; and when the master is powerful he opens to his slave the path of honour, and launches him upon the stream of public functions. If we would desire to see the truth of this assertion, let us look around the Sultan, and observe who are the most distinguished men within his empire. Khosrew Pacha, the old-Seraskier, the man who has governed and ruled all things in Con-

stantinople, was a slave from the Caucasus, purchased by a Capudan Pacha, whose protection has raised him to the highest offices.\* Halil Pacha, the son-in-law and most distinguished servant of the Sultan, and to whom the brightest prospects are opened, was a slave to the Seraskier.†

\* Khosrew Pacha has no ostensible employment at present (1838), but he lives in great state in the true Turkish style at his "Yali," or residence, on the shore of the Bosphorus, about midway between Constantinople and Buyuk-Déré. He is to be seen there daily, sitting with Mussulman patience and Ottoman appreciation of the beauties of nature, wrapped up in caftans, and surrounded by a herd of idlers, whom every great man in Turkey is under the necessity of supporting. It is said, however, that this shrewd old man still exercises considerable influence in the councils of the Sultan. (*T.*)

† Halil Pacha, having gone through the unenviable career that leads to honours in Turkey, married the Sultan's eldest daughter, the Sultana Saliéh. He was in the spring of the present year, 1838, deprived of his post of Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish army in Europe. The official article in the Ottoman Moniteur, in announcing this intelligence, stated that Halil's removal had taken place in consequence of his neglect of duty, and inattention to the repeated admonitions of his sovereign. But it was rumoured that the real cause was opposition to the Sultan's wish to commence hostilities against Mehemed-Ali, the Vice-Roy of Egypt. Yet this report is at variance with Halil Pacha's supposed subserviency to Russia, which Power it was imagined was then exercising its influence to urge the Sultan into those hostilities. Another motive of a private nature has also been assigned for this act of the Grand Signor, that is, Halil's neglect of his royal wife; but as she is now exerting her influence for her husband's restoration to power, it is possible that there is not much foundation for this latter statement. (*T.*)

On first entering this market we were deeply moved by feelings of pity, but when this impression was in some degree deadened, and our spirits admitted of our making observations, we remarked an extraordinary calmness in the countenances of the slaves. They seemed to be aware that they were in a state of transition, as an introduction to a new course of life, which might be brilliant or obscure, according to the will of God. They conceive their destiny to be pre-ordained, and they thus await it with confidence and resignation.

We Europeans are born more or less fortunate, in a higher or lower condition, as fate may decree; but the natives of the East, when sold as slaves, have as it were a double birth, for they are twice the butt of chance. The Turkish customs not only protect the slaves and give them a peaceful existence, but the laws afford them full protection. If an owner abuses his power over a slave, the latter complains to a Cadi, who on proof of the offence directs that he shall be sold, and thus relieves him from the thralldom of being subject to the cruelty of a bad master. Moreover, corporal punishments cannot be inflicted on a slave, directly, by order of the owner; for it is only at the bazaar,

and by the intervention of public authority, that the offender is corrected. The black or Abyssinian slaves are exposed in the public bazaars, but the whites of both sexes are kept apart, to be seen only by Mussulmans; they alone being privileged to purchase them.

Among the slaves I remarked a Negress in great distress. Near her was a Turkish female, who seemed, as far as I was enabled to judge, a handsome person, but with a countenance that bespoke cruelty and anger. I asked the former the cause of her grief, and in an instant her mistress, the Turkish woman, replied that the slave was to be beaten for having raised the hand against her. The accused denied the charge and prayed for pardon. I besought the pity and commiseration of the Turkish woman, who, although at first astonished at my interference, finally acceded to my wish, and granted the forgiveness I requested.

On leaving the bazaar we passed the Seraskier's palace, situated on the most elevated part of the peninsula. It has a tower, from the summit of which the whole of the city may be seen. This palace was formerly used as a prison for those princes of the Ottoman family who had claims to



the throne. It is believed that the Greek emperors inhabited it in the latter days of their power.

We afterwards inspected an establishment for the reception of insane persons. It is every where, and under all circumstances, a painful and distressing sight, but here it is a dreadful one. All that a barbarous stupidity could invent of the most monstrous description, to aggravate the wretched state of these unfortunate beings, prevails in this place. The insane are bound with cords, chained, and beaten, and their lives are passed in anguish and convulsions. There is not a single instance of one of them being restored to reason; and those who may not have been altogether deprived of their senses before admission, are soon entirely bereaved of them.\* The feeling soul of Dr. Seng was roused, and with just cause, to the greatest pitch of indignation, at the atrocities which we here witnessed. I wish that for his consolation, and to efface the distressing remembrance of these scenes, he had, like

\* That alluded to by the author is probably the one attached to the Mosque of Soliman, and if so, is deserving of the description he has given of it. But it should be borne in mind that insanity is often believed to be feigned in Turkey, in the hope of escaping the punishment deserved for some offence, and that prisoners are often sent to these "Timar Khans" by the judges, instead of the infliction of the more rigorous sentences justified by law. (*T.*)

myself, been so fortunate as to see the mad-house at Palermo. I know nothing of the kind in Europe to be compared with this, the most perfect work of an enlightened philanthropy; it is conducted on the principles of Dr. Gall, by a man gifted with superior intelligence, unwearied patience, and a gentleness that has no bounds. Mr. Pesani, the director of the house, employs no violent means, for he speedily acquires an irresistible moral influence over the unfortunate persons committed to his care. They obey his voice, are constantly employed in useful occupations, and enjoy as much happiness as their cruel state permits. The result of his wise and salutary system is the cure of two-fifths of the unhappy patients.

From the establishment of the insane we proceeded to the site of the Janissaries' barracks, which were burnt in the revolution of 1826.

This living solitude, if thus I may express myself, is left to stamp on the memory of the people the suppression of the revolt and the chastisement inflicted on the rebels, the severity of which has been much exaggerated. There were in Constantinople, at the period in question, eighteen or twenty thousand Janissaries, and these undisciplined troops

had long prescribed laws to their masters ; discontent suddenly broke out among them ; the Sultan was without defenders, and his life appeared to be in danger. He appealed to his people, asserted his rights, and his voice was heard. He had had the foresight to appoint as Muphti a man on whom he could rely, and in the day of peril he proved himself worthy of his sovereign's confidence. A "fetvah"\* of the Muphti decreed that the sacred Standard should be raised, and directed all good Mussulmans to arm in defence of their religion and the throne. They assembled on the "Atmeidan,"† where the Ulemas and the great officers of the empire pitched their tents, and marched against the rebels, who had entrenched themselves in the immense barracks which they occupied near this spot. Three pieces of cannon fired upon and destroyed the gates, and a ~~combat~~ of short duration ensued. A dreadful fire soon consumed the whole of the buildings, which were merely of wood, and terror

\* The literal meaning of the word "Fetvah," is award, decree, sentence, verdict, or decision. When used with reference to the Muphti, it means a written explanation of any official act of that dignitary. (*T.*)

† "Atmeidan," in Turkish, means literally the Horse-Place. It is the Hippodrome. (*T.*)

having seized the Janissaries, they dispersed in all directions. Three hundred perished in the battle, and the leaders were pursued and put to death; but persons well informed of all the facts, and capable of judging of them, without having any interest in disguising the truth, gave me an assurance that not more than 500 lost their lives either in the conflict or in the punishments that followed.

It has been asserted that the number amounted to eight or ten thousand, and some credit is attached to this statement; but I believe it must not be relied upon, for the Eastern nations, and especially the Turks, having no just idea of numbers, employ them in their descriptions without accuracy or discernment, and it is their character to exaggerate. Moreover it is a part of the policy of the government to give currency to this popular error, in order to inspire the greater terror. The Sultan shewed much resolution, but his life was on the cast, and he seemed to have no other course to take than that he adopted. The dangers which surrounded him were great, for at first he had no one to support him; but a sovereign is not long without defenders when sustained

by public opinion, and when he calls the people to his aid. Thus did it happen here : the resistance he encountered was but slight, because the arrogant Janissaries, like all undisciplined and factious troops, had ceased to be courageous. Their assailants scarcely lost a hundred men, and thus the dreaded power of this corps, that had undermined the Turkish empire, vanished in a moment.\*

At a short distance from the spot where the

\* The author is quite correct in saying that the accounts of this remarkable event have been much exaggerated, but still there is reason to believe that between 1400 and 1500 were killed at Constantinople. Some statements have been made that in the entire Empire fifty thousand perished, but they are devoid of truth.

Hussein Pacha, a chief of the Janissaries, is said to have been the Sultan's principal adviser in his attack on that turbulent body, and he was ably assisted by one of his lieutenants. An anecdote is told of Hussein having offered his own head to the Sultan, when he informed his Highness that all the other Janissaries of the Empire had been destroyed.

The term "Janissary" is derived from a corruption of the words "Yeni Cheri," which, in the Turkish language, mean "New Soldiers." Their origin was as follows ;—Amurath, brother of Soliman, the first Moslem Chief who crossed the Hellespont, and grandson of Othman, the founder of the nation, in his marauding excursions from Gallipoli, where he was established, captured all the Christians who fell in his way, and transported them to Asia, as slaves. The males were enrolled in the military troops of which we speak, and being compelled to adopt Islamism, a Dervish of great sanctity gave his blessing, calling them the "Yeni Cheri," an appellation they retained till its corruption into "Janissary." (T.)

barrack above-mentioned stood, is the aqueduct of Valens. This work has neither magnificence nor grandeur.

We then went to the column of Marcian, which, though finely proportioned, is composed of two pieces. In the vicinity is the site of another Janisary barrack that was destroyed :—the space is still covered with its ashes.

From thence we proceeded to the tomb of Constantine, passing in our route the mosque of Sultan Mahomet the Second, and also the site of an old mosque of the same name, which probably was one of the early Greek churches.

There are but few remains to indicate the spot where the founder of this city was interred.

We took the road that passes the old mosque of Seyreck, and closed this long tour by embarking at the stairs of Natkapu, and thence proceeding through Top-hana to Pera.

The following day, the 18th, was Friday—on that day of every week the Sultan attends worship at the mosque ;\* and, having been informed that on this occasion he would proceed to one on the Asiatic shore, I embarked and hastened thither.

The pomp and splendour with which the Sultan

\* Friday is the Turkish Sabbath. (T.)

performs this act of devotion, is striking. When he goes by water to the mosque, he embarks in a boat, superbly gilt and manned by twenty-eight rowers, who are beautifully dressed. It is followed by another equally handsome, and the poop of each is covered by a magnificent crimson canopy.

On quitting the shore, the Sultan is saluted by the whole of the fleet, each ship of war firing twenty-one guns.

When dynasties are falling, etiquette becomes the substitute for power; human nature, always inclined to shrink from the confession of its real weakness, clings to the external signs of strength when the reality has ceased; and monarchs are disposed to seek for homage when they can no longer shew their greatness by their noble acts.

At the period of the lower Empire this same country presented ~~such~~ another picture.

The boats passed through the water with the swiftness of an arrow, and as if by magic reached the shore to which they steered. The Sultan disembarked and entered the mosque; but being then at too great a distance to see him distinctly, I placed myself in a suitable position for observing him on his return.

A part of one of the cavalry regiments of the guards, dismounted, was drawn up in line in front of the mosque, and a numerous body of officers, of an irregular appearance, had assembled on the spot.

After remaining about twenty minutes in the mosque, the Sultan quitted it, and mounted his horse. Although he has neither dignity in his manner, nor expression in his countenance, still he is handsome; and notwithstanding his features are strongly marked, yet there is not that appearance of harshness in them I had been led to expect.

Being informed of my presence, he looked at me several times, with much attention.

His retinue consisted of several Generals, among whom were the Seraskier, the Capudan Pacha, and Halil-Pacha, the Sultan's son-in-law. According to custom, perfumes were burnt before him.

He proceeded to the barrack, to inspect the regiment quartered there, and I set out for Scutari, a suburb on the Asiatic side. It is very extensive, and the streets are wider than those of Constantinople, Pera, or Galata. The most beautiful and spacious quarter, and the most deserving of inspection, is that allotted for the dead, to the southward of the town.



This cemetery is immense, and its cypress trees are so large and numerous that they form a magnificent wood, giving an impressive and mournful character to the scene.

Respect for the departed is a virtuous feeling in a people, but the Turks carry it to such an extent that they are more occupied about the dead than with the living. Women are frequently observed, at this cemetery, weeping near their husband's or their children's tombs, and Friday is especially devoted to this pious act.

This place of sepulture is not exclusively appropriated to those who have been inhabitants of Scutari, for many Turks who had resided at Constantinople, have been buried here. It has been selected for the interment of the more zealous Musulmans, because tradition has led this people to believe that their nation will, at some future time, retire from Europe, and they do not choose that their ashes should cease to be under their Prophet's rule; never dreaming that if a Christian Prince should again reign in Constantinople, his authority would not be limited to Europe, but extend to part of Asia.

Intending to avail myself of some future opportunity of carefully examining the barrack at Scutari,

I merely gave it a passing glance, and perceived it to be an immense square building, capable of lodging ten thousand men.\*

From thence we went to see the few remaining ruins of the ancient town of Chalcedon, where a celebrated Council was formerly held. It was also the rendezvous for the Crusaders, under Doge Dandolo, before they landed on the coast of Europe, to undertake the sacrilegious siege of a place that they should have regarded with a friendly eye. † From this point, which juts into the sea, there is a beautiful view, embracing the whole extent of Constantinople and the Seven Towers. Like the Fresh Waters, it is a fashionable promenade, and the scene of festive parties. ‡

Not far from hence the Sultan has a country-house, which he occasionally inhabits.

I ascended the mountain of Boulgourlou, a fatigue for which I was well repaid; for from its summit the

\* Turkish officers say it is calculated to hold about eight thousand men, but it has never contained that number, and there is reason to believe that it would not permanently accommodate more than six thousand soldiers. It has been stated, that this barrack is to be fitted up as a lazaret, with a view of carrying into effect the recently established sanatory regulations of the Porte. (T.)

† A future note will give a description of their disgraceful conduct.

‡ It is frequently called by English writers and travellers, the "Sweet Waters;" but this is a misnomer. (T.)

eye commands a great extent of country in all directions, and it seems impossible for art and nature to combine a finer panoramic view.

In returning to Scutari I examined another villa, sometimes occupied by the Sultan. Its interior arrangement is very unostentatious, although it possesses that greatest of all luxuries in the opinion of a native of the East, an abundance of water; there being a fountain in every room.

A part is devoted to the reception room, and at each angle of the principal apartment there is a chamber. I observed that a commencement had been made to adopt European customs; for in furnishing this villa, independently of the couches and cushions invariably in use in Turkish houses, the apartments contained several chairs.

We returned to our boat, passing through the new Quarter, inhabited exclusively by Armenians and Greeks, whose houses envelope the old town of Scutari on this side. They front the country, and seem to be agreeable habitations.

The 19th of July was the anniversary of the birth of Mahomet; a day of great rejoicing with his followers.

I remember that when in Egypt, General Bona-

parte caused it to be celebrated, by brilliant illuminations, and festivities. General Kleber, who at that time commanded in Alexandria, had a transparency displayed before his house with this inscription—"La Naissance d'un grand homme est un bienfait de Dieu." If whenever a great man appears upon earth it be a benefit conferred, the people do not always find it a gratuitous one, for they often purchase it at far too high a price.

Every thing was prepared in Constantinople for the pomp of the day, and the mosque of Sultan Mahomet, was chosen as the scene of the ceremony, in consequence of its reputation for superior sanctity. At an early hour I went to the place of the "Atmeidan," to witness the arrival of the Sultan. Troops formed the line from the stairs of Top-hana to the gate of the mosque.

All the Pachas of the provinces who had been present at the marriage of the Sultan's daughter, and who were still in Constantinople, arrived early at the mosque with their officers and "Kavasses."\* They were followed by the officers of the

\* The "Kavasses" are a sort of police. No man of official rank in Turkey ever moves out without being attended by some of them. A certain number are attached to the Embassies, each having as many as their Excellencies choose to retain and pay.

Porte. Lastly, the Sultan appeared, with a suite of three or four hundred persons, and was announced by numerous salvos of artillery, fired by the squadron, and answered by the guns of Top-hana. The chamberlains and officers of his personal staff, and twelve horses, superbly caparisoned, preceded him, and he was followed by pages on horseback, having head-dresses covered with feathers, and by others on foot, bearing battle-axes, and wearing casques, surmounted by numerous plumes of a crest-like form. The Sultan was mounted on a beautiful bay horse, which he rode well and gracefully in the European style. His dress was not remarkable for its richness, and he wore his customary brown cloak, embroidered round the collar. On his cap, was a magnificent ornament of diamonds, of enormous value.

This duty of attending on the diplomatic and consular bodies was formerly assigned to the Janissaries, and the Kavasses attached to some of the Embassies wear a dress resembling the picturesque costume of that abolished corps. But, generally speaking, they wear the hideous uniform of the frock coat, in various colours, according to the taste of the Ambassador they serve. They all carry swords and bear a long white staff of office, which they use rather unceremoniously on any troublesome person who falls in their way, particularly when the unfortunate Being happens to be a Jew, the worst of all infidels in the eyes of a true believer. (T.)

There was an excellent opportunity of judging of the difference of the old and new costumes on this occasion, as examples of both were before us. In the adoption of the latter, all the dignity of the Turkish dress has been lost. Instead of the graceful turban and the ample trowsers which the Turks formerly wore, they now appear in shapeless frock-coats, pantaloons, and unbecoming caps. None but the "Ulema" are privileged to wear the ancient dress, and they alone reminded us of the beauty and magnificence that so strongly marked their race in former days. The others had a mean and wretched look—the aspect of a fallen people. The delusion of the East has vanished with the change of dress.

A crowd of people, and an immense number of carriages of every kind, assembled in the square; after observing them for a short time, we proceeded to the celebrated castle of the Seven Towers. It was there that the Porte confined the ambassadors, or other diplomatic persons of those powers with which she was at war. I believe we furnished its last guest in the person of M. Ruffin, who being the Chargé d'Affaires of France at the time of our expedition to Egypt, was detained there

during a long period, and has not had in that prison any successor belonging to another nation. Its name indicates the character of the work, being composed of seven towers united by curtains, the whole being in the general form of a triangle. It is placed at the southern extremity of the land front, and at the point abutting on the Sea of Marmora. It is now in ruins, but is undergoing repair.

After examining this fort, we went out at what is called the "Gate of the Seven Towers;" and inspected the tomb of Mustapha Bairactar. He was a great character, notwithstanding his failure in the case of the Sultan Selim, one of the most enlightened sovereigns that the Turks ever had, and whose death was unfortunately hastened by Mustapha Bairactar, in his attempt to restore him to power. The inanimate body of the Sultan was thrown to him, as he was forcing open the gates of the seraglio for his master's deliverance: but he overturned the throne of the nephew and successor, Sultan Mustapha, at whose command Selim had been put to death, and in his stead he placed the reigning sovereign. Shortly afterwards, the Janisaries having risen against Mustapha Bairactar, he defended himself long and bravely, but being at last

attacked in his house, he sprung a mine, which was in readiness, and buried himself with many of his enemies in the ruins of the building.

When I commanded in Dalmatia, he was stationed at Widdin, on the Danube, and we were not only in correspondence on affairs of state, but by desire of Napoleon I sent officers of my staff to him. He was unquestionably a man of energy and courage; but he was proud and haughty, and he declined the succours I offered. His mind was far from being of a comprehensive character, and, like Turks in general, he was profoundly ignorant. As an extraordinary instance of this, he asked one of my officers whether, in passing through Dalmatia to the Danube, he had crossed the sea!

In skirting the outside of the walls, we passed the Hospital of the Greeks, then filled with persons infected with the plague—that scourge having rapidly extended itself in the course of the preceding fortnight.

We looked into the Church of Fishes, thus named from its enclosing a subterraneous fountain which contains fish. This spring is much revered by the Greeks, and wonderful stories are told respecting it.

We repaired to the gateway of Selivri, where



the heads of Ali Pacha, of Joanina, and his sons and grandsons are kept.

In the years 1806 and 1807, I was in daily communication with Ali Pacha, who from having been a common robber had risen to the rank of vizier, and had almost become an independent sovereign. His energy, cunning, and cruelty are well known, and have rendered him as celebrated as the catastrophe that closed his days. This man had not the dignity of Mustapha Bairactar, for his practice was to ask for every thing he wanted; and never to decline an offer.

At the period of the Peace of Tilsit, and when hostilities were known to have been suspended on the Niemen, having determined to request Napoleon to give him the Ionian Islands, he sent to the Emperor a confidential agent, who came to me, in passing through Dalmatia, and stated the object of his mission. The selection of the ambassador was as singular as the argument he used in support of his petition. He was a Roman, whom in our way to Egypt we found at Malta, exercising the functions of inquisitor. He accompanied us to Alexandria, but becoming disgusted with the country, he determined to leave it, and with this

view embarked with two French officers, Colonels Charbonnel and Poitevin, one of whom is still living. They were captured by a corsair, conveyed to Joannina, and thrown into jail. At the end of a certain time, the Roman, for the sake of liberty, abjured his religion, and afterwards became a lawyer, and the devoted servant and confidant of Ali.

The following is the argument this agent used with Napoleon, by his highness's direction :—“ Ali Pacha is a friend to the French. The Emperor is about to get possession of Corfu, and will send a General to command the place. That officer will quarrel with the Pacha, who will be accused of enmity to the French, which will be false ; to prevent this state of things it will be better to bestow Corfu upon the Pacha.”

It did not require a great effort of Napoleon's mind to answer such logic, and without touching upon the soundness of the argument he merely replied, “ But I have not Corfu, and how am I to take it?” The rejoinder of the Roman was, “ Your Majesty will have it.” Thrice did the Emperor repeat the words, “ I have it not, and how am I to take it?” and then dismissed the emissary, leaving to Ali Pacha the mortification of having to pay the expense of this man's fruitless journey.

I attentively examined that part of the enceinte of the city near the Selivri Gate, and found it to consist of a rampart flanked by towers, with a good ditch, and here and there a “fausse-braie.” We then passed on to the Adrianople Gate and the Gate of Cannons. All this portion of the fortifications is in three lines, but not having been repaired since the time of Mahomet the Second, they are now in a ruinous state.\*

On this front the attack of the Crusaders, and, at a later period, that of the Turks were directed.†

\* A more detailed description of the defences of Constantinople will be given in the Appendix; but it may be here remarked that the outer line was built at the period of the Emperor Theodosius; that this, as well as the enclosure walls, washed by the waters of the Golden Horn and the Propontis, have remained without much augmentation or diminution for upwards of fourteen centuries; and that the 29 gates of communication through them have been undisturbed.

† The city was first attacked by the Saracens in the seventh century, when they were a great maritime Power. Their operations were directed against the whole extent of the land front, which had been constructed by the Emperor Theodosius; but its strength defied them, and after a fruitless siege of six years, they relinquished the attempt, their army having been nearly destroyed by famine and the sword. They repeatedly renewed their attacks, but with equal want of success.

Two expeditions against Constantinople were afterwards undertaken by the Scythians, in which they also failed. Subsequently the Crusaders made their successful attack. Then followed the

I afterwards passed through one of the gates, to see the ruins of Constantine's Palace:—the residence of the last of the Greek Emperors. We returned by the same entrance, and then continued along the wall, until we reached the sea on the right side of the harbour, where the palace of Blaquerney formerly stood.

The small interval separating the ramparts from the port, is occupied by the houses which constitute the suburb of "Fanar," at the north angle of the city.

The Greeks, who play so important a part in all the political intrigues connected with the Turkish Empire, reside in that quarter. These people fill the offices of interpreter to the Porte, and of Hospodars of Walachia and Moldavia.

attempt of the Turks under Bajazet, who for two years carried on a siege, which was interrupted by the arrival of the Tartars, under Tamerlane. Bajazet gave the invader battle on the plains of Angora, and was defeated and made prisoner.

At length Mahomet the Second besieged Constantinople, with an army of 200,000 men. It is said that the number of the garrison did not exceed 8,000 men, therefore their defeat was inevitable; but they, nevertheless, defended themselves with vigour on the land front, and the city resisted till it was assailed also on the sea line, when it was carried by assault, and became the Turkish capital, after having been possessed by the Christians for upwards of eleven centuries. (*T.*)

In the middle of this side of the triangle, which encloses Constantinople, there is but a single line of defence, consisting of a very low wall. It is probable that Doge Dandolo directed his attack, and carried the city at this point.\* The Venetian fleet anchored off Top-hana and Galata, and the Knights landed on that shore, on which at the period in question there were not any houses.†

\* The author has been led into an error which it is difficult to account for. He means that in the middle of the side of the triangle towards the Golden Horn, there is but a single line of defence, consisting of a very low wall. Now, the fact is, that the *whole* of that side has only a single line, but instead of being a "very low wall," it is one of considerable altitude, being nearly thirty feet in height. He may have been deceived by the obstruction offered to his close inspection, in many parts of that line, by the houses built against the wall, and this seems the only way in which it is possible to reconcile this inaccuracy with the Marshal's reputation for precision. Along the sea of Marmora, the wall is of the same height, though rather in a state of decay; but from the Seraglio to the Seven Towers it is entire,—and in only one part (the quarter of the Armenian cloth dyers) are any houses in its front. It is also to be observed that the attack in question was not directed against the middle of this side of the triangle, but at its upper end, where it joins the land front. (*T.*)

† The Crusaders who attacked Constantinople formed the fourth expedition intended against the Infidels. They had obtained the assistance of the Venetians, headed by their Doge; and when about to sail for the Holy Land, they were induced by Alexius, son of the deposed Emperor Isaak, to espouse the cause of the injured monarch, who was kept in confinement by the usurper, his brother Alexius.

The younger Alexius tempted the Doge and the Crusaders, by

After having surveyed Constantinople in every direction, I felt the full force of the impression I had received in contemplating the view it presented from Scutari:—that in the heart of the city, as well as at Pera and in the other suburbs, we seem to be as much among the dead as with the living. In fact, the former seem to be the only objects of solicitude.

Owing to the numerous and magnificent cypress trees that adorn the tombs, they present a much more pleasing picture, and form a more inviting shelter than the dwellings now inhabited. We might conceive the population using words like these:—“ We lodge in ruins, walk amongst the tombs, and live surrounded by the plague,” for such is their existence.

the offer of large pecuniary rewards, to proceed to the attack of Constantinople, for the purpose of restoring his father to the throne.

At that time the city is said to have contained two millions of inhabitants, and to have been the emporium of all that was magnificent and useful in the arts and sciences, which then adorned the world.

The usurper made but a feeble resistance, and the victorious Crusaders discovering Isaak's inability to fulfil the engagements of his son, delivered up the city to plunder; when atrocities were committed that are perhaps unparalleled in the history of a Christian people. It was in the excesses of these worse than barbarians, that this beautiful city sustained its first dilapidations. (T.)

Dr. Seng having a strong desire to examine persons suffering from plague, and to study all the circumstances connected with that scourge, I pursued alone, on the 20th of July, my course of inspection of Constantinople, while he visited the great hospital, which, being filled with the infected, afforded him the means of investigation and inquiry. I had availed myself of a mournful opportunity of doing something of the same kind, in the course of the five months I was at Alexandria, and felt no desire to repeat the melancholy task.

I went early to Buyuk-déré, where Baroness Sturmer gave a ball, at which I had an opportunity of judging of the state of society in Constantinople.

It is confined to the families of merchants, and of the diplomatic body. I met with several very agreeable women at this party : but those who have enjoyed the social customs of Europe, and feel their necessity, are much to be pitied, however high their station, if doomed to reside in Constantinople, for nothing can render such an existence supportable, excepting the charms of domestic life.

On the 21st I surveyed that part of the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus, on which a division of the Russian army encamped, when sent to the Sultan's

support in the year 1833, and whose presence secured his throne.\* A monument, bearing an in-

\* The encampment was on the heights opposite to Buyuk-déré, and Therapia; this ground forms part of the Giant's Mountain, whose base touches the sea, at Unkiar Skelessi (the Sultan's landing place), which gives its name to the celebrated treaty entered into between Russia and the Sublime Porte, on the 26th of June, 1833; a brief outline of which may not be here deemed misplaced.

This treaty consists of six openly acknowledged articles, and one to which secrecy was attached, for it did not form part of what is called the patent treaty, and though entered into at the same period, was not communicated to the British Government until the 16th of January, 1834.

In the first six articles the contracting parties enter into a treaty of defensive alliance; declaring that there shall be perpetual peace and amity, between the Emperor of all the Russias and the Emperor of the Ottomans, and all their subjects; that the treaty has for its only object the defence of their respective dominions against all attacks, in the fulfilment of which they engage to afford to each other substantial aid, and the most efficacious assistance; that the treaty of Peace of Adrianople, dated the 2nd Sept. 1829, and all the other treaties therein comprised, also the Convention of St. Petersburg of the 14th of April, 1830, and the arrangement relating to Greece, concluded at Constantinople on the 9th and 21st of July, 1832, are confirmed by this treaty.

That from a most sincere desire to secure the permanence, maintenance, and entire independence of the Sublime Porte, the Emperor of all the Russias engages, if required for the defence of the Ottoman dominions, to furnish by land and by sea as many troops and forces as may be deemed necessary, by the two high contracting powers.

That the party requiring assistance shall have to pay only the expense of provisioning the forces furnished by the other.

That the treaty shall remain in force for eight years, and that previously to the expiration of the term, the two parties will con-



scription, records this event, one of the most important of our times.

cert together, according to the state of affairs at that time, as to its renewal.

The secret article is of vast importance to the maritime powers of Europe, and, in order that it may be duly appreciated, it is thought necessary to translate it at length :—

“ By virtue of one of the clauses of the first article of the present treaty of defensive alliance, concluded between the Imperial Court of Russia and the Sublime Porte, the two high contracting parties, are bound to afford to each other, mutually, substantial aid, and the most efficacious assistance, for the safety of their respective dominions. Nevertheless, as His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, wishing to spare the Sublime Ottoman Porte the expense and inconvenience which might be occasioned to it, by affording substantial aid, will not ask for that aid if circumstances should place the Sublime Porte under the obligation of furnishing it, the Sublime Ottoman Porte, in the place of the aid which it is bound to furnish in case of need, according to the principle of reciprocity of the patent treaty, shall confine its action in favour of the Imperial Court of Russia to closing the Strait of the Dardanelles, that is to say, to not allowing any foreign vessel of war to enter therein, under any pretext whatsoever.”

From the letter of the treaty, and its secret article, it has been generally considered that the exclusion of foreign ships of war from the Dardanelles would only take place in the commonly understood “ case of need,” of the existence of hostilities between the contracting parties (Turkey and Russia), and any other maritime powers ; but the spirit adopted and acted upon carries the principle to the exclusion at *all* times, of the ships of war of *all* nations, but those of Turkey and Russia, giving thereby to the latter power the supremacy in the Black Sea, and a facility, at her pleasure, of attacking Constantinople on the most vulnerable and accessible side. (T.)

I then went to the summit of the Giant's Mountain, from whence a commanding view is obtained of the Euxine, and the Sea of Marmora, but the prospect, though of immense extent, is much less beautiful than that from Boulgourlou.

There is a ridiculous tradition of a giant, fifty feet in height, having been buried in this mountain, and the position of his supposed grave is shewn.

In descending, I examined the ruins of an old castle, built either in the 13th or 14th century by the Genoese; a work, though in itself little deserving of notice, yet as affording an evidence of the extensive power and possessions which that small maritime state had in the East, it is an object of present interest. Her strength in the middle ages was the result of her civilization, commerce, and nautical skill.\*

\* The Genoese first appeared at Constantinople on its restoration to the Greeks, after the expulsion of its Latin rulers. They came as merchants, and their efforts were productive of an increase of wealth to the Empire. They carried on an extensive fishery in the Crimea, and were allowed to establish themselves for the sale of their commodities at Galata (so called from its having been the milk market of the Greeks). Their town increased, and they were permitted to inclose it with defensible walls, which still exist. They had their separate form of government, and practised the rites of their own religion. The language of Italy was introduced by them, and formed the basis of the "Lingua Franka," now generally spoken.

I saw the Cyanean islands, two rocks that might be armed for the defence of the canal ; but its own shores present throughout points equally advantageous for such a purpose, and therefore they are to be preferred. After passing the remainder of my day agreeably at Buyuk-déré and Therapia, I returned to Pera. My fellow-traveller, Dr. Seng, who had visited many of the hospitals, informed me that the plague had extended itself to an alarming degree ; and that the various asylums for the sick presented the most frightful picture of all the miseries that can afflict humanity.

On the 23rd I paid a visit to the Seraskier Khosrew. Although we had never met, we were well known to each other by report ; for in the years 1806

The persons selected for dragomans by the European embassies, are descendants of these people, and are the most respectable class of inhabitants of Constantinople.

The old castle, to which the author alludes, is situated on the top of a lofty projecting cape, upwards of three thousand yards distant from the Giant's Mountain, and from its picturesque appearance and commanding position it adds greatly to the beauty of the surrounding scenery.

It might, without much difficulty, be put into a state to contribute to the defence of the Bosphorus, by preparing it as a post for the security of the high ground in rear of the adjacent sea batteries. There is at present a considerable fort at the foot of the eminence crowned by the castle. (*T.*)

and 1807, when he was the Pacha of Bosnia, war was carrying on between the Servians and the Porte, and Napoleon having directed me to give the Pacha any aid that he required, I sent him arms and ammunition, from which resulted a good understanding between us. He received me with peculiar attention, embraced me several times, and hugged me almost to suffocation. I did not expect so warm a reception. We spoke of our former intimacy, and of the wars in which I had been engaged in my youth, particularly the campaigns in Italy; and on his producing a work relating to those immortal transactions, as a proof that I had taken part in them, I shewed him my name, in the account of the battle of Castiglione, where, although at the time I was very young, I commanded the whole of the horse artillery of the army. He told me that he should have the chapter relating to that event translated into Turkish, and should keep it as a valued treasure. The Seraskier expressed great regret at hearing that my stay at Constantinople was to be short, and said that, notwithstanding my early departure, the Sultan wished to see me, and would give me notice of the time appointed for the audience. In fact it took place a few days

subsequently to our conversation, without my having made a formal application for it.

The Seraskier Khosrew has played too important a part in the affairs of the Turkish Empire to justify my passing him without some special notice. He was born in that part of the Caucasian range called Abasia, was purchased in his infancy by Kutchuk-Hussein, the celebrated Capudan Pacha, and brought up in the house of his master, who soon opened to him the road to fortune and distinction. Having been appointed Pacha of Cairo, after the retreat of the French army, he governed in Egypt for some length of time. But Méhémet-Ali, who then served in the Turkish army as a simple "Bimbachi," or chief of a battalion, having found the means of rendering himself of importance, and of acquiring considerable influence, revolted, and drove Khosrew from Cairo, pursuing him to Damietta, where he compelled him to embark; and this is the cause of the inextinguishable hatred the Seraskier bears towards Méhémet-Ali. On the return of Khosrew to Constantinople he was appointed Pacha of Bosnia, and employed successfully in the war with the Servians. Afterwards he was raised to the dignity of Capudan Pacha, and at a later period having been sent to

Trebizonde, with orders to march against the Persians, he met with nothing but reverses. Subsequently he returned to his office of Capudan Pacha, and commanded the fleet during the war with Greece. Notwithstanding the great means at his disposal, he was unsuccessful, and extraordinary misfortunes befell him; but he gave the Sultan powerful assistance in the destruction of the Janisaries, and enthusiastically adopted the project of raising the new troops. Though he devoted all his energies to carrying it into effect, yet being deficient of the requisite knowledge he was unable to give them a good direction, and this new force, whose chief he was appointed, has acquired neither value nor stability. From that time he has commanded at Constantinople, and skilfully maintained the peace of that great city.

Khosrew is said to be nearly 80 years of age. He is short, thick-set, and active; of a strong and vigorous constitution; quick, acute, and subtle; his look penetrating; and no one is more fitted to conduct complicated political intrigues. He is a singular instance of a man having passed through a long series of years, under various monarchs, in the midst of changes and bloody revolutions, of all de-

scriptions, adding to his power and importance, without ever performing any great action to awaken admiration, or entitle him to public gratitude.

In the pursuit of his objects he has never put in motion any of the noble springs which best adorn the human heart; and he is said to have been more engaged in forwarding his private interest, than the service of his country or his master.

Khosrew has recently been deprived of the dignity of Seraskier; but in retiring, he retains the confidence and favour of the Sultan.

On leaving the house of the Seraskier, I went to the barrack at Scutari, to see Namik Pacha and the brigade of the guards under his command. This fine establishment is capable of containing ten thousand men; it is situated on high ground,\* and is represented as being extremely healthy. Its shape is that of an oblong square, inclosed on all sides, and having only one entrance gate.

While waiting the arrival of Achmet Pacha, the

\* This barrack would not contain above five thousand British troops, according to the extent of accommodation deemed indispensable to health; but Turkish soldiers are accustomed to be more crowded in their rooms; and therefore, the buildings in question would probably hold as many as eight thousand of these men; certainly not more. (T.)

Mouschir, or commander-in-chief of the guards, I examined the interior of the barrack, and made enquiries respecting the diet of the soldiers. Namik Pacha, who did the honours, is a very distinguished, polished, active, and well-informed young man; and, amongst other accomplishments, he speaks French fluently. He is very desirous of seeing his country raised from its present state of abasement. His opinions are judicious and sensible, and his mind enlightened. In short he is a phenomenon in this part of the world, and is therefore the object of general envy.\*

\* Namik Pacha is the person who was so much esteemed in England, France, and other civilized countries of Europe, for his quick perception and admiration of our enlightenment, and it was hoped that on his return to Turkey, he would have had sufficient influence and zeal for his country's advancement, to have brought about the adoption of many of our customs and institutions; but so far is this from being the case, that it is stated he has evinced, or pretended to feel, a hearty contempt for every thing European, and has maintained the all-sufficiency of the Turks for the salvation of their country. But Namik Pacha has not proved the truth of this position, by effecting an improvement in the public departments; to the defective state of which he could not have been blind, if he deserve any of the praise that was lavished upon him in Christendom. He obtained from the Sultan only a very subordinate employment, considering the important post he had filled in the West and North of Europe: for he went to Tripoli, in Asia Minor, in the capacity of a General of Brigade of the expedition under the com-



The lot of the Turkish soldiers is a very happy one. They are better fed than any other troops in Europe, having an abundance of provisions, of excellent quality, and partaking of meat once, and of soup twice a day. Their magazines are filled with stores, and the regiments have large reserves. The pay of each soldier is 20 piasters per month; the whole of which he receives, as there is a prohibition against withholding from him any part of that sum. In short, every thing has been effected that could promote the welfare of the soldier.

