





The Gate of the Sun, near Sucre, Bolivia.
From a sketch by G. H. Martineau.



From the Author
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INTRODUCTION.



THE observations contained in the following pages may possibly be found interesting, as they were made, on the spot, during a Tour of eighteen months, which comprehended the period of the late contest between Russia and Turkey. They also include a few remarks on Persia; and to these I have added notes, collected during a short stay in Greece, when that unhappy country had just ceased to be a prey to spoliation and plunder, and when the negotiations with respect to her final settlement were pending. It has been my object to avoid a beaten track; I shall, therefore, neither fatigue the reader with remarks on places and antiquities, which have already been described at full length by former travellers; nor shall I lead him stage by stage through the Provinces of the Rhine and Austria, but rather at once conduct him to the less frequented parts of my Tour.

NARRATIVE.

AS we were hurrying to the scene of warfare in the East, it was not unnatural that the famous field of battle, distinguished by the victory of Marlborough, should for a moment attract our attention. On leaving Ulm, when we approached the village of Hochstadt, our interrogations about Blenheim were answered with a vacant stare: but it was not a little gratifying to the ears of an Englishman, and quite sufficient to identify the memorable spot, to find that the name of Malbrook was still familiar to the ignorant peasants of the neighbourhood. The position of the French and Bavarians at Schellenburg, close to Donawert, is still very easily to be traced. The duke took it by assault a few days before the battle of Blenheim.

To vary our mode of travelling, as well as to enjoy the fine scenery on the Danube, we em-

barked at Passau, and proceeded to the capital of Austria by water. The river winds most beautifully till within forty miles of Vienna, presenting the appearance of a succession of lakes, rather than the course of a continuous river: but it must be confessed, that though the views are upon a grander scale, yet with the exception of the fortress in which Richard Cœur-de-Lion was imprisoned on his return from the crusades, the Danube does not possess the interest which the ancient and picturesque castles give to the banks of the Rhine.

Vienna has often been described, but never perhaps more faithfully than in Russell's *Germany*, which, as a book of reference, or as a descriptive history, is as instructive as it is amusing. Having introduced my friends to so good an authority, I leave them to profit by the acquaintance; only remarking, that we regretted that a short stay of ten days did not allow us to avail ourselves of the many enjoyments which the magnificent public establishments of Vienna offer to the traveller.

Having left England with the object of going to the Russian army, (which had then only commenced its first campaign, by taking Brailow) to see the sort of warfare carried on against, as well as by, the Turks, Vienna was the natural point to

which we looked for information. We soon found, however, that there was very little inducement to go on direct towards the armies, as the emperor had given the strictest orders not to allow hangers-on; since the plague, or some disease equally destructive, raged among the Russians; and above all, because, as they had greatly miscalculated their own strength, the war was at a stand-still for want of re-inforcements. The army was computed at one hundred and twenty thousand, of which fifteen thousand had already fallen. We determined, therefore, to go to Odessa, where the emperor was, and which was the great *point d'appui* of the Russians at that moment. We took our course through Moravia and Galicia, by which we had the double advantage of finding post-horses, and avoiding the quarantine to which we should have been subjected on entering Russia, had we taken the direct road, and passed through the infected provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia.

The author on Germany, already quoted, gives a full account of the town of Cracow, (the first of any consequence through which we passed on leaving Vienna), and of the very extensive and curious salt-mines at Wilichka. Cracow is remarkable as containing the greatest number of Jews of any place in the world: indeed, all the way from Vienna to Odessa they are very thickly dispersed,

and some towns, on the confines of Russia, are composed exclusively of Jews. Nothing can be more wretched—it may, indeed, be said disgusting—than the appearance of these people: clothed like beggars, they ply about to obtain any employment by which to gain the merest trifle. Their privileges were formerly so great, that Poland obtained the name of the Jewish paradise. Little interesting or agreeable as these people are, by their manners or habits—little sympathy as their condition usually excites—still, many of their bad qualities may be attributed to the harsh measures practised towards them; and, as an exiled and deserted race, they may have been driven to become dissemblers and liars—the result not so much of their innate vices, as of the cruel treatment they seem born to suffer. A new profession has lately been formed for them in Russia, and the Jew has shaved his beard, and become a soldier. I believe, also, it was the first time I had ever seen them employed in agricultural pursuits.

The landed interest in Poland appears much out of humour with the policy of England, as to our corn-laws. In the interior they have given up all idea of disposing of their corn to us: our laws being so unintelligible, except indeed as regards their effect of exclusion, that they are obliged to look for other modes of employing their lands; and keep

flocks for wool, or grow wheat for brandy—the latter an article of great consumption in those countries. As England no longer offers a market for their produce, they are naturally driven to other countries for the sale of their wool, which is frequently of a valuable quality, as they possess many Spanish flocks: thus reciprocity of commerce is almost entirely destroyed. It would be ill-placed to enter largely into the question here: it is however the opinion of many, that the present system cannot last; that we not only injure Poland, but ourselves, in not making our trade in corn more agreeable to our neighbours, whereby both countries would reap the most decided advantages. We are exactly in the position of two suitors in chancery, who contend to the detriment of each other, rather than refer the case in dispute to arbitration, when both would have justice, and be equally benefitted. Sooner or later we shall find, that although we may prevent the advancement of Poland, by an exclusive system, still we participate in the injury suffered.

From Vienna to Odessa, (a distance of about twelve hundred miles) there is little or nothing worthy of remark. On entering Russia, at an insignificant village, Radzivilof, we encountered some little difficulties from the want of a servant of the country; we were also at a loss from not having the slightest knowledge of the language:

we had ready assistance however from the Jews, who found us horses for our carriage until we were able to procure the certificates necessary to obtain post-horses.

At Balta we began the steppe, which extends for hundreds of miles over various parts of the empire, and has the appearance of sand near the sea-shore : it is nearly flat, covered with flowers, mingled here and there with wild asparagus, horse-radish, and rough grass, which last yields abundance of coarse food for cattle. Where cultivated, the steppe makes good land ; but the locusts in many places, and especially near Odessa, are so destructive that all energy is discouraged : whole crops of corn have frequently been devoured by the voracity of a single flight of these insects, who leave not a blade wherever they may chance to attack. The danger apprehended from this plague is a great impediment to industry. We frequently saw swarms of them on our route : in appearance they resemble the grasshopper ; and although we were not left in darkness when they passed over us, as some have represented, yet we can readily speak of their infinite multitudes. It is the opinion of many, if the country were more populous, the locusts might be expelled ; but the unoccupied tracts are so extensive, that these winged invaders hold the mastery. As a confirmation of this remark,

the following anecdote may be cited: an Anglo-Russian, near Odessa, made a very successful war against these enemies to agriculture; taking an opportunity when a large swarm infested his neighbourhood, and a strong wind beat towards the sea, he collected all his villagers, and with drums, fire-arms, and all the noisy instruments he could muster, drove the foe to the sea. The wind was so violent that they could not return; they perished, and re-appeared only in large heaps on the shore at the first change of the wind. For this useful and meritorious exertion he received public thanks in the gazettes.

We are now at Odessa, the third town in Russia, in point of population and importance; yet thirty-six years ago it was merely a fishing village, being then situated in the Ottoman dominions, and many miles south of the frontiers of the two empires: but these few years have passed away, and Russia has advanced to the Danube. Odessa rose to its present importance very rapidly. The town is built of lime-stone, on one plan; but the want of proportion between the width of the streets and the height of the houses is a great defect. It contains about forty thousand inhabitants. Considerable advantages were at first held out to the trader at this port: it was made free in 1817, and the commerce with the interior flourished; but of late

years the freedom has been confined to the consumption of the town, and a heavy duty levied on all goods imported into the interior. This circumstance, in addition to a suspension of trade during the war with Turkey, has done material injury, and the commercial repute of Odessa has much fallen: indeed, so completely arrested is the trade in the Crimea, that it was necessary to employ a Jew to procure change for a ducat, (a ten-shilling piece).

The average price of wheat may be taken at twelve or fourteen shillings, and oats and barley at six or seven shillings, ready for shipping. The merchants generally buy the wheat in the stack, far in the interior, at a price perhaps not exceeding five or six shillings a quarter, exclusive of the carriage to Odessa, of many hundred miles frequently, which is however wonderfully cheap, the cattle, employed to draw it, feeding on the steppe.

We provided ourselves here with Dutch ducats, which pass current through Russia, Persia, and Turkey. The Dutch government has given permission to Russia to coin them.

Being surrounded by steppe, the country about Odessa is very uninteresting: there is not a tree to be seen, and the volumes of dust in the summer, and immense depth of mud in the winter, are a

great annoyance to the inhabitants. The palace of the governor, and the opera-house, are fine buildings ; and the view from the promenade on the cliff is very agreeable.

The abundance and astonishing size of the melons presented us with a most novel sight, though familiar to those who have been in the south of Russia ; for acres in the market-place were covered with this fruit, which is the principal food of the peasant : indeed, so plentiful are the supplies that it is occasionally given to horses.

In another market-place (for there are several) were large supplies of winter clothing, as summer was disappearing. If Russia is one of the coldest countries, she best understands how to provide against the severity of the climate. In winter, neither the peasant nor his infant goes into the open air without the protection of a thick sheep-skin cloak ; and the system of warming the houses by stoves is carried to a perfection of which we are utterly ignorant in England ; and I can readily believe the remark of a countryman, that he never suffered less from cold than during a winter at Moscow ; such are the precautions against it. We ourselves had a little specimen of the cold on the inhospitable Caucasus, and found that English clothing had no effect whatever ; but the moment

we were possessed of fur cloaks we no longer suffered any inconvenience.