If no fault can be found on the score of the “materiel,” much is to be said against the “personel” of this force. On the arrival of Achmet Pacha, we repaired to the exercising ground. Four battalions were in line, and after inspecting them, they manœuvred before me. Nothing could be worse than this exhibition; indeed these men ought not to be looked upon as troops, but merely as a

mand of the brave and intrepid Tahir Pacha. He had a disagreement with his chief, was removed from his position, and has not since been employed. Tahir Pacha returned to Constantinople, and was appointed to a very lucrative and important office; but he was afterwards removed to an inferior one, and finally thrown altogether out of employment. These are illustrations of the uncertainty of royal favour in Turkey. (T.)

mass of people, bearing the stamp of misery and humiliation : and they are evidently depressed by a knowledge of their own weakness. They all seem to have a willingness about them, but feel ashamed of their occupation ; and from the private to the colonel, not an individual amongst them has any conception of his duty. Moreover, the men are diminutive in stature and wretched in appearance : many of them are too young for service, and we are led to inquire what has become of that noble Turkish people, the lofty, proud, majestic, handsome race of former days, for now we find no trace of them in the existing troops.

I have endeavoured to discover why they have not hitherto succeeded better with the new system, and I thus account for the failure. The Sultan was desirous of organizing troops according to the European mode, and his ambition was to form an army on the instant. He accordingly raised at once a great number of regiments ; but the instructors being merely individuals of an inferior station of life, without capacity or talent, who had been led to Constantinople by the circumstances which attend revolutions, were unfitted to accomplish the object in view.

The new organization commenced simultaneously in all the corps ; and the same description of person was universally employed in endeavouring to carry it into effect. In none of the grades had any man confidence either in himself or in others, and no one therefore had a right to the command, which should always be derived from some superior claim. It is only as a consequence of such a principle that men are ever found disposed to yield obedience. In the troops of all the other powers of Europe there are two admitted titles to precedence : birth and merit. The former has its basis on a higher social grade, which, by giving opportunities for better education leads to the expansion of the mind ; the latter, on the experience and information resulting from previous service. In Turkey there are no gradations in the social order, and the son of the water-carrier is on a par with the Vizier's child, having often the same education. Hence there is no admitted superiority in those invested with power, and the previous equality indisposes others to obey authority obtained through mere caprice.

As to the right derived from merit or experience, there can be none where all are novices.

Such were the radical defects that prevailed in the formation of the Turkish army.—The remedy would be to reduce things to their elements, and to recommence by establishing, in public opinion, a respect for talent and capacity, in order to obtain that obedience and confidence in superiors, without which an army cannot exist; for it is such confidence that produces discipline and order, and creates the moral power requisite to give unity, compactness, and energy to the whole.

If, instead of attempting to raise an army, as it were, by a mere decree, the Sultan had been content with forming a single battalion, and had obtained the services of 30 or 40 really good officers, and a chief capable of comprehending the importance of his duties, it is probable that, in two years, he would have succeeded in producing a battalion to serve as a model for the rest, and this result once obtained, the Sultan would have possessed the elements required. At the end of six months, or at the utmost of one year, by adding to the number of those first enrolled, and dividing the whole into two battalions, he might have formed a complete regiment, for the men of the first levy would, in the eyes of the recruits, have appeared as old and

instructed soldiers. It is obvious that in ten years he would thus have obtained an army. Whereas, according to the system followed, such a result is improbable, for an union of men like the present cannot be said to merit this title.

When Peter the Great wished to form his troops, in Russia, he adopted the principle that I have above described, and he pushed its details even to excess.

The right of commanding was based alone upon a known, or a supposed capacity for such employment, and the titles to promotion in every grade were seniority and service. Like all great men, he felt the necessity of setting an example, to convince the minds of those with whom he had to deal, and it is on record that he entered the army as a drummer, and passed successively through all the other ranks. Although he did not abdicate his political power, he contented himself, so far as concerned his military position, with the exercise of those functions which by his actual services he believed he could justify in the soldier's eyes. Thus at the battle of Pultowa he was a Major-general, and fought in that grade.

In the northern European nations, where it may be said that true military principles are preserved

in all their purity, and the profession of the soldier is viewed with the respect to which it is entitled, the sovereign's son commences in its lowest station, performing in each a positive service, and, by being placed in contact with the men, he acquires a knowledge of their feelings, and of all the details connected with their duty. He does not, as in some countries, supersede all other persons, and step into the command of armies, without having previously learned the principles of this difficult office :—one demanding in the highest degree, and at a given time, the exercise of all the intelligence and faculties that Providence has bestowed on man.

What can be more reasonable or useful than to inculcate in the mind of the soldier, whom we lead to a probable death, the conviction that it is not in absolute waste, but for the glory of his country, that his blood is to be shed? There are no other means of obtaining from him the willing exercise of all his energies. In France, especially, this is an absolute necessity, because the soldier being intelligent, calculates, reasons, judges, and conducts himself according to the result he foresees. I could cite many instances to prove the truth of this assertion, but that it is foreign to my subject.

After the manœuvring of the infantry, I went to Scutari with Achmet Pacha, to see the cavalry barrack and the regiment stationed there. This corps is also attached to the guards, and forms part of a brigade commanded by Reschid Pacha, an eunuch; —A black eunuch as a general of brigade! In Turkey it does not seem contrary to reason to invest with a military dignity requiring strength, energy, and courage, a degraded being whose condition implies weakness and pusillanimity, and who can never be supposed to acquire an ascendancy over the minds of other men.

The soldiers in this cavalry regiment are armed with swords and lances, and are finer men than the infantry. I did not see them manœuvre,\* but they seemed not to have bad seats, and their horses, though small, appeared to be good.

Achmet Pacha, who is the Commander-in-Chief of the guards, is intelligent, obliging, well-disposed, and diffident; but he is indebted for his rapid elevation to the caprice and favour of his master. These are, as they ever have been, the grand introductions to important offices. Achmet Pacha, like the generality of Turks, commenced life as an artisan. He was a shoemaker and also a water-

man of the port. I was told that while on an embassy at St. Petersburg, where he was treated with great respect, he on one occasion went to see the barracks, when in passing a workshop of the guards he could not resist the desire of displaying his ability, and quitting the cortége that accompanied him, he surprised every one by taking up a shoemaker's awl and stirrup, and giving an immediate proof that he had lost none of his former dexterity.\*

On the 24th of July I went to the Porte to see the Grand Vizier, who received me with the usual ceremonies. He is not more than 56 years of age, although he looks like an old man. Having exchanged common-place civilities, taken coffee, a pipe, sweetmeats, and perfumes, I retired to make another equally uninteresting visit, to the Kiaja-Bey, or Minister of the Interior, where things passed much in the same way as at the Grand Vizier's.

\* A few months since the Sultan appointed Achmet Pacha to the office of Capudan Pacha, or High Admiral. He has hoisted his flag in the finest ship of war, and should the fleet be engaged he will have to command it. It is easy to conceive how skilfully it will be managed, and what confidence the crews can have in such a chief.



The Kiaja-Bey seems to be a man of austere manners.

The Reis-Effendi, or Minister for Foreign Affairs, being too unwell to admit me, I proceeded to the dock-yard, where I was expected by the Capudan Pacha (Tahir). This was a visit in which I took a deep interest. The Pacha is about fifty years of age; handsome, well-made, quick and active; has an air of authority, and is evidently a person of capacity and exertion. He has been at sea, and is represented to have there followed many callings. He gave me a very kind and unceremonious reception, as one warrior should greet another. We examined the dock-yard, which is kept in good order, and well supplied with stores. A vessel of a peculiar form and of large dimensions, was building, under the direction of an American, but professional men had no great expectation of a favourable result. I saw a very excellent machine for flattening copper, which is worked by steam; and I inspected two good basins for repairing ships, one constructed in the reign of Selim III., and the other in that of, the present Sultan.\*

\* Selim I. may be considered as the founder of the Turkish navy, having caused the formation of the arsenal in the Golden

After having thoroughly examined the arsenal, the Capudan Pacha proposed that I should visit the fleet, consisting of five ships completely armed; I accepted the invitation to go on board the flagship only, the Mahmoudie, a three-decker, carrying 130 guns. Although a magnificent vessel, she is considered rather short for her other proportions.

In all Turkish men-of-war, the guns are of brass, and that metal is elaborately used in their interior decoration.

I was much surprised at the wonderful expertness of the crew of the Mahmoudie, composed exclusively of Turks. By command of the Capudan Pacha, they performed the small-arm and great-gun exercise, manned the yards, went aloft, and came down by the stays, the whole being done with a celerity and precision that could not have been surpassed by the smartest French sailors. On expressing my admiration to the Capudan Pacha, he replied, "It is by dint of pains-taking and punishment, that Horn. He added Egypt to the Turkish empire, and in his reign its population received an accession of upwards of half a million of Jews, who had been expelled from Spain. A hundred thousand took up their residence in Constantinople, receiving that protection from the Sultan which he reluctantly afforded to his Christian subjects. The remainder settled in other parts of the Mahomedan dominions. (T.)

I have brought things to this state, for there is not one of these fine fellows who has not received five hundred blows with the stick." It would appear that a severity of corporal punishment is suited to the Turkish character, for these men are thoroughly drilled in their exercise, and well disciplined; and as there were at the period of my inspection only eight invalids in this crew of 1200 sailors, we may infer that in the system adopted there is nothing injurious to health.

The Capudan Pacha is evidently a man of energy and resolution, and he is the only one of that stamp with whom I met at Constantinople.\*

If severe punishments, and measures of violence bordering on brutality, succeed with Turkish seamen, the same treatment might be equally efficacious with the army, and some military chief, resembling the Capudan Pacha in character, might follow it and render an inestimable service to his country.

After returning home, Namik Pacha called to

\* In a former note, advertng to Namik Pacha, the fate of Tahir, the Capudan Pacha, has incidentally been touched upon. It is to be regretted, by those who take an interest in Turkish advancement, that so valuable an officer should have been neglected. (T.)

acquaint me that the Grand Signor would receive me on the following day, therefore on the 25th, at half-past one o'clock, I repaired to the palace of Beyler-Bey, then the imperial residence. In this delightful habitation, which is of recent construction, the apartments are spacious, elegant, and cool. It is beautifully inclosed, on one side by the terraces formed on the mountain, and on the other by the sea. Though the style of architecture is irregular, it is pleasing to the eye, and possesses an agreeable character of originality. The Harem is composed of pavilions, having their gable ends in a line with those of the main structure; and handsome kiosks, placed at various levels on the terraces, are pleasing objects in the scenery around. Mahmoud has a passion for building, which his architect encourages by causing it to be predicted that the Sultan should not die during the construction of a new palace, for God would not choose, by calling him away, to leave his works unfinished;—hence, before the completion of one palace another is commenced.\*

\* Beyler-Bey, the summer palace of the Sultan, stands on the brink of the Asiatic shore, and is one of the most beautiful objects

On my arrival, I was conducted into an apartment on the ground-floor, where I found assembled the Seraskier, the Capudan Pacha, Achmet Pacha, Namik Pacha, Osman Pacha, and five or six others, with whom I conversed for half an hour. I directed my attention chiefly to Osman Pacha, the Admiral who had precipitately quitted the service of Mehemed Ali. One reason given for his conduct was an act of severity perpetrated by his chief against the Greeks of Candia, in breach of a formal promise given to them by Osman

of the Bosphorus. The private saloons of the Sultan, the state apartments, and those occupied by the household, are in an octagon-shaped building, whose pointed roof is surmounted by a star, supported by a crescent. The Harem presents a line of gables with numerous windows, closed by gilded lattice-work. The exterior of the palace is painted tastefully, in white and gold, giving it a light and elegant appearance. The reception rooms are ornamented with much splendour, and the furniture is of the most magnificent and costly stamp; combining Asiatic luxuries with the comforts of the West. Divans of embroidered velvet form a pleasing contrast to the handsome European couch. Sevre porcelain, Persian carpets, and Italian marbles are observed, and various articles of Geneva workmanship and gems from Rome. In the principal saloon there are six of the most magnificent pier glasses in the world, in gilt frames, surmounted with the arms of Turkey and of Russia, having been presented to Mahmoud by Nicholas shortly after the ratification of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi.—(T.)

Pacha, and another cause was the inveterate dislike of Ibrahim Pacha,—a feeling resulting from his opinion of the incapacity or bad faith of Osman, when in command of the Egyptian fleet, at a time when its superiority over that of the Sultan placed the latter at his mercy. There was an air of humility and embarrassment in his manner, which can easily be understood, for although received with courtesy, at the Sultan's court, no confidence was reposed in him,—the natural fate of a deserter. He was, however, a man of intelligence, and having resided two years in France, and afterwards travelled in Italy and Germany, he spoke our language with facility.

He was acquainted with many of my Parisian friends, respecting whom he made inquiries, apparently from feelings of attachment and gratitude, and expressed great respect for the memory of General Rapp. Osman Pacha died of the plague a short time after my departure from Constantinople.

Having touched upon the subject of this dreadful scourge, I will take the opportunity to observe that precautionary measures are now almost generally

adopted by the Turks, but they are conducted with so little regularity and such want of system, that favourable results can hardly be expected. An instance of Turkish inconsistency, in this respect, took place in regard to myself, for on entering the Palace I was made to pass through the perfume chamber and undergo a thorough process of fumigation, and I was informed that an upholsterer, who had conveyed thither certain merchandise on the preceding evening, had been similarly treated, while the articles he brought were admitted and retained without the slightest precaution. This is one specimen among many that could be adduced of the imperfect manner in which the Turks follow our examples.

The Sultan having desired that I should be summoned to his presence, I ascended to the first floor, where the state apartments are situated, and after passing through three halls, was ushered into a room on the right-hand, where I found his Highness sitting on a couch. I was placed opposite to him, in the midst of seven or eight of his chief Pachas, those of inferior rank remaining near the entrance. Having told the Sultan that I consi-

dered myself most fortunate in being admitted to an audience of a Prince whose great actions had so distinguished him in Europe, he replied, that he had heard me spoken of, and was glad to make my acquaintance. The Seraskier then stated, that we were old friends, and, on my confirming this, I found he had previously spoken to the Sultan of our former good understanding. His Highness having enquired my opinion of his troops, I felt that the question was embarrassing, but extricating myself with the best grace in my power, and avoiding in my reply either much departure from the truth, or any offensive observation, I hastened to pass some sincere and well merited eulogiums on the crew of the Admiral's ship. I added, that I should be much gratified in seeing the School of the Guards, which Namik Pacha had promised to shew to me, and seized that opportunity to impress upon the Sultan the great importance of well organized and well conducted schools, and the influence they might exercise over the fate of his new army. He observed, that there were already other schools, and that he should establish still more. But here resolutions are not very lasting,



nor is the same system long followed; jealousies prevailing more in this than in any other country. In speaking of the School of the Guards, I unfortunately called it "the School established by Namik Pacha," and I afterwards learnt that this expression had wounded the self-love of others, aroused envious feelings, and given weapons to be used with Mahmoud against him.

The Sultan adverting to the great number of years that had elapsed since my name had first been heard of in Europe, I observed to him that I was indebted for this melancholy advantage to two causes, in the first place, to my being an old man, and secondly, to my having in very early life emerged from the crowd, by a series of fortunate circumstances, so that when only 24 years of age, I had attained the rank of a General officer. Having invited me to inspect the Cavalry regiment quartered at Coucoules, and to be present at the manœuvres it would perform, the Grand Signor dismissed me in the kindest manner, saying that everything would be shewn to me that I desired to see at Constantinople. In withdrawing I was accompanied by persons of the highest rank, and in particular by Halil-Pacha, the son-in-law

of Mahmoud, who professed a great regard for me.

After this audience, I walked through the gardens of the Palace, which are composed of elevated terraces, ornamented and embellished by shrubs, and basins, with jets-d'eau. But it is singular that those nearest to the Palace are arranged with less taste than the rest.

On the 26th of July, I went to the Guards' school, which is situated at a short distance from the artillery barrack, and above the small gun manufactory. It contained 500 young persons, and appeared to me to be well organized. This institution was the object of Namik Pacha's continual care and daily solicitude. Zeal and emulation were evinced by the pupils, chosen from amongst those individuals of the guards, who displayed the greatest degree of intelligence; that being regarded as the only title to admission. The Lancasterian system of instruction is adopted, from which remarkable results have been obtained; for, notwithstanding the difficulty of reading and writing the Turkish language, the students in the school of the Guards succeed in doing both with accuracy in the space of ten months, whereas, by

the ordinary methods it would require six years of study to attain the same object. The branches of tuition are reading, writing, arithmetic, geometry, geography, algebra, and the principles of military movements and duties. There are philosophical and astronomical instruments, but the professors are still wanting. Should this school be supported and extended it may become highly useful, and in fact, the foundation-stone of the Turkish army: but its duration is doubtful, as it may fall by the first intrigue, and its success although of much importance, would not alone suffice to infuse life and spirit into the Turkish Empire. The entire regeneration of the Government of the Provinces is also requisite, which appears to be impossible to those acquainted with the real state of things.

On the 27th of July we made the tour of the sea line. When Constantinople was a fortress, this was the weakest part of its defences, having points of easy access, and it surprises me that the Crusaders did not direct any attempt on this front.

I observed that fine marble columns had been used as common materials, laid horizontally in the

construction of the walls, thus placing under contribution the ornamental portions of the palaces, and other public buildings, that had fallen into decay previously to the last catastrophe which deprived the Christians of this noble city.

In returning, we passed the Fresh Waters of Europe, where we saw the boys' dance performed by persons of loose and abandoned character. This, though a common amusement of the East, is a spectacle much too disgusting for description.

The Grand Signor having given me a firman for admission to the mosques, I availed myself of it, to visit those considered the most worthy of attention, commencing with that of Saint Sophia,\* which

\* It is to be regretted that the author has not enlarged on the subject of this beautiful mosque, and as the reader may feel desirous of information beyond what the account of the Marshal affords, extracts relating to it are subjoined from Miss Pardoe's "City of the Sultan," and Mr. Auldjo's "Journal of a Visit to Constantinople," both these writers having seen this place of worship, and ably described its impression on them. Miss Pardoe's first visit to the mosque of St. Sophia was at midnight, and she thus glowingly describes it.

"On passing the threshold, I found myself in a covered peristyle, whose gigantic columns of granite are partially sunk in the wall of which they form a part; the floor was covered with fine matting, and the coloured lamps, which hang in festoons from the lofty

was originally a Christian church built by Justinian. I was forcibly struck with the beauty and grandeur

ceiling, shed a broad light on all the surrounding objects. As I looked around me, our attendant moved forward, and raising a curtain which veiled a double door of bronze, situated at mid-length of the peristyle, I involuntarily shrunk back before the blaze of light that burst upon me.

“ Far as the eye could reach upwards, circles of coloured fire, appearing as if suspended in mid-air, designated the form of the stupendous dome; while beneath, devices of every shape and colour were formed by myriads of lamps of various hues: the imperial closet, situated opposite to the pulpit, was one blaze of refulgence, and its gilded lattices flashed back the brilliancy, till it looked like a gigantic meteor!

“ As I stood a few paces within the doorway, I could not distinguish the limits of the edifice. I looked forward, upward—to the right hand, and to the left—but I could only take in a given space, covered with human beings, kneeling in regular lines, and at a certain signal bowing their turbaned heads to the earth, as if one soul and one impulse animated the whole congregation; while the shrill chaunting of the choir pealed through the vast pile, and died away in lengthened cadences among the tall dark pillars which support it.

“ And this was St. Sophia! To me it seemed like the creation of enchantment—the light—the singing voices—the mysterious extent, which baffled the earnestness of my gaze—the ten thousand Moslems, all kneeling with their faces turned towards Mecca, and at intervals laying their foreheads to the earth—the bright and various colours of the dresses—and the rich and glowing tints of the carpets that veiled the marble floor—all conspired to form a scene of such unearthly magnificence, that I felt as though there could be no reality in what I looked on, but that, at some sudden signal, the towering columns would fail to support the vault of light

of this magnificent building, and with the majestic elegance of its enormous dome ; but my admiration

above them, and all would become void.”—*The City of the Sultan by Miss Pardoe*, vol. i. p. 377.

At page 383 of the same volume, the talented authoress thus describes her daylight visit to this celebrated place of Moslem worship :—

“ At length we reached St. Sophia ; and I felt my heart beat quicker, as I once more traversed the flagged court, and passed the elegant fountain at which the Faithful perform their ablutions ; with its projecting octagonal roof, its marble basin, and its covering of close iron net-work, to protect the spring from the pollution of the birds.

“ At the entrance of the peristyle to which I have before alluded, we put on the slippers we had provided, and, as soon as we had all passed, the doors were closed.

“ How different was the aspect of every object around me from that which it wore on my last visit ! Then, all was refulgent with light ; and now a sacred gloom hung upon the dark walls, and floated like a veil about our path. Few were they who did not pass on in silence ; for there is a power and a sublimity in scenes like the one I am attempting to describe, which overcame for a while even the most vulgar minds ; while to the susceptible and contemplative the spell is deepened a thousand-fold.

“ One burst, rather of sound than speech—the wordless tribute of irrepressible admiration—heralded our passage across the block of porphyry upon which close the interior doors of the mosque ; and in less than a moment the richly carpeted floor of marble, porphyry, jasper, and verd-antique, was Mosaiced with groups of gazers throughout its whole extent. Some stood riveted to the spot on which they had first halted, as if touched by the wand of an enchanter, and scarcely stirring a limb in the excess of their absorbing contemplation ; others hurried rapidly along, as though

considerably decreased when I drew comparisons with the cathedrals of the west of Europe, and bore

breathless with eager and impatient curiosity. . . . . But upon the whole the first view of St. Sophia disappointed me: I had carried away an idea of much greater extent; spacious as it was, I could now see from one extremity of the wide edifice to the other—I was no longer bewildered by the blaze of innumerable lights—and I know not wherefore, but I regretted the mysterious indistinctness of outline which had thrall'd me during my midnight visit."

In Mr. Auldjo's work we find the following description:—

"St. Sophia was built by Justinian, on the ruins of a church of the same name, already twice destroyed; and part of the dome was a third time overthrown by an earthquake. Splendid and various were the treasures it once contained; but these have been long since removed by the desecration and sacrilege of the Latin and the Moslem; and nothing of that description is now left to astonish the pilgrim of either creed, who approaches this sacred temple. Justinian gloried that he had erected a place of worship which far surpassed the work of Solomon; and on dedicating it the second time, after the restoration of the dome, he was nearly maddened with joy. What would have been his feelings could he have foreseen the day when the conquering Latin should defile its altar, and the infidel Turk convert it into a temple for the worshippers of his prophet, after being consecrated to the pure religion of Christianity for a period of nine hundred years. St. Sophia is thus equally an object of veneration to the Christian and the Mussulman.

"We proceeded into the interior of the edifice, with which I confess myself greatly disappointed; as the *tout ensemble* displays no magnificence, and the impressions on the gazer's mind partake of none of that involuntary admiration and religious awe, which the sight of an old English cathedral, or the splendid churches of Italy, never fail to produce. One of its greatest defects arises from want of loftiness in the dome, the diameter of which is 115, while its

in mind their lofty Gothic forms, their great dimensions, and the holy feelings they inspire. But the most unfavourable contrast for the mosque of St. Sophia, is that stupendous edifice, the finest monument of art that man has ever reared,—the vast cathedral of St. Peter.

The mosque of Saint Sophia is situated opposite to the Seraglio ; its form is that of a simple rotunda inscribed within a square. As the sides of this mosque do not correspond with the cardinal points, and as Mahometans turn, when praying, to the east, the line to indicate the position they should take is traced by a set of striped mats, placed in the required direction. Their arrangement is distressing to the eye, from being oblique to the line that divides the mosque into two equal parts.

We ascended to the summit of the dome, from whence we saw at one view the whole of the Seraglio.

height does not exceed 20 feet. There is an immense number of columns, the spoils of various heathen temples. Of these, eight, of porphyry, are from that dedicated to the sun by the Emperor Aurelian. And the same number, of green marble, verd-antique, or *Serpentine* from the temple of Ephesus."—*Journal of a Visit to Constantinople, &c. by John Auldjo, Esq. F.G.S.*



We afterwards repaired to the mosque of Sultan Achmet, an object of peculiar veneration to Mussulmans. It stands on the place of the Atmeidan, and is distinguished by having six minarets ;—a greater number than belongs to any other mosque in Constantinople. From thence we went to see that of Osmanieh, which is of elegant proportions, and beautifully enriched by an internal facing of marble. We closed our tour by a visit to the mosque of Solymanieh. This is a spacious and handsome edifice, but it is, in all respects, inferior to Saint Sophia. Its dome is supported by four pillars, 25 feet in width ; they are 80 feet apart in one direction, and 70 in the other.\*

\* There are few matters of taste on which there has existed a greater difference of opinion than on the pre-eminence of the various mosques of Constantinople ; some travellers awarding the palm to that of Saint Sophia, others to that of Sultan Achmet, and there are those who speak in higher praise of the Solymanieh, or the mosques of Mahomet and Osman. And yet there is no discrepancy in this, for each of these magnificent structures has its peculiar beauties, and the beholder receives the pleasing impression from one edifice, rather than from another, more in consequence of its relative harmony with his own feelings, than of its superior merits, but still each eulogist may give a reason for his preference. Thus the Solymanieh is famed for being the largest and most splendid of mosques ; that of Sultan Achmet for its site, its general elegance and beauty, and for the extreme delicacy of the arabesque workmanship with which it is adorned ; while Saint Sophia is admired and renowned

In the middle of the eastern side of every mosque there is a kind of niche, towards which the congregation turn to pray. On the left, (that

for its solemn and imposing grandeur; for the size of its enormous dome; and for its numerous columns.

The following brief description of some of the prominent features of the most celebrated mosques, may not prove unacceptable to the reader.

The number in Constantinople is very considerable, and thirteen are pre-eminently distinguished as Imperial mosques, from having been built by some of the Sultans, as acts of piety.

Saint Sophia having been described in a former page, requires no further notice beyond an observation, that the very decided preference given to it by our author, is far from being a general impression.

The Solymanieh, was erected by Solyman II. surnamed the Magnificent, and this noble edifice is worthy of its founder.

It was commenced in the year 1550, and was completed in five years; the more valuable part of the materials of the Christian church of Saint Euphonia, at Chalcedon, which was dilapidated for that purpose, being used in its construction. Its form is that of a quadrangle, 234 feet long and 227 wide, and it has a fine portico, consisting of six lofty and beautiful pillars of Egyptian porphyry, at the principal entrance, the ascent to which is by a flight of marble steps. The edifice is surmounted by a large dome supported by four pillars of Thebaic granite, nearly 60 feet in height, which are seen in the interior of the building; and it has four beautiful minarets, with galleries ornamented by tracery. It is illuminated at night by innumerable lamps, hung around the dome, and from the ceiling of the aisles. There is something very imposing in the chaste simplicity, the vast extent, and the solemn gloom of this building.

The mosque of Sultan Achmet, though less elegant in the details than the Solymanieh, is, in exterior effect, superior to it, as well

is to the north of the niche) is a large gallery, enclosed by gilded lattice work, and arranged for the reception of the Grand Signor. To the right,

as to St. Sophia. It was built early in the seventeenth century, by the Sultan whose name it bears, and who resolved that his mosque should surpass in beauty both Saint Sophia and the Solymanieh. Nothing could have been more suited to his object than the commanding site selected for this superb edifice, near the Atmeidan, one of the loftiest portions of the city; for towering majestically above the Seraglio gardens, it forms the most conspicuous feature of the gorgeous scene presented to the stranger, who approaches from the sea of Marmora. It also appears to great advantage from the open space of the Atmeidan, for the outer court is surrounded by magnificent trees, probably coeval with the structure, and forming a pleasing contrast with the walls. Its beauty is increased by its six minarets, whose position was managed with great judgment, and the gilding of their slender spires and the lightness of the galleries, adorned by Saracenic workmanship, give them an elegance beyond the power of description.

The Sultan is said to have taken so deep an interest in the progress of this mosque, that he devoted one hour of every Friday, after prayers, to manual labour on the building, in order to stimulate his fellow-workmen to increased exertion; and, as a further encouragement, he is represented to have himself paid the wages of each individual employed.

This edifice has no less than thirty cupolas, besides the principal dome, which is supported by four gigantic fluted columns. The walls are richly painted in fresco, and light is admitted through windows of stained glass, so arranged as to give a pleasing and solemn effect to the interior of the building.

The cloistered court is an object possessing great beauty, being surrounded by graceful arabesque columns, whose capitals resemble clusters of stalactites. The court is paved with fine marble, and in

are the stairs and seat of the Imaum, who delivers the religious lecture. Parallel to the eastern side, and, at a trifling distance, there is a raised platform, supported by columns, from which one of the Ulema teaches and expounds the Koran. The Mosques have an exterior inclosure generally planted with trees, and decorated with a fountain, furnishing a never ceasing supply of water for the ablutions that must always precede the prayers of Mahometans.

The foregoing description presents the general arrangement of all the Mosques.

On the 30th, we went to see the turning Dervishes, whose ceremonies foreigners are allowed to witness. We were admitted into a spacious hall, the circumference of which formed a kind of

the centre there is a handsome fountain, covered by a cupola, producing a feeling of refreshing coolness.

The architect of this mosque was a Turk, and it cannot fail to cause surprise that an individual of that nation should produce a design rivalling the chefs-d'œuvre of Grecian art. The interior bears some resemblance to the nave and transept of St. Paul's, and there is altogether about this building, a noble simplicity and grandeur befitting a place of worship.

The author is incorrect in using the expressions, "mosque of Solymanieh, and mosque of Osmanieh," for the word Solymanieh implies the mosque of Solyman, and Osmanieh, the mosque of Osman. (T.)

gallery for spectators. The Dervishes having entered in procession, the chief commenced with a prayer; singing, with bad music, was heard from a gallery above that in which we had been placed, and to this accompaniment the Dervishes commenced turning themselves, gradually increasing the rapidity of their movements, until their ample robes extended almost horizontally from the waists of the wearers. This violent exercise was long continued, and did not cease until all appeared exhausted by fatigue.

There never was any thing more calculated to provoke laughter, than this senseless exhibition, though I must confess that I carried away a different impression to that of ridicule; for this display of combined gravity and folly, in men of respectable appearance, who believe that they are offering homage to the Deity, created in me a feeling of deep melancholy, and filled my breast with pity for the degraded state of human nature. I left the hall in <sup>ast</sup>ishment at the absurdities to which men are led by the extravagance of their imagination.

The strong tendency of the mind to actions which overstep the bounds of reason, especially

where religion is the cause of excitement, appears to be the best solution of the irrational creed of the turning Dervishes ; but it is very difficult to understand that these wretched beings, entitled at most to our pity, should be objects of public veneration. This feeling is much weakened at present, but it must have been very powerful, when signal honours and privileges were heaped upon this sect, some of which it still retains. When the Sultan mounts the throne, it is the Chief of the turning Dervishes who girds him with the sword of Othman ; thus performing the most prominent part in the solemn ceremony of the inauguration of the Grand Signor.

Before leaving Constantinople, I might touch upon the interior organization of the Empire, but information on this subject is to be found every where, since few travellers have omitted some mention of it.

It is well known that the Pachas exercise uncontrolled power in all the provinces, and that, subject only to their authority, the Mutzells of the different districts perform the administrative functions. The Ulema, men who devote their lives to the study of the Koran, and of the commentaries of

the sheiks celebrated for their sanctity and knowledge, are responsible for all matters relating to the administration of justice. This body is highly respected, both on account of the duties intrusted to it, and of the power of its chief, whose acts are sometimes paramount to those of the Sultan, and can even legalise his dethronement.

But I will say one word regarding the supposed reforms of Mahmoud. Their fame has resounded throughout Europe, and it has been thought that the Sultan has created a new order of things, and commenced an era of civilization in Turkey, whereas in reality, little more has been effected than the destruction of the Janissaries, and the establishment of the new military force. The former was an useful and important act, for which the Sultan is deserving of the highest praise ; but the troops by which the Janissaries have been replaced, are far from realizing the hopes that were conceived of them ; and as to the boasted reforms, they bear only on matters of a frivolous nature, such as the change of titles or of dress. Thus the turban has been proscribed ; the Reis-Effendi has changed his name to that of “ Minister for Foreign Affairs ;” the power of the Grand Vizier has been curtailed ;

the extent of some of the provinces altered; and the army is recruited by conscription, according to the arbitrary will of the Pachas.—This measure is therefore carried into effect in the most injudicious and unjust manner, so that the men collected for the service of the State, are of a description which cannot be recognised as belonging to that fine race of Turks we have been accustomed to admire.

A decree of the Sultan ordered that to each Pacha an Officer should be joined, who, while independent of the Pacha's power, should be charged with the collection of the imposts; but, whether from a difficulty of finding persons calculated for the office, or from other causes, this order has never been carried into effect, and the cupidity and injustice of the Pachas and Mutzelims were never greater than at present. Turks as well as Christians neglect the cultivation of their land, knowing that others will reap the fruits of their labour, and in every direction the population is diminishing. Some rebellious tyrants, it is true, have been put to death—for instance, Ali-Pacha, the oppressor of Joanina, and his children have fallen, but anarchy



reigns in their stead, and the Sultan is neither more powerful nor richer from the change.

The great "Timars" or Fiefs, which existed in Asia, and were wisely governed, furnished the Empire, in time of war, with twenty thousand good cavalry; but the Sultan has destroyed these fiefs, and as his agents cannot exercise over the population the same degree of authority that the original owners possessed, he neither receives troops nor money from these districts, which are a prey to disorder. Every thing, in short, exhibits weakness, and the elements of dissolution are spreading in all directions.

A remarkable change has taken place in the character of the Turks, who, instead of the profound respect and veneration which they formerly entertained for the blood of Othman, feel a sentiment of estrangement for the Sovereign who frequently forgets ~~the~~ principles of the Koran; imitates the customs of the Christians, and attempts to force their institutions on his people. Their fanaticism, once a powerful bond of union, has been subdued, and as they have no privileged classes of society, or hereditary distinctions, the severing, or even loosening of the ties which they

acknowledged, leaves to them only separate interests, without moral power, or real force.

The Turk is guileless, honest, and truth speaking, but proud, ignorant, and apathetic. These peculiarities have undergone no alteration, because there is scarcely any impulse capable of rousing him. The sensual enjoyments he derives from repose, his pipe, or from the pleasures of the harem; and the regular performance of the prescribed prayers, constitute his only occupation and excitement. His mind, naturally of a low standard, would require the most powerful stimulants to bring it into action; but such an existence as we have described, the insipidity of which causes both discouragement and disgust, must produce a state of lethargic stupor and inanity, pervading the entire nation. The only important result of the changes that have taken place, is a softening of the national manners. Capital punishments are less frequent than formerly, and they are generally preceded by an examination into facts, and by a formal sentence.

But in order to shew more clearly, the present state of the Ottoman empire, we must examine in detail its component parts.

The Turkish population, of both sexes, and including all ages, does not at the very utmost exceed three millions and a half of persons, and is spread over an immense surface. On one side it is intermixed with a more numerous population of Christians, whose seeming submission is a veil to their really hostile feelings; and, on the other, the Turks hold in subjection an Arab population, who having for a considerable period feared and respected their masters, have now a conviction of their own superiority:—such is the Turkish Empire, and strange to say, an idea of power still attaches to the name.

The actual number of the Turks has always been small in comparison with the population of the territories they have ruled. They have never possessed more than a factitious, uncertain, and unstable dominion, and at no period has their power been well organized or homogeneous.—Anarchy, and disorders of every kind have therefore daily undermined its foundations. The Turks have never cordially united with the Christians to constitute a nation; on the contrary, they have always remained an isolated people,

reigning by tyranny and force over those whom they have vanquished, and in thus maintaining the attitude of conquerors, they have ever been regarded as a transitory power.

History furnishes examples of conquests similar to those achieved by the Turks, but with opposite results, because the conduct of other victors has been different.

When the Franks, who at first were merely a tribe, became masters of Gaul, they were converted to the Christian faith, and by thus embracing the religion of the conquered, were blended with them.—Feudalism having then organized society and combined its various interests, the Franks became the head and centre of a new people.

When the Tartars subjugated China, their conduct was similar, and they incorporated themselves with the natives, by adopting their customs and religion.

These wise examples have been disregarded by the Turks, who, refusing to admit the people living under their yoke, to any participation in their greatness, have always treated them as enemies, and notwithstanding their numerical inferiority they have never ceased to press upon the

vanquished with all the weight of an unbridled and capricious tyranny.

As the victors have never admitted any hereditary distinctions, an absolute equality prevails, founded on their institutions and customs; and this equality, being pushed to the utmost limits, is far from giving power or stability. Even the family, the very foundation of social order, does not exist in Turkey, for the plurality of wives, and the purchase of slaves—a species of adoption, change its very nature, and stamp it with a totally different character from that which it bears amongst the other civilized nations of Europe.