On our arrival at Odessa, the emperor was about to embark for Varna, where Count Woronzof had lately gone to replace Prince Menchikof, who had been severely wounded in a sortie by the Turks from that town. The Russians were in daily expectation of its fall; this was in August, 1828: it was not taken however before October. Such appears to have been the want of proper knowledge of the relative forces of the two armies, that nothing could have been more disgraceful, to a nation which boasts of superior knowledge of military matters, than the whole of the first campaign. So inadequate were all the arrangements, more particularly those of the medical staff and commissariat, and so inefficient had been their operations, that great discontent prevailed, and the war was very unpopular with the army; the emperor's presence was ill-advised; and the whole, in one word, was a failure. I reserve further remarks on this head until I arrive at Constantinople, and turn to the delights of an excursion round the southern coast of the Crimea, the most genial and most beautiful part of Russia. It is much visited by the Russian nobles, many of whom have villas near the coast, and are most hospitable in receiving travellers, or in giving orders for their accom-

modation in their absence. This advantage we experienced in so kind and liberal a manner, as will make us ever retain a grateful remembrance of the inhabitants of the Crimea.

Shortly after leaving Odessa, on our way to Crim Tartary, we passed by Nickolaef, a place of some importance, since line-of-battle ships are built there. The Russians construct their ships as well, or nearly so, as any other nation : almost every department is directed by Englishmen. The admiral of the Black Sea, and governor of that country, is an Englishman, (Admiral Greig) who takes great interest in this particular department, and indeed in every other. The engineer superintending the construction of some dry docks, also the director of the cable manufactory, are English ; and two of the senior officers commanding the squadron in the Mediterranean were educated in England, and have had all the benefit of our best colleges.

There is, however, a serious defect in their ship-timber ; an indigenous insect destroys it very quickly, and the vessels are soon rendered unfit for service : neither are they so strong, for at Navarino the Turkish balls went through the Russian vessels, but did not penetrate British sides. While on the subject of the navy, I may state the opinion of several officers with whom I have conversed,

that the French build extremely well, and give probably more attention to the science than we do. Their ships are painted and set off to the greatest advantage: but, although they may rival us in some points, and have constant opportunities of imitating our most modern improvements, we still have a vast superiority in manœuvring, and are acknowledged, in that point, to be unrivalled. To explain this, it may be observed,—formerly the naval profession in France had by no means that repute it has in England, and the officers were furnished from a very different class of society; more recently however, from dearth of occupation, and the advancement of France as a naval power, many young men of good family have entered into the service as aspirants. The Turkish navy is at present not so contemptible as it was. In the first place, they have a larger ship than the *Britannia*, a three-decker, (our flag-ship in the Mediterranean), and still more extraordinary, it was built by a Turk: they have also many others which in good hands would be very serviceable. It seems, however, to be a sort of maxim with them, that any one can be a sailor: the captain-pasha, for instance, was a shoemaker; and it is no exaggeration to say, that out of fourteen hundred of the crew of the admiral's ship, only forty had been regularly brought up to the service, the others being landsmen, driven in a moment of necessity on board, or sent there from

the bagnios of Constantinople. Having no bulk-heads, their vessels are always ready for action; but their guns being without sights, their batteries can be directed to no effect.

But to return to my journey : shortly after leaving Nickolaef, (which is seated on the beautiful Boug) on passing through Kherson before our entrance into the Crimea, we were gratified by seeing a cenotaph lately erected to the memory of Howard, with the inscriptions—"Vixit propter alios." "Alios salvos fecit."—a very proper compliment on the part of Russia. Opposite to it was a jail, built on his own plan, a more characteristic monument of the great philanthropist, who, to use the words of the eloquent Burke, "visited all Europe, not to survey the sumptuousness of palaces, or the stateliness of temples; not to make accurate measurements of the remains of ancient grandeur; not to form a scale of the curiosities of modern art; not to collect medals, or to collate manuscripts: but to dive into the depth of dungeons; to plunge into the infection of hospitals; to survey the mansions of sorrow and pain; to take the gauge and dimensions of misery, depression, and contempt; to remember the forgotten; to attend to the neglected; to visit the forsaken; and to compare and collate the distresses of all men, in all countries. His plan is original; it is full of genius as it is of humanity; it was

a voyage of discovery,—a circumnavigation of charity.”

The jail was not finished, and we took but a cursory view of it. The arrangement of the chapel was excellent : it is in the very centre of the building. The prisoners in the cells, by taking down a shutter, can hear divine service ; those also in the dark cells under the chapel have a similar communication. Thus several advantages are gained : in the first place, the space required for the chapel is small, as the audience is already provided for ; they are also kept separate, and are more likely to be impressed with what they hear than if they were made to assemble in a distinct apartment, as they frequently consider the removal an amusement, and their attention is distracted by the change of scene.

The Crimea is the only part of Russia producing oil and wine. Nothing can be more beautiful than the ride along the south coast, from Sevastopol (an excellent port) to Alooshta : the Black Sea on one side, a fine line of mountains on the other, and a plain abounding in cypresses, olives, and pomegranates, and abundant vineyards, from which they make a variety of wine, of excellent descriptions. The south coast only is pretty ; the remainder of the peninsula is like other steppe countries, as inanimate as possible.

Bacchiserai, the capital of the Crimea in the time of the Tartars, is a most striking object to European eyes: it is truly oriental. The palace of the khan still remains perfect: the building is irregular, but the rooms extremely pretty. All the inhabitants are Tartars, and Turkish is the language of the place. The numerous mosques and minarets, the *jalousies* of the harem before our eyes, dromedaries working in carts, the veiled women, the Tartars squatting in their shops, all combined to make us feel that we had passed the ordinary route of travellers, and were approaching the magnificence of the East.

To those accustomed to see dromedaries in a menagerie, or paraded about the streets as curiosities, it was striking to see them feeding on the steppe in great numbers. Bustards were exceedingly numerous: we got frequent shots at them from the carriage, but it was in vain we attempted to get near them on horseback or on foot, as they were extremely shy. Unluckily we had not a rifle with us, or we might have had excellent sport as we posted along the road. The flights of wild geese were remarkable, and also of storks, which were making their way towards the south, to seek a milder winter: they fly in great numbers, following each other in regular succession, producing a very singular effect at a distance.

It was during the reign of the empress Catherine, under the administration of her favorite, Potemkin, that the Crimea in 1782, and Odessa in 1794, became part of Russia : it would be quite superfluous to add more than this on a subject so fully treated in Clarke's Russia.

The term Tartar is rather vague, since Tartary extends from Russia to China : those of the Crimea are supposed to be descended from Jenghis Khan, who, after a series of most astonishing conquests, died in 1226. Their condition, like that of every other conquered people, is little enviable ; they are not well treated by the Russians, and seem to have lost all the fire and energy of Tartars, and are now an idle, worthless race. They are not allowed to carry arms ; but there can be no doubt, if the opportunity offered, they would be too happy to endeavour to release themselves from their present thralldom.

The largest assembly in any country, of Karaite Jews, (the protestants of Judaism) is at Koslof : there is a small colony near Bacchiserai. They have, like all dissenters, the greatest aversion to the other sectaries of Moses. They separated themselves in the seventh century, under Annan ; reject the talmud altogether, following the pentateuch only ; appear to be of a superior description to the

common Jews, and neater in their persons; and do not lend themselves to the same disgusting practices of making money, no matter in whatever mean capacity.

A great part of the Crimea is covered with tumuli; the eastern side especially. Near Kerch and Kaffa, (towns originally built by the Milesians, when the Greeks carried on a great commerce with those parts,) many curious coins have been, and are still, found. At a later period, about one hundred years before Christ, Mithridates extended his conquests to these countries, and a large tumulus near Kerch is assigned by the Russian antiquaries as his tomb.

The despotic government of Russia is a bar to men of capital settling in the Crimea, or it might offer great inducements. We saw an estate of nine thousand acres to be sold for two thousand pounds, in as fine a climate, soil, and prospect, as could be desired, and where four hundred pounds a year (the pay of the governor of the Crimea) would enable a man to keep his house, carriage and four, and a most liberal establishment: but what free man would willingly subject himself to the caprice and abuse of a vicious government? and without investigating the detail of the question, it cannot be supposed that an individual, however

perfect and praise-worthy the present emperor may be, can diffuse the advantages of civilization over an empire of such extent ; for he can only govern it by deputies, and where is the security against delegated arbitrary authority ! If we trace this evil to its true source, we find it in the system : so long as that remains the same, so long will these grievances exist ; for there can never be justice without redress, or happiness without justice.

The various jails in the Crimea were filled with Turkish prisoners, amounting to about five thousand. Whilst we were at Kaffa, a transport sailed for Sinope with three hundred prisoners, who were sent back to their country under the plea of generosity, but perhaps the heavy expense of maintaining them was not altogether out of the consideration. It seemed a singular distinction, that married men only were ordered to be selected by the emperor for this display of clemency.

Having crossed the straits of Yenikale, we landed in Asia. Our position, during the short passage of about twenty-four miles, was remarkable ; we were between the sea of Azof and the Black Sea, and two of the grand continents of the world.

The country on first entering Asia is marshy and unhealthy. It is inhabited by the Black Sea

Cossacks, who form a bulwark, as it were, to Russia ; being sent to the borders to watch the Circassians, who make incursions, and plunder whenever they can. The manner in which this duty is performed, is singular. At intervals along the line of frontier are small military posts, and at each is a high watch-tower resembling a beacon, of very rude construction ; a sentry constantly stands upon this elevated platform, and is enabled to see to a great distance ; in case of danger, a large pitch-barrel fixed on the top of a high pole is lighted, and spreads the alarm immediately to the neighbouring stations. Russia gives the Cossacks as much land as they can cultivate, and they perform this sort of piquet-duty in return. This is a very economical arrangement for the government ; though it ought to be observed, that the land is very rich, and capable of great produce when cultivated.

The country of the Caucasus, over the Kouban river, appeared well timbered : we observed, in the distance, the cattle and flocks of the wild inhabitants. When the Circassians and Cossacks meet in equal numbers, the latter, like cringing slaves, have no chance of success against the independent mountaineers. Nor is this surprising, for nothing can be more neglected than the whole equipment of the Cossacks. They provide their own horses : conse-

quently, the cattle are unequal to the duty, and in case of attack, the horse frequently becomes an encumbrance. Their dress also is of a most primitive description, being nothing more than a skin transferred from the sheep's back to the man's, without any foreign aid or ornament; and the cap is of the same material, both turned inside out. The Circassian, on the other hand, is frequently equipped with a complete suit of armour, defying balls or sabres,—an active horse,—and above all, a brave, independent spirit. Having spoken slightly of the Black Sea Cossacks, it is due to those of the Don to observe, that they are infinitely superior to their neighbours, who indeed are so proverbially held in contempt, that Chernomorsky, or Black Sea Cossack, is used as a term of reproach and abuse among the common people.

A short time before we passed over the Caucasus, there had been a grand affray, in which the Kabardians were successful. Having made an incursion on Russian territory, to the number of about three thousand, they proceeded to slaughter a thousand lambs, in sight of the Cossacks, who dared not attack them; shortly after, an encounter took place, and a hundred Russians were killed: the Kabardians then retired, taking a large quantity of ammunition, a gun, and capturing the inhabitants of a whole village. Many of the young men who

were taken, escaped, and it was said, that some, who from infirmity or youth were not able to walk, were murdered by the savage enemy. There had been more frequent incursions about this time than usually : it was supposed the war with Turkey had been the cause, and that similarity of religion, combined with aversion to Russia, had created an identity of interests, and united the Caucasus with Turkey.

There are various tribes of the Caucasus, under the names of Circassians, Kabardians, Ossetinians, Inguish, Chechenchi, &c. ; and the diversity of languages is very considerable : it is said, there are upwards of twenty, but it is difficult to be accurate as to a people so little known. We were told that most of the dialects partake of the Turkish character.

The country of the Caucasus extends from the Black Sea to the Caspian, about three hundred and fifty miles, and is about one hundred and twenty miles wide ; forming altogether a very considerable tract. The only communication the Russians have with their large possessions in Georgia and Armenia is through a narrow passage in the centre of the mountain, guarded continually by soldiers, who likewise repair the roads ; and another road on the coast of the Caspian Sea, by Derbend and Bakoo, (a place famous for fire-worshippers,) who preserve their rites at the present day. It is highly probable

that before many years have elapsed, they may have another road on the Black Sea coast, as they have added, by the treaty of Adrianople, Anapa and Poti to their government.

The possession of Anapa by Russia was an essential object : it cuts off the communication between Turkey and the Mahometan Caucasus, and the danger of receiving the plague is greatly diminished. The Russians are still completely hemmed in at Anapa on all sides, and cannot venture far away, even to procure forage for their horses or fuel to burn, without an escort, on account of their dangerous neighbours, the Circassians. These people are perfectly independent of Russia, and of every other government, and acknowledge no obedience but to their chiefs : the Russians continue however, from time to time, to make encroachments, and establish a military post upon each conquest. The Circassians are almost universally mussulmans ; some indeed are heathens, worshipping old trees, or more frequently stones. In their predatory pursuits over such a mountainous country they are obliged to expose themselves to great labour and privations, and, it is supposed, are as hardy and bold a people as any in the world. Their dress is particularly elegant ; a full frock-coat with cartouches at the breast,—a belt round the waist, in which is a large two-edged knife, (a dreadful weapon),—and trousers frequently of the same colour as the coat. A Caucasian is never seen

unarmed ; the shepherd attending his flock, or the prince in his own village, would equally feel it a disgrace not to be prepared for combat.

The men are decidedly handsome, well-made, and take no little pride in their personal equipment : even their shoes are of very peculiar make, and being without a sole, the neatness of the foot is displayed to the best advantage. It is not easy to have an opportunity of judging of the renowned beauty of the Circassian women ; we had the good fortune on one occasion to see a family : the mother was certainly a fine looking woman, but the daughters were so disfigured by the peculiarity of their dress, that they were not much to be admired. Custom enjoins the necessity of wearing a band round the waist, which is fastened on at an early age, and remains until marriage. This absurd habit frequently injures the health, and produces deformity by continued restraint. They sit cross-legged : the hair is plaited behind with linen, and nearly touches the ground ; the gown reaches no further than the knees, the deficiency being made up by long trousers ; but the most extraordinary part of the costume is the patten, which is much ornamented, full four inches high, and is constantly worn. The wealthy Circassian chiefs indulge in very expensive dresses : some of the mountaineers work very tastefully in silver, and mount the arms

and appurtenances very handsomely. Such indeed is their pride in their arms, that when I was once present at a very serious accident to a Lesghian, whose horse had thrown him, though he was for some time senseless on the ground, I remember that the first question he asked, on recovering his speech, was, if his arms and accoutrements were safe; for although his skull was nearly fractured, that was not the first object of his thoughts.

The independence of the Caucasus is a considerable embarrassment to Russia, for without the greatest caution she would be liable to continual depredations. With respect to their laws, the *lex talionis* is rigidly practised among them; the next heir must take vengeance, either openly or by artifice, for the murder of his kinsman, if he would not be expelled from society. No atonement can satisfy: blood must compensate for blood. In various parts of the interior there is supposed to be a good deal of rich land, affording abundant fodder for cattle. The different tribes perpetually rob each other: in short, a system of plunder is the beginning and the end of all their operations.

Near Yeorieusk we visited a Scotch colony, settled in 1806; of whose charter the principal features are, that the Emperor Alexander gives permission for the settlement, and a grant of certain

lands, with freedom from taxes for thirty years; and allows every Mahometan and heathen to embrace the religion of the colony. The missionaries soon found, that without being able to offer some employment to those who might be inclined to embrace Christianity, they could not hope to succeed in their object, and they were therefore induced to cultivate their lands, by which means they introduced an improved system of husbandry into Russia: but the grand object of their mission has been almost wholly ineffectual; for when an opportunity offers of converting an unfortunate Caucasian, the Greek priests have greater advantage and power, and apply it frequently with more success. The colony have in some few instances bought infants of mussulman parents: this however is much too expensive a system, particularly as it often occurs, that the Mahometans come down from the mountains and rescue the children, obliging the missionaries to ransom them at exorbitant prices, or submit to the loss of the young proselytes.

We profited by the services of a converted Circassian, as interpreter, during the whole of our journey from the Crimea to Constantinople. He had been bought when an infant, and did great credit to the establishment in the capacity he served in: he was most useful, as in addition to Russ and his own native language, he spoke English and

German, (for the agricultural part of the colony is conducted by Germans), and Turkish, although not with the accent of Constantinople, yet sufficiently well for all the purposes we required.

Near the colony are some extremely commodious baths of deserved reputation, as the waters are of several qualities, and this establishment is likely to become of some importance: it borders closely upon the independent tribe of Kabardians, and has the advantage of a superb view of mounts Elborus and Kasbeck.

The journey from Ekaterinograd (where the ascent of the Caucasus begins) to Tiflis, is as full of grand and sublime views as perhaps any equal extent of country in the world. The highest parts of the Caucasus abound in alpine scenery, whilst the descent into the smiling, lovely Georgia, affords all that can be desired from beauty of prospect.

The pass over the Caucasus is like many a terror that requires only to be approached to disappear; there are no dangers or difficulties that can frighten the most timid female, although the road is far from good, never having been made on any fixed plan: it is merely a wide mountain path, rendered practicable for carriages. In some places we required the assistance of the soldiers at work on the road,

and in one instance we were much amused at the address of some mounted Cossacks, who, with an ingenuity which never fails them, fastened their cloaks round the necks of their horses, for want of any other mode by which to extricate the carriage from an awkward predicament. An escort, consisting of infantry, Cossacks, and a piece of artillery, always convoys the mail, and the travellers and merchandise that may be passing,—frequently forming a caravan of two miles in length: such is the communication between the north and south of Russia. Although this precaution against attack from the Caucasians is absolutely necessary, it is very inconvenient, for the convoy can only proceed at a foot-pace. We usually walked the whole day; and there is no lack of amusement for persons disposed to admire mountainous scenery.

It is curious to reflect how imperceptibly we adopt the customs of countries we travel through: in Russia, although we should have been horrified at the idea elsewhere, sometimes for days together we had not an opportunity of changing or taking off our clothes; especially in the journey over the Caucasus, where we were often condemned to sleep in a room with four or five strangers in addition to our own party, lying down on a bench with our clothes on, or bedded in hay on the floor, if so fortunate as to

meet with such a luxury. English ladies may perhaps hear with astonishment that their sex in Russia frequently travel a thousand or two thousand miles, almost without quitting their carriage; so few and so wretched are the accommodations on the road, that there is no inducement to leave a comfortable carriage for a filthy inn. There is nothing to see, or to excite a wish for a moment's delay; and the posting is excellent, for those at least who have any rank or distinction, as they are obsequiously attended to. A large roomy carriage, the front and back seats united to form a bed, is the first consideration; a little canteen to contain apparatus for tea; this and every thing else that can be required on the road must be in the carriage, for they are not to be found in the houses on the way. Posting is wonderfully cheap; and if there is any difficulty in stowing away all the requisites for a long journey, there are small posting cars which are of the utmost use: one of these we employed, sending on an interpreter with our cooking utensils; and in this way we soon accustomed ourselves to the usage of the country.

Georgia, one of the oldest Christian countries, was incorporated with Russia in 1800, under the emperor Paul; and being of the Greek religion, the Georgians now consider themselves under the head of the church of Russia. They were previously

under the patriarch of Constantinople. The first Christian church was built at Musketta (the ancient capital) fourteen hundred years ago. It is but little to the north of Tiflis (the present capital and seat of the government of the Caucasus and Georgia) where the governor, Count Paskevitch d'Erivan has nearly despotic power, from the river Aras, (now the boundary between Russia and Persia,) to Astrakan—a tract of country five hundred miles in extent. The army in this district consists of about one hundred thousand men. The extent of the government is little inferior to that of the whole kingdom of France; and south of the Caucasus it contains a very valuable portion of territory, for the wines of Georgia are as abundant as they are proverbially good; and the province of Erivan was but a few years ago almost the richest in Persia.