The Turks, whose continual exactions from the Christians increased their riches and gratified their pride, were formerly united by motives of common interest; but deprived, as they have lately been, of all immunities, and of that special protection of their government which had enabled them to oppress the other inhabitants of the Ottoman dominions, the connecting link that bound the Mussulmans together has been severed, and thus weakened, they are doomed to share the lot of all the other subjects of the Sultan, while they still must bear exclusively the burthens which their

creed imposes on them. Hence we may reasonably ask, by what circumstance, or process, the Turkish Empire can be reconstructed, or restored? The base on which it was founded has disappeared, and we cannot expect that the Christians, who form the majority of the population of European Turkey, will take part in the combinations required to regenerate this country, and thus prolong their state of bondage. In the days of their splendour and triumphs, the Turks might have effected the desired amalgamation, and brought about a fusion of interests that is now impossible : for these two distinct races of people are not only divided, but inimical, the less numerous confining the other by a feeble chain.

In Asia the population includes a large body of Arabs, who constitute the greater proportion of the inhabitants, and profess the Mahometan religion.

The delusion that had long prevailed as to the power of the Turks, and formed their chief protection, having vanished, the Arabs have acquired not merely a knowledge of their own power, but a consciousness of superiority; they have therefore attempted their enfranchisement, and are rapidly advancing towards a degree of perfection in their

social system. The movement that commenced in Egypt and Syria has produced in those countries wealth and other important resources, which are likely to weaken still further the power of the Turkish monarch, who would gladly overturn the systematic order of things established in opposition to his will.

Thus is Mahmoud encompassed by difficulties, apparently insurmountable, for on what can he rest for support? or where collect the requisite materials for the work he wishes to attempt?

When Peter the Great undertook to civilize the Russians, he found them a homogeneous mass, to whose interests, sentiments, opinions and genius he could easily appeal. Placed at a distance from the scene of the great events passing in Europe, and taking part in those only that conduced to his ends, he had time to devote to the organization and improvement of his empire.

The bonds of society in Turkey being weak, and the people divided and at variance, it seems impossible to combine and press them forward to a common object ; especially in the Sultan's present position, threatened as he is by a collision of con-

tending interests, that might occasion a general crisis.

The creation of the Ottoman empire, and its power, resulted from the devastating anarchy existing among the nations in the midst of whom the Osmanlies were placed, and who were therefore unable to oppose any effectual resistance to them.

But their success did not produce order; confusion still prevailed, the authority of the conquerors being alone supported by plunder, and by a war, which was prosperous for a length of time—the circumstances remaining unchanged that had caused the early triumphs of this people. Yet, even then, the Turks were not in themselves formidable, for their number was small, and it was only by capturing Christian children and educating them in Islamism, that their armies were recruited. It is not difficult to understand the continuance of this state of things during a period of contention and excitement; but it might have been foreseen that this empire contained germs, which at a time of tranquillity, would produce its dissolution. That this has not already taken place can only be ascribed to the weakness and division of its neighbours, and to the



jealousies subsisting among the Christian powers, which insured to the Porte a protecting intervention, after its reverses. Times, however, are much changed; the circumstances that gave birth to the Ottoman empire, cannot again occur; and were Solyman the Great to re-appear on earth, even he would not be considered a formidable Prince.

An administration calculated to create and husband resources does not exist in Turkey, and is no longer suited to her.\* The elements required are absolutely wanting: these are a mass of enlightened individuals, with enlarged and steady views, and unwavering resolutions; but this country probably contains not one such being. Every thing would require to be remodelled at the same moment, for all is under the influence of ignorance and corruption; and whatever Mahmoud may desire in this respect, he is not fated to attain his object, of which he has but a vague and undefined conception. The weakness and misery of his dominions must therefore increase, and the internal disorders that will arise on the first unex-

\* This appears an extraordinary statement, for it would be difficult to understand how such an administration as the author alludes to, could be unsuited to the state of *any* country. (T.)

pected outbreak, will cause the destruction of a state whose real existence is confined to a single city, and its name will be erased from the list of European Nations.

The creation of the power of Mehemet-Ali, is in itself a dismemberment of Turkey, with which the new state forms a remarkable contrast, and although this is not the moment for a full consideration of the subject, yet I feel bound to offer a few remarks upon it. All the requisites for organization of which Turkey is deficient, have suddenly sprung up in Egypt, and are earnestly and unremittingly employed towards the attainment of the desired object. Mehemet-Ali is accused of being covetous, and of exposing the people to be plundered by his officers; but by no other course than that adopted could he procure the funds required for his operations. I speak neither of the justice nor philanthropy of the question, but of its policy. The Viceroy has already made great progress in his undertaking, by establishing a system of obedience, and a perfect police, in the extensive country under his control; his name is respected, and such is the opinion entertained of him, that opposition to his will never enters the mind

even of those who were previously the most inclined to independence, or rebellion. This is the foundation of regular order ; for the first step in civilization is to produce submission.

The second important act of Mehemet-Ali was the change he originated in the agriculture of Egypt, by inducing the “ Fellahs ” to adopt a system from which crops of infinitely greater value have resulted. If success continue to attend his various improvements, and if the works he has commenced answer his expectations, there will be a further increase of revenue, although even now seven times the amount this country yielded to the French troops at the period they occupied it. Manufactures, suited to the natural circumstances of Egypt, have been established, and are prospering ; they suffice for the necessities of the Government and the wants of the people, and compete with those of other nations in the European markets.\*

\* It is to be regretted that the author has not here given some statement of the nature and amount of these manufactures. If of great extent it might be supposed that they would have found their way to England ; but the most recent returns furnished to the British Parliament by the Custom House, specify that the only imports from Alexandria are cotton, wool, flax, hempseed, senna, and natron, no manufactured goods being mentioned. (T.)

Those who take a contracted view of the present position of this country might be led to conclude that the Pacha alone profited by these riches, because the bulk of the inhabitants are not supposed to derive any immediate or tangible benefit from them ; but it should be remembered, that the Arabs are desirous of rising in the scale of nations, by becoming independent of Turkey ; and that as the wealth acquired by their ruler, and applied to promote his political power, is in furtherance of this object, the people are so far positive participators in the improved condition of the state. When the necessities of Mehemet-Ali shall have been satisfied—when his enterprises shall have ceased to require the immense expenditure they now demand—when articles of commerce shall have increased in value—and when the Pacha shall purchase what he now requires as imposts—there will be an improvement in the condition of the whole community, who will be disposed to assist in supporting his government. Mehemet-Ali has accomplished another great object in establishing an efficient force. He now possesses an army, the formation of which presented extraordinary difficulties, for the extreme repugnance of the natives of the East to a regular

military service, and their prejudices on this head, are well known ; yet he has overcome all these obstacles by acting discreetly, and by adopting such preliminary measures as were calculated to insure success ; satisfactory results have been already obtained, and he is following a course that must lead to their extension and improvement. Officers are instructed, in the various schools, for all branches of his service ; and the confidence he reposes in a clever man, who is the foundation-stone of the edifice he is rearing, is a guarantee that, in a very few years, his army will bear a comparison with those of Europe.\* The means at Mehemet-Ali's disposal, for the establishment of his naval force, were limited, and the materials of which it was composed, as well as the national circumstances at the time of its formation, were unfavourable to its success ; nevertheless it is as formidable as the exigencies of his situation require, and being well appointed and efficient, it holds out a promise of performing valuable services.

The basis of a durable power has thus been effectually laid, since this government has not only suf-

\* The person alluded to is M. Sève, an ex-officer of the French army, whose Mahometan name is " Solyman Pacha." (*T.*)

ficient internal force and energy to establish and maintain order and create resources, but possesses such means of enterprise and defence as are calculated to protect it from aggression, acquire the respect of other nations, and secure its independence. In the accomplishment of this great work, Mehemet-Ali has had the assistance of a compact and homogeneous population, full of intelligence, remarkable for its self-respect, strongly predisposed to enthusiasm, laborious though excitable, sober, contented, and obedient. In short, the people are ready to promote the interests of their country, and susceptible of any form or impression they may be required to take. The condition of the Christian population of Syria is favourable to the advance and stability of the new power, being assembled in the same district, well disciplined, sufficiently numerous to be useful but not to dream of independence, and so much in dread of Turkish tyranny as to be willing to draw tighter the bonds which connect it with the Government of Egypt. By attention to the interests of this people, it may be incorporated with the Arab state, and add materially to its strength.

Having thus given a picture of what I consider

to be the future destiny of the work of Mehemet-Ali, I must, on the other hand, observe that if the power he is raising in Egypt and Syria be overturned, and succeeded by the direct authority of the Sultan, the immediate consequence must be the surrender of these provinces to the miseries of poverty and rapine, by arresting the progress of civilization, causing the abandonment of the recent improvements, and renewing anarchy and confusion. Hence no accession of strength would result to Turkey; for whatever may be the resources of a country, they can but little avail its Government, unless administered with care and skill, and internal peace be maintained.

In a word, either the new state will become consolidated, and in that event hostile to the Sultan, who we may suppose, desires its destruction; or it will fall to pieces, and its sources of wealth and power will dry up, and be equally lost to both. Thus the southern provinces cannot contribute to the re-establishment of the Ottoman Empire, and we have seen that its European possessions no longer promise support. In truth, then, it is confined to Constantinople, and the provinces im-

mediately around the city, where the great proportion of the Turkish population is assembled.\*

\* On a careful examination of the comparison drawn by the author between the condition of Turkey and that of Egypt, we cannot avoid observing his strong bias in favour of the latter ; and it would have been more satisfactory, if in describing the various efforts of the Sultan and his Viceroy to improve those countries, he had assigned reasons for the disappointment that each may have experienced ; for although none are stated to have occurred in Egypt, we can hardly imagine that, at the period even of the Marshal's visit, Mehemet-Ali had not received some check to his exertions. But it is not improbable that, direct from the scenes of ruin and decay, which Asia Minor had presented to the author's view, the symptoms of fresh life which Mehemet-Ali appeared to be infusing into his subjects, and their activity and occupation may have formed the impression that has produced the brilliant picture drawn by the Marshal of all he saw, and that were he now to revisit Egypt he would discover that the bright illusion had already vanished.

Whether that country may be firmly re-annexed to Turkey, and form again an integral part of the Ottoman Empire, yielding obedience to the Sultan, or whether it may become independent, its progress towards civilization and prosperity must create a deep interest in the maritime and commercial nations of Europe. That Mehemet-Ali has made considerable improvements in Egypt, is anxious to promote her interests, and to render her formidable, and that he possesses all the energy required for such a work, we do not deny, though we think a doubt may fairly be expressed of his capacity to accomplish the Herculean task he has undertaken.

The Marshal has severely criticised the course adopted by the Sultan in the formation of his army ; and there may be justice in his censure, for it was unwise, with means so inefficient, to enter on



This position being demonstrated, it may be asked if such a state can be independent or a work of such importance. But this ground of criticism also applies to Mehemet-Ali; for although by a different process from that of Mahmoud he may have succeeded better in the formation of his military force, yet he has fallen into a similar error, by undertaking more than he was able to effect; and hence some of the boasted improvements are languishing, and the conditions, on the fulfilment of which the author expects that the people will become more prosperous and happy, are such as cannot be realized for many years.

The Viceroy's means were inadequate to accomplish what he desired, being deficient both in men and money; and his exactions from the people have caused their present wretchedness, without the cheering certainty of future benefit.

The fertility of the country, with its active population properly directed, and relieved from oppressive imposts, might with rapidity produce enormous wealth, the careful application of which would contribute to the happiness of the people, while tending to give stability to the state; and were Mehemet-Ali acting as a faithful vassal of the Porte this might be effected, but struggling for independence, and to enrich and aggrandize himself, he has been led away by a double object beyond his reach. The development of the natural resources of the country ought to have been the first object of his care, and the increased revenue that must have resulted would have enabled him to accomplish his plans for augmenting the strength and importance of his government; but an opposite course of proceeding, which perhaps his usurpation may have forced upon him, has led him to compel the "Fellahs" to adopt an overstrained system of culture, and this, if recent reports be true, has not realized his expectations: the consequent want of funds to complete his public works drove him into an aggressive policy that has been checked by the interference of some of the great powers of Europe.

deserve to be regarded as a power? As the reply must obviously be in the negative, we are led to consider the consequences likely to result, and naturally arrive at the conclusion, that the Grand Signor can only exist under the protection of others; and that it is imperative he should attach himself, decidedly and closely, to one of the two systems which now divide Europe. The fate

The essential difference between the Sultan and his Viceroy is that the latter acted wisely by entrusting *real* power to the intelligent foreigners who entered his service, and hence the success in organizing his naval and military forces; but the Sultan had to deal with a more powerful and resolute people, and a turbulent priesthood, opposed to the extensive employment of Christians in offices of trust and importance, and therefore he has been unable, or perhaps he has not found it politic, to adopt the same energetic step. That he feels the inclination to employ the fittest persons in his service without reference to creed, may be gathered from the fact of the fostering care bestowed on the institutions of the little island of Samos, of which he has entrusted the government to a Christian prince, a Bulgarian by birth.

The author seems hardly borne out in stating that the Sultan is the enemy of Egypt. That he detests the man who deprived him of his finest provinces may be admitted; but the Sultan would belie all his efforts to regenerate the northern part of his Empire, if he failed to carry on the improvements commenced by Mehemet-Ali, should Egypt again be obedient to his will; and if such a change should take place, backed as she would be by the resources of Turkey, her prosperity would rise to a level which it never can attain with the crippled resources of the Viceroy. (T.)

of his empire will depend on the master he may choose.

On the one hand there is Russia; on the other the maritime powers, to which Austria may be added, and these I name the "Alliance of the West of Europe." Their interests are opposed, and have hitherto been irreconcilable.

To render this matter clear, it is necessary to examine on what basis the rights and pretensions of the parties are founded, and what are the causes that give the ascendancy to one of them, and it is further of importance to discover which, with the least danger to the Porte, can afford her the best protection; or in other words, whose guardianship the Sultan would find the least oppressive. When these questions are solved, there can no longer be a doubt as to the course his Highness ought to take.

The difference to the Porte, between the protection of Russia and that of the three Powers, termed the "Alliance," is, that the former possesses naturally an ascendancy and command in Constantinople, which are sufficient during the continuance of peace, or till a revolution shall overturn the existing order of things in that city; and the

Sultan is aware, that should fresh circumstances place him in a condition to require an auxiliary military or naval force in his capital, Russia can rapidly supply it, without the possibility of hinderance. On the other hand, the protection of the Alliance could only be effectual by its uninterrupted occupation of Constantinople, for if discontinued, the Russians might prevent its renewal.

At Sebastopol, one of the finest harbours in the world, Russia has twelve sail of the line, perfectly armed, equipped, and ready for sea. In the immediate neighbourhood a division of the army is cantoned; it could embark in two days, and in three more reach Constantinople, the distance between Sebastopol and the Bosphorus being only 180 miles, and a speedy passage almost a matter of certainty, owing to the prevalence of northerly winds, and the constant current from the Euxine towards the sea of Marmora. Thus, on the breaking out of disturbances at Constantinople, or the apprehension of interference from the allied fleet, that of Russia would pass the Bosphorus, with 12,000 troops on board, and take up such a position as circumstances might dictate; whilst an army of 60,000 men would cross the Danube, pass

the Balkans, and place itself at Adrianople ;—these movements being effected with so much promptitude and facility, that in Paris and London the intimation of the departure of the armament, and of its arrival on the scene of action would probably be received together ; the operations being of such a nature, that no circumstance whatever could prevent their being carried into execution.

If, on the other hand, we suppose that the Alliance is to be put in motion, we must bear in mind the time required to prepare its means and accomplish its designs, taking into consideration that the distance of our ports from the Turkish dominions would of itself occasion a long passage, even if the wind and current were favourable, instead of the latter being invariably, and the former generally, opposed to a rapid voyage towards the East : and we must come to the conclusion that, the announcement of the intended expedition would reach Russia before the sailing of the fleet, and therefore a surprise would be impossible ; for even should the Russians not learn so speedily as we have supposed, the hostile views upon Constantinople, still they would have ample time to counteract the projects formed against themselves.

Under the most favourable circumstances that the hypothesis permits, the supposed arrangement could present but slight prospects of success, and must be utterly impracticable without the concurrence of the Sultan. We may therefore conclude it will never be attempted, as it cannot be imagined he would voluntarily entangle himself in difficulties, that must inevitably deprive him of the little power he retains, which in real dignity and consequence does not exceed the government of a city.\*

\* It must be admitted, that in the present state of things no effectual hinderance could be offered to Russia, were she desirous of transporting her forces from Sebastopol to the Bosphorus, for it is understood, that at this moment there is not in the Black Sea a single ship of war that does not bear her flag.—One of the fruits of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi! But should the Sultan take, as we contend, a wiser line of policy than that which he has lately followed, and attach himself to England, a simple remedy could be applied to check the aggression of his northern neighbour.

First, he should strengthen the defences of the Bosphorus, which can be made impregnable :

Secondly, his fleet should cruize in the Black Sea, instead of lying uselessly at anchor near the capital, or making summer excursions to the Ægean Sea :

And thirdly, it should be joined by an English squadron, when the honour of our country might permit, or the Sultan's safety might require such aid. Indeed it is believed that the moral effect of a single English man-of-war in the Euxine would restore the confidence of Turkey. Then the boasted facility of invading the heart of the Ottoman Empire would be no more thought of, and

Indeed if an allied fleet were to appear suddenly before Constantinople, carrying troops for the occupation of the forts on the shores of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus—a precaution indispensable to its safety, an obstinate war must ensue; for Russia, finding herself over-reached, and her interests compromised, would make Turkey the theatre, and eventually the victim of the struggle, in whatever way it might be closed: it was therefore wise and prudent in the Grand Signor to learn the conditions on which he could peaceably remain upon his throne, and he could not fail to perceive that it was the necessity would cease for a permanent occupation of its capital by the troops of the Alliance.

The question seems to be, at what period the supplementary article of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi can be set aside. Neither in honour nor in policy can Turkey venture on that step, until there is positive evidence of Russia entertaining hostile designs against her:—and it would be equivalent to a declaration of war against the Northern Empire, were England to infringe its stipulations. It is then an affair of time, and should the period elapse for which the said treaty is binding on the contracting parties, without an infraction of its terms, then all the sagacity and skill of British diplomatists should be employed to prevent its extension or renewal.

Nicholas is reported to have said that the Dardanelles are the gates of his house—so may the Bosphorus be termed of ours, and therefore the renewal of the treaty would be as much a hostile measure against our Empire, as the immediate appearance of a British squadron in the Black Sea would be a defiance to the Czar. (T.)

only by closely attaching himself to Russia; by uniting his interest with hers; by putting himself honestly and sincerely under her protection, and by furthering her policy. This was the only course by which the Sultan could retain even a shadow of sovereignty, and it seemed the more rational proceeding from its being in harmony with the necessities of Russia.\*

\* An English fleet in the Black Sea, or even a small squadron acting in conjunction with that of Turkey, and the improvement of the defences of the Bosphorus, as proposed in the note to page 114, would put a naval attack of Constantinople, by the Russians, utterly out of the question, and probably render hopeless an invasion from the principalities; for by preventing the army employed in that operation from receiving supplies by sea, it would be rendered dependent on the resources of the country it would occupy or traverse in its march, which is not sufficiently productive to maintain a force of the magnitude necessary to afford a prospect of success.

Adding to this impediment, the effect likely to be produced by an Austrian army acting on the right flank of the Russians, there will appear ample grounds for concluding, that it is by no means a matter of certainty that Turkey must be the inevitable "victim" of the contest, as the author has asserted.

In the next page he states, that the object of Russia is simply to secure a free egress from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean; but if that were *all* she required, where was the necessity for the secret article of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, excluding the navies of other powers from the Dardanelles? The drift of that article was, if possible, to deprive Turkey of the chance of assistance from Eng-



The Emperor of Russia is too sensible not to desire the continuance of the present state of things in Constantinople; and, I am convinced he prefers it to the actual possession of the city. What is his aim? To have the free use of an indispensable maritime outlet, and he would rather owe this benefit to his influence than to direct authority; since he thus possesses the advantages he legitimately covets, without the inconveniences that an occupation would entail.—He avoids creating alarm in Europe by his ambition; evinces a respect for recognized rights; maintains the existing order of things; is a faithful ally, and yet attains the end he has in view.

The premature possession of Constantinople would in fact injure the internal prosperity of southern Russia, by arresting the spread of its wealth, and draining its capital and inhabitants into Turkey, by which the former power, so susceptible of great improvement, and so fit to receive a numerous population, would be condemned to remain a land or France, against the encroachments of the Czar, and it is to be lamented that the author did not allow his comprehensive mind to take a wider range, in examining the aggressive conduct of the colossal power of the North, before he gave the weight of his opinion, as to its pacific and commercial views. (T.)

perpetual desert. A sovereign whose empire comprises a surface equal to the seventh part of all the continents of the globe has no need of its extension; nor, having under his sceptre sixty millions of people, has he reason for desiring to increase their number. It is not, therefore, new provinces or additional subjects that the Emperor of Russia seeks to acquire, but freedom of navigation, an advantage that an empire having extensive coasts cannot forego; for every facility of commerce should be seized where population is rapidly increasing, and activity and industry are extending the sphere of agriculture; nor should a monarch, having a formidable maritime force, willingly consent to its imprisonment within the narrow limits of an inland sea, to be deprived of intercourse with the other oceans of the globe, or participation in the general benefits which providence has bestowed in common to the human race. He cannot dispense with the advantages of universal competition; and having the means he should not hesitate to use them in bursting the gates that are attempted to be closed against him. In the present instance the Czar is in possession of this power, for the very day on which the passage is refused to his

fleet, he will seize and hold it in his own name, and should he desire to retain it nothing could prevent him.

From these considerations it will be admitted, that it is the true policy of the Sultan to conciliate Russia, who might so easily dethrone him, had she an advantage in adopting such a course (which I contend is not the case); and it is obviously his interest, above all things, to avoid hostility against her, because the issue of the struggle would be his instant and irrevocable ruin, or would compel him to rush into the arms of other powers, whose protection would be less efficacious, and would rob him of even the little liberty he now enjoys.

If the straits of the Bosphorus and Hellespont were a league or two in width, it is most probable that few persons in Russia would think of the conquest of Constantinople; but these passages are so narrow, that they may be regarded as the flood-gates of a sea, arresting, at the mere caprice of another power, the fortunes of a mighty empire, and keeping in captivity her fleets. This would be insupportable, and there is no effort that a monarch should neglect to free himself from such dependence.

I have demonstrated that the Russians may with

the greatest facility repair to Constantinople, and I have also proved that they would take that step, not only with the consent, but actually by the invitation of the Sultan; I shall now shew that after such occupation, if political combinations should not lead to the voluntary evacuation of the Turkish territory, the most intimate alliance between France, England, and Austria, and the most energetic efforts of these three powers, would be unable to force the Russians to retire from their position on the Dardanelles.

I will proceed to state the grounds of this assertion, previously explaining the probable operations of the Russian army. The force to be employed in the occupation alluded to, would amount to about 60,000 men, consisting of a division of the army, united to the troops from the Krimea. The following arrangements appear to me well suited to carry into effect the objects of the Emperor:— To station 10,000 men at the Dardanelles, in a fortress of five or six bastions, to be constructed there, with two auxiliary forts, one at the extremity of the table land called “Maltépé,” and the other on the height commanding the batteries of Nagara:— To place three forts on the European coast, in the

form of an amphitheatre, for the protection of its batteries from any enterprise on the land side; encamping 10,000 men on the heights of Constantinople, to assist the ships of war anchored in the harbour in keeping the city in subjection:— To post the remaining 40,000 men at Adrianople, and to form an extensive entrenched camp, with a system of towers, in the style of the works of defence at Lintz, embracing the Maritza and the river which there falls into it. The construction of eighteen or twenty towers might render this position impregnable; the force occupying it, consisting of between 30,000 and 40,000 men, could not be shut up within the intrenchment, and it would therefore keep in check an army of double its number, which could not with safety advance, leaving this force in its rear. To complete the system, 80,000 Russians should be assembled in Moldavia and Walachia, having their advanced guard on the banks of the Danube, ready to pass that river; the Russian grand army being collected between Warsaw and Cracow, waiting to cross the Vistula.

With such a plan of operations, the Alliance could not oblige the Russians to evacuate Constantinople; neither could a French and English army

be sent to disembark at the Dardanelles, with any prospect of success, in consequence of the extensive preparations required, and the immense expence of the undertaking. However great might be the efforts and the sacrifice of money, still the number of troops that could be employed on such an expedition is very limited ; the maximum may be estimated at 30,000 or 40,000 men, and even these could not be organized and equipped in a complete manner ; for their cavalry must of necessity be very weak, on account of the difficulty of transporting a large number of horses in so long a voyage ; and their artillery would be equally inefficient, consisting of field-guns, which are by no means suited to war on a great scale. This armament would proceed but slowly, and its departure being known, the Russians would be prepared for its reception, so that on landing it would have to attack an army in position, provided with every thing requisite for its operations, and capable of being augmented to any extent that might be necessary. It would therefore be madness to undertake such an enterprise, and as we cannot see that it offers any reasonable hope of success, it is fair to presume that it will never be attempted.

Hence we may conclude that France and England would employ their fleets only ; and the numerical inferiority of the Russian squadron being admitted, we are prepared to allow that it must remain at anchor under the forts of the Dardanelles : where, secure from attack, it would be in a posture to threaten the combined fleet, from possessing the facility of sailing into the Mediterranean, when circumstances might render such a movement desirable. The Alliance would therefore be obliged to maintain, at a distance from home, and at a considerable cost, a very numerous fleet, without the hope of reaping any greater advantage from it than that of blockading their enemy.\*

The Austrians alone would therefore have to undertake the land operations ; but how could this be done with safety ? Their troops would enter Servia, pass the Balkans, and find on the southern side the entrenched camp of Adrianople, in a position to check their offensive operations ; and

\* In a former page the author has attempted to prove that the only object of Russia is to secure the freedom of navigation ; and as he here admits that the ships of that power would have to seek shelter in the Dardanelles, on the appearance of the combined fleet, we may contend, that, according to his own shewing, the efforts of the Alliance would be crowned with success, by the mere employment of their naval force. (T.)

whilst manœuvring, the Russian army of Walachia would pass the Danube, take them in reverse, and constrain them to retire. Will it be said in reply that a second Austrian army might assemble in Transylvania, and oppose the offensive march of the Russian army of Walachia, either by a direct attack, or by operating on its flank or rear? The mass of the Russian force assembled on the banks of the Vistula, would be enabled, by its advanced position, to compel the greater part of the Austrian troops to remain in its presence, in order to cover the heart of the monarchy and even the capital, thus preventing their commander from detaching any important part of their strength; so that the mere placing of the Russians, as I have stated, might neutralise the offensive operations of their opponents and suspend their movements; and consequently the former would retain possession of Constantinople and the Dardanelles—the point under discussion.\* The necessity of the union of a French and Austrian army to fight the Russians in Poland

\* The Marquess of Londonderry, in his work on Russia, disputes this opinion of the Marshal, and the argument on which it is based (see Appendix). The question is well worthy the consideration of statesmen; and if the author be right in his conclusions, it is a reason the more for the speedy regeneration of Turkey, in which it is clear that Austria as well as England is deeply interested. (T.)



is therefore obvious ; but this combination if advisable in a military sense, would be impracticable for reasons, which it is superfluous to explain, and I therefore throw it out of the calculation. I have to observe that, if requisite, the Russian army in Poland might be weakened without much inconvenience, since the capitals of Russia are too distant from the field of contention to create any apprehension for their safety, and this corps not being required to protect them, might always be considered on the offensive ; for supposing the enemy in its front to be more numerous, it could retire in a menacing attitude, ready to retrace its steps, and enter Austria, whenever the events of the war might present the possibility of such a movement.

I do not seek to disguise the fact, that in representing the military advantages to be in favour of the Russians, it is under the supposition that they are the first occupiers of Turkey, and I admit that if this were not the case these advantages would in a great degree disappear. For if a French and English fleet were to pass the straits of the Dardanelles, and arrive at Constantinople ; and if, at the same time, a corps of 50,000 men of the

Alliance, Austrian or French, were to take up the position of Adrianople, and establish the entrenched camp of which I have spoken, then the Russians would have immense difficulties to overcome, in dislodging their enemies. From that moment their fleet must return to the port of Sebastopol—not again to quit it, and if they moved an army towards the Balkans, it would be exposed to great danger from the operations of an Austrian force, debouching either from Transylvania and entering Bessarabia, or from Hungary and marching into Servia, to take in reverse the army of Bulgaria. It is true that, in this case, the offensive movement of the Russians would be preceded by the entrance of a grand army into Transylvania, to cover the corps marching on Constantinople. Therefore this operation of the Russians, although difficult, is practicable, whilst the other combination may be regarded as an absolute impossibility, on account of the proximity of Vienna; unless there were opposed to Russia, in addition to the fleets of France and England and the Austrian military force, a numerous French corps,\* and perhaps also a Prussian

\* As it is presumed France would be a willing member of the Alliance, there cannot be a doubt of an army of that nation taking

army, which last would undoubtedly have great influence on the question. But the configuration of Prussia requires her to be circumspect, and the natural bias of her policy is to adopt a course adverse to the objects of the Alliance.

There is another important consideration to add to the account in favor of Russia, viz. that in order to admit of the fleets and armies of the Alliance, acting simultaneously, there must be a perfect harmony of arrangement between the three Powers; whereas their rival having at command both ships and troops, and his will being alone requisite to put them in motion, a perfect unity of action must pervade their operations. A not less weighty consideration than those already touched upon is, that, in this military question, *priority* is of immense value, because possession must almost decide the issue. Every thing, in short, is favourable to Russia, and the advantages she possesses may be summed up in few words—Her proximity to Turkey—The winds and currents being such as to facilitate the passage of her armament—And lastly,

the field against Russia, and assisting, not merely in the defence of the Austrian dominions, but also in keeping Prussia in check if requisite. (T.)

the policy of the Sultan.\* The Czar's competitors have none of these advantages.

Europe has, therefore, to become reconciled at once to the decided influence of Russia at Constantinople, one which cannot be counterbalanced; for whenever her interests may require it, she will occupy that city, without the possibility of hinderance; and as nothing but absolute necessity will

\* It is unquestionable that Russia possesses great influence in Turkey; but it is an influence produced by the fear which a feeble state must ever entertain of a powerful and grasping neighbour; and we cannot subscribe to the author's opinion, of its being the Sultan's policy to place himself under the guardianship of Russia; for however the question may be veiled, the real difference between her protection and that of the "Alliance," is, that while the decided object and the manifest interest of the Emperor of Russia are to annex European Turkey to his dominions, it is still more clearly the interest of the Alliance to maintain the integrity of the Turkish Empire, and to give it all the energy and force of which it may be now susceptible.

Turkey well understands this difference; but in her present state of weakness and dependence, she would wish to seem unconscious of it, in the hope that her adhesion to Russia—temporary adhesion we trust it may be called, may be ascribed to preference more than to necessity; but if the friendship of England were proved by actions rather than by promises, and there were indisputable evidence that our defence of Turkey would be strenuous and faithful, she would gladly renounce all other alliances for ours, perceiving, as she must do, that England and herself have common interests. In the meanwhile, it is neither just nor generous to taunt her with inaction; for the time is not yet come, when she can venture to defy her mighty neighbour. (T.)

induce her to adopt that course, she will defer it to the latest moment. Should this necessity ever present itself, it would be imprudent to entertain the thought of fighting her in a position where all the natural circumstances are ranged on her side. Instead of attempting so unwise a proceeding, the means should be found, in political combinations, of accommodating at the same time the interests of Russia, and those of the rest of Europe, securing to the former the freedom of navigation she requires. Able politicians should, before hand, seek the solution of this problem ; I will not here undertake it, for this great question would lead me too far from my purpose.

Very important events occurred four years ago at Constantinople ; I mean the arrival of the Russian troops, who saved the throne of the Grand Signor ; their brief sojourn, and their departure on the very day when they ceased to be required. It is difficult to estimate the effect these occurrences produced on public opinion, but it has accustomed the Turks to the presence of the Russians. A monument\* recalls

\* The following inscription was composed, in the Turkish language, by Pertew Effendi, Minister of the Interior, and has been engraved on a fragment of rock :—

to the memory of the people, and to the Sultan's feelings, the service rendered to him. The Grand Signor was on the brink of an abyss, time pressed, the catastrophe was certain, and no power but Russia could avert it. The Sultan called that power to his aid, and it came without delay.\* From that moment danger ceased, and so soon as the crisis had passed, the Russian fleet and army returned to the Crimea, without requiring any sacrifice from the Sultan as a recompense for the service rendered to him. This was an able stroke of policy, and has already been followed by important results; producing confidence; demonstrating the promptness and efficacy of the succours afforded, as well as their disinterestedness; and giving the Sultan a conviction of his personal safety, which the general instability

“ This plain has afforded a short hospitality to the Russian troops, who came as guests. May this stone commemorate the event. May the amity between the two states be as firm and enduring; and the record dwell for ever on the tongue of friends.”

The above is not a literal translation of the inscription given to us by the author, but it corresponds better with the original Turkish sentence. (*T.*)

\* It is well known that the Sultan's first application for assistance was made to England; his second to France, and it was only on finding it was not convenient for either of those Powers to support him, that he threw himself under the protection of Russia. (*T.*)

of things at Constantinople is not calculated to inspire in those who reign. Religious prejudices are wearing out; the fierce hatred of the Turks is dying away, and such protection as has already been received, is doubtless regarded by the Sultan as a right, of which he will avail himself, whenever he may be in peril. Both parties will fulfil the engagements they have reciprocally entered into, as they will find their interest in such a course.

I will add, that of all the dangers that threaten the power of the Sultan, the most imminent, in my opinion, is a revolution, arising from the discontent of his subjects, which might break out on any fortuitous occasion. In the first rank of such causes, I would place pecuniary embarrassment, a disaster that might occur at any moment. Delay in the payment of the new troops would throw every thing into disorder, for although they are impotent for the defence of the state, they are admirably calculated to overturn the throne. A difficulty in regard to their pay, on one occasion, rendered them turbulent, and the Government was obliged to revoke its decision, in order to restore tranquillity. These soldiers are conscious of their strength in this respect, and

should they be seduced through the suggestions of the factious, or be carried away by feelings of hostility and insubordination, which might be produced by any trivial occurrence at variance with their wishes, they would not hesitate to overturn every thing in their power ; and the Sultan, abandoned by public opinion, would find no one willing to support him. Feeling this, he attaches immense value to the assistance which, he is aware, could always be obtained from the Krimea, and we can imagine, that, impressed with this conviction, he will do nothing to compromise his title to receive it.

The future is hidden from man, and we know not how long this empire of a city may last ; but if, as there is reason to fear, an internal revolution should destroy what is now existing, it would be indispensable to establish a new order of things, and we ought therefore to be prepared to meet the change.

The fall of the Turkish empire may be hastened by the injudicious succour, or the unrequested presence of pretended friends, who, under the pretext of assistance, and of securing an independence for the Sultan, which is now impossible, will make it the theatre of war ; infallibly give rise to the events that are dreaded, and produce the catastrophe we



would willingly avert, although we feel it to be certain.\*

\* In the account of my proceedings, and my stay in Constantinople, I have adverted to the deposing of Sultan Selim, whom Mustapha Bairactar undertook to re-place on the throne, and have briefly touched upon communications which I had with various Turkish Chiefs. It would lead me too far from my subject to retrace the history of that period of my life, but I think some details of the revolution alluded to will be read with interest, and shew what was at that epoch the policy of the French Government.

In the year 1807, when I was Commander-in-Chief of the army of Dalmatia, the Emperor being desirous of creating enemies to England and Russia (he was about to take the field against the latter), formed a close alliance with Turkey, and induced that state to declare war against the Russians. Napoleon contemplated confiding to me the command of an army of twenty-five thousand men, to act in conjunction with the Turks, and he thought it possible we might carry war to the banks of the Indus. While these operations were under consideration, I was directed to furnish the Grand Signor with such provisions, ammunition, cannon, &c. as he might require, and with officers of artillery and engineers; and at a later period I was ordered to send to him troops of those branches of the service. Hence my intercourse with many of the Pachas, and amongst others with Mustapha Bairactar, Seraskier of the Danube (General-in-Chief of the Turkish army), Ali Pacha, and Khosrew.

The Turks were, however, very jealous of the confidence Selim reposed in the French, and the good feeling he entertained towards them; and, above all, they were discontented at his efforts to introduce civilization into the country. An intrigue of the Seraglio caused this blind fanaticism to shew itself in rebellion. We had just succeeded in preventing Constantinople from falling into the hands of the English, when the Janissaries, displeased at the organization of regular troops, suddenly revolted, and made Selim yield the throne to his uncle Mustapha.

It was at first doubtful what would be the conduct of the new Sovereign towards France, and therefore we discontinued our supplies to him. Mustapha, however, adopted the policy of his predecessor; but the peace of Tilsit having altered that of Napoleon, he joined Russia; and though previously directed to prepare the plan of a campaign in favour of Turkey, I was, on this change, ordered to discover the readiest way of capturing one of her provinces.

At the end of the volume there will be found historical relations of the facts which are here only briefly referred to.

## ASIA MINOR AND SYRIA.

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I DEPARTED from Constantinople on the evening of the 30th of July, having previously hired a vessel to convey me to Smyrna and Alexandria; and, while she was preparing for the voyage, I made a tour in Bithynia, and visited Mount Olympus, leaving directions to be met at the Princes' Islands.

The favourable state of the weather enabled us on the following morning to reach Moudania, a village, situated at the entrance of the Gulf from which its name is taken. Not far from thence the handsome city of Nicæa formerly stood;\* it was famed for the two Councils held there, for the memorable siege it sustained from the first Crusaders, and also for the treachery of the Greek Emperor Alexis Comnenus, who deprived them of the fruits of their exertions when

\* The ancient Nicæa was an inland city, and the site is partly occupied by the modern Turkish town of "Isnik." Its actual distance from the village of Moudania, which consists of a row of houses along the sea-shore, is between thirty and forty miles.

The ruins of Nicæa form one of the most picturesque views that it is possible to conceive, being beautifully relieved by the mosques which rise amongst these relics of antiquity. (T.)

on the point of securing it. Nicæa, at a later period, became the capital of the Greek Empire, while Constantinople was that of the Latins. It was situated on the border of Lake Ascanius, in the middle of a fertile country.

Some leagues from thence, at the head of a neighbouring gulf, stood the city of Nicomedia, of which there are still some ruins. The whole of this coast was once thickly peopled, but at present the only places inhabited are Moudania, the port of Brusa, and the village of Ghio, the ancient Gemlik where ships are now built.\*

After landing at Moudania, and taking an observation to determine the height of Mount Olympus, I set out for Brusa.

The environs of Moudania are extremely fertile, highly cultivated, and covered with vines and olive trees. The whole of the vast peninsula of Asia Minor is equally favoured by nature, but there is a deficiency of inhabitants, and they are generally averse to labour, from a depressing conviction that their exertions would produce no profit to themselves. In the neighbourhood of Brusa this is not the case. Whether it is that proxi-

\* This is a transposition of names, the *present* title of the village is "Gemlik," the *ancient* one "Caius." (T.)

mity to Constantinople affords this people a little more security, or that by chance a succession of less avaricious Pachas has given them a respite, to enjoy the produce of their labour, I cannot determine, but they are industrious, and the state of cultivation of the surrounding country is as extensive as could fairly be expected from their numbers.

The country ascends as it recedes from the coast ; the villages are at a distance from the route I took, but they appeared in a prosperous state. We twice crossed the Nilufer, which rises in one of the offsets of Olympus, and after a devious course falls into the sea of Marmora, ten leagues to the westward of Moudania.

Brusa stands near the base of the mountain, and is seen from a considerable distance. Its appearance is magnificent, for its extent, the number of its mosques, and the loftiness of its splendid domes, produce a most imposing effect upon the mind. The nearer you approach the town the more beautiful the scenery becomes; streams of water flow in all directions, giving freshness to the air, while Mount Olympus, towering above this rich and varied picture, stamps the whole with grandeur. Life and spirit are imparted to this lovely spot, by its in-

dustrious and ample population, and the immediate environs appear delightful.

King Prusias was wise, in seeking to live here in a state of tranquil joy, shunning all that could endanger his possession of a land so favoured by nature.

Brusa is a manufacturing town for articles of silk, and the situation being very favourable for silk-worms, they are kept here in great numbers, which leads to an extensive cultivation of the mulberry tree.

The system pursued in this district appeared to me the most judicious I had ever seen.

It is usual, elsewhere, to grow beneath the mulberry plantations smaller trees or vegetables, but here that system is reversed, for the mulberry-trees are topped, giving them a pollard form, and lofty olive, or other fruit trees are placed in the intervals. The result is, that the fruit is as abundant as if the soil were appropriated entirely to its cultivation, and the produce in mulberry leaves is not diminished by their growing in the shade, so that a double crop is obtained from the same portion of land. I consider this practice worthy of notice, from the perfect success that attends it.

Brusa is the ancient Prusa. Its population amounts to about a hundred thousand, composed of Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Turks, and although the last named race form the great majority, they live in perfect harmony with the Christians, are of a mild disposition, and free from fanaticism. In all the towns of the East the houses are built of wood, and the streets are dark and narrow, but here they are adorned with a multitude of beautiful fountains, which are constantly flowing.

There are numerous and spacious bazaars, supplied with costly articles of merchandize, chiefly the result of local industry. The silks of Brusa are in high estimation throughout Europe, and this town may be considered the Lyons of Turkey.\*

The greatest blessing and luxury of the East is an abundance of water. Brusa is pre-eminently fortunate in this respect, for Mount Olympus affords it a most ample supply from various levels, and the water being conducted with great judgment to every quarter of the town, contributes essentially to the comfort of its inhabitants. This advantage, com-

\* These silks have a proportion of cotton mixed with them, and are ornamented with gold and silver threads, worked up with the other materials. (T.)

bined with the beauty of the surrounding scenery, makes Brusa a most agreeable place of residence.

It is famed for its efficacious mineral waters, and its magnificent baths, the largest of which is in a beautiful style of architecture, lined with marble, and containing numerous basins. The bath is one of the greatest sources of indulgence among Eastern nations, and the Turks who are much devoted to this pleasure, assemble in great numbers to enjoy it in these public establishments, which remind us of those of the ancient Romans.\*

On analysing the waters we found that they contained sulphate of soda, clay, chalk, iron, and carbonic and sulphuric gases. The temperature varies from 42 to 84 degrees centigrades.† It is a common practice of the Turks to use baths of extraordinary heat, and I saw a person enter one of 78 degrees.‡ Nature has been lavish of her favours to the inhabitants of Brusa, in supplying springs

\* The inhabitants of this part of Turkey are extremely uncleanly in their dress, and therefore the frequent use of the bath must not be a mere luxury, but a positive necessary of life. (*T.*)

† Equal to  $107\frac{1}{2}$  and  $183\frac{1}{2}$  Fahrenheit.

‡ 78 degrees centigrades being equal to  $172\frac{1}{2}$  Fahrenheit, it is presumed that in the original text there must have been a misprint, as it seems utterly impossible for any human being to support the heat of a bath at so high a degree of temperature. (*T.*)



possessed of such desirable qualities, and splendid works have been constructed to contain them, but no satisfactory step has been taken to regulate their application ; for the local physicians are so totally ignorant of their properties and component parts, that invalids are left to instinct, or must depend on chance leading them to the source most suited to effect a cure.

At the village of Chirche, a short distance from Brusa, are the tombs of the two first Sultans of the Turkish empire.

This power, whose origin is regarded as uncertain and obscure, became formidable shortly after its existence was discovered. Tartars from the Caucasus had conquered Asia, and founded, in 1037, the dynasty of the Seljoucides, who divided themselves into three branches ; that of Iran, or Persia ; that of Kerman, or the Gulf of Persia ; and that of Roum, whose possessions comprehended a great part of Asia Minor, including the wreck of the Greek empire, and having Iconium for its capital. A wandering tribe of Tartars, headed by Ortogul, established themselves between Aleppo and Cesarea.

Aladdin, the Sultan of Iconium, a weak prince, who was exposed to the incursions of other Tartar

tribes, having heard of the wisdom, firmness, and justice of Ortogul, took him into his service, and gave him a tract of country on the banks of the river Sakaria,\* about fifteen leagues distant from the Black Sea.

The whole force of this chieftain consisted of a few hundred families, who were the founders of the Ottoman nation, and this place was its birthplace. Though at first scarcely known, and far from powerful, they soon acquired sufficient strength to overturn the tottering thrones around them, and became so formidable as to threaten the liberties of Europe. This produced a great sensation, but their power was transitory, for they did nothing to render it firm and stable.

The destiny and future grandeur of Ortogul and his descendants had been predicted; but observing the weakness of the throne of Iconium, and the anarchy prevailing in the East, he had too much sagacity to require the aid of prophecy to indicate the career that was open to him.

His son Othman, who succeeded him in 1300, was gifted by nature with great virtues, talent, and courage. The services he rendered to the Sultan

\* The ancient Sangarius. (*T.*) •

of Iconium, and his earliest operations as a soldier, gave a stamp of importance to his character ; but a revolt of the Emirs, and an invasion of the Tartars, having overturned the throne of Aladdin, and put an end to his dynasty, Othman seized on Bythinia.

During the anarchy of the middle ages, and the consequent distractions and sufferings of the people he who presented himself at the head of a military force, as a master and protector, had no difficulty in establishing a throne.

Othman took possession of Yenisteims, but failed in his attempt on Prusa and Nicomedia, both defended by troops of the Greek Emperor of Constantinople. On the death of Othman, his son Orcan succeeded to the sovereignty ; and having renewed the attack on the first named city, it surrendered to him. The body of Othman was removed thither by Orcan, who was aware that this had been his father's wish, and thus funeral obsequies formed a part of the victor's triumph.

Orcan following up the course which Othman had pursued, enlarged his dominions and added to the national glories. He selected Prusa, the capital of Bythinia, for his seat of government ; and cap-

tured Nicæa, the second city of the Greek empire, as well as Nicomedia. At a later period, crossing the Hellespont, he appeared in Europe, and entering into the various combinations of the vacillating policy of the Greek empire, profited by its dissensions. Finally marrying the daughter of the Emperor Cantacuzene, he prepared the way for the future conquests of his people, and their influence in Europe.

Such is the history of the two illustrious men whose tombs we see enclosed within the mosque at the village of Cherche; monuments incommensurate with their great achievements.

The rapid progress of the Ottoman empire in Europe, soon caused the seat of government to be transferred from Brusa to Adrianople, and therefore Othman and Orcan were the only Sultans buried on the Asiatic shore.\*

On the first of August, at five o'clock in the morning, we set out on our laborious but interesting excursion to Olympus; commencing our journey by the ascent of one of the great spurs of the mountain at the foot of which stands the town of Brusa.

\* The author has been misinformed in this instance, as the Sultans Ilderim, Bayazid, and Amurath I. were also interred there. (T.)

We found vegetation extremely rich, the country adorned by magnificent trees, and abundant streams flowing in various directions, giving a pleasing freshness to the surrounding scenery. The more important springs are conducted to embellish and supply the Armenian quarter of the town.

Chesnut trees grow luxuriantly on this part of the mountain ; on a higher level evergreens of all descriptions are seen, and still nearer the summit there is an extent of table land, which produces only pasturage. In the summer this tract is occupied by Turcomans, a pastoral people, who change their place of abode according to the seasons, encamping either on the mountains or in the plains as may best suit their flocks ; and they thus turn to account the produce of this district, which, from a deficiency of population, is uncultivated and abandoned by others,—yet this is Asia Minor, formerly so rich and powerful.

The habitations of the Turcomans are merely tents, annually re-established on the same spot, and, like those of the Tartars, they are made of felt. I visited two of the encampments, and found the occupiers, as is generally the case with people in a very low state of civilization, hospitable, but with a strong propensity to thieving. They possess nume-

rous herds of very fine cattle, which constitute their wealth, and supply them with food.

A great proportion of Mount Olympus is calcareous ; and I observed several fragments of grey and white marble on the surface.

On reaching the top, we commenced the observations which had been the motive of our excursion. We found the boiling point of water to be 92.4 degrees centigrades;\* making the altitude two thousand two hundred and forty-seven metres (2457 English yards) above the level of the sea. The temperature of the atmosphere at the summit was 14 degrees centigrades.† This result is in perfect accordance with those of previous observations, from which it has been deduced that the temperature diminishes one degree centigrade for every hundred toises of elevation ; for the temperature of the shore of the Propontis at this season ranges uniformly from twenty-four to twenty-six degrees centigrades,‡ being a difference of eleven degrees,§ and corre-

\* About 198 Fahrenhiet.

†  $57\frac{1}{2}$  do. It is to be regretted that the author has not stated the principle on which he has made his calculation, for the result is at least 500 feet less than would be given by the tables published in the London Geographical Journal by Colonel Sykes, an extract of which will be found in the Appendix. (T.)

‡ From 75 to 79 do.

§ 20 do. do. (T.)

sponding with a height of eleven hundred toises, or about 2247 metres, as determined by observation.

At that time Mount Olympus was free from snow, which the shepherds, whom I questioned, informed me, generally melted by the 10th of July; therefore travellers who assert that this mountain is clothed in eternal snow, have been deceived.

We returned to Brusa at nine o'clock at night, and having on the following morning re-inspected what was most worthy of attention, set out for Moudania, and reached that place at the close of day. Our first voyage in a boat, in crossing from Constantinople in the night, having been agreeable and prosperous, we wished to return in the same manner; but this short passage had nearly been fatal to us, for our half drunken Greek sailors, desirous of taking advantage of a favourable wind, having set their immense sails, which are only calculated for fine weather, we narrowly escaped being upset by a sudden squall, as these boats are not sufficiently ballasted to carry much canvas in a fresh breeze. We steered for the Princes' Islands, where we arrived early on the morning of the fourth. They are thus named from having been at the period of the Greek empire, the place of exile for the banished princes. We

landed at the Island of Khalki to visit two monasteries of early celebrity. One of them, which is only occupied by two monks, has a rich and highly ornamented church. The other, dedicated to the "Panagia," has been converted into a school, and contains fifty pupils, sons of the principal Greek residents in Constantinople. All communication with this establishment having been cut off, from an apprehension of the plague, which was then raging at Constantinople, we did not inspect it; but from the information I received, it appears to me that the system of instruction is good and sufficiently extensive.

The Turkish Government has recently founded a naval academy at the foot of the mountain, in a handsome and appropriate building.

I proceeded to Prinkipos, the largest of these Islands, to wait for the ship I had hired, and on her arrival, the following day, we embarked. She was an old brig called "La Celestine," built at Ragusa, and commanded by a Captain and Second Captain, natives of that city, sailing under the Russian flag.

It would be difficult to describe the splendour of the scenery we behold from the Island of Prinkipos. In the fore-ground are seen the other Islands belonging to this cluster: Constantinople appears in the dis-



tance, with Scutari, Chalcedon, and all the coast of Asia. In fact, in no other part of the globe is nature clothed with equal majesty and beauty.

We set sail on the evening of the 6th for the Dardanelles, and I was much mortified on discovering that a very unfortunate selection had been made in engaging the *Celestine*, for she was so leaky as to render it necessary, from the very moment of our embarkation, to work the pumps for several hours daily; and this inconvenience continued throughout the two months we were on board, materially increasing the labour of the crew, who, independent of this additional exertion, were insufficient for the duties required of them. This was an unpropitious commencement, but I determined to proceed in this vessel, for although not trustworthy for a winter voyage, I conceived she might answer for the summer cruize in contemplation.

But I had to submit to a grievous disappointment in parting with Dr. Seng; for the malady, that in the Black Sea had placed his life in peril, having returned upon him with extreme violence, it was obvious that he could not, without considerable danger, proceed on an excursion, the greater part of which would have to be performed by sea. He

therefore determined on abandoning the idea, and with mutual regret it was settled that we should separate at the Dardanelles. We passed the peninsula of Cyzicus, where extensive ruins of the city of that name may be seen, bringing to our recollection a period of the most remote antiquity.\*

\* The following brief but interesting description of Cyzicus, written in 1834, by Captain the Hon. F. W. Grey, then commanding H. M. S. the *Actæon*, is extracted from the *Nautical Magazine* :

“ Our object in anchoring here was to visit the ruins of Cyzicus, and I regret that I was prevented from devoting more time to the examination of them, as, from the hasty survey of a few hours, I am led to conclude that the trouble of a closer investigation would be amply repaid.

“ The town appears to have occupied the hill side sloping down to the Isthmus which separates the two gulfs, and to have been of considerable extent.

“ The wall, although completely overgrown with dwarf oak, arbutus, and other shrubs, may be easily traced along the northern shore of the Isthmus, at that time probably covered by the sea, and from thence, after following the sea shore for a short distance, it runs irregularly up the hill until it reaches a commanding point, when it again descends in the direction of the western gulf—as the plain in that direction is covered with vineyards, I could not trace it far.

“ From the large slabs of granite visible in some parts of it, it must have been solidly built. Both the slope of the hill and the plain towards the eastern gulf, are covered with large mounds of ruins, so overgrown with shrubs, as to make it impossible, in their present state, to recognise their original form. The theatre alone, which stands on the slope of the hill facing the south-west, can be distinctly traced. The form is perfect, and the dimensions are large; and it would probably well repay the trouble of clearing away the brushwood by which it is concealed.

When the Argonauts proceeded to the Bosphorus, they touched at this place, and obtained a supply of the ponderous stones they used as anchors. Having

“ At a short distance without the walls, and a little to the northward of where they reached their highest point, are the ruins of an amphitheatre, most beautifully placed, in a ravine running towards the sea, and commanding a fine view of the plain and the western gulf. This building is oval, and the area has been formed out of a natural basin in the ravine, across which a double tier of arches has been carried.

“ Through the centre runs the bed of a mountain stream, now nearly dry, and formerly probably confined in regular channels, which I fancied I could partly trace, or perhaps carried underground. The arches which formed the walls have fallen in, and the greater part of the building is overgrown with bushes. Four or five masses of masonry, from whence the arches took their spring, still remain uncovered, and particularly a large one at the lower end, where the double arch has been carried across the stream.

“ The lower part is very solidly built of large squares of granite and, from its size and height, it is visible at a considerable distance out to seaward.

“ In addition to the ruins I have mentioned, we also saw what appears to have been a large cistern, or reservoir of water, now nearly filled up, but still affording the most pure and cold water I ever drank ; and, also, not far from the shore of the western gulf, a heap of ruins of some very large buildings. It is of an oval form, about two hundred yards long, and one hundred wide ; and over the whole extent are strewed pieces of marble, many of which retain the marks of sculpture.

“ The only part that remains perfect are three galleries, now underground, but nearly on a level with the surrounding country.

“ The centre one is about ten feet wide, and fourteen feet high, with a vaulted roof. A smaller one on each side, about six feet wide, communicates with it by a narrow passage, and the walls which se-

a combat with the Doliones, the people of the country, and Cyzicus, their king, being killed in the battle, the peninsula took his name, which it has borne to the present time.

The situation of Cyzicus being very favourable for commerce, the city became rich and flourishing, and its inhabitants were early converts to Christianity. They were true to their alliance with the Romans, and resisted Mithridates ; but, like many other places in this part of Asia, Cyzicus was destroyed on the invasion of the barbarians.

We saw the Island of Marmora, which produces the most beautiful marble of the East, and gives its modern name to the ancient Propontis.

In passing the mouth of the Granicus, celebrated for marking the first step of the glorious career of the conqueror of Asia, the commencement of the brilliant series of victories that astonished the world, was brought to our recollection.

parate them are from eight to ten feet thick, and have within them, on one side of the gallery, an ascending passage, probably a staircase, and on the other a well of very pure water. The centre gallery, where we entered, has an arched doorway, but appears to have been continued both ways for the whole length of the building. The furthest end is completely choked up by rubbish. The above description will give some idea of the formation of these vaults."

We observed the coast dedicated to the God of Gardens, the fertility of which justified its selection for the sites of the temples erected to his worship.

At length we reached the entrance to the canal of the Dardanelles, which varying in width, gradually diminishes till it is only fourteen hundred yards across.

The form of the shores is peculiarly favourable for establishing an impassable defence, but the existing batteries are not in a state to stop a fleet attempting to force the passage with a strong leading wind. It is true that such a facility is rarely presented, because the prevailing winds are northerly, and an additional obstacle to a rapid passage into the sea of Marmora is the constant current setting towards the Mediterranean, at a rate of nearly four knots an hour.\*

\* The passage of the canal of the Dardanelles is rarely performed without some detention from unfavourable winds, frequently extending to five or six days, and occasionally to as many weeks; and, therefore, it would be an enterprise of considerable risk, indeed of absolute temerity, for a hostile fleet to attempt it, unless it had previously landed a military force on the European or the Asiatic shore, or on both, if possible, and taken possession of the maritime defences.

Probably two or three thousand men would succeed on either side in such an operation, for the present works, though formidable as sea batteries, might be easily captured by a force attacking them

The most formidable batteries were originally at the narrowest part of the canal, that is near the

in rear; being imperfectly constructed and subject to a close command.

In the year 1833, His Majesty's ship *Actæon*, Captain the Hon. F. W. Grey, took several days to work through this passage; and such having been the case with a smart frigate, we may presume that the detention of a fleet of such magnitude as would be required to enter the sea of Marmora, for hostile objects, would be still greater, and that should England ever have occasion to adopt such a measure, she must attach to each ship of war sufficient steam power to be able to pass rapidly through the canal, in defiance of unfavourable winds and the prevailing current.

Captain Grey published in the *Nautical Magazine* an account of his voyage from Naples to Constantinople, and as that part which relates to the Straits of the Dardanelles, and the table of winds he has given, must be interesting to such readers as are likely to visit that quarter, an extract from it is subjoined.

“ On the morning of the 23rd we were under way, and, working up with a moderate breeze, at noon we entered the Dardanelles, with a north-west wind, and ran up on the European shore, till nearly as high as Point Barbriere, when the wind coming from the N. E., we stood across, and anchored off the white cliffs in ten fathoms.

“ The next day we were under way twice with southerly winds, but each time the wind failing, we were forced to return to the anchorage off the cliffs.

First bearings at anchor.

Southernmost of the two white cliffs - - - S. E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E.  
 Point Barbriere - - - - - N. by E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E.

In ten fathoms and a half, rather close to the shore.

Second bearings at anchor.

South cliff - - - - - E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  N.  
 Point Barbriere on with Nagara point - - - N. N. E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E.

In thirteen fathoms—a very good berth.

village of the Dardanelles, and on the coast of Europe immediately opposite to it. These works, which in fact are castles, constructed many years

“ From the slight examination I was enabled to give, it appears to me that the best anchorage is with the white cliff mentioned above, bearing from E. to E. by N. in ten to thirteen fathoms. To the eastward the shoal runs further off shore (full 250 fathoms), and is steeper to approach. Round the bight, where the low-land forming Point Barbieri runs out, it does not extend more than 150 fathoms; but from the point itself a spit runs a considerable distance to the south-west. It does not appear to run out into the Strait to any distance; in fact, the current runs so strongly close to the point, that the water must be deep.

“ On the afternoon of the 26th, we were again under way, with a fine breeze from the southward; but it again failed us before we had passed the formidable current, and we hauled over for the European side, and anchored about a cable's length from the shore, in fourteen fathoms, a little to the eastward of the large valley opposite Point Barbieri, marked in the chart Soundéré, with Upper Castle of Asia N. E. by E. I would recommend to ships in fine weather rather to anchor on this shore, than to cross to the white cliffs, as the wind at times comes from the north-west, and enables them to get up as high as the castles, by keeping the European shore on board; and I have seen no instance of the wind coming from the south-east, so as to give the advantage to a ship on the southern shore. The water here is not so deep as, from the height of the land, I had expected to find it. Off the entrance of the stream which runs down the valley, a shoal runs out a short distance: the holding-ground appears good. There is anchorage all along this shore, from Point Barbieri up to the castles; in the bay below the castles, in from seven to thirteen fathoms; but in most places it is necessary to approach the shore very closely, to get into a moderate depth.

“ We remained at this anchorage, with variable weather, and north-east winds, till the morning of the 30th, when a fresh southerly

back, are the centre of the defence, and numerous large batteries have been formed at their base, but with so little judgment, that the enemy's fire would soon render them untenable.

breeze enabled us to pass the castles, and at two we passed Gallipoli, and steered E.N.E. This course carried us five miles to the northward of Marmora, and at eight, having passed the centre of the island, we altered course to east, and ran fifty-one miles, and then, seeing the land, we hauled up N.E. At 4 h. 20 m. Point Stefano bore N.W. two miles; at six we passed the Sultan's palace; at 7 h. 50 m. came to, off Yelikeni Point. The next morning we shifted our berth to off Mezar-Bournou Point.

“Therapia, May 1st to Jan. 1st, 1834.—During the summer months our anchorage was at about  $1\frac{3}{4}$  cable's length west from the point of the Asiatic shore off Therapia; both in order to be near the palace, and from its being considered much more healthy to be in the full draught of the sea-breeze, than by a nearer approach to the marshy ground at the entrance of the river, to run the risk of the fevers so prevalent in all the valleys and low grounds in the month of August. Whether owing to this precaution or not, during the whole summer we had only one case of fever, and that, although severe, not fatal.

“The holding-ground is not of the best kind; but with a good scope of cable (we veered to 100 fathoms chain), there is no risk of the ship driving, certainly not with westerly and southerly winds, which alone would be dangerous; and the current, with few exceptions, I believe I might say during the summer without an exception, running constantly down, a ship never goes near her anchor. The shoals a-head in a great measure prevent the risk there might otherwise be of vessels coming down running on board. In fact, I recommend this anchorage as much the best in summer.

“Upon our return to the Bosphorus in November, we took up a berth with the above point N.N.W. of us, about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cable's length



There are great natural facilities on both shores for placing artillery in the most advantageous positions for disputing the passage ; and it is evident, from the general conformation of the coasts, that to render this maritime defence perfect, additional

from the mouth of a river ; and we found it so sheltered, that in the heavy gale of the 15th and 16th of December, which did so much damage in the Black Sea and Archipelago, the ship rode perfectly easy, without veering any cable. A French brig-of-war, in Therapia harbour, rolled very heavily, and had great difficulty in keeping clear of the two or three other vessels lying there. In the month of May, and beginning of June, the weather was cold and rainy, the N.E. winds being often accompanied by cold damp fogs from the Black Sea. From the beginning of June to the middle of September, there was no rain, the weather fine, and the heat seldom oppressive. Towards the end of September the weather broke up, and we had squalls and rain ; and in the beginning of October the weather was variable and unsettled. From the 12th of October to the 8th of November we were absent from the Bosphorus.

“ On the 9th and 10th of November the wind was southerly, with fine weather ; and from that time to the 3rd of December the N.E. wind blew almost without interruption, sometimes fresh and cold. During the month of December the wind was generally from the southward ; on the 13th it blew fresh from the westward, and the same night shifted suddenly to the N.W. and then N.E., where it freshened up by the following night to one of the heaviest gales known here for many years, accompanied by heavy rain and sleet. On the 16th it moderated, and again came from the southward. On the 26th it blew fresh from the S.W., and in the night the wind again suddenly shifted to the northward, and blew hard for two days from N.E., when it again came to the southward.”

The following table shews the prevailing winds.

works ought to be constructed, more inland than the existing forts, for by such an arrangement the new sites would admit of the guns enfilading the line of the canal, and crippling the hostile vessels at a distance; whereas the position of the present batteries precludes them from annoying the enemy until his ships arrive nearly abreast of the works,

*Table of Winds.—Therapia, 1833.*

Month.	North to East.	South to West.	Calm and var. Airs.	Greatest Duration, North to East.	Greatest Duration, South to West.
May, 31 days	24 days.	3 days.	4 days.	14th to 26th, 13 days.	1
June, 30 days	24 —	4 —	2 —	24th June to 4th July, 11	14th to 15th 2
July, 26 days, sailed the 26th.	14 —	7 —	5 —	21st to 26th 6	9th to 11th 3
August, 22 days; absent 1st to 4th; 24th to 30th.	17 —	4 —	1 —	5th to 14th 10	1
September, 30 days	21 —	9 —	0 —	19th Sept. to Oct. 12th 24	13th to 18th 6
October, 12 days, sailed the 12th.	12 —	0 —	0		0
November, 23 days, returned the 8th.	18 —	2 —	3 —	11th to Dec. 2nd 22	9th to 10th 2
December 31 days	9 —	16 —	6 —	14th to 16th 3	17th to 22nd 6 1 day calm 6
May to September inclusive, 139 days	100 —	27 —	12 —		
October, 12 days	12 —	0 —	0 —		
November and December, 54 days	27 —	18 —	9 —		
Total days, 205	139 —	45 —	21 —		

The above Table shews that out of a period of 205 days, the wind prevailed from North to East for 139 days, being rather more than two-thirds of the time;—a sufficient preponderance of adverse wind to cause apprehension for any fleet not abundantly supplied with steamers, that might attempt to force the passage in the face of batteries, which on the two sides mount upwards of 750 pieces of ordnance. (T.)

and in a situation to return their fire with effect. The defences should be considerably increased at Nagara, and the batteries attached to the castles of the Dardanelles, reconstructed or improved. I do not allude merely to that absurd defence which is more an imaginary than a real one, formed by pieces of artillery (without carriages) of large calibre, intended for throwing marble shot—The direction of their fire being at right angles to the canal, each gun can only discharge one shot at a vessel, and that at the moment she is opposite to it; but my observation applies to the whole system, which requires to be remodelled. It would not be difficult to form a good land defence against a force that might be disembarked, by enclosing the castle and batteries of the village of the Dardanelles within permanent works of considerable extent, presenting five bastions towards the interior of the country. Such a fortress could not be taken without a regular siege, and the mountains are too distant to render their command injurious. It would be equally easy to cover the batteries of Nagara. A mound of earth which now forms a skreen, might be occupied by two small fronts of fortification, and near the extre-

mity of the table land, at a place called Maltépé, there should be a small isolated fort, and an enclosed battery.

The fortress, the battery, and the works of Nagara, from mutually supporting each other, would present so formidable a resistance, that an army recently landed, and possessing therefore very limited resources, could have no hope of succeeding in an attack on this position.

As to the opposite point, on the European shore, the country being very broken and the coast elevated, the defences should consist of three good forts of small dimensions, with casemated redoubts similar to those at Coblenz. The proper position for them would be at once seen by an engineer of any experience, and under the protection of these works the sea batteries might be much extended.

The first or exterior point of defence of the Dardanelles is lower down, at Koom-Kalé. The battery established there sees the entrance of the canal from the Ægean Sea; but although containing a considerable number of cannon, and strengthened towards the country by a keep, which serves as a redoubt, it is very inefficient, owing to its defective construction. It might be built on an improved

plan, and covered against land attacks, by a regular work, although I consider this superfluous, for a good maritime defence, established on this point, would be sufficient, and it would therefore be better to appropriate to the Dardanelles such funds as the authorities might be inclined to expend at Koom-Kalé.

It is impossible to sail on the canal of the Hellespont without its bringing to our recollection the great events of former times. The immense bridges, for instance, formed by Xerxes for the passage of his army, in his attack on Greece ; a proof of vanity rather than of skill or wisdom. Our thoughts are then carried back to that glorious and brilliant enterprise, the success of which could only have resulted from the genius of its leader, Alexander, who at the head of a small but brave army subdued, in less than four years, the whole of Asia.

A striking example of the magic power of discipline and order, the value of which the Greeks had previously shewn, by repelling the confused multitudes that twice invaded them ; but in those instances they had fought upon their own soil, well provided with every thing required for a vigorous

defence, while, on the contrary, their enemies had been exposed to great privations, partly arising from their numbers. In the instance of the Greek invasion of Asia, we find a force barely amounting to thirty thousand men, not merely defeating and dispersing the numerous armies that opposed them, but subduing nations and taking possession of an extensive territory.

Those who have been employed against the nations of the East, know that, from a deficiency of system and organization, their armies possess no unity of action, each individual conducting himself according to the impulse of his feelings and his courage; and, therefore, however great their numerical superiority, they cannot have a prospect of success against the compact, and firmly cemented mass, which disciplined and well-trained troops present. Hence our surprise should not be excited so much by the defeat of the Persian army by Alexander, as by his being enabled, with such slender means, to retain possession of the country.

I saw at the Dardanelles, Mehemed Pacha, the commandant of that district, who received me with attention, and made the necessary arrangements for

my excursion, on the following day, to the plain of Troy.

On the morning of the 8th, we went by water to the fort of Koom-Kalé, and after a short visit to the Aga, with whom we partook of coffee, and smoked the pipe of ceremony, we mounted our horses to proceed on our journey.

That the names of the heroes of the Trojan war should have been transmitted to us, through a period of three thousand years, is less to be ascribed to their renown than to that of the immortal poet who has sung their deeds, and Achilles, Patroclus, and Hector, are but ornaments of the frame in which the noble portrait of Homer is placed. It required all the power of the father of poetry to hand down to us, surrounded with lustre, the names of those who were engaged in contests which, had they occurred in these days, would not have been known beyond the sphere in which they happened. But the imaginative genius of Homer was enabled to express, in sublime language, the passions of the human heart, unveil its secrets, and give a faithful portraiture of man in the midst of the vicissitudes of life; and his admirable descriptions have raised the most trivial

actions into importance. It is therefore the fame of Homer that draws us to the plain of Troy; and with the interest excited by the study of his immortal works, we contemplate the spot to which he has imparted its celebrity.

We took with us both the Iliad and the work of Le Chevallier, in examining the country between the sea and the village of Bounarbashi, which incontestably stands on the site of ancient Troy. With such a guide as Le Chevallier, it is impossible to err; so accurate are his descriptions, that you immediately discover the places mentioned by Homer, and appear to be amongst the heroes he has sung.

The strand comprised between the height adjoining Koom-Kalé, and that on the right bank of the Imbris, was evidently occupied by the Greek fleet; the anchorage is good, and the ships could have been drawn ashore, according to the practice of that time. The camp of the Greeks, placed in front and covered by intrenchments, protected the fleet; the position was strengthened on one flank by the heights terminating at Cape Sigeum, and on the other by the mouth of the river. On the right of the encampment were the tombs of



Achilles and Patroclus ; the tumuli which bear their names having doubtless been the places of sepulture of these warriors.

At a short distance from thence are seen the ruins of a temple, dedicated to Minerva, as well as the tomb of Antilocus, one of the earliest victims of the Trojan war. The Scamander and the Simoïs winding through the plain cannot be mistaken, and the course of both may be easily followed. The former is a tranquil stream, fed by various springs that rise near the city, and the latter an impetuous torrent. The Scamander, below the point where the Simoïs falls into it, crosses the encampment of the Greeks ; and its direction clearly shews the position of their intrenchments, which its overflow destroyed. The confluence of these rivers appeared to me to be nearer to Troy than is shewn upon the maps.

The fertile plain that divided the Grecian camp from the city of Troy, or from the encampment established by the Trojans, in front of their city, was the usual field of battle. The site of the gateway, through which the Trojans made their sorties is discernible, near the sources of the Scamander, the weakest and most accessible part of the city.

The opposite side commands the plain, and forms an isolated height, inclosed by the Simois. This portion of the ground corresponds perfectly with the description of the Acropolis, where the temple of Minerva stood, and where the wooden horse was introduced. The tomb of Hector can also be distinguished, formed by an accumulation of stones, heaped on each other. From the site of Troy may be seen the tumulus of Daisyetes, and the posts for watching the movements of the Greeks. In fact there is not a single spot described by the poet that Le Chevallier has failed to discover. Nothing can be more creditable to his discernment, or better prove the attention he must have bestowed on his researches. Formerly there was great obscurity and doubt regarding every thing connected with these matters, but he has lifted up the veil, and there is now no point remaining for discussion.

I inspected the ruins of a temple in the middle of the plain, near the village of Kanés-Kieui; they are very imposing, and consist of magnificent marble columns, capitals, and various highly finished ornaments. At the village of Tchiblack I found other remains of antiquity—The site of the “*Novum Ilium*,” embellished by the Romans, and the temple

of Apollo Tymbri, which stood at a short distance to the eastward, and beyond the stream.

I was informed that the English had made extensive and valuable collections at this spot.

On quitting the village of Tchiblack, I repaired to Bounarbashi, where, at every step, I met with proofs of being on the very ground formerly occupied by the celebrated city whose history has been transmitted to us by the greatest and first of poets.

I ascertained the temperature of the sources of the Scamander to be  $17\frac{5}{10}$  degrees "centigrades,"\* but I could not find any trace of the hot spring mentioned by travellers as falling into that river.

Although I had procured camp equipage at Constantinople, I did not expect it would be necessary in my excursion, to the ruins of Troy; and having left it on board the Celestine, we took up our quarters in a respectable looking house at Bounarbashi, but it is impossible to describe what we suffered from the attacks of myriads of insects that beset us—a scourge to which it appears all the houses of Asia Minor are subject. It is surprising that the inhabitants can bear, what must

\* Equal to  $63\frac{1}{2}$  degrees of Fahrenheit. (T.)

be a daily torture, unless their physical organization renders them insensible to an evil that we found insupportable.

We left Bounarbashi, on the morning of the 9th, and, after a few hours journey through a varied and partly cultivated country, reached the ruins of Alexandria-Troas, now called Eski-Stamboul. This city was founded by Alexander, and with the exception of Alexandria in Egypt, was the largest of the eighteen cities of the same name, built by that conqueror. He directed Antigonus, one of his captains to superintend its construction. This spot must have been splendidly beautiful, and was probably selected by Alexander from that circumstance and its vicinity to the sea.

Faithful to the Romans in their war with Antiochus, the same privileges were granted to Alexandria-Troas as to the cities of Italy, and having the marked protection of Augustus, it was colonised by Romans, who held sacred all the institutions of their mother country.

This was one of the first cities that adopted the christian faith.

Within the last forty years, many of its magnificent ruins have been removed, to be used as ma-

terials, in the construction of buildings at Constantinople, the Dardanelles, and other places on the coast. The marble columns have been sawed into blocks, and rounded, to form balls for the large guns used in the defence of the straits.

The only ruins that are standing are portions of the walls of an extensive palace of the Doric order, on an elevated situation about two miles from the sea, of which there is a commanding view from this spot. We traced the inclosures of the gardens, and from them were enabled to form an opinion of the extent of the city.

We observed, on the coast, the remains of some ancient works that must have belonged to the harbour, and, on the outside of the city, the ruins of an aqueduct several miles in length. At no great distance was the cemetery; and among the tombs there is one of a style of masonry in use at Rome between the eras of Augustus and Diocletian.

About four miles from the sea shore and on the southern side, beyond the limits of the city, there is a thermal spring that formerly supplied the baths. A statue of the infant Hercules, having been discovered there, it is presumed that

the baths were dedicated to that God, a not infrequent practice with the ancients.

Nothing can be more deplorable than the state of the present baths, but the waters are represented as being efficacious, especially in cases of rheumatism and gout. They are very warm, and saline, depositing in large quantities pure marine salt, and oxide of iron. Having been deprived of my thermometer by an accident, I had not the means of accurately determining their temperature, but it is at least 60 degrees "centigrades."\* In this neighbourhood I saw for the first time a species of oak, which I afterwards met with on the coast, in the district of Smyrna. The trees are planted at a distance from each other, and are generally of stunted growth. They produce a considerable quantity of fruit called "valonia." It is a kind of round kernel, having a very thick coat, covered with leaves resembling those of the artichoke. When unripe it is roasted and eaten like a chestnut, but when mature it is only fit for cattle. The value of the crop is chiefly in the coat, which is used in the operations of tanning, and as a varnish for paintings. The quantity gathered on this

\* 140 degrees of Fahrenheit. (T.)

coast is sufficient to freight annually twenty ships of between 150 and 200 tons burthen.

Dry valonia is sold for about 45 piasters the quintal. An annual firman authorises its exportation, and the Seraskier, who obtains this authority, receives a tribute as his recompense.

The trees are the property of a great number of individuals, some of whom do not possess more than four or five of them.