Tiflis has lost much of its Asiatic character since it has belonged to Russia, but the manners and costume of the Georgians are very oriental. They adopt partially European habits, and are divided in this manner, as well as geographically, between the Persians and Russians: they sit cross-legged, but not on the ground like the Persians, having a sort of sofa; they do not eat without knives and forks, but have one perhaps between two or three; a single plate also frequently serves the whole party. Their dress is not the large flowing robe of the

south, nor is it the tight coat of the north ; it is a medium, and a very pretty costume—a full frock coat with large open sleeves, a sash round the waist, a long waistcoat reaching nearly down to the knees, closed in front, and a Persian cap and slippers.

The baths at Tiflis, as throughout the East, are of much grander construction than those in Europe ; their vaulted domes forcibly reminded me of the ruins of the baths about Rome. The system of bathing is most effectual ; it may almost be said that a thin skin is peeled off. The men employed in this capacity are so diligent to do the duty completely, that the operation of being steamed, then boiled, then rubbed and rubbed again, and then deluged in soap-suds, seems of infinite duration to those who usually consider a bath as an European comfort rather than an eastern luxury.

We visited here the remains of an ancient temple of the fire-worshippers, at present converted into the dwelling of an old Georgian woman ; there was nothing in the ruin itself worthy of observation. The old lady was employed in making a bridal dress for her daughter, of more value apparently, than her whole property ; such is the oriental love of finery. In the interior of the country we happened to see the merriment of a wedding, which

consisted chiefly of dancing and drinking. The men were formed in a ring, leaping and hallooing with such vigour, that the exercise was excessive; and the bride and bridegroom, standing together, having on their heads crowns of gilded ornaments to distinguish them, as is generally the custom in marriages of the Greek church, looked like two egregious fools.

Before the possession of Georgia by the Russians, the women wore their faces covered, according to the fashion and religion of their eastern neighbours : but as the result of all sudden conversions is generally a falling into the contrary extremes, they now volunteer a greater display of their charms than is becoming, and which, leaving nothing to the imagination, destroys the interest one would otherwise take in the contemplation of their handsome features.

There are twenty-eight thousand inhabitants in Tiflis, and it is a very flourishing town, carrying on considerable trade with the East and Moscow. It is probable that its commerce will continue to increase, and that a new channel of communication will be opened by the Black Sea, through the province of Gouriel, having Poti as the port, from whence there is a good road, which will enable them to trade directly with the Mediterranean.

We arrived at Tiflis a few days after the return of Count Paskevitch's army from a series of successes against the Turks; having first taken Kars after some resistance; Akhalkalaki, which capitulated; and then Akhalstic, where the general was employed five days in entrenching himself on one side of the town only, during which time there was an encounter, and five hundred Turks were killed: he then besieged it from the opposite side; the *ruse de guerre* succeeded, though not without difficulty, or before five or six thousand Turks (the Russian accounts say more) were killed. The siege occupied ten days altogether. In addition to the places already mentioned that fell into the hands of Russia in the campaign of 1828, may be added Poti, Anapa, Diadeen, Bayazeed, Topra-Kalla, and Ardahagn. On some occasions the Turks fought like madmen; so great indeed was their antipathy to the Russians, that even the women blackened their faces, and did their utmost against them. The desperation of the Turks led them to acts of pertinacious courage scarcely conceivable. An officer told me he had seen an old woman present a pistol at some Cossacks who had entered her house after the siege: the soldiers unwilling to kill so old and infirm a person, besought her to drop the weapon; she refused, and they were obliged to run her through with the bayonet. Others, carried by the fanaticism of their religion, threw themselves into

the flames, rather than incur the ignominy of becoming slaves to Christians.

The army (unlike that which we had left at Odessa) were in the highest spirits, although they had suffered exceedingly. For they began the campaign with about eighteen thousand men, and at the siege of Akhalstic they had not more than fourteen thousand; a force numerically very inferior to that of the Turks, whose numbers could not be computed at less than thirty thousand.

Whilst we were at Tiflis, the officers of one of the regiments (of which the emperor's son, Michael, had been made honorary colonel) gave a grand ball in honour of their victories. The pashas of Kars and Bayazeed were present, being prisoners on their parole: these, with the representatives of the old Georgian court in their national costume, whose ladies were so painted and pasted that they dared not move a muscle of their faces, and sat like as many pictures, in addition to the officers of a large garrison, made it a superior sort of fancy ball. The greatest taste was displayed in furnishing the rooms with arms: a lustre from the centre of one of the saloons, formed entirely of bayonets, did great credit to those who had the arrangement. Pillars were ingeniously constructed of muskets, to support lights; and the windows being open, had blinds in front of them

composed of ramrods. The Turkish colours which had been taken in various engagements, and were suspended in the rooms, assisted greatly to decorate the festive scene. The supper-tables were ornamented with beautiful bouquets of flowers, and I felt more satisfied than ever of the superior system of handing round the dishes. The remembrance of this supper has forcibly occurred to me since my return to England, where I have seen, at public dinners, immense joints placed before individuals who act as general anatomizers to the party; and it struck me also on the same occasion, whilst drinking to the health of General Paskevitch, that this tribute performed in *silence* was far preferable to our system of standing up and cheering on similar occasions. Some of the Georgian ladies were dressed in European fashion, spoke French, and assisted at quadrilles, waltzes, and mazoorkas.

One of the regiments of Guards, generally stationed at Petersburg, was in Georgia at this time, having been sent there in disgrace, for this is a customary mode of punishment in the Russian army. The officers of this corps are so superior in every respect to those of other regiments that they can scarcely be supposed to belong to the same service. They are the élite of the army, and were of great service in doing the honours of the ball,

and making it such as would have done credit to any regiment in any country. All of them speak French, and German is very generally understood: the Russians indeed are remarkably good linguists; their own language is so difficult, and such are the combinations of sounds, and the variety of accents, that those who speak Russ have a great facility in acquiring other languages. It is not an unfrequent custom also to transfer officers in disgrace from one regiment to another: thus no more disagreeable punishment can be imagined, for an officer of the Guards, than to be sent from Petersburgh or Moscow, to serve in a regiment on the coast of the Black or Caspian Sea. For greater offences they are sometimes reduced to the ranks, and are obliged to fall in with the men on parade, although they are mostly allowed certain privileges, such as a servant to clean their horse, if in the cavalry; and they may generally hope to be reinstated on good behaviour.

Similar degradations take place in the navy, for I remember, whilst in the Mediterranean, hearing of an officer who had been a *capitaine de frégate*, on some offence, being reduced to the condition of a simple sailor, and being seen swabbing the decks of the vessel he had previously commanded.

An opportunity was afforded us, during our stay

at Tiflis, of making a most agreeable expedition through Kaketia and Lesghia, having been requested by the colonel of a Russian regiment to accompany him on a shooting excursion, to which he had been invited by the chiefs of the little republic of Balakan, situated in the independent part of the Caucasus. In the course of our tour through Kaketia, which may be considered the finest province of the whole Caucasus, abounding in vines, extensive forests, and splendid scenery, we were received (owing to the kindness of Count Paskevitch, who sent a Georgian officer of his suite with us) in the most flattering manner every where, and in a few days got to the quarters of our friend, the colonel. On our approach, late in the evening, we were struck by the singing of the Russian soldiers, who are constantly in the habit of amusing themselves in this way, whilst others were bivouacked around immense fires; and the eager sportsmen were still admiring the result of their chase, consisting of wild boars, deer, and jackals. At day-light, roused by a splendid band of bugles, we almost fancied the martial sound a signal for battle, encamped as we were in a wild country, and accompanied by three hundred dragoons, who were stationed round a given part of a large wood, whilst we were placed in a line across it, and desired to remain perfectly mute and motionless. When all necessary preparations were made, a trumpet was sounded for the ad-

vance of the corps of beaters, who immediately set up the most horrid yells, in addition to the noise of drums, horns, and every other instrument that could be found, to astound and drive forward the game. For three or four days we continued the sport, always killing enough at the end of each day to give us pleasure in the anticipation of the morrow, but not however so much as one might imagine from the advantages already spoken of.

Two days we were encamped on the banks of the Alazan, and one night we passed at the Lesghian republic of Balakan ; and we thought as we looked at our hosts, and considered their ferocious countenances and their habits, and the efficient manner in which they were armed, that our dragoons were of as much use to us against the possibility of treachery, as they had been in the woods in acting as a pack of hounds. But we did the Lesghians injustice, for a case of breach of faith to those once taken under their protection is hardly remembered ; hospitality (the virtue of barbarism) is never abused. They are an odd compound of fraud and good faith, of hospitality and inhumanity. The same man, who, as your enemy, would outrage human nature, would defend you to the last, if once you threw yourself on his confidence. From Balakan we had a view of one of the numerous

castles erected by queen Tamara (Tomyris), of Georgia, to keep in check the mountaineers of the Caucasus. This was the only sovereign who ever made any permanent impression on these wild people; in fact, so firmly were they attached to her, that they cheerfully served in her armies, and mainly contributed to her conquests in Turkey and in Persia. Under this great Princess, Georgia rose to be a considerable state in Asia, and acquired a power which her successors have been unable to maintain. She flourished during the thirteenth century, and was opposed to some of the most warlike sovereigns of Asia. It is a singular circumstance, that history should have recorded the death of Cyrus in a battle against a queen of the same name, and of the same country; which is a proof how little change has taken place in the names of persons, from the earliest periods to more modern times—for Tamara is a common name even at the present day in Georgia.

It was hinted to us that Count Paskevitch was anxious to gain information with respect to the republic, and the inhabitants of the country, which had just been the scene of so much amusement to us, in consequence of a recent capture by the Lesghians of some of the soldiers of the regiment with whom we had been; and that under the pretext

of an amicable visit, for the purpose of hunting, lurked the design of inspecting the state of the people, and of opening an intrigue with some of the natives, in which species of manœuvring the Russians are well-known to be adepts. My interpreter went so far even as to say, that he believed the colonel had intended seizing some of the Lesghians, having strong suspicions against the chief of the republic: and although I do not believe this, yet I am well assured, there was great care on the part of the Russians not to be entrapped by the Lesghians; and we had only to examine the arms, the equipment, and the state of preparation for combat on the part of the mountaineers, to be aware that caution was very necessary, and that fifty such men would have been equal, under all the circumstances, to our own party, although numerically so much stronger. We had no trial however of our strength: on the contrary, we passed a most amusing evening at the capital of the little state; the soldiers were feasted and fêted, as well as ourselves, and played and sang alternately with the Caucasians, who performed their national dance, which more resembles a Scotch hornpipe than any thing I had ever seen.