After minutely inspecting all that was interesting in the ruins of Alexandria-Troas, I returned on board my vessel, which was waiting for me off the coast. Near us, was the Island of Tenedos, situated as if it were intended as a point of observation, opposite the mouth of the Hellespont; at some distance, we saw the larger island of Lemnos, apparently destined to be the barrier of the West, and the point of "appui" of the maritime power that will have to keep in check the forces of Russia, at the exit of the straits. The prosperity of Russia requires that she should have the privilege of using this passage, but if exclusively her own, she would be enabled to threaten the liberties of Europe.\*

\* Tenedos lies at the distance of about three miles from the main land. It is of a triangular shape, and its base, which is nearly four

My intention was to pass between the main land and the island of Mytilene, the ancient Lesbos, so celebrated for the beauty and dissolute manners of its women. I wished to examine that coast closely, but we were obliged to sail to the westward of the island, having been too late in getting under way.

miles in length, faces the Asiatic shore. From wherever approached, it presents a conical appearance, but the summit of the hill is nearest to the eastern side of the island. The coast is generally bold, and in some parts precipitous. The town bears the same name as the island, and is situated at its north-eastern point, extending along the shore; it contains nearly the whole of the population, estimated at five thousand persons.

The island is amply supplied with good water, and produces wine of excellent quality.

There is a pier to the north of the town, which may afford facilities for landing, but it can hardly be said to form a shelter for shipping, or give just reason for Tenedos being regarded as a port.

It is chiefly frequented by vessels waiting for a fair wind to pass through the Hellespont, but those of large tonnage generally anchor in the open roadstead between the island and the continent, where they are tolerably sheltered, excepting from southerly winds. The depth of water is from eight to eighteen fathoms, and a current runs southward at the rate of about a mile and a quarter per hour. When it blows strong from the north, the shipping move round to leeward of the island.

There is an old Turkish fort on the side of the hill in rear of the town, but its construction is not such as to admit of a protracted defence.

In the event of its being necessary for England to blockade the



On the 10th, we sailed into the magnificent gulf of Smyrna, beyond all comparison the finest in the world, and worthy of being the avenue to the first commercial city of the east; for its extensive and excellent anchorage, affording shelter from every wind, is suited to the accommodation of enormous fleets as well as single vessels, and presents extraordinary facilities either for their arrival or departure, owing to the prevalence of the sea breeze throughout the day, and the land wind at night.

On the same evening we anchored, at about three leagues distance from the city, near the new fort constructed for the protection of the coasting trade, and on the 11th we entered the harbour.

Dardanelles, she should have possession not only of Tenedos, where the steamers or other light craft for observation would be placed, but Lemnos should also be under her control, and be made the *dépôt* and place of rendezvous for the fleet. It is much larger than Tenedos, and has two beautiful harbours, one on the north and the other on the south shore.

The southern and eastern sides of the island are the most fertile and abound with springs of fine water. The exports of Lemnos are oil, wine and cotton. It is famed for the skill of its pilots, and the sea-faring qualities of its male inhabitants. (T.)

Smyrna stands in a splendid position, and its environs possess extraordinary beauty. The city is built in the form of an amphitheatre at the entrance of a large and fertile valley, and extends from about the middle of Mount Pagus to the plain. The Frank quarter, composed of numerous handsome and spacious houses, is on the sea shore; the whole overlooked by the old castle, built in the days of Alexander, on the summit of the mountain.

Smyrna existed at a period anterior to the earliest historical records, and is said to have been founded by an Amazon, who gave it her name, which it has retained unchanged. When peopled by an Ephesian colony it was destroyed by the Lydians, and the wretched inhabitants and their posterity were dispersed, for a period of four hundred years, throughout the surrounding country. It was rebuilt by Alexander, who constructed a fort for its defence, and from that period, with a greater or less degree of prosperity, it has continued to the present day. Of the several cities, claiming the honour of being the birth-place of Homer, Smyrna seems to have the best preten-

sions ; for it is certain that he was during many years an inhabitant of that city.

In following the banks of the Meles, a small river which flows round the town, and beyond Mount Pagus, we feel a certainty of being on the soil that was trodden by the immortal poet.

When Smyrna was rebuilt by Alexander's orders, it was under the superintendence of Antigonus and Lysimachus, and that city soon became one of the richest and most powerful in Asia.

Mount Pagus abundantly supplied the marble and other materials required, and its sides formed the base of the theatres and many important edifices. Smyrna was an object of the special protection of the Roman Emperors, and under their rule, it was much beautified, and acquired the title of the ornament of the East. It was enriched by commerce, to the prosperity of which every circumstance seemed to contribute, and became the point of re-union of a set of sophists, who assembled there, and at Ephesus. Strabo who lived in the time of Augustus thus describes it. "The Lydians having destroyed Smyrna, its population was dispersed, and for four hundred years, their descendants were without a home; but it was restored by Antigonus and

“Lysimachus, and is now the most beautiful of  
“cities. A small part stands upon the mountain,  
“and the remainder extends over the plain, to-  
“wards the harbour, the temple of Cybele and  
“the gymnasium. The quarters are nearly divided  
“at right angles, and the streets are paved. There  
“are several square porticos, of considerable di-  
“mensions, a library and a Homerium, that is to  
“say a square portico containing a temple dedi-  
“cated to Homer, and having his statue. The  
“Smyrniots claim that poet as belonging to them,  
“and a certain copper coin in circulation in the  
“city, bears his name. The river Meles, flows  
“near the city, which besides its numerous other  
“advantages has a harbour that may be closed.”

Saint Polycarp, the Martyr, a disciple of St. John, was the first Bishop of Smyrna. In the eleventh century the city fell into the hands of the Mussulmans, but on being recaptured by Ducas, the Admiral of the Greeks, was again annexed to their empire. In the thirteenth century, Smyrna being in ruins, the Emperor John Angelo Comnenus caused its restoration. In 1322 it became a part of the dominions of Sultan Amir, and in 1345 during his temporary absence the

Knights of Rhodes presented themselves before the city in the hope of taking it by surprise, but having failed in this attempt, they established themselves in the neighbourhood, and for the purpose of keeping the Turks in check, constructed fort St. Peter. Sultan Amir ineffectually tried to dislodge them from it, but Tamerlane, who in 1402 ravaged Asia, captured Smyrna after an attack of only fourteen days duration, put to death a great number of the natives, and forced the Knights of Rhodes, who still occupied fort St. Peter, to embark.

At a later period it was taken by Mahomet the first, and having from that time ceased to be the scene of contention, the number of its inhabitants increased, and it again became the most important commercial city on the Asiatic shore of the Mediterranean.

Smyrna is now the greatest, and indeed, almost the only place of commerce, in the Turkish dominions, and will probably retain that pre-eminence, notwithstanding the ill-advised efforts which have been made to remove its trade to Constantinople. The position of Smyrna gives it a most decided superiority over all other cities of the Ottoman empire, for it is situated in a fertile district, has an industrious population, and lies on the direct line

of communication between the principal European markets and the centre of Asia Minor; its commercial reputation is of long standing, the intercourse of its merchants with other countries is very extensive; and, above all, its port is of easy access. Constantinople has none of these advantages, and the prevailing winds and currents of the Hellespont render the navigation of this approach to the sea of Marmora always tedious, and sometimes impracticable for many months in succession. The articles of trade intended for the Russian markets, for which it may have been supposed that Constantinople would be the entrepôt, will still be carried by the Russian merchants, direct to their places of destination, as nothing but expense to the consumer could result from any other system. The attempts to change the existing order of things, are therefore so manifestly contrary to the true interests of the state, that we may conclude they will prove unsuccessful.

Smyrna has the general characteristics of eastern cities, the streets being narrow, and the greater number of the houses constructed of wood, but they are handsomer than those of any other place in Asia Minor, and a tolerably efficient police keeps the city in good order. The important position of its nume-

rous European inhabitants has great influence in improving the customs and manners of the people.

The population amounts to eighty thousand; of this number one half are Turks, who since the period of the Greek revolution have not shewn that haughtiness and pride which formerly marked their deportment; the remainder are Greeks, Armenians, Jews and Europeans of various denominations. Of these several races, the most numerous are the Greeks. The women of that nation, who are exquisitely lovely, strive to follow the customs of Europe; and the example they set, as well as the influence they exercise on all around them, tends to soften the general manners and increase the spread of civilization. Smyrna is the only sociable city of the East, and there is no other in which a European can find a resemblance of his own country, or a style of living that recalls it to his memory. The body of Consuls General, at Smyrna, is better composed than in any other eastern city. The good taste of the individuals, aided by the extensive means they possess, render their houses very agreeable. I had reason to feel much indebted to all these gentlemen, and particularly to M. Chalet, the Consul General of

France, who takes the lead ; to M. de Sestiaux, the Consul General of Austria, and to M. Van Leneps, the Consul General of the Netherlands.

I first inspected the city and its immediate environs, following the course of the Meles, “the divine Meles.” In these sultry climates, water is so peculiarly necessary, so scarce, and therefore so precious, that it was natural for the ancient poets to deify their rivers.

The water of the Meles is of good quality, but not abundant. It issues from a narrow dell, at the base of the eastern side of the Pagus, and winding through the plain behind Smyrna, takes its course to the sea. Its celebrity is derived solely from the poet who sang its praise.

At a short distance from the city, and beyond the Meles, there are several springs which form a small lake. Ancient ruins, and fragments of beautiful marbles, are still visible upon its banks—memorials of former grandeur, while the rushes that are growing undisturbed among them afford a proof of the degeneracy of the present times. This sheet of water bears the pompous title of Diana’s baths, for a temple was erected there in honour of that goddess. A great porportion of thè water of



this lake, might be drained off, both for useful and ornamental purposes; but at present it is only applied to washing. I measured the temperature of a spring within the city, called the Pacha's fountain, supposed to rise from a considerable depth, and found it to be 20 degrees "centigrades;" that of the lake was 18 degrees.\* There must be a considerable subterraneous heat at Smyrna, to give so high a temperature to water issuing from the ground.

As I have already said, the castle was built by Alexander, and it has since been considerably enlarged. The more ancient parts of the work are discoverable by the evidence they afford of superior construction. The greater part of the additions were made in the time of the Greek Emperors, at which period were also formed the immense subterraneous works communicating with the city. The Imperial Eagle is engraved on several parts of the enclosure wall; and in the masonry near the gate, there is a colossal bust of a woman, supposed to be that of the Amazon, from whom, according to a tradition, for which I could find no good authority, Smyrna took its name.

\* Equal to 68° and 64½° Fahrenheit. (T.)

After my tour of the city, I visited the neighbourhood commencing with the hot springs, on the southern side of the gulf. They bear the name of Liggia; but in Greek "Leggia" means bath, it is therefore a generic and not a proper name. Strabo speaks of these waters as being situated on the route between Smyrna and Clazomene: the latter was a celebrated city on the isthmus of the peninsula, which borders a part of the gulf of Smyrna: on its site the village of Vourla now stands. At no distant period these baths were re-established. The waters have a temperature of 56 degrees "centigrades;"\* but they are tasteless, and it is presumed that if analyzed they would only be found to contain a small quantity of carbonate of iron.

Although nature has been prodigal of her gifts to the district I passed over, yet it is almost without inhabitants, and uncultivated: a few olive trees composing its whole wealth.

I afterwards repaired to the village of Sedikioi, which contains some country-houses, inhabited by Greeks and Europeans, and stands at a considerable distance from the sea-shore; the intervening

\* 133 Fahrenheit. (T.)

space is in a neglected state and covered with stunted trees. The environs of the village are delightful, having been beautified by judicious and tasteful improvements. We were hospitably received by the family of a Greek physician. The ladies were extremely beautiful, and their manners most fascinating. The modern Greek women have all the attractions and natural endowments that the women of their country so pre-eminently possessed in ancient times.

We returned by Bougia, where villas still more abound, as this situation is preferred from its greater proximity to Smyrna; but a deficiency of water diminishes the comforts of the place.

The ground over which we travelled in returning is extremely fertile, but a great proportion of it is uncultivated, notwithstanding its vicinity to the city; indeed in the immediate environs of Smyrna at least one-third of the land lies fallow, and the interior vallies of Asia Minor, whose soil is of the finest quality, are in a still more deplorable condition. Those who possess accurate information on the subject assert, that not more than a twentieth part of the productive soil of this Peninsula is now used for agricultural purposes, and as the circumstances

which caused this state of desolation remain unchanged, no improvement can be hoped for, but on the contrary the evil will increase, until at length this beautiful and fertile country, so favoured by its climate, will gradually lose its inhabitants and become a desert.

On the following day I made an excursion to Bournabat, where there are many handsome country-houses, containing every luxury and comfort. I afterwards ascended the neighbouring mountains, on which I saw, in the middle of a precipitous rock, five small caverns, called Homer's grotto. Thus is the memory of this immortal poet still cherished and revered; a feeling highly creditable to the people.

One of the charms of the East is, the frequent occurrence of names which were illustrious in the most remote periods of history, awakening recollections of our youth, and constituting perhaps the greatest pleasures of our closing years.

A stream, called the Acheläus, flows at the foot of the rock, and at a short distance unites with another river, called the Meles, but not the Meles of Smyrna. Which of them is entitled to the name they both bear, I cannot determine, but I

should be inclined to award it to the river of the city.

After travelling for two hours, and having passed the chain of mountains, we reached an uncultivated valley, near a small lake, whose picturesque banks are ornamented with trees. This is the lake of Tantalus, and it was here that the Phrygian king suffered the punishment inflicted by the gods for having offered to them his horrible feast. So pure and limpid is this water, that it cannot be approached without our feeling a desire to partake of it.

The springs which add their tribute to the lake, and those on the side of the mountain, differ in temperature according to their elevations. That of the former was  $14\frac{5}{10}$  degrees "centigrades;" the water of the lake, in the shade, was  $22\frac{5}{10}$  degrees; a hundred yards higher there was a spring at  $12\frac{5}{10}$  degrees, and another below the level of the lake at 15 degrees.\* Thus it appears that by a constant law of nature the temperature of springs bears a relation to their levels.

\* The above-stated temperatures correspond with  $58^{\circ}$ ,  $73^{\circ}$ ,  $55^{\circ}$ , and  $59^{\circ}$  of Fahrenheit's scale. It will be observed that they do not exemplify the author's principle, and therefore it may be inferred that one of them has been erroneously noted. (T.)

We breakfasted on the banks of Lake Tantalus. M. Issaverdeus a kind-hearted merchant of Smyrna, and the son of M. Chalet, a young man, full of ardour and activity, were of the party. Some Turcomans, encamped at a short distance from our resting place, willingly supplied us with milk. These people, who prefer occupying the most lofty and solitary regions, are much dreaded by travellers ; but they have never been known to refuse hospitality to such as have claimed their assistance, although they assert the liberty to act as they please towards those who do not seek their aid or protection, and even regard it as justifiable to rob them. The number and bearing, however, of the persons they meet, doubtless influence their conduct, and the treatment we experienced from them, only gave us cause to speak in their praise.

From the top of the mountains, an immense tract of country is visible. On one side the valley of Smyrna, and the extensive plain of Sedikioi ; on the other the plain of Menimen which is the beginning of that of Magnesia, and the course of the Hemus. That river falls into the sea about four leagues to the northward of Smyrna, and its banks are extremely fertile, but the adjacent mountains

are utterly barren. A few scattered trees are to be seen, but there is no mass of timber deserving the name of a wood.

This is a general feature of the mountains of Asia, as it is of all countries of early civilization. Because their population having formerly been very numerous, it was indispensable to cut the wood for domestic and other purposes; and the wars and revolutions in which the inhabitants were engaged, and the disorders that ensued, not only precluded them from adopting measures to preserve such trees as remained, but also prevented their planting others, to repair the mischief that had been done. When Asia Minor fell into the power of the Turks no amelioration of this kind could be expected, because predisposed as these conquerors were to destruction, they continued to devastate, until at length the mountains, despoiled of their trees, lost their verdant appearance and became a barren tract. When ancient legislators proclaimed the sacredness of woods, they were inspired by Heaven itself!

The whole of the valonia, produced in this extensive country, and that collected from the Troad, is

exported from Smyrna; the total annual quantity, amounting to nearly fifteen thousand tons, is worth about three millions of francs.

So many circumstances combine to promote the commerce of Smyrna, that it prospers in defiance of the prevailing disorder and misrule.

It appears from the registry of its exports and imports in the year 1833, that the value of the former was 74,692,129 piasters, and of the latter 50,359,454, a difference in favour of the exports of 24,332,675 piasters, equal to 6,803,168 francs. Thus there is a gradual increase of the capital of this country.

Formerly the wealth of this part of Asia Minor must have been very considerable, from the number of its inhabitants, their freedom, activity, industry, and civilization. Then there were numerous towns in a flourishing condition, whose commerce placed them in communication with the shores of the Mediterranean, as well as with some of the ports of the Atlantic Ocean, and a careful system of cultivation increased the value of this fertile land.

The public edifices, of which we see the remains on this part of the coast of Asia, possessed such



extraordinary beauty, and were so numerous that those belonging to a single city would now constitute a monarch's fame or his country's ornament.

A Muetzelim at present commands at Smyrna, and the whole authority of the province centres in him. He is both the comptroller and farmer of the taxes, and there is but little question that his personal interest is the first object of his care. His agents collect the tenth of the actual produce, but instead of deducting it justly and fairly, they fix an arbitrary value on it, and regulate their exactions according to this estimate. If the proprietor complain, he is dismissed without redress, and in lieu of the authorities being then satisfied with his only paying the original value put on the tenth of his crop, they increase the impost to a sixth or even a fifth of the annual produce. The same oppression and mismanagement prevail throughout the whole of the Pachalicks, as each Pacha wrings from those dependent on him every thing that he can obtain for his own profit.

The Muetzelim is also farmer of the excise, and deals with those duties in the way most likely to serve himself. In fact every thing is entrusted

to this functionary, who gradually exhausts the fortunes of the proprietors, and thus saps the power of the sovereign. There can be no doubt that not even a fourth part of what is levied reaches the coffers of the Sultan. Formerly the abuses were greater than at present, and the exactions more frequent, but Christians alone were then the victims of these evils, for until the destruction of the Janissaries, the Turks preserved their power and retained their wealth; but now they are joint sufferers with the other inhabitants, living in equal wretchedness and degradation. The natural result of the present condition of the people is, that there is such a universal feeling of mistrust and discontent, that the cultivation of the land is neglected, and the Turks merely sow sufficient to produce a crop for the immediate support of their families and the payment of their taxes.

There being no means in Turkey of establishing an improved and equitable system, the present course of disorder must continue. The necessities of the government will become daily greater, forming an excuse for fresh exactions, which will increase proportionately with the rapacity of the Sultan's agents, who, under the

pretext of contributing to the wants of the state, will pillage from every one within their jurisdiction. To effect the required amelioration of these provinces the throne of Constantinople should be filled by a man of commanding genius, with sufficient energy of character to disengage himself from such a miserable throng as now surrounds the present Sultan ; and even a sovereign so qualified would require the assistance of a number of enlightened and able men, not only well informed as to the feelings of the nation, but acquainted with its capabilities, and competent to apply the latter for the utmost advantage of their country. In short, the required combination of circumstances does not now exist, and cannot be created.

We left Smyrna on the morning of the 17th, and on the following day sailed out of the gulf, doubling Cape Karabouroun and entering the canal of Scio. It was my intention to have visited that island, formerly so rich, but now so desolate, had not the dread of a quarantine caused me to relinquish the project ; for my curiosity was not sufficiently excited to induce me to gratify it at the expence of the time I should have lost by such a detention.

The coast seems still to be cultivated and to

have a number of houses standing upon it, but many of those which at a distance appear to ornament the country, are found on a nearer view, to be the monuments of its disasters, for they are half demolished, and this state of ruin brings to the recollection of the traveller, the misfortunes which lately befel its wretched inhabitants, and heightens the gloom produced by this scene of desolation.

In the year 1826 Colonel Fabvier, who had organized a regular corps in Greece, undertook to drive the Turks from the fort they occupied in the island of Scio, in order to unite its population to the Greek confederation. This fort is situated on the sea shore, and being commanded by the adjacent heights, might have been expected to offer but a short resistance to the besieging force ; since, however, Colonel Fabvier, who was an officer of reputation, failed in his attempt, we must infer that he was deficient in the requisite means to reduce the place.

This ill timed attack produced the greatest misfortunes, for it caused a general rising of the Turks on the neighbouring continent, for the purpose of succouring the besieged. To the num-

ber of fifty thousand, they hastened to Scio, as though it had been to the chace, crossing at the point of Tschesmé, in which they were assisted and protected by the squadron anchored in the channel.

Fabvier being compelled to raise the siege, retired, and the inhabitants did not offer any resistance, or even make an attempt to defend themselves against the Turks : but this submission had no effect in exciting the pity of the ruthless assailants, for almost the whole of the men who fell into their hands were massacred, and forty thousand women and children were taken to Smyrna, where they were condemned to slavery.

The fierce rage of the Turks did not end with these acts of cruelty, for they in other places put to death all whom they succeeded in overpowering. The principal scenes of these horrors were at Smyrna and its environs, where the Turks assassinated every Greek they met with, those only escaping who sought safety in concealment.

In the midst of this disorder and confusion, the Franks were not in any way molested ; a circumstance affording the best proof that in the estimation of the Turks they are held to be de-

servings of respect and consideration; and they took advantage of this feeling to save many of the wretched Greeks, whom they purchased and set at liberty. The respect which the Turks now show to the Franks is abject, and even the Greeks, who were formerly humble and oppressed, have lately become imperious to their former masters.

I was induced to take an interest in Scio from its ancient celebrity. The circuit of the island is about a hundred and twenty miles; near the middle there is a lofty mountain, not only uncultivated but even without vegetation. The vallies present a striking contrast to this sterility, as mulberry and olive trees, pomegranates, and vines luxuriantly cover the lower ground, and are very productive. The wine of Scio was not only highly estimated in former times, but is considered exquisite in the present day, and still retains the name of nectar. It was the wine of this island that Cæsar drank with his friends, in his triumphs, and at his sacrifices.

The population was rich and numerous, but the recent tragical events have nearly ruined and destroyed it.

At the end of the seventeenth century the island was, after a short contest, taken from the Turks, by the Venetians; a few years later, the famous Capudan Pacha, "Mezzo-Morto," gained a complete victory over the latter, at the Spalmadozi islands, and re-captured Scio, which at that time contained a very numerous population, and possessed 300 churches. But the Catholics were persecuted and almost exterminated by the Turks, on being accused by the schismatic Greeks, who hated them, of having assisted the Venetians.

The fort on the shore, so speedily captured by the Venetians, and re-taken with equal ease by the Turks, still exists, and this is the work whose defence caused all the late miseries to which I have adverted. Scio formerly produced a large quantity of silk, which being used in local manufactories made it rich and prosperous. It also possessed a higher degree of civilization than any other part of the Archipelago, but it has now fallen into a state of utter misery and ruin.

The lentisk tree is much cultivated here, for the sake of its mastic, which is reserved exclusively for the women of the Seraglio. The resin forms a particularly fine varnish, and is obtained in the

months of August and September by making deep incisions in the stem of the tree.

A considerable number of turpentine trees grow at Scio, and their produce forms an important article of its exports. Balsams are a source of wealth throughout the East, but the mastic of the lentisk has hitherto been peculiar to this island; by a careful cultivation, however, it is probable that the trees from which it is obtained would flourish in other parts of Asia Minor.

The Turkish navy has at various times experienced great disasters on this coast. In 1770, an Ottoman fleet was lying at anchor in the channel, between Scio and the main land, when a Russian force, commanded by Alexis Orloff, appeared in sight; the Turkish commander, apprehensive for the safety of his ships, retired into the roadstead of Tschesmé, on that part of the coast of Asia opposite to Scio. This anchorage being of easy access, and then without defence, the Turks were at the mercy of the enemy, who seeing his advantage, sent fire-ships amongst the Turkish fleet, which mode of attack the Ottoman crews not being sufficiently skilful to avert, the whole was destroyed.

In 1824, another Turkish fleet having anchored



off Scio, "Canaris," notwithstanding the fire directed upon him, attached a fire-ship to the vessel of the Capudan Pacha, and escaped by jumping into a boat: shortly afterwards the flag ship exploded.

Thus a coast, hospitable to foreigners, has been disastrous to its possessors, the Osmanlies. In combining as well as in executing projects, they rely solely on destiny, forgetting that the Almighty most commonly assists those who by calculation, foresight, and courage, merit his protection.

Not having stopped at Scio, as originally intended, I proceeded to Scala Nuova, from whence I purposed visiting the ruins of Ephesus. Scala Nuova is a commercial port, with a small town, which is built on the site of the ancient Neapolis; the Greek and Italian names having the same signification.

There is a miserable fort at this place, commanded by a Muetzelim, and containing the Turkish population. It is singular that the Jews, who in the East are objects of detestation, should here possess the privilege of being lodged within the Turkish work, which is denied to every denomination of Christians.

Shortly after landing, I proceeded on horseback to the ruins of Ephesus, distant about four leagues

from the port. In order to avoid the river Cayster, I took the road along the hills; and passed over a wall that closes the valley, and seems to have been intended as a means of defence.

Whatever travellers may say, Aiasalik cannot be the ancient Ephesus, the site of which is easily discerned. That city must have stood on the hill, which forms a gently sloping amphitheatre, surrounded partly by a wall and partly by perpendicular rocks. It was customary with the Greeks, to select such sites for their towns, from the facility they afforded for defence. Girgenti, in Sicily, (the ancient Agrigentum) is an example of this system. Aiasalik was merely a suburb, and the great importance and wealth of Ephesus, justify this opinion of its extent. The city, properly so called, was of moderate dimensions, but its dependencies rendered it one of the largest in Asia.

The site of the celebrated temple of Diana, which was built at the joint expence of nearly all the cities of this peninsula, may, notwithstanding what Chandler says, be recognised without the slightest difficulty.

The position I assign to it, corresponds precisely with the particulars handed down to us by ancient

historians; that is, near the marshes at the foot of the hill, and opposite to the town. Indeed, the magnitude of the ruins, the rich quality of the materials, and the extent of the subterraneous works, sufficiently attest that on this spot stood the most magnificent of Grecian temples.

Of these beautiful relics a great part has been removed, to ornament various buildings, and particularly the mosques of Constantinople; such as still remain, though mutilated, give an idea of the grandeur of that ancient structure. I observed fragments of superb columns of red granite, which unquestionably formed part of the ancient temple, and since there is no quarry of such stone in this part of Asia Minor, they must have been brought from a considerable distance. They probably were presented by some of the eastern Princes, who vied with each other for the honour of supplying the most admired and precious materials they possessed, for the erection of so proud a monument of their country's glory, and it is believed that they contributed the whole of the hundred and twenty-seven columns which adorned the temple. The right of sanctuary of the temple of Diana comprehended a space of 125 feet beyond its walls. The site in

question includes ruins to that extent in a compact form, and separated from the city by a paved road.

At a short distance beyond the city walls, the ruins of a smaller temple are seen, which is presumed to be the one burnt by Eratostratus, on the day of Alexander's birth. For it is known that the new temple was more spacious than the old one, and was built on another site.

Opposite the centre of the town, beyond a wide pavement of flat stones, there is a small elevated sanctuary; the bases of sixteen columns, and a staircase leading to the top, are still to be seen. It is extraordinary that all travellers have been silent respecting these ruins, for they are of so remarkable a character, as naturally to attract attention.

In front of the city in the direction of Scala Nuova, there is a hill at right angles to the amphitheatre within which Ephesus stood; on this eminence are ruins of numerous buildings that apparently were protected by detached fortifications, and formed an extensive suburb, on the opposite side of the city to that where Aiasalik is now built: a castle of Grecian construction, bearing

the title of St. Paul's prison, occupies the summit.

The position of the artificial harbour and canal may be traced. A small muddy pond on the banks of the Cayster, having evidently been a part of the former.

The maritime establishments of antiquity bore no resemblance to those of the present day. Deep water with elevated and indented coasts are indispensable to afford the necessary havens for the large ships of modern times ; but those of an earlier period being adapted for navigating in shallow water, a river emptying itself into the sea through a sandy beach, presented a suitable position for such a port as they required. This being found, a basin was excavated, and the river deepened so as to form a good communication with the sea, after which entire fleets could obtain shelter in time of need.

Works of this kind were executed on the coasts of La Manche, Boulogne, and Etaples, in 1804, when Napoleon, having projected the expedition to England, assembled a large flotilla for that purpose. The valley of the Cayster possessed all the requisites for an ancient harbour, and we can readily imagine that the naval arsenals,

storehouses, and commercial establishments of this great city were placed there.

The ruins on the banks of the river, and near its mouth, prove that Ephesus extended nearly to the sea. It is probable that this being the richest part of the city, was the first destroyed by the disasters consequent on the wars and revolutions of that epoch. The frequent plundering and various other misfortunes that succeeded the destruction of the temple by Constantine, drove the population to the quarter that had least suffered. The maritime district was therefore deserted, the palaces were abandoned, and from their ruins, houses of less pretension were built, in the more distant suburbs; these also subsequently disappeared, leaving but slight traces of their having ever existed. An aqueduct built at the period of the lower Empire, for the purpose of supplying Ephesus with water, is still in a state of preservation.

The new town took its name from a Greek church dedicated to St. John; Aiasalik, the designation of the present wretched village, being merely a corruption of Agios-Theologos, or holy Theologian. The Greek church afterwards became a

mosque, and the mosque, in its turn, a ruin. One of the Emperors built a fort for the protection of the city, but that also has been abandoned.

Thus Aiasalik was first a suburb of Ephesus, then a city of the Greeks, and lastly, falling into the hands of the Turks, has dwindled into insignificance, like every other place that has been compelled to submit to Ottoman rule.

Ephesus was one of the first cities that received Christianity. St. John and St. Paul there preached the gospel, and the former, becoming a resident, was its first Bishop, and closed his life within its walls.

At a period of remote antiquity, Ephesus, like all the cities of Asia, underwent great changes. It is said to have been built by an Amazon, from whom it took its name; it was colonized by the Ionians, and its inhabitants were engaged in the wars between the Athenians and Lacedemonians, as allies of the latter.

Alexander re-established the democracy, and proposed to defray the expence of rebuilding the temple, provided the Ephesians would place upon it an inscription recording the name of the benefactor; but they declined the offer, alleging as a reason,

that it was unsuitable for one deity to rear a temple to another.

The city was under the rule of Antigonus and Lysimachus; Hannibal went there to concert measures with Antiochus; at a later period every Roman found in the place was put to death by order of Mithridates. It afterwards became the seat of government of a pro-consul and was visited by the most illustrious Romans; had a temple erected by Augustus in honour of Julius Cæsar and of Rome; was extended by Tiberius; pillaged by the Persians, and had its temple destroyed by order of Constantine.

The Greeks of the lower Empire defended it, with various success, against the Mussulmans; at length however the city was captured by Mahomet the first, and since that period has remained uninterruptedly in possession of the Turks; but its commerce failed and was transferred to Smyrna, and a few years afterwards Ephesus ceased to exist.

There is a probability that its destruction was hastened by its wealth and beauty, which exciting, without the power of satisfying, the avarice of the barbarians, merely served to feed their rapacity for



a time. Much of its materials were removed to Constantinople, and ruins alone are left to remind the traveller, of harbours, arsenals, palaces, and temples; of the accumulated treasures of one of the richest, most beautiful, and most populous cities in the world.

The high ground overlooking Ephesus is arid and rocky, like all the lofty hills and mountains of Asia Minor; but the valley is fertile, and on its margin olive trees thrive uncultivated, yielding an abundance of fruit, which there is no one to gather.

On returning from Ephesus we followed the right bank of the Cayster to its mouth, where we found some fishermen dragging on a miserable existence. We forded the river, and at a late hour entered Scala Nuova.

Throughout the whole of the day we had seen nothing but ruins and other inanimate objects, with the exception of three or four wretched and half clothed inhabitants of Aiasalik, and the fishermen already mentioned. On the 21st of August, we set sail for the island of Samos, passing through the narrow strait that separates it from the coast of Mycale, where in former times the deputies of the

Ionian conference assembled. We anchored in the harbour of Colonna, the nearest port to the ancient city of Samos.

Herodotus and Pausanias state, that on this shore there formerly was one of the largest temples of Greece, and that it was dedicated to Juno. A single column only of this vast edifice is now standing; its module is nearly seven feet, and it is of white marble, probably taken from one of the surrounding rocks or hills, which are entirely composed of this beautiful material. Amongst the ruins there are the bases of other columns, but the most valuable parts of the old structure have either been removed or covered by sand.

In the fields there are many remains of ancient buildings, and we were informed that, about two years back, part of a beautiful temple, with fluted columns, was discovered.

The island of Samos was once of great importance, having been the first place, in this part of the world, that extensively promoted navigation, or possessed fleets; it had a hundred war vessels, each carrying fifty rowers, and armed with archers. It took part in the wars between the Athenians and Lacedemonians, often changing

sides. Polycrates, one of its kings, was conspicuous for the immensity of his wealth, and the unchequered happiness that accompanied it, for a series of years ; but at length his life was brought to a miserable close by assassination. This island was indebted for much of its celebrity to its impregnable fortifications ;—to the famous temple dedicated to Juno, already mentioned ;—to the stupendous works for supplying the inhabitants with water ; and to the great extent of the town, of which a tolerably accurate idea can be formed, by observing the space still covered by its ruins. The population, which in former times must have been very considerable, does not now exceed twenty thousand souls, and yet all the islands of this Archipelago have had great privileges ; have been protected by municipal institutions ; and have in consequence been guaranteed from a part of those desolating exactions which bring ruin on the subjects of the Ottoman empire ; the mere presence of the Turks, however, entails destruction.\*

\* In the note to page 110, it has been already stated that Samos enjoys the special protection of the Sultan, and that its institutions are wisely directed by its governor, who is a Christian Prince. Therefore, such sweeping condemnation as that in the text should not be received without some degree of caution and enquiry. (T.)

Pythagoras was born at Samos; and it was at Patmos, near that island, that St. John the Evangelist wrote the Apocalypse.

Samos is famous for the wine, and raisins produced from the muscatel grape; and excellent water may be got on the coast by merely digging in the sand to a slight depth.

Water may also be procured on other shores by the same process, but it is unusual to find it, under such circumstances, sufficiently free from saline matter to be suited for the supply of shipping or general use; but that obtained at Samos, in the manner I have stated, is extremely pure.

On quitting Samos we had a favourable wind, which speedily carried us to the opposite coast, and we anchored in a bay not far from the spot where a very celebrated temple of Apollo once stood, on the banks of the Mæander. It belonged to the ancient city of Miletus, in the district of Caria, the birth place of many famous philosophers, and in those days one of the most important and powerful places of the Ionian people, having extensive commerce and numerous colonies. Even after falling under the Ottoman yoke, it for a while retained its celebrity, but nothing now remains save

a mass of ruins, scattered over a considerable surface of land.

This locality presents a striking instance of the wonderful changes effected by the operations of nature. Miletus was once a sea-port, and in the days of Strabo had four harbours, one of which was very spacious and was sheltered by a group of islands. The sea is now at a considerable distance from the site of the ancient city, for immense masses of alluvial matter brought by the Mæander, have formed a new tract of country, the future extent of which cannot be estimated, as there is a daily accumulation of these deposits. It is in short another Delta, which, though at present unproductive, from the want of population, may hereafter prove an abundant source of wealth, if well directed efforts turn this gift of nature to advantage.

The ground is covered with ruins, but none of them merit the traveller's notice, excepting those of the temple, the materials of which are in such admirable preservation, that we might imagine either that an earthquake of only yesterday had overturned the structure, or that the work of demolition had been undertaken by the hands of

man, according to some regular and well-concerted plan.

It is known that Constantine, in the barbarous exercise of his zeal for the Christian religion, ordered the destruction of all pagan temples, instead of consecrating them to the worship of the one true God. The desolation of Asia must not therefore be attributed to time alone, for man has aided in its ravages.

Of this temple three columns only, which are visible from a considerable distance at sea, have escaped that devastating zeal; two of them are connected by an architrave, the other stands apart.

Most of the materials originally used in the construction of the temple, seem to remain upon the spot, and I believe that if it were required to restore the building to its former state, nothing would be found deficient. The elegance and beauty of the several parts, and more especially of the sculptured marble, are very remarkable; but I find it impossible to give an adequate idea of the impression produced upon me, by contemplating such a mass of ruins, accumulated on so small a space.

This stupendous pile of ruins gave me the idea of an immense and magnificent quarry of white

marble, whose blocks have been recently shaped and polished, for they have as much the appearance of freshness as if they had been the work of yesterday. The temple was of the Ionic order, and the ornaments, which are beautiful, must have been executed by a masterly hand, and with a most delicate chisel. Its columns were fluted, and six feet in diameter, and the plinths of thirteen of them are still visible, but the rest are hidden by the ruins. I measured an architrave, and found it to be eighteen feet long, three feet thick, and four feet high.

Many valuable treasures of the fine arts may be collected here, and they merit the study and research of the learned and enquiring traveller.

About a hundred peasants residing in huts built amongst the ruins, present the only signs of life in this desolate and dreary scene. They deal in coins, without however having any just idea of their value ; but their chief employment is in the cultivation of the cotton plant. They supplied us with good horses to return to the sea side. On re-embarking, we proceeded on our voyage, sailing in sight of the island of Cos, the country of Hippocrates, a man, whose entire life was passed in as-

suaging the sufferings of humanity, and in scientific researches that carried him far beyond the sphere of knowledge of the age in which he lived, and have rendered his name illustrious even in the present day.

We also saw that part of the coast near the site of Cnidus, on which a temple, dedicated to Venus, and of great celebrity, formerly stood; some of its ruins are still extant, but not having time to devote to their inspection, we continued our course, and on the 24th of August anchored off the island of Rhodes.

Early in the morning of the 25th I disembarked, and entered the city with a feeling of deep emotion, being reminded of the important services rendered by the Knights of St. John to religion, humanity, and civilization, for by their exertions this place became the rampart of Europe, and kept in check the barbarian force, which threatened the finest countries of Christendom. The renown the knights acquired in the cause of religion, was glorious to the whole of Europe, and especially to France, for the greater number both of the knights and grand masters, whose names have been handed down to us as the most distinguished, were of that country.