We returned to Tifis delighted with our excursion, and extremely gratified by the attentions and hospitality of our Russian friend, who had afforded us, in addition to the sport, the opportunity of

seeing Caucasians in their wildest state, and was himself a most accomplished and agreeable man.

Our attention was now directed to the war between Persia and Russia, which formed a prominent feature in the political interest of Georgia at that period, and of which the following is a summary notice. Shortly after the death of the Emperor Alexander, in 1826, there were symptoms of a revolutionary spirit in the north; and the Persians thought it a good opportunity to take advantage of their neighbours' embarrassment, to invade Russia. General Yermolof was at that time Governor of Georgia: he was taken by surprise, and having an army very inferior in number, would have run great risk of losing possession of Georgia, had the Persians had a more efficient commander than their royal prince, or the advantages of some European officers to command them, without which they will always be (although a very fine looking body of men, and naturally courageous) unable to resist the disciplined troops of Russia. The main body of the Persian army, consisting of about forty thousand, had penetrated as far as Ganjeh, which was within the Russian territory, and one hundred and twenty miles from Tiflis. Their advanced posts were much forwarder. Yermolof not being able to make any impression on them, was superseded by Paskevitch, who soon shewed his military capacity,

and in a short time having carried every thing before him, including the fortified town of Erivan, had the gates of Tabreez opened to him, and occupied that town with about fifteen thousand men for three months. He then retired, having made conditions that the river Aras should be their future boundary, by which Russia acquired a very fine territory ; and that Persia should pay about three millions sterling, as the price of her audacity.

Yermolof's want of success is attributed to the circumstance, that when he was attacked unawares by the Persians, he withdrew his forces towards Tiflis, being desirous to concentrate them (for they had been previously disposed on an allignment across the country) instead of pushing forward and making the *point d'appui* in rear of the enemy, by which the retreat of the Persians would probably have been cut off. The operation, as to facility of execution, would in either case have been precisely the same, whether they retreated to the centre-rear, or advanced to the centre-front ; but one plan shewed fear, which gave great encouragement to the enemy, and they presumed upon it ; whereas the other would have thrown the foe into dismay, and a complete defeat would probably have immediately followed.

It is with great diffidence that I venture to speak on military operations, especially when not suffi-

ciently acquainted with the localities of the country to form an opinion : it is with those, however, who are the best informed, that these ideas originate, and the judgment of Paskevitch has been sometimes questioned for a similar want of tact, in not taking the greatest advantage of the irregularity and imbecility of the Turkish armies, as compared with regular troops ; for it is said he attacked the Turks with the same caution, the same regular system laid down by principle, as would have been applicable in a warfare against organized troops, and enlightened officers ; and lost in some measure a superiority, which the ignorance of all military tactics on the part of the enemy ought to have given him. It is thought, that instead of so much precaution and deliberation, which was construed into fear by the Turks, he ought, having once the upper hand, after the taking of Akhalstic for instance, to have dashed immediately upon Arzroom, and taken it by a *coup de main*. Thus one campaign might have sufficed ; its brilliancy would have terrified the enemy infinitely more ; much bloodshed might have been spared, much expense have been saved. I do not pretend to criticise the talents of General Paskevitch ; but leave for the decision of those better qualified, to judge whether the danger of being put to confusion by too precipitate movements, the fear of losing a character firmly established, and the impossibility perhaps of holding so large a tract of country, as the taking of Arzroom

would have made necessary, were not sufficient grounds for the quiet and prudent manner of conducting the war, which ultimately brought such utter destruction to the Turks, and such honour to the Russian army.

Count Paskevitch is a first-rate soldier, and is considered inferior to none: he is most devoted to his profession, and naturally feels much flattered by his series of successes. At one time it was supposed he would have been sent to command the army on the European side, having made the campaign in Wallachia and Moldavia in 1812; but his services in Asia were also of great importance, and he could not have been spared. Nothing can exceed the perseverance with which the Count contended with those powerful enemies, sickness in his camp, and want of provisions for his army; except indeed the encomiums he has received from the emperor, who is personally attached to him, for Paskevitch was his military tutor. It was to be regretted by his friends, that he had not more consideration for the Prince Abbas Meerza, when treating with him for peace; and that he shewed upon that occasion the same haughtiness, and want of courtesy, which led in a great measure to the serious affair at Tehraun, (the massacre of the Russian mission) of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Little con-

ciliatory indeed was his demeanour towards the royal prince, and although he had full cause to be disgusted with the paltry intrigues, the pitiful manœuvring, and the total want of good faith, or common honesty, on the part of his highness, yet it ill became him not to make some allowance for a man in such a degraded condition, dictated to in his own city, and even in his own palace; for Paskevitch resided there, whilst the prince was at a country villa near Tabreez. Had it not been for the judicious mediation of our envoy, such was the violence of their animosity towards each other individually, as well as nationally, that no terms could have been arranged between them, and the most serious consequences must have followed.

Since my visit to Persia, Sir J. Macdonald, who was minister at that time, has fallen a victim to a fever: it will be difficult to replace him by a man endowed with an equal share of fitness for the appointment, and that virtue and spotless character which so eminently distinguished him, in private and in public life.

The subject of the war between the Russians and Persians has led me further than I had expected, and I must retrograde from Tabreez as far as Erivan. Whilst we were there we visited the Archimandrite, (the head of the Armenian church) a most vene-

rably looking old man, eighty-five years of age : we congratulated him that he was now under a Christian government, and no longer exposed to the brutal insults of Mahometans, in which feeling he seemed fully to enter.

The metropolitan church at Echmiatzen is represented to contain, among many relics, a piece of the ark, although mount Ararat, whose top is eternally capped with snow, is so conical and difficult to approach that it has as yet resisted every attempt to attain the summit. There is a ridiculous picture in the church, representing the ark on the top of the mountain, and a Saint Jacob attempting to ascend to it : he is attended by several labourers to clear away the snow ; but after various fruitless attempts, (for whenever he slept he found he sank down to the same place,) he was at length met by an angel, who handed him a piece of the ark. This interview is introduced into the painting. The Armenians receive this tale as a command that the top of the mountain shall never be ascended, as their holy Jacob was not permitted to succeed in his attempt.

On the side of Ararat is a hermitage, supposed to be Noah's habitation on his descent, and the first in the world. This venerable mountain has a most imposing appearance ; in addition to its

peculiar form, it rises from a champaign country, and appears to much greater effect from there being no other eminences in the vicinity of it, on the side from which we viewed it.

On leaving Erivan we had intended to visit the seven churches of Guerni, cut out of the solid rock ; but on this occasion our first disaster befel us, and we failed in the object of our expedition. Having set out late, night overtook us before we could expect to arrive at the village, and as it snowed the whole day, our guide had every excuse for mistaking the road. We had observed him for some time looking from right to left, as if he was out of his latitude, and he at length acknowledged he had lost his way. For many long hours we endeavoured by loudly hallooing to make ourselves heard, but our vociferations were vain: we were creeping into a chimney in despair of a better place of rest, when, about one o'clock in the morning, we thought we discerned the bark of a watch dog; having advanced towards the sound, we found in a ruined church our baggage, for the men with the mules had fortunately found their way there also, and an immense flock of sheep, and we began now to understand the cause of our misfortune. The poor guide, whom we had abused for stupidity, had directed his course properly enough ; but the village had been demolished when the Rus-

sians had passed through in their pursuit of the Persians in the late war, and nothing remained but the stone walls of this welcome church, which now formed an asylum for sheep, and which from the darkness of the night we should not have discovered but for the shepherd's dog. No hotel, however well provided and sumptuous, was ever so welcome as this old church, which afforded at least a shelter against a continued fall of snow. We soon made a fire, and an attack upon the provision-basket made amends for previous cold and hunger. We congratulated ourselves that we had gained experience, which might afterwards be of use to us, not to place too much reliance upon the existence of towns, and run the risk of being benighted in a similar manner. As the villages are universally built of earth, they disappear altogether from time to time, and so complete is the destruction, that it is no exaggeration to say that the mud walls once fallen, soon unite with the ground, and the plough goes over them, leaving not a vestige to be seen.

There seems to be nothing to remind the traveller in Armenia of its ancient kingdom, and, like Poland, and several other states, now under the dominion of Russia, (the crowns of most of which are deposited among the regalia at Moscow,) it is scarcely known to exist.

On one occasion speaking of Poland to a Russian,* he remarked satirically, "Poland! where is it?" as if the great name of Russia had thrown that unhappy country into oblivion, since it was divided by its neighbours in 1795. The history of Armenia is full of catastrophes; for many centuries it was destined to be the scene of sanguinary wars, whilst the Romans, under Lucullus and Pompey, attacked, and at last defeated Tigranes; and the Persians and Turks have, at later periods, also made it the field of their warfare. Selim II. conquered it in 1552, since which it has been subject to the Turks, except the eastern part, which was Persian, until the war in 1827, when it was ceded to Russia by the treaty of Toorkomanchi.

The schism of the Armenians was completed in 552, although there had been long previously great dissensions between them and the Roman Catholics. They agree with other monophysites in the main doctrine of their sect, as to the unity of the divine and human nature of Christ, but differ in other points. As to the eucharist they agree with the Greeks, except that they mix no water with the wine, and use unleavened bread, the same as the Romans: infants receive the communion.

* At this moment (1831), the Russians are probably alive to the geographical position of the once celebrated kingdom of Poland.