Three hundred and fifteen years have now elapsed since this illustrious order was obliged to abandon its conquests, after a possession of two hundred and twelve years. The street of the Knights is uninjured, and the door of each house is still ornamented with the escutcheon of its last inhabitant. The buildings have been spared, but are unoccupied, and we could almost fancy ourselves surrounded by the shades of departed heroes. The arms of France, the noble fleurs-de-lis are seen in all directions. I observed those of the Clermont-Tonnerres, and of other ancient and illustrious families.

Rhodes was called by the Greeks "Ophiusa," or the Island of Serpents, on account of the number of those reptiles with which it was infested. The present name is said to have been given in consequence of the abundance of roses the island produces. It is extremely fertile, well cultivated, and plentifully supplied with water, an advantage that few of the neighbouring islands possess. Its circumference is about forty leagues. In the time of the Greek Empire the population of Rhodes amounted to fifteen hundred thousand, and a powerful navy rendered her mistress of the surrounding seas. Her commerce was extensive, and she was cele-

brated for having superior manufactures and excellent dyes. The arts were successfully cultivated at Rhodes, and it is asserted that there were three thousand statues erected here, in honour of heroes and of the gods. The Colossus, dedicated to the Sun, the titular divinity of the island, was of superb workmanship, and according to Pliny, 70 cubits in height. There are two rocks, level with the surface of the water, which evidently supported this statue.

The Rhodians were not only agriculturists, manufacturers, artists, and sailors; but also distinguished warriors, and sustained, in the time of the Romans, a siege memorable for its obstinacy, and for the brilliant actions of its soldiers. The noble defence by the Knights, at a more recent period, was equally renowned. This island was conquered by the Caliphs, and subsequently re-annexed to the Greek empire. The Venetians established themselves there in 1203, but were soon dislodged by John Ducas. After which some revolted Greeks having joined a band of Saracens, captured all the defences excepting a single fort, which, remaining in possession of the Greek Emperor Andronicus, preserved to him a mere shadow of power.

Such was the state of affairs when Foulques de Villaret, Grand Master of the order of St. John, having been expelled from the Holy Land and Syria, and taken refuge at Cyprus, determined to achieve the conquest of Rhodes, and establish the authority of religion in that island. Assisted by Pope Nicholas IV., by Philip-le-bel, king of France, and by a host of Crusaders, who were induced by the Pope to join him, he landed with his united forces, in the year 1308. After repeated battles, in front of the fortress, its siege was commenced, and on the 23rd of August 1310, it surrendered. At a later period the whole of the island, as well as some smaller islands near it, submitted to his power.

The order of St. John thus established, with its territories, revenues, and naval force, resisted, for a period of two hundred years, the efforts of the Turks, who during that time pursued their course of continental success; but, on becoming masters of the whole of the Greek empire, they resolved on destroying enemies who were dangerous from their proximity, their courage, and their perseverance.

The first siege was undertaken, but without success, in 1480, in the reign of Mahomet II., the

Sultan who had conquered Constantinople, and raised the glory of the Ottoman Empire to its greatest height. The celebrated defence by Pierre D'Aubuisson, the Grand Master, immortalised him.

In 1520 Solyman II. determined to renew the attempt, and he did not consider it beneath his dignity to conduct the attack in person. He assembled an army, which it is said amounted to one hundred thousand of his best troops,—a numerous fleet conveyed them to the island, and he captured the fortress after a siege of nearly six months duration. Obstinate as this resistance may appear, and highly as it has been extolled, I cannot help feeling, after a careful study of all the circumstances of the case, that it might have been prolonged.

In order to ascertain the real merits of the sieges of antiquity, we should not contrast them with those of modern times, but bear in mind the means that were at the disposal of the assailants and defenders, which would enable us to form a proper estimate of their skill, courage and perseverance. When arrows were the only weapons of offence, a simple wall sufficed for an indefinite resistance ; but, according to

the present system of attack, aided by the great improvement that has taken place in artillery during the last twenty-four years, a modern fortress, though constructed with the greatest care and science, cannot hold out beyond a certain time, that can be almost fixed by calculation; and it will be found in the next war, that the defence of fortified places will be considerably shortened.

If we bear in mind, that, some few centuries ago, the art of gunnery was in its infancy; that every thing connected with its use was difficult, and that its effects were uncertain, we shall perceive the causes of the protracted sieges that so much astonish us, and which in the existing state of military science, would be utterly impossible.

We may fairly then ascribe the long defence of Rhodes, to the defective system of attack, in those times, though had the besiegers been more skilful, even with the comparatively inefficient means at their command, the place must have surrendered at an earlier period.

On one side the fortress is exposed to a very close command, but the works are there multiplied to such a degree, as almost to counterbalance this disadvantage of its position, and therefore the Turks

were not wrong in seeking elsewhere for a point against which to direct their efforts. But instead of choosing the "salient" in the middle of the "enceinte," which from being unsupported and from the nature of the intervening ground could have been promptly destroyed, and easily approached, they attacked a part fortified on a straight line, and possessing powerful means of defence.

The breaches were much less extensive than historians assert them to have been, for the repairs which distinguish the new from the old portions of the walls, afford good evidence of the amount of injury the fortress sustained.

Without wishing to detract from the merit of an honourable and even a glorious defence, I must observe, that I think it could have been prolonged. For in the first place the besiegers had not got possession of the quarter now occupied by the Jews and Turks; then there was an interior line, surrounding what is called the Knights Town, forming a retrenchment which had not been injured, and there was besides the additional fort, constituted by the palace of the Grand Master, all of which were susceptible of further resistance.

We were unable to discover from what point the

fort of Saint Nicholas, standing out as it does in the sea, could, with any degree of advantage, have been battered by the Turks, or how it was possible for them to carry on the attack of that work as mentioned in the records of the siege; for the fire upon it must have been without utility, or even without an object. It is evident that the injury done to the fortress by the artillery, was not so great as has been stated, indeed in these times, sixty pieces of ordnance would produce a greater effect in ten days firing; and it may be asserted that, with the exception of two breaches of moderate dimensions, those parts of the enclosure that were damaged, had not been rendered the less defensible.

Historians assign the deficiency of powder as the proximate cause of the capitulation, and if this statement were true, there would have been a very sufficient reason for the surrender, but it appears to have been a mere pretext, for a few years since, a subterraneous magazine was discovered, in which were found twenty thousand pounds of powder, that must have been there at the period of this memorable siege. We may therefore conclude that there is great exaggeration in the accounts handed down to us of this defence.

The hasty survey I took of the environs of the city of Rhodes, was sufficient to shew me the miserable condition into which this island has fallen. As before stated, it formerly contained a million and a half of inhabitants; at the time of the Knights, these were not more than three hundred and sixty thousand: and now the number, including all ages, sexes, and denominations, is reduced to twenty-eight thousand souls. Property has become almost valueless, for I saw a handsome country-house, in good repair, with a garden of fifty acres in extent, containing upwards of three thousand orange and lemon trees, that had been sold a short time before my visit, for the small sum of three thousand five hundred francs.

I went to the sponge fishery, which is curious and interesting. It is a laborious and dangerous employment, but so lucrative, that five or six successful days afford those engaged in it the means of support for an entire year. The sponge is attached to rocks at the bottom of the sea, serving as a retreat to myriads of small crustaceous animals, which occupy its cavities. The fishermen dive for it to the depth of even a hundred feet, and sometimes continue for five or six minutes under water,



unless the quantity of sponge they may have collected becomes inconvenient or unmanageable, when they are hauled to the surface, by the crew of the boat to which they belong. The divers occasionally fall victims to sharks that attack them under water.

The sponge is prepared for the market by being pressed to dislodge the animalculæ it contains, and afterwards washed in lye to deprive it of mucilaginous matter.

On the 26th of August we again got under way, and directed our course towards Syria. I was desirous of anchoring in the Gulf of Makri, one of the finest road-steads on this coast, and of remaining at Satalia, to visit the southern shore of Asia Minor, which is rich in antiquities; but the short time I had to spare, and other circumstances connected with the voyage, not admitting of this delay, we continued our course towards Beyrout, where we arrived on the evening of the 29th. This place stands on the site of the ancient Berytus, a colony of Sidon, founded at a period of remote antiquity.

Berytus became a Roman colony under Augustus, taking the name of "Felix Julia," from his daughter,

and was one of the most beautiful cities of Phœnicia. It was destroyed by an earthquake in 566, and on being rebuilt, the Saracens, after an obstinate siege, took possession of it.

The city was recaptured by Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, was afterwards taken from the Christians by Saladin, and subsequently it several times changed masters, according to the success of the Crusaders or their enemies. It became eventually the residence of the Emir Fakir-el-Din, Prince of the Druses, who was killed there, when ineffectually attempting to defend his country against Sultan Amurath IV., and from that period Beyrout has remained a part of the Ottoman Empire.

The Emir Fakir-el-Din having resided at the court of Florence, and brought from thence a taste for architecture and the fine arts, built a magnificent palace of which some vestiges are still to be seen. The forest of pines, near the city, which now affords to the inhabitants an agreeable and shaded promenade, was planted by him. The open roadstead of Beyrout partakes of the prevailing character of the Syrian coast, in offering but an insecure shelter to shipping; but a short mole forms a place of safety for vessels of small tonnage. Larger ships

anchor at about a league distance, at the mouth of the Nahr-el-Beyrout, the "Magoras" of the ancients, a river that rises in Libanus.

Beyrout has a population of between eight and ten thousand persons, and may be considered as the port of Damascus, which is the entrepôt of commerce between Europe and Asia. The annual value of the exports and imports of Beyrout is between four and five millions of francs. The manufacture of glass is said to have been invented here.

I found the European consuls, especially those of France and Austria, M. Guis and M. Loretta, most anxious to shew me attention.

This was the first spot I had visited under the dominion of Mehemet-Ali, and prepossessed as I had been in favour of his great and surprising works, I was painfully disappointed at observing his unpopularity, and that his administration was the subject of bitter complaint. In fact, a great change had taken place in the opinion entertained of him since the establishment of his power, in consequence of his having tried to extend to Syria a system of monopoly that is only applicable to Egypt, where it is favoured by the particular character

of the inhabitants, and the configuration of the country.

The silk gathered in Libanus constitutes the wealth of the population of that district, and Mehemet-Ali was desirous of taking possession of it, but the attempt caused so much discontent, that he was obliged to rescind his order.

The revolt which broke out in the neighbourhood of Naplous and Jerusalem, raised the hopes and confidence of his enemies, and gave an opportunity for the expression of the complaints that all felt justified in making against him; in short, the Egyptian rule, which was at first willingly submitted to, became detested; and the Sultan, so little respected nearer home, and so ill obeyed in the provinces under his immediate Government, regained a sort of popularity with those who, three years previously, had rejoiced in witnessing the destruction of his power; thus affording a fresh example of the truth so often demonstrated in history, that the love evinced for sovereigns, is frequently rather an expression of hatred for their competitors. But intending to describe hereafter the system of government and administration of Mehemet-Ali, I

shall not at present give any details on this subject, as I merely wish to state my first impressions on entering the provinces under his control.

The country in the environs of Beyrout is well cultivated, and covered with fig and mulberry trees ; the latter being in a dwarf state, for the reasons I have already assigned.

Beyrout is threatened with a distressing fate by the accumulation of a very minute sand, which is gradually advancing towards it from the south. Detached houses and even trees are buried under this sand within a few months of its first reaching them, and as no effort is made to arrest this evil, there cannot be a doubt of its eventually overwhelming the whole town. Its annual progress for some time past having been at the rate of about thirty yards, a tolerably accurate calculation might be made of the period when this place will cease to exist, and yet the inhabitants seem to be regardless of their impending fate, and enjoy the present without ever bestowing a thought upon the future ; but to foreigners this visitation affords a subject for sad reflection.

Purposing to inspect the country of the Druses, and the Maronites, and to ascend Mount Sannin,

one of the loftiest points of Libanus, I made the necessary arrangements for my journey thither. I was also desirous of seeing the city of Damascus, and the ruins of Baalbeck ; of traversing Syria, and of visiting the Holy Land.

The chain of Libanus, which commences opposite to Tripoli, and ends near Saida, the ancient Sidon, lies parallel to the coast ; its highest point does not exceed an elevation of 1300 toises (7480 English feet.) The cedars mentioned in Scripture as having adorned this chain, and which supplied the timber for the construction of Solomon's Temple, as well as for building the fleets of Tyre and Sidon, have disappeared ; seven trees alone remaining as memorials of what were once so majestic and so beautiful. These mountains having lost their primitive covering, nothing but naked and arid rocks present themselves in all directions to the traveller's eye. An active, intelligent, and industrious population has however come to inhabit and restore fertility to this district. Clumps of pines have been planted near the monasteries and villages, and every interval between the rocks is appropriated to the cultivation of corn, of the vine, or of the mulberry-tree. Where the spaces are too

confined to admit of using the plough, the ground is worked with hoes, and it is abundantly irrigated by springs, which also supply sufficient water for domestic purposes. But before entering on a description of the country, it will be proper to say a few words respecting its inhabitants, and in doing so I shall record not only my own opinions, but give the observations of those authors who have made the fullest and most careful enquiries into this subject.

The population of Libanus does not exceed four hundred thousand souls. It is composed of three distinct races: the Ansaries, the Druses, and the Maronites. The first occupy the northern and much the smaller portion of this district, in the environs of Tripoli, and the two last inhabit the southern part.

The Ansaries comprise about sixty thousand of both sexes. As neither the truths of the Gospel, nor the precepts of the Koran have made much impression upon them, their religious ceremonies are extraordinary and inconsistent, for they have adopted forms of worship both from Christians and Mahometans, although they still continue idolators, some worshipping the sun and the remainder the dog-star.

As, however, I have not myself seen anything of this people, and as they are of little importance, I shall offer no further observations upon them.

Although the Druses and the Maronites differ in creed, they have common interests, are under the same government, and are equally civilised, hospitable and industrious.

The Maronites came from the banks of the Orontes. At the end of the 16th century, a hermit, named Maronne, acquired by his predictions and austere life, great influence over the inhabitants of the district in which he lived. Religious quarrels had broken out between the churches of Rome and Constantinople, and Maronne, having declared himself an advocate of the doctrines of the former, was oppressed and persecuted by the authorities at Constantinople, and compelled with his followers to retire into the mountains of Libanus.

The Druses derive their origin from the same part of the world. Initiated in Islamism, they took part in the discussions respecting the legitimacy of the Caliph; but, at a later period, many false prophets having appeared among them, they were sub-divided into various sects. They then mixed



their new dogmas with the precepts of their original faith, which produced the greatest confusion, and they became believers in the doctrines of the metempsychosis, and of a second life commencing six thousand years after death. The civil anarchy which prevailed at that time rendered the religious dissensions the more inveterate.

The third Caliph of the Fatimite race caused a fresh schism, by insisting on being recognised as the incarnate God. He relieved his followers from the obligation of prayer, and the performance of the religious duties required by the Koran. Mahomed-ben-Ismaël having preached this doctrine, it spread in various parts of the east, especially in Syria, and its progress was neither arrested by the death of the Caliph, nor of his prophet.

The Druses, persecuted in consequence of their creed, took refuge in the mountains of Libanus, and lived in perfect harmony with the Maronites, who had previously found an asylum there.

They both preserved their independence during many centuries, repulsing the Turks, who made repeated but unsuccessful efforts to subdue them. At length Amurath III. displeased at the disturbances they caused, ordered Ibrahim, the Pacha of Cairo, to bring them into subjection. He accord-

ingly collected a considerable force, took possession of the country, and imposed a tribute upon them.

A chief selected by themselves, from one of their most distinguished families, was appointed to be their ruler, and his authority alone sufficed to repress anarchy, maintain order, and increase the importance of the people.

Fakir-el-Din, who filled this supreme office, added essentially to the power with which he was invested, by his address, and the support he contrived to obtain at the Court of the Sultan. Driving the Aga from Beyrout, he took possession of that city, and was pardoned for the outrage, in consequence of a voluntary augmentation of the tribute he had been accustomed to pay to the Grand Signor. He acted in the same manner on other points, and increased his territory by the acquisition of the cities of Saida, Soor, and Baalbeck ; but his enemies, having become formidable, he found it expedient to pacify them by abdicating in favour of his son.

After a long residence at the Court of the Medici, where he acquired a knowledge of the fine arts, he returned to Syria and resumed the Government.

Sultan Amurath becoming jealous of his power and celebrity, ordered the Pacha of Damascus to

subdue the Fakir, who, after a resistance of many years, was defeated, captured, and put to death.

His descendants succeeded him in authority over the Maronites and Druses, but on the extinction of their race, the Sultan delegated his authority to the illustrious Arab family of "Shehab," whose origin is traced by some to Bagdad and by others to the neighbourhood of Damascus. It is very numerous, comprising as many as two hundred and fifty Emirs.

On the demise of the Emir charged with the government of this nation, his successor is selected by the Sultan from among the members of this family.

Emir Beschir, the present chief of the Druses, has been their ruler during the last forty years. When the French army marched into Syria, after the conquest of Egypt, he would unquestionably have joined us, if the formidable Djezzar Pacha had yielded and we had been successful at St. Jean d'Acre.

Through all the changes that have taken place, the Maronites have continued to be zealous Catholics. The Court of Rome has granted various privileges to the clergy of this country, and modified

the discipline of their church. The priests are permitted to marry; divine service is performed in the Syrian language; and the Patriarch, who resides at Libanus, is selected by the Bishops and appointed by the Pope. His Holiness sends the "Pallium" as a token of his approbation. There are eight dioceses, and the powers of the Patriarch are extensive.

Owing to their confused notions on religious matters, and the uncertainty resulting from the diversity of creeds in which they have been instructed, the Druses have not established any complete system of worship, but seem to have adopted a mixture of the rites of various persuasions. They attend the service of the Church as well as of the Mosque, going to the former if living with Christians, and to the latter when amongst Mahometans; at least such is the custom of the greater number. However, they are subdivided into two classes, the uninstructed and the initiated, the former being the more numerous. The smaller body meet in secret, and have ceremonies which are but imperfectly known. The initiation is difficult, infrequent, and attended with great formalities. It is understood that at their private meetings they adore a small statue, representing a calf; this is indicative of a Jewish, or rather an

Egyptian origin, and would lead us to suppose that their idolatry was derived from the worship of Apis. They have a ritual which is said to be filled with a mystic jargon, adverting to the pretended ten times renewed incarnation of the Divinity, but this book is only in the possession of few persons. Emir Beschir has been converted to Christianity, and openly follows its forms of worship.

The administration of the country is conducted by the Emirs and Sheiks. The Great Prince levies the tax, which by ancient custom and general consent is fixed at a certain rate for each acre of land, or according to the number of mulberry trees. Out of the sum so collected he pays the tribute due to the Government, retaining the residue, which constitutes the greater part of his income; for although the private fortune of the Shehabs was originally very considerable, it is much reduced by the drain upon it, caused by the great increase in their number.

Emir Beschir resides at Deir-el-Kamar, in a handsome building, on the western side of Mount Libanus, towards the Mediterranean. The population is compelled to take up arms by his order and to act under his command. The arrangements of the government are also carried into effect through his

medium, and the administrative and judicial functions in a great degree devolve upon him. He is not only feared and respected, but is considered just and humane ; two traits, however, which I am about to relate, will shew how this reputation may be acquired among the Druses.

Twenty years since, the Emir having been successful in a contest for power with two of his nephews, he caused their eyes to be put out. At a more recent period two of his cousins conspired against him, and their plot having been discovered, they promised fidelity for the future, on receiving the Emir's forgiveness, adding that if they failed to redeem their pledge, they would consent to be deprived of sight and the power of speech.

Some little time after, their treachery was renewed, and on its detection, they were arrested. Emir Beschir having asked them what fate they had intended for him, in the event of their success, they answered "Death." He then said he should be satisfied with the infliction of the punishment stipulated by the conditions of the pardon he had extended to them on the discovery of their former conspiracy, and immediately the razor was applied to their tongues and the red hot iron to their eyes.

One of them was a Christian and the other a Mahometan. The former is now both blind and speechless, but the latter retains the power of vision, although in a very imperfect degree, and can still speak intelligibly.

The Emir's treatment of these relatives is here regarded as an act of clemency!

It was my intention to form an acquaintance with this chief, by visiting him at Deir-el-Kamar, but I found he had set out to command the force collected for the purpose of suppressing the insurrections at Naplous and Jerusalem.

I subsequently learnt that he succeeded not only in this undertaking, but also in maintaining the tranquillity of the greater part of Syria.

Emir Beschir cannot fail to perceive that should the Sultan, or the Turks of Constantinople ever regain their ascendancy in Syria, they would wreak their vengeance on the Christian population of Libanus. He is therefore deeply interested in preventing such a change, and should Mehemet-Ali govern this people with justice and address, he may fairly calculate upon having the assistance of their chief to render them a durable basis of the Egyptian power.

Formerly unanimity prevailed among the members of the Shehab family, who were obedient to the Chief selected by the Sultan ; but Djeddar Pacha, being desirous of weakening their power, has excited the ambition and fomented the discontent of such of them as have any pretensions to the dignity of Great Prince, and has thus succeeded in producing dissensions and conspiracies similar to those which caused the acts of severity above described.

On the 1st of September, I set out on my journey to Libanus, Baalbeck, and Damascus.

My caravan was composed of twenty-three horses, thirteen of which were required for carrying our baggage. I had three tents ; one for myself, another for my companions, and the third for the servants, consisting of my French establishment and a certain number of Arab attendants, hired for the occasion. We were amply provided with the utensils necessary for the excursion, and our daily practice was to pitch our tents near a spring, adopting throughout this journey a style of living that constantly reminded me of my early campaigning days, which were the happiest of my life.

My fellow travellers were Count Brazza, Mr. Burn, a young Englishman, with whom I became



acquainted at Odessa ; and M. Lorella, the son of the Austrian Consul at Beyrout, besides a good Interpreter.

We travelled during the first hour over a very fertile and carefully cultivated tract of country. Before reaching the river Beyrout (the ancient Magoras) we passed the spot where, according to popular tradition, St. George overcame the dragon. The inhabitants still give credence to the story, and point to some reddish marks upon a rock, as stains produced by the dragon's blood.

At a short distance from the mouth of the river, we observed the Delaware, a fine American ship of war, lying at anchor. After crossing the stream we ascended the hills, on its right bank, by one of those narrow and difficult passes that constitute the strength and security of Libanus.

In my journey through this arid district, I was much astonished at the extraordinary skill and industry displayed by its cultivators, which I have never seen surpassed. Not only the smallest patches of ground enclosed by rocks, but even the largest fields are worked with a degree of labour and care that is rarely bestowed excepting upon a highly cultivated garden. In situations where, owing to

the natural declivity, the soil is exposed to be washed away by heavy rain, it is secured by being raised to a level surface and supported by walls ; in short, the greatest attention and diligence are unremittingly employed to increase the productiveness of this country. The great profit obtained by the rearing of the silk-worm, causes the mulberry-tree to be the principal object of culture.

Having left Beyrout at rather a late hour, we could not, on our first day's journey, accomplish more than four leagues, and we therefore pitched our tents at about that distance from the city, near the village of Doura, which is inhabited by Druses. We found these people obliging and hospitable ; qualities which we were led to expect from their benevolent countenances.

Setting out at daylight, on the following morning, we reached the convent of Marmouset in the forenoon. Its situation is highly picturesque, there being on one side precipitous rocks, and on the other an extensive wood of firs, surrounded by productive fields which are embellished with numerous fountains.

On presenting ourselves at the Convent, to solicit the hospitality of the Monks, we met with a

cold reception, amounting almost to a repulse. We could not at first account for this unexpected incivility, but we were subsequently informed that we were supposed to be English, as nine out of every ten travellers in Syria are of that nation, and it appears that the ardent spirit of proselytism of which they are accused makes them objects of aversion to the holy fathers; but on my stating that we were Catholics and Frenchmen, we were received with transports of joy. Great efforts were in consequence made to provide a repast for us, which, seasoned as it was by hunger, we found delicious; although its frugality afforded proof of the austere life of these pious men, and of luxuries being unknown amongst them.

They attend the various services of the Church, seven times during the twenty-four hours, devoting even a part of the night to prayer; the remainder of their time is occupied by labour in the fields, the produce of which is applied to charitable purposes. Indeed it may be truly said that they possess the virtues of the early Christians. In their cells there is not a single trace of comfort, and they have only one frugal meal a day. Prayer and labour form their sole employment, and their exemplary

lives make them objects of esteem and reverence to those who have chosen them for their spiritual teachers.

The care bestowed on the cultivation of the land, the gentle manners of the people, and the peace which reigns amongst them are chiefly owing to the precepts and example of these holy men.

The Maronites have fifty-nine religious establishments formed on a modification of the rules of St. Anthony, and divided into three classes.

The first is composed of thirty-two convents, called "Lebanies," which are partly dedicated to the education of youth. The Monks have also the spiritual care of three parishes, and the direction of eight "Hospices," which are very small houses intended for the reception of the sick and poor of their flocks. Each is inhabited by a single monk.

The second class consists of four convents, distinguished by the name of "Alepine," and possessing two "Hospices." The third has four of these buildings, and sixteen convents; there are also four convents of a still more austere order, and fourteen nunneries of various denominations.

After a long and fatiguing journey, I arrived in the afternoon at the foot of the peak which bears

the name of "Sannin." On reaching its summit, I found, by the process adopted in measuring Olympus, that the height of this mountain is 2525 metres, (2761 English yards). We encamped on the table land at the bottom of the peak, which is 1519 metres (1661 English yards) above the level of the sea, and we there found a spring whose temperature was ascertained to be seven degrees.\* The operation I performed both at Sannin and Brusa confirms the received opinion that heat diminishes in the proportion of one degree "centigrade" for every hundred toises of elevation.†

It has been erroneously stated that the top of Mount Sannin is perpetually covered with snow, for, during the summer, it is only in some of the hollows, which are entirely screened from the sun's rays, that any is to be found.

One of the most magnificent natural spectacles I ever beheld was the setting of the sun, as from the summit of the mountain we observed it disappearing in the sea; I shall never lose the impression its splendour left on my mind.

On the third of September, we set out for

\* 45 Fahrenheit.

† That is 1·8° Fahrenheit for 213 yards  
or 1° - - - 118 „

Baalbeck, and after crossing the ridge of Libanus, we continued our course on its eastern side, which in appearance is the very reverse of that we had ascended, for it is impossible to conceive a more parched, desolate, and sterile country. There is not a spring, nor even a drop of water to be found upon its surface. Nothing is to be seen but rugged rocks of dazzling whiteness, reflecting the rays of a scorching sun. We passed just above Rachne, a village situated at the foot of the mountain, and which in this almost desert land is of some importance, being the residence of a Bishop, who is as poor as were those of the primitive church!

The two sides of this mountain present a complete contrast to each other; on the western, there are copious springs, a fertile soil, and a numerous population, whose industry and skill in agriculture appear to have acquired for them a moderate degree of wealth; but on the eastern, with the exception of a few oaks, affording some faint signs of vegetation, all is barrenness. I perceived the dross of forges, at which I was much astonished, as it proved that at some remote period there must have been iron works on this spot; and the following inquiries naturally suggested themselves to me;

how many centuries must have passed to produce the present change in the character of the country? What means of subsistence could this sterile region have afforded at the time these works were in operation? Whence was water obtained to give motion to the machinery? Why was this spot chosen? As I could not find a satisfactory answer to any of these questions, I leave them to the speculations of others.

At some few leagues from hence, in the vicinity of Saïd, the agents of Mehemet-Ali have discovered a rich coal mine, of excellent quality, which they are preparing to work.\*

The western side of Libanus is composed of transition strata, and of calcareous rock and schist; the eastern exhibits only new calcareous matter, containing portions of agate.

As we descended the mountain, Baalbeck appeared in sight, at the distance of about four leagues. It is situated on the other side of the valley, at the base of Anti-Libanus; and even at that distance its white, lofty, and extensive ruins pro-

\* The author appears to have given a solution of his own questions;—For the circumstance of there being a rich coal mine at the distance of only a few leagues, makes it probable that another may have existed not far from the position where the Marshal fancied he saw proofs of iron having been manufactured. (T.)

duce a deep impression on the beholder. We slept at the ruined village of Tareita, which from the size of its cemetery, I conclude to have formerly been a place of considerable magnitude. We observed a widow praying near her husband's grave. He had lately died, and as a proof of her devotion to him, she had cut off her beautiful hair, and had placed it over his tomb, where it hung floating in the wind. The surrounding objects were in harmony with this melancholy scene, for every thing within our view was desolate. The plain was untilled, scarcely a sign of vegetation was perceptible, excepting in a few old trees of stunted growth, and the inhabitants were clothed in rags. It was, in short, the picture of the desert, rendered still more sad by the appearance of our species in its most degraded state. However, we had no alternative but to halt at Tareita for the night, as there was no other place, in this part of the country, at which water could be procured. Even here it was scarce, for the pool was dried up from which the wretched inhabitants of the district are usually supplied, and we were in consequence obliged to obtain what we required from a distant well.



The inhabitants of Tareita, and indeed the whole population of the valley of Cœli-Syria, comprehended between the ranges of Libanus and Anti-Libanus, are of the nation of the Metualis, and are said to be very inhospitable. They are schismatic Mussulmans, forming part of the sect of Ali, which is very numerous in Persia and in the centre of Asia. Between this sect and the more rigid one of Omar, to which the Turks belong, a very hostile feeling subsists.

The Metualis are considered brave and enterprising, and almost the whole of the male population are Brigands; but they are extremely superstitious, and think themselves polluted by contact with strangers to their creed. In the political convulsions that have, at various periods, desolated Syria, the Metualis have played a very conspicuous part. The consequent drain upon their numbers, together with their miserable state of destitution, have considerably reduced their power, but they are still sufficiently formidable to be dreaded by their neighbours, as well as by travellers.

It is a singular fact that these people have no knowledge of the places from whence they came,

although a short period only has elapsed since they settled here.

On quitting Tareita, we directed our course towards Baalbeck, needing no other guide than its majestic ruins, across the spacious plain before us. This plain although once so productive, has now become a barren waste.

Being desirous of shortening our journey, we avoided the beaten track, and met with no impediment, as the principal river which rises in Anti-Libanus and flows towards Saïd, enters the plain below the line of our route, and the beds of the rivulets on both sides of the valley were at that time perfectly dry. There was a degree of independence in our style of travelling which to me was peculiarly agreeable.

The Bedouins consider the valley of Cœli-Syria, as exclusively their own, and therefore occupy it at those periods of the year which are the most convenient to them. A traveller cannot fail to be struck by the remarkable difference between the constitution of the social state of Europe and that of the East, where its element is not, as with us, the individual, or the family, but the tribe; and he must be equally

astonished in observing the apparently recognised rights of property amongst a population so disproportioned in numbers to the immense extent of country it inhabits. One of these tribes takes possession of a valley, a district, or a province, and retains it until the close of the season, or until it is compelled by the failure of the local resources to remove to another spot, which probably it may have occupied in some preceding year. And this previous occupation is its only title to the land.

We found the tribe of Amamera in possession of the country around Baalbeck, and in crossing the plain we passed through their encampment, which like all those of the Bedouins was of a wretched description, the only shelter these people had from the elements, being the fragments of some miserable tents. They protect themselves against unwelcome intruders, by enormous dogs, who are ferocious to strangers, although gentle and docile to their masters. The tribe above named consists of about two thousand souls, subdivided into various sections, which unite or separate, according to circumstances. It had at the time of our visit large flocks of sheep, a numerous herd

of cattle, and several horses of extraordinary beauty.

Mount Becharres which overlooks Tripoli, and appears to be even higher than Mount Sannin, was on our left, during this day's march. We remarked some few patches of snow, in parts which were screened from the sun's rays. To the right we saw the mountain of Sheick, terminating the chain of Anti-Libanus, and of about the same elevation as Becharres. Reaching Baalbeck very late, we encamped on the bank of a rivulet, shaded by the foliage of a grove of magnificent filbert trees. There is in Syria during the night an extraordinary degree of stillness, which combined with the extreme brilliancy of the heavens produce on the stranger deep and indescribable emotions. In this instance the peculiar charm was heightened from the silence being broken by the gentle murmuring of the stream. Our tents being pitched, we took precautions against the attacks of tigers, which are not uncommon in this situation, and made the other requisite arrangements for the night. We then retired to seek the repose which a most fatiguing day had rendered necessary; but with an impatient longing for the arrival of the following morning, when we

looked forward to the gratification of inspecting the beautiful ruins which formed the chief object of our journey.

At daybreak we repaired to the temple and our astonishment on beholding the vastness of its size, was only equalled by the admiration we felt on examining the delicate ornaments, and exquisite workmanship, with which it was embellished.

Baalbeck is one of the most ancient cities of Asia, and at a very early period it had a temple dedicated to the sun. Baalbeck in Syriac, means, "City of the Sun," as does "Heliopolis" in Greek, which name it also bore. The city itself was of small extent, and although garrisoned by a Roman legion, its importance was derived entirely from its religious character.

The ancient temple having been destroyed, the modern one was built in the reign of Antoninus Pius. Even if the inscriptions it bears did not accurately fix the period of its erection, this might be determined by the fine example of the Corinthian order of architecture which this temple affords. In contemplating the ruins of the temples of Antoninus and Faustinus at Rome, we may almost fancy we again behold those of Baalbeck.

This temple having been built only a short time before the establishment of Christianity in Asia, soon lost its importance as a place of heathen worship. A part of it was subsequently used as a church, and at a later period it became a military post for those who occupied the country.

The ruins are of vast extent, and evidently are the remains not of one but of two temples placed contiguously. The principal entrance was adorned with twelve magnificent columns, and a façade of more than fifty metres ( $54\frac{1}{2}$  English yards) in length. There were two immense courts, rich in architectural embellishments, and adorned with numerous columns of extraordinary dimensions. In examining the remains of these buildings, I observed many stones whose contents measured a hundred and fifty cubic metres (5297 English cubic feet); indeed, there was one piece, not quite detached from a rock, that measured no less than four hundred and fifty cubic metres (15,892 English cubic feet).\*

\* To give a more complete idea of this work, I shall add Volney's very accurate and detailed description:—

“Let us suppose that we are descending from the interior of the city.—After passing the rubbish and the huts that have been built upon it, we arrive at an open space, which must have been a square. Towards the west we perceive a considerable heap of ruins, formed by two pavilions, which were enriched with pilasters, and united by

Great as was our astonishment at contemplating all that is magnificent and beautiful in the ruins of the

a wall of a hundred and sixty feet in length : this façade is placed on a sort of terrace, at the edge of which are discovered the bases of twelve columns, that stood between the pavilions and formed the portico. The gateway is obstructed by a mound of stones ; but, by climbing over them, we enter a hexagonal court of a hundred and eighty feet in diameter, over which are scattered, not only broken columns, mutilated capitals, fragments of pilasters, entablatures, and cornices, but also some entire shafts and specimens of the most beautiful ornaments of architecture. At the end of this court there is an opening, through which an extensive view is obtained of other ruins that also merit attention. In order to see them with advantage, it is necessary to ascend a slope formed by the ruins of a staircase : at the top we find ourselves at the entrance of a square court, much more spacious than the former. We perceive, at its extremity, six enormous columns rising majestically above the horizon, and forming, with the view seen in the intervals, a beautiful picture. A not less interesting object is another series of columns to the left hand, which formed the peristyle : but before proceeding further, we cannot refrain from attentively observing the buildings on both sides, which are enclosed by this court. They form a kind of corridor, sub-divided into fourteen chambers, seven of which are on either side of the great aisles. They are open towards the court, but at the further end have pediments, niches, and tabernacles, highly ornamented with devices. Although we cannot discover what may have been the object of these chambers, we do not the less admire their beauty, especially the form of the pilasters, and the richness of the frieze. At last we reach the six columns above mentioned, and it is then, on observing the boldness of their dimensions, that our astonishment is complete. Their shafts are twenty-one feet eight inches in circumference, and fifty-eight feet long ; so that the total height, including the entablature, is upwards of seventy-one feet. We naturally wonder at seeing this superb and well preserved part of the ruin apparently unconnected with any other portion of the temple ; but on a careful examination

Temples of Baalbeck, our wonder was increased when we reflected that these edifices were erected

of the ground, we perceive a suite of pedestals ranged on the side of a quadrangle, which measures two hundred and sixty-eight feet by a hundred and forty-six; and thence we conclude that this was the peristyle of a large temple, the principal object of the entire mass. Towards the great court, that is, to the east, it shews a front of ten columns, with nineteen on each side, (making a total of fifty-four.)

“Such was the original form of this edifice; but in course of time, the southern side of the great temple was thrown down, to admit of building the smaller one, whose peristyle is still extant.—This smaller temple, which was on a lower level than the larger one, had thirteen columns on each side, and eight appeared at either end, so that there were thirty-eight in all; the angular columns being seen both at the ends and sides. These columns, which were also of the Corinthian order, had a circumference of fifteen feet eight inches, and a height of forty-four feet. It would be tedious to give all the details of this building, and it is therefore hoped that the foregoing particulars will suffice to present an idea of its grandeur. The earthquake of 1789 overturned several columns, and also rent the walls of the smaller temple: but nature has not been the only agent of destruction, as the Turks have been still more active in throwing down the columns,—their only object being to get the iron which formed their axes. It is surprising that the stones of the temple, though they have been exposed to the atmosphere for so many centuries, should still preserve their original whiteness, but the dimensions of some of them are still more astonishing. On the western side, the second layer is formed of immense blocks, some of which measure as much as 35 feet in length by 9 feet in height. These stones are of a whitish granite; and not only does the city stand on a stratum of this material, but the adjacent hills are composed of it. In one of the quarries I observed a stone, not quite detached from the rock, which was 69 feet 2 inches long, 12 feet 10 inches wide, and 13 feet 3 inches deep. It is not easy to conceive by what means the ancients moved such ponderous blocks.”



with comparative facility, at the command of a Roman Emperor, in an obscure city at the distance of six hundred leagues from his capital. In the present day the efforts of all the monarchs of Europe could not accomplish such an undertaking.