We are soon to quit "Russia and all the Russias," as the empire is pompously styled. A few words, however, before we take our leave of it. The extent of the dominion of the emperor is greater than that of the Roman Empire in its most flourishing days, and contains about fifty-three millions of inhabitants. The army is the principal profession, and although some trouble has been taken to form a correct estimate of its strength, it is impossible to pretend to great accuracy; the difficulty being in the incomplete state of the regiments, which frequently are not effective beyond half of what is considered the due complement; as a round number, however, including Cossacks, and every species of military, the best authorities suppose it to exceed a million, although perhaps not more than seven hundred thousand receive pay; and the expence of maintaining it is calculated at about seven millions sterling. It will, perhaps, seem singular that the whole income of the empire is estimated at from twelve to fifteen millions sterling only, a sum apparently inadequate to the expence of such a military establishment. The revenue is principally derived from a heavy excise on spirits, a capitation tax, the duties on exports and imports, the mines of gold and iron in Siberia, from a mine of platina lately discovered, (of which valuable metal a very pretty coin is at present in circulation,) and from the

crown lands, which constitute nearly one-fourth of the whole country.

Provisions in Russia are wonderfully cheap, and it is reckoned that the pay, the clothing, and the food of a foot soldier, in the interior, does not exceed two pounds five shillings a year ; the musket which is made at Tula costs about six shillings only. When on foreign service the army becomes a most serious expence ; but it would seem that they are well recompensed in general, if we consider the sums lately paid by Persia, and now demanded of Turkey, as indemnities for the expence of the war ; but of this hereafter. The discipline in the Russian army is very severe ; the effect of that system of despotism which pervades the whole empire being more apparent among the military than the civilians. Every man is by turns a tyrant and a slave : I have frequently observed the same man, who, having a little local authority, was lording it over some unhappy subaltern with all the arrogance of conscious power, become at another moment, when in presence of his superior, the most humble sycophant. Such a powerful control over the army is in some cases of great advantage, for it is doubtful if other armies would have behaved in the exemplary manner in which the Russians did when in possession of Adrianople at the end of the late war. None of the prejudices of the Maho-

metans were interfered with, or their religious rites interrupted; with the most perfect submission they strictly conformed to the orders of General Diebitch, not to annoy in any way their conquered enemy. But soldiers who are slaves, and are treated as such, who are obliged to be eternally watched over to enforce this strict obedience, who cannot on the most trifling occasion be trusted to act for themselves, "and are rather driven by the fear of evil than attracted by the prospect of good," cannot be considered so valuable as those (such as our troops for instance) who less restricted, and more independent, prove, by the comparative indulgence they receive, the advantage we derive from a milder government in the better feeling that must ever be inseparable from it. A Russian soldier will obey implicitly, will endure all that can be endured, and undergo any privation without murmur, it might almost be said without feeling: he is a machine that may be most usefully employed, but he cannot be expected to fight with that pride, that heroic enterprize, that *esprit de corps* which can only be the child of freedom: it is there, where the spirit is broken by a too rigorous discipline, that we perceive by the contrast, in its full light, the advantage of liberty. As a proof of what a Russian soldier or sailor may be made to submit to, I need only mention that the seamen and marines of the Alexander Newski, a ship of the line, which was lying at the

commencement of this year at Napoli di Romania, were employed, at the request of the President of Greece, in clearing away the rubbish of ruined houses, and filling up a stagnant ditch in front of that town. They were also to be employed to construct a road from Napoli to Argos. The mode of salute is very characteristic of the severe discipline ; the soldier, when meeting an officer, instead of proceeding and carrying his hand to his cap, places himself on one side at attention, takes his cap off, and bends his body slightly forward, shewing altogether a submission disgustingly servile.

Besides, the system of slavery in Russia is highly detrimental to her advancement in civilization. Those strenuous advocates for the abolition of negro slavery in the West Indies are, perhaps, not aware how much nearer home, and in how deplorable a degree that curse is tolerated. For example, in Russia slaves are either sold with the estate, or detached and disposed of separately ; this however, although of frequent occurrence, is illegal ; or they are sometimes hired by the year at about forty rubles, or one pound fourteen shillings.

Dr. Clarke and others have severely handled the mal-administration of the courts of justice, and all the civil departments : it is not my wish to follow their example in commenting with a cruel

severity, and an evidently hostile spirit, on what cannot nevertheless be approved, and yet might have been more leniently treated considering the state of the country. The work of Dr. Clarke on Russia is, indeed, with that exception, so excellent for its style, its matter, and the amusement it affords, that any defect is to be lamented; this, indeed, was the remark of a Russian to me when speaking of it, and the observation was a great proof of his candour.

The cause of the practice of bribery and extortion, which pervade all the civil departments without exception, is the total insufficiency of the payment of the officers employed, who are obliged to rob or extort to enable them to live in a manner corresponding with the situations they hold. The authorities almost avow this, but state the impossibility of any remedy, since they have not funds necessary to enable them to pay their servants more adequately; and a system so deeply rooted and universal would not easily be abolished.

The commercial policy of Russia is a very natural ground of complaint on the part of our merchants, whose intercourse has been greatly impeded since the introduction of the present restrictive system. Russia will, perhaps, outlive the opinion that it is to the advantage of a country to supply

itself with all commodities, whether of natural and easy acquisition, or artificial and difficult to be obtained. But it seems she has at present to learn that commerce is intended as a benefit for the world, and that to check it, in order to patronize native establishments, is to deprive ourselves of one of the greatest blessings that we can possibly possess ; for not only do we thereby deny ourselves the luxuries of other climes, and the ingenuity of other nations, but we destroy all enterprize, and obstruct, more than we imagine, the progress of civilization.

The religion of Russia is that of the Greek faith : the pompous ceremonies of this church, the gorgeous apparel of the priests, with their black and shining beards, the various positions in which different people are seen kneeling or bowing before their favourite saints, in attitudes little less remarkable than the exhibitions of mussulmans, in short, the whole system of parade that characterizes their service, very much exceeds that of the Roman Catholics. The choirs are extremely fine : they admit no musical instruments ; human voices only are allowed ; and nothing can be more strikingly grand than the singing of the priests. But this is too wide a field for a superficial narrative.

We had sold our carriage at Tifis, finding it more convenient to travel by mules, and indeed we were

not aware at that time that carriages had ever been taken as far to the south as Tabreez, and we soon left the frontiers of Russia behind us, with very little inclination to make a second visit. The entire novelty of a country must always repay an untravelled man for the little difficulties and annoyances to which he must inevitably be exposed, and it is no proof of dissatisfaction that I am not desirous to retrace steps, and review scenes, which might, on a second occasion, be as vapid and devoid of amusement as they were interesting and satisfactory on the first.

PERSIA.

IMMEDIATELY after crossing the Aras (the present frontier of Russia) we were forcibly struck by the singular appearance of immense streams of lava, which have overflowed the whole of this district, and remain as bare and as sharp as the first moment they flowed over the ground. Our curiosity was also excited by the appearance of a current of hot water flowing in a little channel through the snow, which seemed a little mysterious until we traced it to its source. The stream of water near Makoo, of which place we shall speak presently, flows in a narrow channel of lava, and is crossed by numerous natural bridges, and although the width of this canal may not be more than eight or ten feet, it is perfectly impassable from its deep and abrupt banks. The valley itself presents, perhaps, the most singular formation in the world ; a mass of limestone rock of two hundred feet in thickness, and twenty miles in length by half a mile in width, has been thrown up by a simultaneous boiling up of lava into an inclined position of about forty-five degrees, leaving the side towards the valley abrupt, and the opposite or western side sloping to the plain at the angle

before-mentioned : an equal height of black lava strongly contrasts with the yellow colour of the limestone. In many places the upper strata have been blown away, leaving semicircular recesses in the rock, the huge fragments of which still lie scattered in the valley, and in no way differ from the extinct craters of the volcanos of Europe. To a violent eruption may be attributed the very extraordinary cavern of Makoo; but here the body of limestone rock was so great, that it resisted the force of the explosion, burst towards the valley in a horizontal direction, and left one of the most extraordinary phenomena of nature in the world, a cavern, the vastness of which is best explained by the dimensions; its breadth being one thousand two hundred feet, its height six hundred, and eight hundred in depth.

If the reader happen to have seen the famous monastery of Megaspelia in the Morea, which is built under the side of a mountain, in somewhat a similar manner, he is in a condition to judge of Makoo by imagining something ten times more curious and more appalling: nor is it competent for me otherwise to illustrate that which has no parallel, and which seems to defy all description.

Makoo lies about midway between Erivan and Hoey : we had left the road to Tabreez to the east,

and having passed along the foot of a line of mountain for some miles, we at length came to a narrow defile, which seemed as if intended to display to the best effect the wonderful *coup d'œil* that is presented on entering the valley at the base of the great cavern.

This singular place is the residence of an independent chief, who is so jealous of Russia and all his neighbours, that no European, excepting the English officer* through whose kindness we were introduced, had ever been received by him. We had the advantage of being invited to pass two days there, and at the same time that we had an opportunity of seeing one of the most curious towns perhaps in the world, by reason of its position, we were not a little glad to observe the mode of life of Persians, however much we might despise its sickening insipidity.

For the want of a better amusement, for it was in the middle of winter, and the ground being covered with snow, there was no temptation to go out hawking (a common sport in those countries), we

* The gentleman to whom I allude is Colonel Monteith, who took a sketch of the place with a *camera obscura*, and to whom I am also indebted for the short geological account of this singular place.

fired from the top of the Khan's palace at the icicles hanging from the projecting cliff, though somewhat to the detriment of the buildings on which they fell from their terrific height.

The place is prepared for defence as much as people entirely ignorant of the art of war can render it. There are considerable galleries cut into the side of the mountain, which can only be approached by rope ladders, of which they speak with an air of mystery, insinuating that they consider them a sure defence against Paskevitch and his hardy Cossacks.

Soon after we arrived, the prince sent a message that he would be happy to see us in his apartment. The servants, who always remain in waiting at the entrance, begged us to take off our boots; my companions were unwilling to comply with this request, and my inclination to conform to the customs of the country was overruled; the Khan's eyes were very evidently directed to our feet as we entered, and he appeared displeased. He, however, soon began the usual compliments, saying, in the figurative language of Persia, that his house, his servants, all his property were ours; and began to ask a variety of questions, in the course of which he discovered that one of our party was a physician: he immediately felt various

ailments, for some of which our friend prescribed. Two of the brothers of the prince, jealous of each other, begged the doctor to feel their pulses, and believed that he could inform them which of them was most courageous, and would fight the best. Every individual in the establishment, even the servants, had complaints, and wished for medicine, which, however, they were afraid to take when prepared. The wives and children fancied themselves ill, and the Harem was opened to our fortunate companion; he took the interpreter with him, who was desired to shut his eyes, but the husband gave the doctor permission to peep if he liked.

The best passport a traveller can have in any part of the East is that of being a professor of medicine, for such is the state of infancy of that science, that the most moderate experience is respected by all Asiatics. Even in Russia, such is the want of confidence in the skill of the common apothecaries, that the sale of medicine is not permitted but when prescribed by a physician. The application to a severe wound on the shoulders and face of a person, who had been thrown from his horse, was the skin of a lamb killed expressly for the purpose, the raw part being laid on the wound quite warm. This was surely no very elevated description of remedy: and the suspending a man by the ancles to the side of a wall, who had been saved from drowning, in

order to allow the water to run off the stomach, was a practical illustration of ignorance or superstition which I could hardly have believed, had I not myself witnessed it.

After a long conversation with the prince we visited the stud of horses, greatly renowned in these parts as being of a very superior breed. They are derived from two celebrated Arab horses deposited here by Jafer Kouli Khan, once governor of Hoey, who fled to Russia about twenty years ago; but this is the only district in the north of Persia where this race has not degenerated.

Shortly afterwards we were informed dinner was ready, and we were again summoned to the state rooms. Lest the reader should fancy such a state room contains much handsome furniture, it may be well to explain that a very pretty carpet, which is most studiously kept clean, serves as a substitute for the tables, the sofas, and the chairs of Europe. The prince, his brothers, and friends, sat on one side of the room, and our Frank party opposite to them. The dinner consisted of a pillaw with partridge, some balls of forced meat wrapped in vine leaves, called giaprakia, and little bits of mutton roasted on a skewer of wood, called kibob, tolerably good, and several

basins of sherbet (an oriental name for lemonade); and the most delicately carved wooden spoons were used, as silver utensils coming under the class of innovations, are forbidden. The Persians use their right hand only to feed themselves with, and the dexterity with which they take rice between their thumb and forefinger, form it into a sort of little ball, and toss it into their mouth without touching any part of their beard, is most astonishing; one of my companions was inclined to try the same experiment, but scattered the rice all over his face, and down his neckcloth, and was forced to recur to the more civilized practice of employing a spoon.

Nothing can be more painful, as well as disagreeable, than sitting cross-legged on the floor, and being obliged to bend over in order to eat one's dinner. Not less singular than the mode of eating were the arrangements for sleeping: the floor of the bedroom, was laid for about thirty persons, consisting of ourselves, our Frank servants, and the other visitors of the Khan. Very little preparation is required by the Persian to lie down to rest; he throws off his large loose robe, the shoes are always left outside the room, his nightcap is the black lamb skin, which on no occasion leaves the head, and he reposes without further ceremony, having first smoked his hookah.

Among the visitors at the prince's was an unfortunate man who had held some appointment under the government, and had had his eyes put out as a punishment, for this is not uncommon among them. There is a story, almost too horrible to relate, that the town of Kermaun having rebelled, three pounds weight of eyes were ordered to be sent to the late king, Aga Mahomed Khan.

We left Makoo particularly gratified by our visit, and by a civility and kindness on the part of the prince and his brothers, which we could hardly have expected. He is necessarily suspicious of all strangers, and but that we were introduced to him under very favourable auspices it would have been more probable that we had been confined in a dungeon, than received with hospitality and attention. We became impatient now to proceed on our journey, and after twenty-five days very cold travelling from Tifis, including our delay at Erivan and Makoo, we at length were comfortably housed at Tabreez on christmas-eve: those only who have been similarly placed can judge of the delights of meeting with a kind reception from their countrymen among a distant and barbarous people. Our impressions on entering Tabreez, the first town of any note in the land of Persia, were little favourable. It would be difficult to

put together dwellings for sixty thousand inhabitants on a plan more completely devoid of beauty than that of Tabreez, one of the principal towns in the empire ; yet the convenience of bazaars throughout Persia and Turkey is a benefit we might do well to be better acquainted with.

The houses are of very economical construction, partly on account of the frequency of earthquakes ; and the wretched little streets with dead walls on each side for the concealment of the females, form a melancholy contrast in the minds of those accustomed to see casements and pretty faces peeping from them. Although by Mahometan law plurality of wives is permitted, it is not so often practised as might be supposed, on account of the great expense, and the severity of the regulation as to a proper maintenance. Those who can afford to keep a well filled harem may easily gratify their inclinations ; they may have four wives, and as many other women as they can provide for.

According to Chardin the population of Tabreez amounted at one time to five hundred and fifty thousand, and there are very considerable heaps of ruins, extending some miles beyond the fortified walls of the present town. But it is said that his statements regarding population are always double

the probable amount, as he appears to have received without distrust the doubtful information given by the officers of the government.

The vicinity of an extensive range of mountains, and especially the altitude of the land about Tabreez, being four thousand feet above the level of the sea, occasion great cold in the winter, and although it is in the latitude of Athens, we never experienced a more rigid climate.

Prince Abbas Meerza, governor of the province of Azerbaijan, who resides at Tabreez, is the eldest son of the Shah, about forty-three years of age, and heir to the throne. The depraved debauchery of his whole life makes rapid inroads on his good looks, for he has evidently been very handsome. He is considered an agreeable companion, most fascinating in conversation ; but, like our Charles the Second, if "he never said a foolish thing, he never did a wise one."

During the audience we had of the royal prince, in adapting the subject of his conversation to the professions of those whom he addressed, he inquired of an English physician who was presented at the same time with us, whether he had heard, or could believe, a very singular fact; that in some cases where, in punishments, the cut-

ting out of the tongue has from humane intention not been done to the very root, a second operation has been subsequently performed at the desire of the poor sufferer, in order that he might be able to articulate with more clearness than when a small bit remained : however extraordinary it may appear the effect is undisputed. He asked me also, with some little humour, if members of parliament had still the right to make representations to their king, hugging himself with the flattering consideration that such mutinous proceedings would not be allowed in Persia.

It is etiquette to make visits on horseback, however short the distance may be, and the parade on this occasion was a very novel and rather magnificent sight. About twenty servants in handsome scarlet cloaks attended us ; the grooms carrying superbly embroidered horsecloths to protect the petted steeds during our visit, and others bearing pipes ; although upon this occasion smoking was dispensed with, as the Prince endeavours to adapt himself to Frank habits, and even sat on a chair : he was dressed in a handsome but not an extravagant manner for a Persian, and we regretted that we had not the power of conversing with his Royal Highness but through the medium of interpreters.

When Tabreez was taken by Paskevitch, the

Persian regular army, disciplined under English auspices, followed the example of their noble leader (the Prince), who abandoned them, and dispersed, and have not been re-organized until very recently. The dissatisfaction of the Persians at that time was very great : they felt they had been led into an expensive war, which the Shah would not grant supplies to support, or their Prince ability to conduct, and that all the brunt would ultimately fall on the nation.

Our object in taking a glance of Persia, since we found ourselves so near it as Tiflis, was now accomplished, and it had been our intention to return through Russia to Moscow, having been earnestly recommended not to attempt to make our way to Constantinople during a war, which the Turks might regard as against all Franks in general. But the severity of the winter, and the mountains rendered impassable by the snow, and the pleasure of remaining among our hospitable countrymen at such a season of the year, put a stop to the project of going to Moscow, whilst the bugbear of danger from the Turks disappeared on approaching it ; and our thoughts were forthwith directed to the interesting object of Constantinople.

Finding ourselves however once in Persia, we felt anxious to see a little of the interior of the country,

and the court, and after passing seven weeks of severe cold very agreeably with our mission at Tabreez, we set out for Tehraun, between which places (a distance of about four hundred miles) there is scarcely any object worthy of remark.

We passed indeed a village on the river Kissilouzan, supposed to be the Habor, where the Samaritans were taken captive by Salmanasar, about six hundred and twenty years before Christ. We had an opportunity here of witnessing the ceremony of a Mahometan funeral: the coffin is carried on men's shoulders as in England, but it is an object of great ambition to assist in bearing it; and a whole crowd striving to obtain the places of honour creates a great confusion, which is not a little increased by the mourners tearing their hair and beating their breasts, and by the screaming of the multitude: upon these occasions too the women come forth and lend effectual assistance with their vociferations.

It was on our way to the capital that we heard of the massacre of the Russian embassy, and it was not without hesitation that we resolved to continue our journey; for our Persian servants were asked on the road if they were going to take us to Tehraun to be murdered also, as that would probably be our fate. We took the precaution of sending a messenger to the minister for foreign affairs (formerly the am-

bassador in England, who brought over the fair Circassian), who was so obliging as to send an escort to meet us on our approach to Tehraun, and in consequence we were exposed to no danger.

The horrors of this affair were too fresh, and too dark, to allow us much enjoyment whilst at the capital; and it may be truly said, neither we, our European, nor even our Persian servants, felt altogether free from apprehension of danger until we left the city; although we knew well that the popularity of the English was proverbial, and that it was an injustice to the Persians not to rest perfectly confident as to our safety.