Various modern works have been formed amongst these ruins, to prepare them for defence, but it is easy to distinguish these additions from the ancient buildings, and in imagination to divest oneself of their presence, so as to perceive only the remains of the temples, which are nearly in the same state as when they were described by Volney.

The ancient city stood in an amphitheatre formed by the slope of a hill, and the boundary walls were so placed as to include an area in the shape of an Isosceles triangle, whose apex was the highest point of the enclosure.

Nothing can be more loathsome and forbidding than the collection of half-ruined huts which cover the surface. They bear the appearance of the very acme of wretchedness.

Baalbeck is inhabited by Metualis, and presents a still more gloomy picture of the misery we observed at the village of Tareita.

This city is favoured by nature, in the fertility

of the surrounding country, in possessing an abundance of water, and in the salubrity of the climate ; yet its state of poverty is rapidly destroying it, and notwithstanding that its population only a few years since amounted to ten thousand souls, it is now reduced to twelve hundred.

At the entrance of the city, and by the side of the large temple, there is another temple, which was probably erected at an earlier period ; this, although smaller, must have been very beautiful, and is even still imposing, being in the purest style of Roman architecture. It reminded me of the one dedicated to Janus, at Rome.

I went to the bottom of the valley, where the river of Baalbeck issues from Anti-Libanus. It is one of the most beautiful streams I ever saw ; the water is of excellent quality and so abundant that it has sufficient power to put in motion the rude machinery of the inhabitants of this district. Its temperature, on coming to the surface of the ground, was 15 degrees centigrades.

So excessive was the heat of the atmosphere at Baalbeck, and so powerful the rays of the sun, that we could almost imagine such causes to have led to the erection of the temple in honour of that planet.

The form of this edifice disproves the assertions of some antiquaries, who state that all the temples dedicated to the sun were round, as a type of the circular motion of that celestial body. The plan of that which I have described is rectangular, and so built that the entrance, facing due east, admitted the sun's rays as soon as the planet touched the horizon. Thus the divinity appeared daily to take possession of the sanctuary, at the instant of becoming visible to man.

On the 5th of September I ascended the western side of Anti-Libanus, and crossed the ridge at a point where it is considerably depressed; it afterwards rises in approaching the sea coast, and terminates at the mountain of Sheick. The country we passed over is covered with a soil of a fertile quality, but the population is insufficient for its cultivation; and we merely saw a few miserable villages in our route.

We descended into a narrow and well cultivated valley, which is fertilized by the waters of the "Surgaya." This small river, on entering Cœli-Syria, unites with that from Zathné, and forms the Saïd, which empties itself into the sea. I had frequent occasion to remark, in this part of my tour, that

wherever there was an abundance of water, the land was very productive. I proceeded to the source of the Surgaya, whose temperature, on issuing from the ground, was 12·5 centigrades.—A short distance from hence, I observed another rivulet whose course was in an opposite direction, being towards Damascus, while the Surgaya flows to the Mediterranean.

The inclination of the mountain is here so gentle, that I should have been unconscious of having crossed the summit, but for the direction of the little river called the “Barada,” which denoted that we were descending, and had entered the great basin of the Euphrates. In fact, the water of this stream would find its way to the Persian gulf, if not absorbed in the irrigation of the highly cultivated land through which it takes its course.

The eastern side of Anti-Libanus is incomparably superior to the western; and it is worthy of remark, that in the two parallel ranges of Libanus and Anti-Libanus, the sterile parts face each other, and form opposite sides of the great valley of Cœli-Syria, which is thus bordered by dry and arid mountains. The fertile portions are consequently the western side of Libanus, and the eastern side of Anti-Libanus.

We encamped near a pretty rivulet, at a short

distance from Zubdam, which is the most beautiful village that I met with in Syria ; it appeared well peopled and in a prosperous condition, and I observed nothing of that wretchedness which is the prevailing feature of the East.

Throughout this day's journey we were under the guidance of a young Arab, named Elyas, whom we engaged at Sassayack, a miserable village at the top of Anti-Libanus, and about two leagues distance from Baalbeck. . He was a christian of the Greek church : of a kind and lively disposition, finely proportioned and very active. Like the rest of his nation, he had a strong affection for his horse, and he possessed a degree of practical philosophy which rendered him comparatively indifferent to the course of passing events ; and, regardless of the future, he contented himself with enjoying the present and recollecting the pleasures of the past. His fervid imagination, constantly excited by the charms of a beautiful climate, sweetened his life, and created an imaginary existence far surpassing any reality. This man was such as eastern tales depict the Arab, winning upon those whom he desires to please by his simplicity, and by the truth and guilelessness of his character, and exciting their astonishment by

his natural enthusiasm for every thing that is magnanimous in sentiment, or beautiful in nature. I derived great pleasure from conversing with this young man ; his observations always bore the stamp of sound judgment, and shewed that he possessed a feeling and generous soul. I asked him if he were married, and he replied in the negative, but added that he had a beautiful mistress ; and on my enquiring if he would defend her against those who might try to tear her from him, he exclaimed with a degree of energy and feeling that I shall never forget, “Against ten would I defend her and even “until death, if she be faithful to me, but not “against a single arm or even for a single moment if “I could suspect her to be false.” What a noble sentiment to spring from this simple hearted, but right minded youth !

On the sixth we set out, at daylight, for Damascus, still keeping in the plain and following the course of its waters, which pass close to the city, fertilizing the delicious gardens of the neighbourhood. The valley varies much in width ; where, by the receding of the rocks it is permitted to expand, nature shines out in all her richest beauties ; but in other parts it is contracted to a narrow strip of

verdure. In those situations where the ground is above the level to which the water can attain, sterility prevails, and nothing is seen but white and arid rocks. This mournful picture undergoes no change, excepting for a few months of winter, and of the early spring, when moisture produces a little vegetation, of which however, at the period of my visit, there was not the slightest sign.

In order to avoid the winding circuit of the beaten track, we clambered over a ridge of calcareous rocks, and on reaching the top we caught the first view of Damascus, standing at the foot of the mountains, which skirt the plain on the north and western sides, and at no great distance from us.

Nothing can surpass the magic beauty of this enchanting scene. After the melancholy impression we received from the barrenness of the district through which we had recently passed, our spirits were raised to a state of ecstasy, on discovering the vast Oasis now before us. The view extends over a surface of six or seven leagues in length, and three or four in breadth, covered with the most refreshing and brilliant verdure. In the middle of this smiling plain, Damascus rises in majestic beauty, adorned not only with the splendid private

mansions of its rich inhabitants, but also with mosques, bazaars, and various other public buildings.

The whole of the plain is covered with gardens and orchards, and the natural fertility of the soil is so much increased, owing to its irrigation by the waters of the Barada, and its tributary streams, that the produce is sufficient to supply the wants of the whole population.

At the period of our visit, general discontent prevailed in the city, in consequence of the order issued by Ibrahim Pacha, to disarm the inhabitants. — A wise precaution, for the people of Damascus have at all times been difficult to govern and have frequently revolted. The disarming was however carried into effect without difficulty, affording ample proof of the moral influence exercised by Mehemet-Ali.

We repaired to the humble convent of St. Lazarus, where we were hospitably received by the worthy monks, and especially by fathers Pousson and Testre, Frenchmen by birth. Notwithstanding the minute inspection I made of Damascus I found little in it to interest me; regarded however as a Turkish city, it is handsome; the bazaars are extensive, but almost exclusively filled with foreign



merchandize. It is wonderful how the industrious habits have diminished for which this city was once so remarkable. Nothing is now manufactured here but what is indispensably necessary for the immediate wants of the population: and every article of a costly nature, or requiring careful workmanship is imported, so that Damascus is reduced to a mere place of barter, where the merchandize brought from Europe is exchanged with that which is received from Arabia and Persia.

At Damascus a superior style of living is kept up by the Turkish families which is no where else to be seen among these people. This city contains the most beautiful mansions of the East. They have large halls faced with white marble, fountains, and handsome courts which are tastefully planted, and laid out as ornamental gardens.

I visited some of the rich Christian merchants, who received me with hospitality, and, according to the custom usually observed on such occasions, offered me refreshments, which consisted of coffee, sweetmeats, and sherbet. Their residences rival in splendour, those of the wealthy Mahometans, and reminded me of the houses of the Beys at Cairo, which I had seen during the period of the

occupation of that city by the French army. I also traced a similarity in their habits and manners.

It is computed that the whole population of Damascus does not exceed a hundred thousand souls, and judging from a census recently taken, for the purpose of a capitation tax, I am inclined to think that this is a just estimate.

The inhabitants of Damascus, were always the most violent fanatics of the East, and still entertain a great antipathy to Christians, and Franks in general. Before the rule of Mehemet-Ali, this feeling had reached such a height that it was unsafe for Europeans to appear in the streets in their own costume, but this chief finding their services often indispensable in furthering his projects, extended to them his especial protection. Possessing as he does the talent of making himself feared and respected, he insured a compliance with his wish by merely issuing an order to his Mussulman subjects not to molest persons of other creeds.

It is a general practice in the East, to subdivide the towns, and to prevent any communication during the night, between the different quarters, by means of gates which are locked at sunset. The object of this municipal regulation is to render

any sudden revolt almost impracticable, by creating an obstacle to the assembling of large bodies of men. It is enforced with extreme rigour at Damascus, where the keys of the gates are deposited in the hands of the Governor.

I found here a M. Baudin, who bears the title of consular agent for France. At the time the French Government sent officers into Syria for the purpose of purchasing stallions, this gentleman accompanied them in the capacity of commissary of the stud, and, having married, became a resident in this city. He is an obliging, zealous, and intelligent person, and his assistance is invaluable to Europeans, whether attracted to Damascus by curiosity, or business. His general employment is in matters of a commercial nature.

This place is the residence of Cherif Pacha, the Governor of Syria, who is a countryman and relative of Mehemet-Ali. On receiving a complimentary message from the Pacha, I called upon him, and was received with much kindness by this lively, good-humoured, and courteous Turk. He gave every requisite order for facilitating my journey, and assured me that the interior of Syria was now brought to such a state of tranquillity, that I

might travel throughout the province in perfect safety. He proposed to shew me the two regiments then stationed at Damascus. I eagerly accepted his offer, as I was desirous of seeing the Egyptian soldiers under arms, who had lately beaten the Turks, and of whom such favourable accounts had reached Europe. I was the more anxious to review them from having heard complaints made by the natives of their want of discipline, and from having myself remarked them to be deficient in soldier-like appearance. But I must admit that, at the same time, I observed in the countenances of these men an expression of confidence, which is the index of courage, and which distinguishes the true soldier from the man who merely wears the military dress.

On the following morning I repaired to the exercising ground, where I found two battalions of the tenth regiment drawn up for inspection. They appeared to be but imperfectly drilled and undeserving the opinion I had been led to form of them.

Having had an opportunity of minutely studying the organization of the Egyptian army, it is my intention to give a detailed description of it in a subsequent part of this work. I shall there also endeavour to point out its defects, and the causes

that have produced them ; for although this army has proved itself superior to that of the Sultan, it is yet very far from possessing the degree of efficiency which it is capable of attaining, and which would give it the character of a respectable military force in the estimation of European officers.

Notwithstanding that Cherif Pacha takes no part in the military arrangements of this district, and confines himself exclusively to the duties of the civil administration, yet his authority as Governor is recognized by the troops, who in that capacity not only yield him obedience, but shew him great respect. He was present at the review, where, according to his usual custom, he was surrounded\* by a numerous suite of attendants on foot.

I found in the Egyptian corps stationed at Damascus, several European officers, and amongst others, M. de Toron, who had served in the third regiment of the Royal Guard ; M. Baladin, who formerly held the rank of Captain in the sixty-fourth regiment of French Infantry ; and M. Cherubini, who had been appointed Physician to the Pacha. By the two first I was furnished with various details concerning the state of the army. They corroborated what I had previously heard of the capability

of the Egyptians to become good soldiers, and they strengthened my own impression that the excellent qualities of these people only required to be developed, under the influence of a judicious military code, by officers of character and reputation.

The Egyptian soldier is represented to be sober, steady, and brave; he is able to undergo great fatigue, is imbued with enthusiasm which is easily roused, and seems conscious that his position entitles him both to the respect of others and to his own self-esteem. By calling these invaluable qualities into action with prudence and judgment, this army would be raised to a high degree of excellence.

When I was at Damascus, however, complaints were made of its relaxation of discipline, which was in a great measure attributed to an ill-judged liberalism, that had been introduced into the service, and for which no rational motive could be assigned. For as the East may be regarded as the cradle of despotism, and the will of those in authority has there been ever considered as law, it would appear to be the very last spot on earth requiring the adoption of such a system.

This absurd arrangement was nothing less than the absolute reversing of the ordinary principle of

military promotion, by making it dependant, not on the opinion or the will of the superior officers, but on the passions and interests of the inferior grades. Thus the privates were empowered to select, out of their own body, those who should be advanced to the rank of corporal, and in like manner the corporals nominated the serjeants. The natural consequence was, that the individuals who were promoted were those whom their fellow soldiers considered to be the most favourable to a lax state of discipline, and as might have been expected, the greatest disorder and insubordination prevailed.

Amongst other unwise regulations, the soldiers were exempt from every kind of summary punishment, and even the most trivial offence was brought under the cognizance of a regimental tribunal, by which it was judged and the penalty awarded. And in this instance, the colonel himself had no more power than the subordinate officers, being equally obliged to bring offenders before this court. But a still greater absurdity was, that the sentence could not be carried into effect without the approval of Ibrahim Pacha; and as that chief was frequently distant a ten days' journey from the station where the offence was committed, most inconvenient delays

took place. The whole of this unwise system has however been discontinued, and a more rational one substituted for it ; but as it existed for a considerable period, it is matter of astonishment that a course of misgovernment, which would have produced the most fatal consequences amongst troops of any other nation, should not have had the effect of totally disorganizing the Egyptian army.



WAR OF 1832.

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HAVING reached the scene of the operations of the Egyptian army, in the year 1832, I shall attempt a description of the campaign, in the belief that it will prove interesting to the military reader, from the evidence it affords of the soldier-like qualities of the troops, and the talent displayed by their chief.

Several thousand Egyptian peasants, being in a state of great discontent, abandoned their villages and took refuge in Syria.

It happened that Abdallah, the Pacha of Acio and Governor of the Province, was under great personal obligations to Mehemet-Ali, but notwithstanding this and other powerful incentives to gratitude, he did not hesitate to adopt a course in opposition to the interests of his benefactor; and, disregarding every remonstrance, he afforded an asylum to all who sought his protection. Mehemet-Ali, fearing that this emigration might become conta-

gious, and ultimately prove injurious to Egypt, determined to arrest its progress and avenge himself on the ungrateful Abdallah, by taking possession of Syria.

It is probable also that motives of aggrandisement influenced Mehemet-Ali to adopt this course; for Syria not only contains a numerous and warlike population, from which he might hope to derive assistance in his future operations, but it possesses iron, wood and coal, the natural treasures most wanting in Egypt. Its extensive commerce with the interior of Asia, and the importance it acquires from the annual journies of the Caravan to Mecca and back, offered a still further inducement to attempt its conquest.\*

The prospect of obtaining these advantages encouraged Mehemet-Ali to pursue the man, against whom he had so much cause of complaint, and he therefore ordered his son, Ibrahim Pacha, to put himself at the head of the army, and pass

\* The Caravan alluded to is the "Surree," which conveys to Mecca the rich carpet and other yearly presents to the Kaaba. It is attended by thousands of pilgrims (Hadjis), who expend considerable sums during their pious journey. (*T.*)

the desert. Abdallah Pacha not having a sufficient number of troops for the defence of Syria, retired to St. Jean d'Acre, and with the exception of that place the whole province submitted to the Egyptians, who were well received by the inhabitants.

The army of Ibrahim Pacha which amounted to about forty thousand men, consisted of six regiments of infantry, each composed of four battalions; of eight regiments of cavalry; and of three or four thousand Bedouins, who performed the outpost duties. The field artillery comprised sixty pieces of cannon, and there was also an ample battering train.

A squadron of five ships of the line, and several frigates sailed from Alexandria, and proceeded to the Syrian coast, to co-operate with the army. Ibrahim Pacha laid siege to St. Jean d'Acre, but the attack was conducted with so little skill, that notwithstanding an immense consumption of ammunition, the fortress had not surrendered at the end of five months, when a Turkish army was put in motion for its relief.

Ibrahim Pacha learnt that eighteen or twenty thousand Turks, composed of regular and irregular

troops, had arrived at Homs, the ancient Emessa, on the banks of the Orontes, and that another army still more numerous was advancing against him from Anatolia, under the orders of Hussein Pacha, who had acquired great celebrity by his gallant conduct, in the destruction of the Janissaries. Information was also received that a corps, under the orders of Osman Pacha, was marching towards Tripoli. Ibrahim in consequence reduced the number of troops employed against St. Jean d'Acre, leaving only such as were indispensable for the prosecution of the siege.

He made a demonstration on Tripoli, with a single regiment of infantry, one of cavalry, and some Bedouins; and despatched the remainder of his force to Baalbeck, under the orders of Abbas Pacha. On hearing of the march of Ibrahim, the Turks prepared to retreat, and after a slight engagement fell back on Homs, where they joined the main body of their army. Ibrahim pursued them as far as Khan-Kousseir, and from thence retired to Baalbeck, where he remained to observe the operations of the enemy. This position was admirably suited for defence, for it covered the

siege, by commanding the shortest and most direct route between Homs and St. Jean d'Acre, and from having the support both of Libanus and Anti-Libanus, it could neither be attacked in front, nor easily turned. It was therefore impossible for the Turks to reach St. Jean d'Acre without previously defeating the army occupying this position. For instance if they marched towards Damascus, Ibrahim could fall upon their right flank; if towards Tripoli, he could attack their left; and therefore under all circumstances Baalbeck was the fittest post for the Egyptian army while watching the turn of events.

The Turks remaining quiet, Ibrahim Pacha rejoined the force engaged in the siege of Acre, and on the fall of that place, he commenced offensive operations in the field.

He sent a weak corps, under the orders of Hassan-bey-Monastirli to Tripoli, and leaving a part of his troops at Baalbeck proceeded with the remainder against Damascus. As soon as the Egyptian columns arrived before that city, Ali Pacha, the Turkish commandant, retreated upon Homs. Ibrahim Pacha being thus enabled to take possession of Damascus, determined to concentrate his army, and for that

purpose moved the three columns composing it upon Khan-Kousseir, where they met on the evening of the 6th July (the 8th Sefer). The several corps of the Turkish army had not then formed their junction, because Hussein Pacha, their commander, was still at Antioch, with a part of the troops; and a force of between thirty and thirty-five thousand men remained in their encampment near Homs, under the orders of Mehemet-Pacha, one of the chiefs of the Nizzam,\* and a favourite of the Seraskier Khosrew.

On the following morning the whole of the Egyptian army advanced against the city. At two o'clock in the afternoon, when still at some distance, it formed in line, having the lake on its left, and the desert on its right.

The Turkish army quitted its position and prepared to attack the Egyptians. It would have been much wiser in Mehemet-Pacha, to have moved on the preceding evening, and to have taken possession of Khan-Kousseir, at the head of the lake, for in that case the junction of the Egyptian columns would have been rendered more difficult, and the Turkish force would then have had a chance of attacking them separately.

\* That is the newly organized troops. (T.)

The Egyptian army consisted of seven regiments of infantry, each comprising four battalions; six regiments of cavalry, divided into twenty-four squadrons; seven batteries of artillery, and two howitzers.

It formed in three lines. The first which was composed of twelve battalions, deployed. The second, composed of the same number of battalions, took up their position in column, at deployment distance; and the third, consisting of the four battalions of the remaining regiment, was also placed in column, at deployment distance.

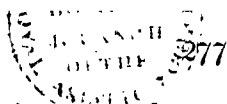
The six regiments of cavalry were posted on the flanks of the three lines of infantry. The batteries were disposed as follows; three in the first line, one being on each flank and the other in the centre; and the remaining four with the howitzers, in reserve, behind the second line. The baggage was stationed between the second and the third lines. The whole of this arrangement was so judicious and complete as to leave no opening for criticism.

The Turkish army had deployed, and was formed in two lines; the cavalry being placed on the flanks, and the artillery distributed amongst the infantry, in

the proportion of one gun to each battalion. The order of battle adopted by the Egyptians was, from its great superiority, obviously calculated to ensure their success. The regiment of infantry on the right of the second line, took ground to its right and towards the front, and was so placed that on deploying it might stand oblique to the first line, while the regiment on the right of the first line, by a change of direction, and a movement to the right, posted itself in prolongation of that of the second line above alluded to. To complete this manœuvre the second regiment of the second line, assumed the position originally occupied by the first regiment of the first line, by which means the regiments thus thrown forward, out-flanked the left of the Turkish army.

The greater part of the artillery of reserve, and the three regiments of cavalry of the right wing of the Egyptian army, were posted so as to cover and support this movement, the latter being in readiness to attack the rear of the enemy. The regiment on the left flank of the second line with the cavalry of that wing moved further to the left, to threaten and keep in check the Turkish force in their front. The Egyptians commenced the battle by the following movements.





The right of the first line, that is to say, the regiments which had been thrown forward, advanced, while the centre of this line also advanced in an echelon of battalions to the right. The Turks being thus attacked in their centre and left wing, wished to change the direction of their front, by throwing back the left, but in attempting this manœuvre, they fell into disorder, and were forced into a precipitate retreat, leaving on the field two thousand killed, three thousand prisoners, and twelve pieces of cannon. This action was not well contested by the Turks, which circumstance alone was a sufficient cause for the easy victory gained over them, but the success of the Egyptians, may be also attributed to the precision of their movements, and to the skilful arrangements of Ibrahim Pacha. The result might likewise in a great degree be ascribed to the very injudicious disposition of the Turkish army, whose right was posted on an island formed by the Orontes and a canal, and thereby prevented supporting the left or centre. At day-break on the following morning, the 8th of July (the tenth Sefer), the Egyptian army entered Homs, where it captured fifteen hundred men, and fourteen pieces of cannon. The remainder of the Turkish army retreated on

Aleppo, and joined the force under the command of Hussein Pacha. An attempt at resistance should there have been made, but instead of adopting that course, the city was evacuated on the approach of the Egyptians, and the Turks retired on Beylan, in two columns, one of which passed through Kliss, and the other through Antioch.

The Egyptian army being severely attacked with cholera, Ibrahim determined to halt at Aleppo for some days, in order to give rest to his men; and he was also desirous of putting all his equipments, stores, and artillery into a proper state, for prosecuting the campaign.

During this detention, reconnoitring parties were sent to the sources of the Euphrates, for the purpose of examining the mountain passes. At length the army set out to encounter the Turks, who were known to be encamped in front of the village of Beylan. Ibrahim, detached some irregular troops to clear the route to Antioch, while the main body of the Egyptians took the direction of Kliss, and arrived in presence of the enemy, on the 29th of July (the second of rebiel-awel), at three o'clock in the afternoon. The road by which the Egyptian army marched, is directed towards the base of a chain of mountains, and after crossing the summit, descends to the

village of Beylan, which is situated at the bottom of its northern declivity.

The Turkish army was posted on the southern side a little below the top, and was covered by some redoubts which it had hastily thrown up ; its left extended to the Beylan road, by which it would have had to retire if defeated. Ibrahim Pacha perceiving that there were heights which commanded this road, determined to take possession of them, and in order to effect that object he threatened the front of the Turkish army, with a part of his force, while with the remainder he ascended the heights and turned the enemy's position. As soon as this movement was completed he ordered the attack. The Turks being menaced both in their front and on their line of retreat, fell back ; the troops of the left wing retreated by the Beylan road, but having to defile under the fire of four battalions of Egyptians, they lost a great number of men, and ultimately took to flight. This disaster deterred the rest of the army from attempting to retire by this route, and as there was no other suited for the march of a large body of men, they dispersed and made their way by the mountain tracks to Alexandretta. This attack was judiciously planned and

well executed. Great credit is due to Ibrahim Pacha for engaging the enemy immediately on his arrival, although it was already late in the day ; for if he had deferred doing so until the following morning the result might have been very different, as it is probable that in addition to the force which he defeated, he would have had to contend with the troops who, during the battle, remained at Bayas and Alexandretta.

The Turks left twenty-five guns upon the field ; and on the following day the Egyptian army, without opposition, took possession of Alexandretta, where they found fourteen pieces of ordnance, with immense stores of provisions. The cavalry made a dash at Bayas, and succeeded in capturing nineteen hundred prisoners. This action produced the additional effect of enabling the Egyptian army to take possession of Adana and Tarsus, and to compel the Turks to retire upon Mount Taurus. It is remarkable that it took place at a short distance from the spot where the ancient battle of Issus was fought, in which Alexander defeated the Persians.

The Sultan at length determined to make a formidable effort to arrest the progress of an enemy whose success endangered the stability of his throne.

The Turkish army was therefore augmented to upwards of fifty thousand men, and was provided with a numerous artillery. It was chiefly composed of regular troops, and the command was taken from Hussein Pacha, and conferred on the Grand Vizier, Reschid Pacha, who had acquired a high reputation by his victories in Albania and Bosnia, as well as by the pacification of those provinces. Gifted with those primitive virtues, which generally shine with extraordinary splendour amongst a people whose civilization is but little advanced, Reschid Pacha, had acquired great popularity from the nobleness of his character. He was however unacquainted with the principles of military tactics on an extensive scale, and was consequently unfitted to contend with so able a man as Ibrahim Pacha.

The Egyptian army assembled at Adana, and remained there till the 13th of October (17 djemarel-awel). In the mean while Aleppo was occupied by one of its detachments, and some light corps watched the approaches to that city. A brigade composed of two regiments of infantry, and a corps of irregular cavalry, under the orders of a General of Division, took possession of Orfa, in order to cover the road from Sivas and Erzeroum,

by Diarbekir, and also to hold Marasch, for the purpose of discovering the movements of the enemy in that part of the Taurus range. During these operations, Ibrahim Pacha kept up his communications with Egypt principally by sea.

The troops having at length recovered from their fatigue, and the violence of the disease with which they had been attacked having considerably abated, Ibrahim Pacha determined to renew the campaign. Every necessary preparation having been made, an advanced guard was put in motion on the 14th October (the eighteenth of djemar-el-awel) to reconnoitre the defiles of Mount Taurus, which were held by the Turks. This Egyptian corps consisted of two columns; one of regular troops, who marched on Nemroud, and the other of irregulars who proceeded to Tchifte-Khan, for the purpose of turning the enemy's position. These movements forced the Turks to evacuate the defiles, and retire on Erekli; on their subsequently abandoning that place it was occupied by the Egyptian advanced guard, who remained there from the 20th October until the 12th November (the nineteenth of djemar-el-aker). Being then supplied with rations and forage for six days, they resumed their march and took the direct

road to Konieh, against which an irregular corps was detached by the route of Karaman. The main body of the army moved in five parallel columns. The artillery, which was placed in the centre, had on its right and left a column of infantry, the cavalry being on either flank, and the whole separated by the intervals necessary to admit of their deployment in two lines.

On the morning of the 17th of November the army set out from Kor Khan, and information having reached Ibrahim Pacha, that the enemy had evacuated Konieh in the night, he ordered a corps of cavalry, with twelve pieces of artillery, to advance rapidly and take possession of that place. They met with no opposition, and captured a considerable quantity of provisions and artillery. On the 18th, four regiments of cavalry and the Bedouins, with twelve pieces of cannon, were dispatched in pursuit of the Turks, on the route of Ak-Chehr, and, on coming up with the enemy, a slight engagement ensued, in which the Egyptians made a few prisoners. They then returned to Konieh, where the army halted for some days.

On the 9th of December (the 17th of regeb), Ibrahim Pacha detached from Erekli, to Kaisarieh, a brigade of cavalry, with some battalions of infantry,

and a battery of artillery, under the command of Mahomed Bey. The object of this movement was to cover the right of his army and keep in check the corps of Osman Pacha, which had concentrated at Sivas, and threatened his line of operations.

Contemplating the possibility of having to give battle at Konieh, Ibrahim Pacha carefully studied the environs of that place, and having selected the ground for his position, frequently manœuvred his troops upon it. On the 18th of December the Arnauts attacked Sileh, a village about two leagues distant to the westward of Konieh, and occupied by two thousand Egyptians, who had intrenched themselves and loopholed the walls. Ibrahim Pacha, with four battalions of infantry, a regiment of cavalry, and five hundred irregular horsemen, marched against the Arnauts, defeated them, and captured five hundred prisoners, with eight stand of colours, and five guns.

On the morning of the 19th it was ascertained that the whole of the Turkish army had quitted Ak-chehr, and that its advanced guard occupied a Khan on the road to Ladick, three leagues distant from Konieh. Ibrahim Pacha gave orders to the Egyptian army to be in readiness to get under arms, and he himself moved forward without delay to



attack the enemy, with one regiment of infantry, three of cavalry, and three batteries of artillery. A slight engagement with musketry ensued, and the Turks, although they were fifteen hundred strong, and had intrenched themselves in the Khan, surrendered at discretion. On the same evening, when Ibrahim Pacha returned to Konieh, five or six hundred Arnauts came to his head quarters and offered to serve in the Egyptian army.

On the 20th of the month, there being reason to believe that the Turkish army, under the command of the Grand Vizier, was advancing from Ladick towards Konieh, which is eight leagues distant, orders were given to prepare for battle on the following day. The Turkish army was three times as numerous as that of the Egyptians, which only consisted of five regiments of infantry, of four battalions each ; of four regiments of cavalry, amounting to sixteen squadrons ; of six batteries, containing altogether thirty-six guns, and of some Bedouins and other irregular troops. On the morning of the 21st, the reconnoitring parties reported that the Grand Vizier had bivouacked with his army at the Khan, which two days before had been captured by Ibrahim. At about midday on its being

announced that the enemy was advancing, the Egyptians got under arms, and formed in the following order, on the ground that had been previously selected for their field of battle.

The first line consisted of two regiments, the whole of whose eight battalions were deployed.

The second line was also composed of two regiments, of which six battalions were in column, at deployment distance; while the remaining battalions, one being on either flank, were in square, a little in advance of the others, and with wider intervals, so as to cover the wings of both lines.

The reserve, consisting of the regiment of guards, in columns of battalions, with a brigade of cavalry on each flank, formed a third line, behind the centre of the second. One battery was posted in the centre, and another at the extremities of the first line; the remainder were in reserve. The Egyptian army took up this position during a thick fog, and on the atmosphere becoming clear the enemy was observed at the distance of about two miles and a quarter, formed in four lines; the first being deployed, and the other three in contiguous columns, with the cavalry in rear of the flanks.

The right flank of the Turkish army was secured

by the mountains of Sileh, and the left by the marshes of Konieh.

The direction of the Egyptian lines was such as to "refuse their left." In taking up this position, Ibrahim Pacha foresaw that much embarrassment would thereby be caused to the enemy, by compelling him either to deploy at right angles to his line of march, or in a line parallel to the Egyptian army. If the enemy adopted the former alternative, the left of the Egyptians would be beyond his reach, and therefore disposable to assist their right, and if he adopted the latter his wings would be deprived of the "appui" afforded by the marshes and the heights.

The ground in front of his right wing being suitable for the movement of every description of force, afforded another inducement for Ibrahim Pacha bringing that part of his army into action; because, in the event of his overthrowing the left of the Turks, he would be enabled to pursue the routed troops with greater advantage.

The Turkish army advanced in tolerable order, but was prevented by the fog from taking up the position which was most advantageous with reference to that of the Egyptians. The Turks deployed

perpendicularly to their line of march, but performed this manœuvre so badly that a considerable space intervened between the left of the infantry and the right of the cavalry.

The Turkish force, though still enveloped in a dense fog, commenced firing on arriving within three hundred toises (640 English yards) of the Egyptians. This injudicious act marked the position of the Turkish line, and shewed that the artillery was distributed in the proportion of two guns for each battalion. The atmosphere becoming clearer, for a short time, Ibrahim Pacha perceived the interval in the Turkish line, and decided on attempting to penetrate through it with his reserve and cavalry.

Several skilful movements having placed his troops in a position, which enabled them to take the enemy in flank, he commenced the attack. The Egyptian cavalry beat that of the Turks, which was forced to retreat; and afterwards, with the assistance of the infantry of the guard, compelled the Turkish infantry to surrender. In the mean while the right wing of the Turkish army had advanced, and surrounded the left of the Egyptians; but having in its approach to traverse a

considerable space, the left and centre of the Turkish cavalry had been routed before the engagement of its right wing had become serious. The Egyptian left, reinforced by a part of the artillery of reserve, held its ground though repeatedly attacked, and the battalion which was in square defended itself on three sides ; repulsing all its assailants.

At length a body of Turkish cavalry, amounting to two thousand five hundred men, in order to make a last effort for victory, rushed upon the left of the Egyptians, and, being unable to throw them into disorder or to check their fire, penetrated through their intervals, and passed on to Konieh, which they pillaged. But the capture of the Grand Vizier, and the defeat of the left wing of his army becoming known, that part of the right wing which was still engaged precipitately retreated.

Such was the battle of Konieh, the consequences of which might have been felt far beyond the limits of the Ottoman Empire, for the moral effect of this victory extended its influence throughout the entire peninsula of Asia Minor ; and the Turkish army having dispersed, the inhabitants of the country, who were in a state of discontent, found liberators

in the Egyptians, whose discipline presented a striking contrast to the conduct of the Sultan's troops. Mussulmans regarded the Egyptians as the avengers of Heaven, for the infractions of the laws of the Koran ; and considered Mehemet-Ali as the protector of Islamism. Public opinion declared itself in favour of the conquerors ; there was no other battle to be fought ; no further opposition to be expected, and Ibrahim Pacha had only to take possession of the country. If, therefore, he had marched upon Constantinople on the day succeeding that on which the last victory was achieved he might have arrived opposite to that capital, without difficulty, by the third or fourth of January, at which period the Russian auxiliary corps had not reached the Bosphorus. The appearance of the Egyptians at Scutari would have produced a revolution at Constantinople, and overturned the Turkish Government, crushing the Sultan in its fall, or compelling him to act as an instrument of Ibrahim's power. Mussulman fanaticism would then have been rekindled, all the Osmanlies would have taken up arms in obedience to the call of the Egyptian leader, and any attempt of Russia upon Constantinople could have presented but little pros-

pect of success, especially if a French or English fleet had come to Ibrahim's assistance.

A new Mussulman Empire might then have risen, which with Egypt for its basis would have been guaranteed from external dangers, and from those revolutions which the turbulent spirit of the Turks so frequently produce. The Arabs forming its chief strength would have found themselves, at the very outset, in the possession of a brilliant reputation, and would have been respected by European nations, from the successful adoption of their military institutions. The administration of this new Empire would have been systematic and powerful, and Turkey in Europe must then have regained a part of her former importance.

But a different course was followed : it was thought practicable to save a state which a breath might overturn, and a task has thus been undertaken that probably is not to be accomplished.

In fact what Ibrahim Pacha would at that time have found easy of execution has now become impossible, for the circumstances which were favourable to him have disappeared, and in their place insurmountable difficulties have sprung up in all directions.

The Egyptian army halted at Konieh till the 20th of January (the 29th of Chaban) when it advanced towards Constantinople. Having on the first of February reached Kutchieh, it was stopped by the intervention of the European powers. Negotiations were opened, and a division of the Russian army arriving in the Bosphorus, encamped on the Asiatic shore. From that moment the throne of the Sultan was secured against Mehemet-Ali, as well as against the rebellious Mussulmans of Constantinople, and the treaty of Kutchieh put an end to the war.

The part taken in this treaty by the principal European Governments, has given a firm position to Mehemet-Ali, who is in consequence, recognized as a great vassal of the Ottoman Empire. He is now in possession of an acknowledged power of which the Sultan has no longer the right to deprive him, and its daily increasing strength not only renders this power still more secure, but affords it a much more solid support than the pretended good feeling exhibited towards Mehemet-Ali at Constantinople.

It is only fair to remark that Ibrahim Pacha restored to the Grand Vizier every thing of which



he had been plundered by the Bedouins, and treated him with great respect and generosity.

The report of the victorious march of the Egyptians spread in all directions, and the various civil and military authorities of Asia-Minor and Syria submitted to the conqueror. Deputations came from every quarter to do homage to his power, and the people were so favourably inclined towards him, that on the arrival of some Bedouins at Magnesia, the Muetzelim in command of the important city of Smyrna, was driven away by the inhabitants, who established a new authority in the name of Mehemet-Ali.

The campaign of 1832 was highly honourable to Ibrahim Pacha, and I believe all intelligent military men will admit that it is not open to criticism, having been conducted with prudence, sagacity, and vigour. If in the three battles which I have described, Ibrahim committed an error in employing his second line and reserve, at the commencement of the action, an excuse may be found for it, in recollecting that he was aware of the bad qualities of the troops opposed to him.

That he was endued with military genius can hardly be questioned; but still he was peculiarly fortunate in being well seconded by a man of great

talent. Soliman Pacha, the individual in question, who, in the campaign of 1832, held the important post of chief of the Egyptian staff, had been in the French army at the period of its greatest glory, and although he then merely filled a subordinate station, he had acquired as thorough a knowledge of the great principles of the art of war, as if he had served in the highest rank.\* The inferior character of the Turkish soldiers, and the total want of intelligence in their chiefs, are circumstances which, it must be admitted, tend to dim the lustre of the achievements of the Egyptian army, for doubtless it was advantageous to Ibrahim to be opposed to troops who are incapable of manœuvring, and whose invariable practice it is, either to await the advance of their enemy, or to rush forward to attack him without either system or order. On the other hand, however it is to be remembered that the Egyptian army had also been recently organized, and that the merit of having disposed of his columns and performed his marches with as much foresight, energy and skill, as would have been necessary in a contest with more formidable foes, is, at least, due to Ibrahim Pacha.

\* Soliman Pacha has now (1839) a high command in the Egyptian army.

**OBSERVATIONS**

**ON THE**

**POLITICAL RELATIONS OF ENGLAND**

**WITH**

**TURKEY AND RUSSIA.**

**BY**

**LIEUT.-COL. SIR FREDERIC SMITH, K.H.**

**OF THE CORPS OF ROYAL ENGINEERS.**



ON THE  
POLITICAL RELATIONS OF ENGLAND  
WITH  
TURKEY AND RUSSIA.

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THE observations which it will be recollected Marshal Marmont has made in various parts of his work, as to the pacific intentions of Russia, are deserving of deliberate attention, springing as they do from so high a source, but they nevertheless seem utterly irreconcilable both with the fact of her past aggressions, and with the evidence which her present attitude affords of her ambitious views.

An examination into the encroachments which Russia has made from the reign of Peter the Great to the present time, cannot fail to produce the conviction that a system of territorial aggression has hitherto formed a main feature of her policy; nor can a careful investigation of her more recent political acts, leave a doubt on the mind that her ambition is not yet satisfied.

An able and intelligent author has shewn, that the acquisitions of Russia, within little more than half a century, are equal in importance and extent to the whole territory which she previously possessed in Europe, and he gives the following striking statement of her aggressive course.

That the Russian frontier has been advanced towards Berlin, Vienna and Paris . . .	700 miles
Towards Constantinople . . .	500 miles
Towards Stockholm . . .	630 miles
And towards Teheran . . .	1000 miles

That her acquisitions from Sweden are greater than the territory which now constitutes that Kingdom :

That those from Poland are nearly equal to the Austrian Empire :

That in Tartary alone they are not inferior to the whole of Turkey in Europe, with Greece, Italy and Spain combined :

That her acquisitions from Turkey in Europe, are of greater extent than the Prussian dominions (exclusive of the Rhenish Provinces) :

That from Turkey in Asia they are nearly equal in area, to the whole of the smaller states of Germany, and that her acquisitions from Persia are equal in extent to England.

The same author also tells us that between the accession of Peter in 1689, and the death of Alexander in 1825, the population of Russia has been augmented in number from fifteen to fifty-eight millions.

Hitherto the aggressions of Russia, have apparently had only an indirect and perhaps a remote influence on the interests of England, and with some slight exceptions have not materially injured her commerce; but unless they are speedily arrested, consequences must ensue which in all probability will eventually prove fatal to English ascendancy in the East.

Marshal Marmont has stated that Nicholas has no aggressive views; and that "a Sovereign whose Empire comprises a surface equal to the seventh part of all the continents of the globe, has no need of its extension; nor having under his sceptre sixty millions of people, has he reason for desiring to increase their number."\* To give these arguments a title to consideration, they should be borne out both by the recent political conduct of Russia, and by her present bearing; but what has been the course she has pursued?

\* Vide page 118.

She has encroached on all her neighbours, and it would be doubting the strongest evidence to deny that, although less openly, she is with equal energy and skill, persevering in the system which during a series of years she has followed with such extraordinary success. She has pressed upon Turkey—she has subjugated the Georgians—she is still oppressing the Circassians—Within the last two years she has advanced her frontier from the Caucasus to the banks of the Arraxes, a distance of 400 miles—She is interesting herself deeply in the affairs of Turkey, and is striving to prevent the interference of any other power with that state—She is using every effort to acquire supremacy in the councils of Persia, to the obvious injury of English commerce ; and she is fomenting disturbances among the Nations near the northern boundary of Hindostan.

It seems not unreasonable to pronounce that one of the chief causes of all this conduct on the part of Russia, is the hope of becoming a great commercial state at the expense of England. What other reason can induce Russia, during a period of profound peace, to maintain the large fleet which she now has in readiness for service, and her gigantic



military force, which we have seen amounts to no less than seven hundred thousand men?\*

Marshal Marmont says that the sole motive for the conduct of Russia with regard to Turkey, is to secure for Russian commerce a free passage through the Dardanelles; but surely it is not necessary for this single object that Russia should enter into treaties which have the effect of excluding the ships of war of every other nation from the Black Sea. Her interference with the Ottoman Empire, and the policy she displays in other quarters, rather bear the stamp of aggressive objects than of that security which constitutes the only legitimate ground for conquest. Indeed the Marshal himself observes, that although the prosperity of Russia requires her to have the right of passage through the Dardanelles, yet, that if this strait became exclusively her own she would be enabled to threaten the liberties of Europe.†

The Government of France not only clearly and

\* In pages 44 and 45 of the introductory part of this work, it will be seen that Marshal Marmont estimates the strength of the Russian Infantry at 500,000 men, of the regular cavalry at about 90,000 and of the Cossacks at 116,800.

† Page 171 of the translation.

forcibly expressed its dissatisfaction at the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, but distinctly signified its determination to disregard the stipulations of that Treaty whenever it might find such a course expedient. The following are considered correct translations of the notes, exchanged on this subject between the French Chargé d'Affaires at St. Petersburg and Count Nesselrode, the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs. The haughty style of defiance of the latter cannot fail to be remarked.

*Note of the French Chargé d'Affaires at St. Petersburg.*

“ The undersigned Chargé d'Affaires of his Majesty the King of the French is instructed to express to the Cabinet of St. Petersburg the profound affliction which the French Government has experienced on learning the conclusion of the Treaty of the 8th July last between his Majesty the Emperor of Russia and the Grand Signior. In the opinion of the King's Government, that Treaty imparts to the mutual relations of the Ottoman Empire and of Russia a new character, against which all the powers of Europe have a right to pronounce themselves. The undersigned is therefore instructed to declare, that if the stipulations

of that act were hereafter to bring on an armed intervention of Russia in the internal affairs of Turkey, the French Government would hold itself wholly at liberty to adopt such a line of conduct as circumstances might suggest, acting from that moment as if the said Treaty existed not. The undersigned is also desired to inform the Imperial Cabinet that a similar declaration has been delivered to the Ottoman Porte by his Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

(Signed)

“I. DE LAGRENÉ.”

*Reply of the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs.*

“The undersigned has received the note by which M. I. de Lagrené, Chargé d’Affaires of his Majesty the King of the French, has communicated the deep regret which the conclusion of the Treaty of the 8th of July, between Russia and the Porte, has caused the French Government, without stating at the same time either the motives of that regret or the nature of the objections to which that Treaty may give rise. The undersigned cannot be acquainted with them—still less can he understand them. The Treaty of the 8th of July is purely defensive; it has been concluded between two inde-

pendent powers, exercising the plentitude of their rights, and it does no prejudice to the interests of any state whatever.

“ What could, therefore, be the objections which other powers might deem themselves justified in raising against such a transaction? How, above all, could they declare that they consider it of no validity, unless they have in view the subversion of an empire which the Treaty is destined to preserve? But such cannot be the design of the French Government. It would be at open variance with all the declarations it made in the last complications in the East. The undersigned must, therefore, suppose that the opinion expressed in M. de Lagrené’s note rests upon incorrect data, and that, when better informed by the communication of the Treaty which the Porte has recently made known to the French Ambassador at Constantinople, his Government will rightly appreciate the value and usefulness of a transaction concluded in a spirit as pacific as it is conservative.

“ That act changes, indeed, the nature of the relations between Russia and the Porte; for, to a long enmity, it makes relations of intimacy and confidence succeed wherein the Turkish Govern-

ment will henceforth find a guarantee of stability, and, if need be, means of defence calculated to ensure its preservation.

“It is in this conviction, and guided by the purest and most disinterested intentions, that his Majesty the Emperor is resolved on faithfully fulfilling, should the occasion present itself, the obligations which the Treaty of the 8th of July imposes upon him, acting thus as if the declaration contained in M. de Lagrene’s note did not exist.

(Signed)

“NESSELRODE.”

“*St. Petersburg, October, 1833.*”

Nothing could have been more prompt and spirited than the course adopted by France, nor could any reply, under the circumstances, have been couched in more imperious language than that adopted by Russia. It cannot be doubted that the English Cabinet, entertaining, as it must have done, similar sentiments to those of the Cabinet of France, was equally determined and explicit in its communication with the Government of Russia, and if so it will be open to England to act, should occasion arise, precisely as she would have done had the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi never existed. The time seems not far distant when a bold line of policy on

the part of England will be requisite, or we shall see Turkey fixed for ever in the cold and iron grasp of Russia; and Egypt yielding to the yoke of France. We should bear in mind that Mehemet-Ali, through whose genius Egypt has acquired her present consequence, is far advanced in life, and that whatever may be the military talent of his son, he has hitherto given no proof of political sagacity, or of his fitness to govern an independent state. We should equally remember that Mahmoud has only one son, who is represented to be in a delicate state of health; nor should we forget that Mahmoud and this son are supposed to be the last male descendants of the blood of Othman. The death of the Sultan, or of the Egyptian viceroy, can therefore hardly fail to give rise to some important change, for which England should be prepared.\*

Marshal Marmont says that Russia is already sufficiently extensive. Admitting, for the sake of argument, that this is really the case, and that it is the opinion entertained by the present Emperor, still this is no proof that he considers her sufficiently wealthy. If he does not contemplate either extending

\* Since this part of the work was sent to press intelligence of the death of Mahmoud has been received.

his acquisitions into richer countries, or assuming a position that will give him greater commercial advantages, we are at a loss to find a reason for his pushing forward to the Persian frontier, and contending for the comparatively unproductive territories, which intervene between that country and the Caucasus.

Nicholas, who sees that the wealth of England is the result of her extended commerce, is naturally the more desirous of adding to the commerce of Russia. Knowing, however, that at present an attempt to rival or compete with England in the West would prove a hopeless task, his attention is directed to the East, and it seems reasonable to conclude that he regards our Indian Empire not only as a great source of our commercial prosperity, but also of our maritime strength, and that he therefore considers that the course of policy which would deprive us of the former would ultimately tend to destroy the latter.

There are those who are of opinion that Russia, however desirous of effecting such an object, will never be able to deprive England of her Indian possessions, and that the Emperor is so thoroughly convinced of this that he will never dare to make

the attempt. That Russia could not in the present state of affairs succeed, except as a consequence of unpardonable and improbable neglect of the interests of the British Empire, we freely admit ; but nevertheless the security of our Indian territory should be placed beyond all doubt, by the adoption of every safe-guard that the wisdom of our statesmen can devise, and by following such a course of policy towards the neighbouring states, as well as towards the native princes, as will give them confidence in our power to protect or to conquer, and restore that belief in our good faith which many of our acts have tended to destroy.

That in Russia the project of conquests in India has long been entertained, cannot be doubted, and indeed it excited the attention of Peter.

Marshal Marmont has shewn us that Napoleon contemplated an attack on India, and surely the prospect of success was infinitely less for him at that time than it now is for the Russian Monarch :\* and so great is the temptation which the mere chance of success presents, as compared with the amount of injury that Russia would probably sustain by defeat, that we fully believe the attempt

\* See Note to page 133.



will be made sooner or later, though probably rather by intrigue than by open force.

This, however, is a point on which opinions are much divided, and on which much has been written. A noble and distinguished author\* has in his very interesting work on Russia, brought into a narrow compass the arguments of several writers on this subject, and as he has also favoured us with his own views of it, we think it will not be unacceptable to the reader to have these several opinions placed before him in their condensed form.

“There is,” says the Marquess, “much difference of opinion (in Russia) as to the advantage of greater aggrandizement, or the policy of rendering formidable, by wise and salutary interior regulations, the immense territories that are already incorporated under the dominion of the Czar.

“It may not be superfluous to consider very shortly the general political situation of Russia, more especially as two able and clever pamphlets have just made their appearance in England, which, no doubt, have been much read; and as these publications embrace opinions on the same questions, wide as the poles asunder, I think it not

\* The Marquess of Londonderry.

presumptuous, in some degree, to differ from both, and to consider the writers as having taken exaggerated views of a very extensive question.

“The author of the “Manchester Manufacturer” would lead his readers to imagine, in the outset, that he was entirely impartial in his sentiments and opinions, and was not biassed by any friendship of Russia; whereas I consider it hardly possible for any one to read his pages, without regarding him as a most decided partisan of the Northern Empire and its interests. I admit the existence of great ingenuity and talent, and some force of reasoning, in many of the points that are brought forward; but when the author tells you that Constantinople would not add to the power or resources of Russia; when he supposes that in an age like this, the nations of the world could live in harmony together, plying the industrious loom, and having no emulation beyond the possession of the cheapest commodities in the commercial markets of the world; and when he finally enters into a special pleading with high authorities, such as the famous Vienna writer, Genz, and others, and argues so strangely on the balance of power, I do confess it lessens my opinion of the judgment and wisdom of the writer of this treatise.

“ The second pamphlet I now allude to, is “ Russia and her Acquisitions in 1836.” The author here displays a gigantic map, and marks, accurately enough, the encroachments of the Czars, by conquests, treaties, or treachery, since the time of Peter the Great, and founds upon this exhibited surface of continued ambition, the certain argument, that the same course must still be pursued, in defiance of any changes that time and experience may produce in the sentiments of the Russians, or of the guarantee afforded by the personal character of wisdom and prudence of the existing Sovereign. I disagree as much in the inference drawn by this latter writer, as I do in the theories of the former. . The very circumstance of the great accessions of territory produces, at present, an undigested interior, composed of very difficult materials to organise in unity of action. To make this mass more unmanageable by unnecessary increase, while its component parts create, even now, disquietude, and demand all the energies of the Government, is not the part of a great and wise Sovereign, and it is but fair and just, on passing a positive opinion as to what the measures of Russia will be, to examine the recent acts of

the chief whom Providence has placed at the head of this colossal empire.

“ It would be bold to predict what the position of Russia may be, some hundred years hence. Undoubtedly the rapid progress she has made in civilization and improvement since the war with France, and since her legions were transported from the banks of the Volga, the Don, and the Vistula, to those of the Seine, surpasses belief.— Since 1815, she has advanced in these respects, at least a century. The practical observation which her masses of men made on the cultivated states and territories through which they passed; the taste which was thus imbibed for southern luxuries; the indefatigable exertions and efforts of the Emperor Alexander to obtain every possible advantage for his rising Empire, — all conspired, with the great genius, industry, and talent of the people, to improve Russia in a singular degree.— The golden opportunity of the long peace since 1815, has not been thrown away in the hands of Alexander and Nicholas. Indeed, it is wonderful to witness how greatly the latter has availed himself of all the foundations prepared by the former, and I feel assured that those who descant largely in the

British Parliament, on the situation of Russia, would do well to examine the country in the details, before they venture on statements which their ocular observations would disprove. Russia, in my opinion, is directing her mighty means to bring to perfection all parts of that empire, which acknowledge her sway, before she attempts to grapple with more extent of dominion. Whether she can manage and govern well what she possesses, is a primary question ; to seize upon more before this is ascertained, would greatly endanger what exists.

“As a mere opinion, I should assert, that Russia will have no objects of aggrandizement for the next fifty years, that would not be hostile to the feelings and prejudices of the Emperor, unwise in the estimation of the nobles, and prejudicial to the nation itself.

“While the writer of “Russia in 1836” was talking of new kingdoms, and of the seizure of places, the Emperor Nicholas was voluntarily restoring to the Sultan Silistria, one of the keys of Turkey. No greater proof can surely be adduced, that the object of Russia is not the conquest of Turkey, nor the march to Constantinople. The

Emperor full well knows, that to subdue the religious prejudices of such a nation as that of Turkey, and to run the risk of a war with the powers of Europe in the effort, is what he is incapable of attempting without absolute necessity. Even at Adrianople, as in other places equally distant from their resources, and where they could not be provided beforehand, the Russian masses were broken down by disease, misery, and want; and the longer their line is extended, the easier prey does it become to predatory warfare in a hostile country. In addition, can it be supposed that the nobles of St. Petersburg or Moscow, would like to see their penates transferred to the shores of the Bosphorus, and would an Emperor of Russia abandon his Petersburg, and live in a Turkish capital? There is a very great disinclination amongst all the Russians I have conversed with, to the conquest of other dominions, and many are found, who consider that civilization is advancing too rapidly for the real happiness and prosperity of the nation.

“ In giving these sentiments, I know I differ from much higher authorities, amongst the rest Marshal Marmont, who in his tour in Hungary, Transyl-

vania, Southern Russia, Turkey, &c. has broadly laid it down, not only that the Russians with the greatest ease can take possession of Constantinople, but he also offers to prove, that the occupation once effected, the most intimate alliance of France, England and Austria, could not force the Russians to evacuate it. The Marshal then enters upon the long military hypothesis on which his reasoning is based. Far be it from me to follow this, probably, well digested professional treatise; but my simple question is, how is Russia now, or at any future time, within the next century, to supply the means and the sinews of war, for such an undertaking? What would be easy and light to the financial means of such a triple alliance against her, would be impracticable for Russia alone; and both the nation and its chief, I believe, are fully aware of this impossibility. The Marshal, however, sums up his reasoning by two considerations, which he admits have their value against the opinions he delivers. First he says, that all the advantages he points out in favour of the Russians, belong to the first occupant; that is to say, if our combined fleet passed the Dardanelles and arrived first at Constantinople, and if, with

an army, we could then occupy Adrianople with a fortified camp, the Russians would have immense difficulties to overcome. The probability is, however, we should pass the Dardanelles before any fleet of Russia could be in force there; and, without any debarkation of land troops for a fortified camp, at Adrianople, I think the Russians would hardly take possession of Constantinople in presence of the combined fleets of France and England.

“Treating, therefore, as I do, the ideas of further conquests at present, and a notion of a march to Constantinople by Russia, as perfectly chimerical, I am disposed to argue, *à fortiori*, that any designs upon our Indian possessions, are a mere dream; at the same time, I admit the good policy of Great Britain, in cementing in every possible manner friendships and alliances with Turkey and Persia. Both must be either entirely subdued, or under the dictation of Russia, before the safety of India could be endangered. Is this a result likely to occur within the range of time in which the calculation of future events is reasonably possible?”

After carefully considering this important question, we fully coincide with the noble Marquess in



believing that there is very little prospect of Russia succeeding at present in any attempt on India ; but we concur nevertheless in opinion with the author of "The progress and present position of Russia in the East," that the policy of Russia is decidedly aggressive, and that first the subjugation of Turkey, and then the conquest of India, are the objects which she has in view.

When on the other hand it is advanced that Russia is already too extensive to be strong, and that further extension would produce nothing but weakness, it does not appear to us that the case is fairly stated. Many of her late acquisitions may be regarded as purely territorial, and while they have added nothing to the wealth of the empire, they have probably diminished for a time its strength, because considered politically as well as mechanically, force is produced by concentration. But the true way of looking at the recent acquisitions of Russia, is to regard them as means for the attainment of some great end. They are like the approaches of a skilful engineer, in the attack of a fortified place, and Turkey may be considered as an outwork, which when captured will not only be valuable in itself, but lead to further success.

The conquest or subjugation of Turkey would annihilate an empire, which for upwards of a century has been the inveterate foe of Russia, and while it would give the latter a defensible and well-defined boundary, it would add to her present possessions a territory which, both from its natural fertility and from the facility it would give for advancing her commercial prosperity, could not fail to produce ultimately a great increase of her wealth and power. With the Baltic on the one side, and with the Mediterranean, the Euxine, and the Caspian on the other, and with the inland navigation connecting her western with her eastern states, Russia would of necessity rise with rapidity to the position of a great commercial power.

The retention of the Sovereignty of India by England depends upon several important points, and amongst these the most prominent are the maritime supremacy of England—the adoption of such a system of good government in India as shall firmly attach the natives—the success of English diplomacy in maintaining amicable relations with the nations beyond the Indus ; and the strength of the Ottoman Empire and its fidelity to England.

It is chiefly with the latter we have at present to

deal, for this is not the place to treat of the internal government of India, nor of its relations with the bordering states, which doubtless will now have the anxious attention of the English Government. Our object here is to prove that Turkey may again become a formidable Empire; that it is not only more within the power, but that it would more conduce to the interest of England, than to that of any other state, to raise Turkey into importance; and that it is of vast moment to both, in the present position of affairs in the East, that this should be effected with the utmost promptitude—To England, as a means of checking the aggressive projects of the Russians—To Turkey, as a means of securing her existence as an independent state.

Russia dare not proceed to any overt act against our Indian possessions, until she has rendered Turkey so completely subservient to her, as to be compelled to co-operate in shutting out the British fleet from the Dardanelles and Bosphorus. For if, as we contend she ought to do, England were to send a formidable fleet into the Black Sea, she might then threaten the line of operations of the Russians, and check their advance towards the Indus. But so long as the treaty of Unkiar

Skelessi is respected, so long will the English fleet be prevented from passing through the Bosphorus, and Russia will be at liberty to pursue her course of conquest and aggression.

If however England, by means of her fleet, had the command of the Black Sea, she could not only enable the Circassians to set their oppressors at defiance, but she could also assist the Georgians to recover their independence, and with the aid of these two nations she might then threaten the Russians even on the Caspian.

Russia is aware that such would be the case, and holds Turkey in subjection, under the conviction that she is of great importance, not merely for present protection, but also as a means of future aggression, by facilitating an attack on our Eastern Empire.

Again, it is well known that Russia has long been desirous of possessing a harbour in the Mediterranean, both for commercial and warlike purposes. Smyrna is the one that would most promote the commercial advancement of Russia, and unless the policy of the other great powers is speedily changed towards the Ottoman Empire, not only will Turkey in Europe, but Turkey in

Asia, fall under the dominion of Russia, and as a matter of course she will then become possessed of Smyrna ; one of the finest ports in the world.

The question which therefore appears to us to be now of more importance, than any other connected with foreign affairs, that can engage the attention of the British Statesman, is how to save the Turkish Empire. There may be doubts as to the real feelings of the Sultan towards England, and towards Russia, and also as to his seeing through the veil of pretended friendship, with which the latter seeks to hide her ambitious projects. These are speculations, however, into which it is unnecessary to enter, for it is known that in the councils of the Grand Signior, there are men who, although they may still feel mortified at having been abandoned by England and France, when both were applied to for that succour which the Russians were glad to afford, yet are aware that if they could rely on the firmness of England, it is to her, their old and natural ally, to whom they should attach themselves. For the Turks cannot fail to perceive, in whatever manner the question may be mystified, that the essential difference between the protection or alliance of Russia, and that of England, is that

while it is the manifest interest of the former to annex Turkey as an integral portion of her dominions, it is still more clearly the interest of England to secure the independence of Turkey, and to give her all the energy and force of which she is susceptible.

That Russia possesses great influence in Turkey is unquestioned, but it is an influence created not by affection, or by a sense of obligation, but by that dread of power which a feeble state must ever entertain of a strong and grasping neighbour.

Whatever may be their dread of the Russians at the present moment, the Turks entertain no fear of being able to defy them if time and a fair opportunity for organization were allowed. For they have not forgotten that the best troops of Russia, commanded by her ablest Generals, took two campaigns to pass the Balkans, and lost in the operation the greater part of their force ;\* neither are they unobservant of the impotent attempts of Russia to subdue a handful of Circassians ; and it is believed

\* The Russian army marched with a force of 150,000 men, and what from disease, the sword, the consequences of a bad commissariat, and the necessity of leaving troops to garrison fortified places on their line of march, only thirty thousand are said to have reached Adrianople.

that though the Turks are aware that their soldiers are not on a par with those of Russia, they conceive themselves in no degree inferior to the Russians as sailors.

We may therefore conclude that the Turks are ready to avail themselves of any fair pretext for throwing off the Russian yoke, and that they would naturally look to England rather than to any other power for assistance.

The regeneration of Turkey can only be effected by her acquiring such a physical force, as will enable her to become independent of Russia, and by her adopting such a system of civil government as will give security to life and property, and promote agriculture and commerce.

When the occupiers of the land shall have a certainty, that no demand will be made beyond such a fixed tax, as will leave them a fair remuneration for their labour, agriculture will necessarily flourish; and in order to produce this certainty, little else appears to be requisite beyond the regular payment, from the public revenues, of the district pachas, with all their subordinates, and the establishment of severe penalties on any functionary, who may make exactions from the people.

But it is not proposed to enter now into details that are understood by the more enlightened Turks, and which must be obvious to foreigners who have considered the subject, and who are acquainted with the extortions of persons in authority in Eastern countries. Our present business is more immediately with the naval and military force of the Ottoman Empire.

The Turkish navy would probably have soon recovered from the effects of its defeat at Navarino, had it not been for the separation of Greece, for it was from that country that the crews of the Turkish ships were generally obtained. But we may hope from the specimen afforded by the crew of the *Mahmoudie*, which consisted entirely of Turks, and whose extraordinary expertness excited the astonishment of Marshal Marmont, that the whole of the Turkish Fleet might by proper discipline become equally efficient, and that by the aid of experienced English officers, it might soon be made a match for the Russian fleet.\*

The inefficiency of the Turkish army is admitted, and it is conceived to be the result of the three following causes :

\* Vide page 70.



1st. An injudicious system of recruiting ;

2nd. A deficiency of intelligent officers ; and

3rd. An erroneous system of tactics.

These defects are remediable, and remembering the gallant feats of the Turks in former days, when they threatened all Christendom, we may rest satisfied that if their army were well organized, and skilfully employed, they would soon be able to defy their Northern neighbours, for there is no reason to question the bravery of the Turkish people, however unsuccessful in their recent wars.

The difficulty seems to be for England to find the fitting opportunity for taking Turkey under her protection. This must soon be done, or Russia will put it out of the power of any other state to interfere, and it is a question whether we are not even now too late, if the report be true that the Russian fleet is already at the Dardanelles, and that Russia is preparing a military force to occupy a part of the Turkish territory.

Notwithstanding all the caution of the Russian Emperor and his Ministers, they have on more than one occasion afforded England an opportunity of taking a decided step to check them. Similar open-

ings may again offer, and if then Russia should not be in possession of such points as would preclude the possibility of English interference, and if Turkey should be willing to receive as her ally, a power which seeks to be the means of her preservation, instead of one that is obviously interested in her destruction, the change might be effected by simply opening the straits of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, for the passage of an English fleet.

Should Turkey however be blind to her own interest, and, in distrust of England, adhere to Russia, the first hostile or offensive act either of Russia or of Turkey, should be followed by the English taking immediate possession of the islands of Tenedos and Lemnos, and holding them as places of rendezvous for their fleets. From these points they might not only watch the Turkish and Russian ships, that would probably be stationed in the Dardanelles, but might also check their operations.\* It may be a question, whether possession should not likewise be taken of Smyrna.

If the Russian fleet has actually moved to the Dardanelles, it is to be hoped that until this act is satisfactorily explained, the English

\* Vide page 171.

Admiral will take steps to secure the above-mentioned islands; and as a further measure for counteracting any hostile project of Russia, a large number of war steamers should be added to our Mediterranean fleet. But supposing a firm alliance to be established between England and Turkey, which is the manifest interest of both parties, then England should not only endeavour to improve the condition of the Turkish navy, but also to place the army on a better footing.

After the destruction of the Janissaries, Mah-moud determined that the new military force should adopt the European dress and tactics. He found, however, that the Mahometans entertained such a repugnance to these innovations, that he was driven to the necessity of enrolling none but very young men, whose prejudices in favour of the former system, he naturally concluded, could not be deep rooted, and he merely retained a small number of old soldiers to incorporate with the new levies, which were raised by conscription, and chiefly in Asia Minor.

The French system of field movements, was the one selected for the Turkish infantry, and officers who had retired from the French service, were ap-

pointed to be the instructors. This selection was very unfortunate, as the French system seems to be much less suited to the character, and peculiarities of the Turkish people, than either that of the English, or of the Prussians.

It is generally admitted that although French soldiers have not that degree of steadiness in their military movements, which is common to the troops of England and Prussia, this deficiency is in a great measure counterbalanced by their intelligence and alacrity; but the Turk who does not possess these qualities to the same extent, has others that are not less valuable in the soldier, and which adapt him for acquiring the steadiness under arms, and the knowledge of details that are considered indispensable in the English service. These are zeal, diligence, and habits of great attention, when under instruction.

Marshal Marmont has told us, that in Turkey there is but one class, and that the sons of the Vizier, and those of the carriers of water have the same education.\* As a consequence of this state of things not only the private soldiers, but also the superior officers, are taken from among the mass of the people, the latter being selected sometimes in consequence

\* Vide page 63.

of their higher attainments, but more frequently according to the caprice of those in authority. Here is one great cause of the present defective state of the Turkish army ; and if it be an evil to appoint incompetent persons to situations of responsibility, it is no less so to remove the deserving from such posts from mere caprice and prejudice. This, however, is so frequently the case in the Turkish service, that the officers never feel secure in their positions, and therefore neither acquire confidence in themselves, nor obtain the respect of their men. So long as this mode of treating the officers may continue, the Turkish army can never attain to any great degree of excellence. The first step towards placing it on a proper footing, will therefore be to educate the officers, and to give them a certainty of retaining their rank during good conduct. This can only be done by the adoption of a sound and rational military code, in which amongst other enactments it should be declared that an officer will not be liable, under any pretence, to be removed, or otherwise degraded, or punished, excepting by the award of a court of his Peers ; and that the highest authority shall have no power to increase the sentence of this court.

A school of mutual instruction, on the Lancasterian system, has been established for the army, from which much good may be expected to result, but in order to give greater value to this institution, the students should be divided into classes. By this means young men of very decided talent, might be advanced to a superior class, to be educated for the duties of officers ; and during their progress, through this higher class, they would, owing to their acquirements, ensure the respect of the body from whom they had been separated.

By thus obtaining an educated class of men for the rank of Officers, by paying them well, and by making promotion in their inferior regimental grades depend entirely upon merit, and in the superior regimental stations on seniority, a great step towards the formation of a respectable army would be taken. It is therefore to be hoped that should the English Government possess, or hereafter acquire influence with the Porte, it will be exercised in bringing about this improvement.

It would be undoubtedly a work of time to give the superior officers of the Turkish army a knowledge of the art of war on a grand scale, but this would be less necessary if a close alliance were

entered into between England and Turkey, for in that case the latter would have the assistance of the best officers of the former power. The object of present importance is, therefore, the training of the men, and if adequately provided with intelligent instructors from the British service, there can be no question, that in six months the Turkish infantry might be put into good fighting order. It is not contended that in this space of time they could be taught to manœuvre with all the precision or the celerity of the English, the Prussian, or the French army; but from the aptitude of the Turks for acquiring a knowledge of military details, we may feel assured that they would be rendered expert in the use of the musket, and capable of performing with sufficient accuracy those movements which are usually required in the day of battle.

The Turkish Cavalry have adopted the system of field movements of the French cavalry. This has been very judicious, because in the French service steadiness and order are considered as essential for the cavalry, as they are deemed unimportant for the infantry, and therefore the system of the former is well suited to the Turks.

The horses of the Turkish cavalry are strong

and active, and, though not large, they have more bone than Arab horses and are admirably calculated for light cavalry.

The Sultan is so imbued with the desire of change that he often pushes it to an excess. The general change of dress is one instance of this, and another, though perhaps of minor importance, is presented by his adoption of saddles of the European style for his cavalry ; for as they afford a much less secure seat than the Turkish saddle, and totally alter the national system of riding, the instruction of the recruit is much retarded.

The artillery are the best soldiers in the Turkish army, and notwithstanding the defective nature of the carriages, they work their guns with great dexterity.

The instruction of the Turkish soldiers is carried on in a mild and explanatory manner ; harshness towards them is indeed unnecessary, as the men are naturally orderly and well disposed, and evince great anxiety to acquire a knowledge of their duties. Owing to their habits of sobriety, offences against discipline are not frequent. For those of a common character the soldiers are liable to be caned, and for crimes of a graver nature they



are subject to the same punishment as would be inflicted on civilians.

Having carefully reviewed the circumstances connected with the present state of Turkey, we feel warranted in the conclusion that her army and navy may be put upon a respectable footing ; that England is of all powers the most able to assist her in effecting these objects ; that England is also the most interested in effecting them ; that from her interference Turkey has nothing to fear, and every thing to hope ; and lastly, that no other power can fairly impugn the motives of England.

The complete subjection of Syria to the Sultan's rule, would tend in so great a degree to secure the independence of the Turkish empire, that it may be considered an object to which the best efforts of England should be directed ; and it should be borne in mind that if Russia be prevented from becoming the mistress of Turkey, and France from eventually assuming the sovereignty of Egypt, it must be owing to the influence or power of England.

Much has been said, and much has been written, calculated to create despondency in the mind of the British public, on account of the supposed numerical superiority of the fleets of other nations ; but we will

express our opinion upon this point in the words of a writer in the *Quarterly Review*,\* who says, “ We must confess we are not of those who dream that our navy is quite in a desperate state. Other countries may be building ships — so much the better :—British blue-jackets must be very much altered, if in the event of a war, they are not building them for us.” In short, we have no apprehensions that the British navy will not speedily rise to its former state of pre-eminence, whenever its services may be required.

\* No. 126, page 340.

## APPENDIX.

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### *Observations on the Defences of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus.*

THE passage of the Dardanelles is defended by fourteen castles and batteries. Eight of these are on the European and six on the Asiatic shore, the former mounting about 340, and the latter 400 guns. Their position, as well as the soundings and the currents, are accurately marked on the Admiralty chart.

Some of the works are very formidable as coast defences, such for instance, on the European shore, as Sedil-Bahr Kalessi, or the outer castle which with its redoubt, contains 74 guns and 4 mortars. Kilid-Bahr Kalessi or the inner castle in which there are 64 guns. Namasieh, a detached battery about 300 yards to the west of the castle, mounting 60 guns; and Bovalli Kalessi, near Sestos, where there are upwards of 50 guns.

On the Asiatic side, some of the castles and bat-

teries are armed with a still greater number of pieces of ordnance. Thus, the outer castle, called Koom Kalé and its dependent batteries, mount at least 80 guns. Sultanieh Kalessi, or the inner castle, and the heavy batteries on either flank contain no less than 196 guns; and Nogara Bournou Kalessi, a fort which has a tower in the centre, mounts 84 guns.

Formidable as the works on both shores may be against shipping, they present little or no defence towards the country, and are very accessible at the Gorge. If therefore, an English fleet should, in the present state of these defences, have occasion to force the Dardanelles, it would be desirable to land about two thousand infantry on each shore, to take the forts and batteries in reverse, an operation in which there would be no great difficulty. As an additional means of effecting the intended object, the ships of war should be attended by powerful steamers to tow them through the straits in the event of calms or adverse winds.

The distance from shore to shore at the outer castles, is about 4300 yards, and therefore the ships would have no difficulty in running through this part of the passage, and they might land the

troops on the Asiatic shore, near Barber's point ; and on the European side, in a small bay about a mile above the castle of Sedil-Bahr.

The Bosphorus is merely defended by open batteries, which though well placed for opposing shipping, are injudiciously constructed for resisting an attack on the land side, being commanded by the heights immediately in their rear. In short, the defences of this passage are much weaker than those of the Dardanelles, whereas, to be enabled to make an equally effective resistance, they ought to be much more powerful, because the current and prevailing winds, which oppose the progress of a fleet approaching Constantinople, from the Mediterranean, in the same degree favour ships coming from the Black Sea. It is therefore to the Bosphorus that attention should be directed, and we will merely observe, that its defences might be rendered formidable at a very small expense.

#### *Defences of Constantinople.*

The city of Constantinople is enclosed on the land side by a triple line of walls, and by a ditch of inconsiderable depth. The walls, which are lofty, and have a great command over the country

in their front, are constructed nearly on a straight line, and, with the exception of two or three breaches, are in such repair that they might easily be put into a state to make a stout resistance. They are flanked by numerous towers in still better preservation. Beyond the walls are cypress trees, which, in the event of an attack, might be felled for the purpose of forming a stockade in the ditch.

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Since the above was written accounts have reached England of the destruction of the Turkish army, by that of Mehemet-Ali. This disaster, which doubtless was expected, if not, desired, by Russia, will once more place the Ottoman Empire at her mercy, unless England and Austria, the natural allies of Turkey, step forward to her rescue, by a prompt and decided intervention in the affairs of the East.

As a preliminary measure, it would be wise to deprive Russia of the plea of active interference, by taking steps to prevent the further advance of the Egyptian army: and it is conceived that this might be effected by England alone threatening to destroy the trade of Alexandria, unless the Pacha

of Egypt consented to withdraw his troops from the country they have occupied since the defeat of the Sultan's army.

*Observations on the Mint of Constantinople.*

The Mint is considered to be one of the best regulated establishments of this city. The machinery, however, is of a very inferior description, and is entirely worked by hand. The Sultan had it in contemplation to employ Messrs. Maudslay, the celebrated civil engineers of London, to erect a steam-engine for the purpose of working the machinery of this Mint, but it is believed that the project has been abandoned. The nominal chief of the Mint is a Turk, but the operations are conducted by a very clever American.

Accounts in Turkey are generally kept in piastres, excepting when the amount is very considerable, in which case it is stated in purses of 500 piastres. The silver coins are issued from the Mint in bags, or purses, of this amount, and are passed from one merchant to another at the value stated, without being opened. The rate of exchange between England and Turkey is gradually falling; in 1832 a

pound sterling was worth only 80 piastres, but its present value is 104.

The intrinsic value of the gold coins is a little under their nominal value; but when in consequence of the lowering of the exchange their intrinsic and nominal value become equal, they are called in, and coins containing more alloy are substituted.

The silver coins are worth about half of their nominal value.



*Table of Turkish Coins.*

## SILVER.

The Para . . . . .	is equal to . . . . .	3 Aspers.
„ Oulik . . . . .		10 Paras.
„ Yeremilik . . . . .		20 „
„ Piastre . . . . .		40 „
„ Altmithlik . . . . .		60 „
„ Enselik . . . . .		100 „
„ Utchlik . . . . .		3 Piastres.
„ Beshlik . . . . .		5 „
„ Altilik . . . . .		6 „

## GOLD.

„ Roubbie or Utchlik . . . . .		3 Piastres.
„ Beshlik . . . . .		5 „
„ Oulik . . . . .		10 „
„ Yeremelik . . . . .		20 „

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