I will here endeavour to give the particulars of this fatal catastrophe, to which the annals of history cannot furnish a parallel. In December, 1828, Mr. Grebayedof, Ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, went to Tehraun to reclaim all the Russian subjects, according to the treaty of peace of 1827: he was extremely well received by the Shah, and the usual compliments in presents had been liberally bestowed on him and his suite; but the demeanour of the ambassador towards his Majesty was of that dictatorial and haughty description, which the Russians are very apt to assume, and which was particularly unpalatable and unfeeling, in return for the courtesy and urbanity with which they were received. Mr. Grebayedof

had claimed several individuals as subjects of Russia, and one of the servants of the Shah, who had robbed his master of jewels and money, sought protection from the ambassador, calling himself a Georgian subject of Russia ; and although it had been represented to Mr. Grebayedof that the man had been guilty of such an offence, he was received into his palace. This circumstance alone of shielding a man who had robbed the Emperor was, to say the least, a most ungracious act ; but it was the alleged abuse of some Georgian women, subjects of Russia, but now the wives of mussulmans, which drove the fury of the people to the height of committing the fearful deed which I am about to relate.

The Russian embassy had been at Tehraun about six weeks, and in the palace under their protection were the above-mentioned servant of the King, and two or three Georgian women : in a few days the ambassador intended to quit Tehraun, and to take away those persons with him ; but the people could not brook the constant insults and ridicule of their religion, and after long bearing the personal rudeness of the ambassador towards their monarch, and the improper conduct of the whole suite towards their females, and being further excited to revenge by the priests, who were most inveterate against the Russians, they proceeded on a fatal day to the ambassador's palace, resolved to rescue the women

whom they declared had been abused, and were confined against their will. With this view a large mob entered the court, and proceeded to the apartment of the women, whom they forcibly carried away: they seized also the servant of the Shah, who was immediately sacrificed to their vengeance; for whilst under the Russian protection he had mocked the Mahometan religion, which he had previously professed.

When the mob broke into the court the Russians fired upon them, feeling it was an unlawful attack, and that they had perfect right to resent it in a summary manner. A Persian was unluckily killed by this rash proceeding, and his body being carried off to a sacred spot, the priests took occasion to incite the people over the corpse, by all that was due to their religion, to stand up in support of it against the grossest attacks that infidel dogs had ever made. It will easily be conceived what effect such an address from the high priest to an enraged people would have on a consecrated spot, and over a mussulman's body just slaughtered by infidels. It was, indeed, as fatal a signal as was ever given: all the town were in arms on the moment, some on foot, some on horseback; the shops were shut, and all in one stream rushed to the Russian palace: the embassy were collected in one room, and for some minutes prevented the entrance of the mob by the fire they

kept up ; they fought desperately, but the roof of the house (for it was very low and flat) was soon mounted and stripped ; the embassy were driven out into the court-yard, and in a few instants were mangled corpses ; nor were the enraged people satisfied until they had dragged the body of the ambassador in triumph through the town. Some of the grooms were in the stable of the English palace, and soon shared the fate of their unhappy countrymen ; even the horses, and the furniture of the embassy were seized, and considered common spoil. Thus thirty-five persons (only three of the whole suite having accidentally escaped) were in a few hours sacrificed to the revenge of a savage people, for following a repulsive line of conduct and demeanour, and became the victims, perhaps, more to want of courtesy and humility than to any positive offence of which they were perhaps equally guilty.

We had the curiosity to go to the palace where the catastrophe had taken place : it still wore an appearance corresponding with the outrage of which it had been the theatre ; it was entirely ruined, and the ground in front was yet coloured with the blood of the unhappy sufferers.

Those who are acquainted with the character of mussulmans, who know that the only offences inexpiable in their eyes are insult to their women, and

ridicule of their religion, can easily understand the cause of this horrid assassination ; but it would be more difficult to find a sufficient apology for the greatest breach of faith, the most monstrous offence against the laws of nations, that can be found perhaps in the history of the civilized world; and the Persians may congratulate themselves that Russia was too much occupied with the war against the Turks at that time to divert any of her army from an undertaking that seemed doubtful how it might terminate. Surely it would have been a very unsatisfactory explanation to England, that our embassy had behaved themselves with want of decorum to the shah, or even with positive indecency towards Mahometan women; and that the people had taken the law into their own hands, and been guilty of such an atrocity! The best apology was that offered to the injured nation; namely, an assurance that it was a popular insurrection, and that the troops could not restrain the people; and that although the king had sent his son (the governor) with all the disposable force to endeavour to quell it, their efforts were quite unavailing. So universally hated were the unfortunate Muscovites, that even some of the royal servants were present and assisted in the affray; and but for fear of the consequence which might reasonably have been expected, I believe there was scarcely an individual in the capital who did not secretly rejoice at the result.

The circumstances of this calamitous affair show the necessity of paying no less attention to the personal than to the mental qualification of ambassadors selected to be sent to barbarous countries; and whilst the abilities of the representative are of the first importance, a conciliatory manner, which can adapt itself to the ignorance and caprice of uncivilized people, at the same time preserving the honour and importance of the country represented, is hardly of less consequence.

It is not with the Persians as with European nations: their ideas do not extend beyond their own dominions, and if the representative of Russia be a haughty overbearing man, who pretends to dictate, and will not condescend to persuade, his nation will be unpopular. If, on the other hand, the English ambassador is one of firm, but mild behaviour, who disdains to stoop to the ignominious practices of receiving presents (a custom prevalent in the East), moderate in the requests he may have to make, but resolute in maintaining them, and if he pleases their vanity by yielding to the folly of any little prejudices, he will rather succeed in winning their good opinion than deprive himself of his dignity, or compromise the honour of his country, whose character he thus establishes.

Tehraun has been the capital of Persia since

the accession of the Kujjur dynasty to the throne in 1778. Aga Mahomed Khan preferred it to Ispahan, being nearer the provinces of Mazanderan and Astrabad: the latter is the hereditary patrimony of the family, where the principal adherents of the house have been long established. It has also the advantage of being nearer the seat of war in the north. It is probable, however, that at some future period Ispahan will be again the capital.

During our stay of nearly a fortnight we seldom had much inclination to go beyond the palace gates, for there was an air of ferocity in the countenances of the people, that we felt it would not have been safe for us to have gone about the town without an escort; and we only visited Negoristan and Takti Kujjur (two of the king's palaces near Tehraun); the former of which is remarkable, as containing a picture representing the presentation of the English and French embassies at the court of the present shah; and the principal sight, perhaps, at the Takti Kujjur is a beautiful harem, which was a great curiosity for the inspection of Europeans, although I need not add it was bereft of its fair inhabitants.

We were so fortunate as to have the honour of an audience with the Shah at his palace in Tehraun; and hereafter, in allusion to the characters of his

two neighbours (the Emperors of Russia and Turkey), I propose to say a few words on our presentation. In the course of a very kind and affable conversation, wherein he spoke of the dreadful massacre, and humourously said we must not tell our envoy that he had had any thing to do with it, he asked us which way we were desirous to go on leaving his capital ; and recommended us to relinquish our intention of visiting Ispahan, as the people of that city might be irritated about this affair of the Russians, and we might be put to inconvenience. This was but lightly touched on by his majesty ; but of course we felt the necessity of conforming to imperial advice, and were obliged to renounce the pleasure we had long anticipated of seeing one of the most superb towns in Asia, (for the magnificence of Ispahan is not often rivalled,) and the finest ruin perhaps in the world (Persepolis), which stands but little to the south of it.

Our progress towards the East was thus summarily arrested, and we accordingly had to make new arrangements for the continuation of our journey in another direction ; and in order to avoid retracing our steps to Tabreez, and performing the same journey a second time, we resolved to make a *détour* by the south of our direct line, and took our course towards Hamudan and Kirmanslah, on the Bagdad

route, probably exactly in the line of Alexander's march ; for after he had destroyed Susa and Persepolis, and pursued Darius to Ecbatana (now Hamudan) he went to Rae (the ruins of which we had visited whilst at Tehraun) on his progress towards his conquests in India.

After eight tedious days travelling we arrived at Hamudan ; as dull a journey as can be conceived, for there was not a remarkable feature in the country, or an object worthy of observation.

In the absence of any source of interest which might enliven so tame a journey, and preserve some recollection of that which had nothing impressive of local or historical character, we encountered a serious danger, owing to the harsh conduct of our mehmandar (the Persian officer attending us), who offended the villagers by his overbearing manner, when he was procuring a lodging for the night for us in some of their houses, as he was accustomed to do. A spirited young fellow showed a determination to resist ; and to our great dismay we perceived all the villagers instantly armed, and even the women becoming active in providing large stakes and weapons for the men. We heard that a royal infant prince, with a suite of about four hundred persons, including eight nurses, some of whom were carried in *takti rowans* (a sort of sedan carried on the backs

of mules) had slept there the night before, had consumed all their fuel and barley, and made no remuneration; and the poor villagers, dreading a repetition of similar conduct, were in a very irritable state. On learning this the mehmandar assumed a milder tone, but still remonstrated, showing the royal passport: it was evident it would be dangerous to attempt to presume on the claim the shah's authority gave us, and promises of payment were made in vain; we therefore at once determined to depart. At this time a man struck one of our mules: I told him to desist; but such presumption on my part, as he conceived it to be, offended him greatly; he mocked me, and in a violent passion picked up a large stone, and had it not been from fear of a pistol which was quickly presented at his head, would probably have injured some of our party seriously. An occurrence of this sort was extremely dangerous at this particular time, in consequence of the Russian massacre, which had given courage to the Persians, and increased their antipathy to all Franks; for the common people do not distinguish between English and Russians, and believe that all men who wear hats, and no beards, belong to the same country; and however civil and anxious to serve these people may be generally found, it is not to be supposed that a good disposition towards Christians really exists; and although it may appear unkind and illiberal on my part, I am

obliged to attribute the good offices of these people to the hope of remuneration, and the prospect of immediate gain, rather than to any finer feeling, of which I fear they are incapable.

We had daily proofs of Persian despotism. The little affair just mentioned shows the extortion of the prince, the bullying of the mehmandar, and the punishment that would have been inflicted, if we had represented to the governor of Hamudan the bad treatment we had experienced ; for he would have bastinadoed, or cut the toes off, or put out the eyes of any person who had ill used us. In order to sustain this state of despotism it is not only necessary to act tyrannically when occasion seems to demand it, but sometimes even if there be no occasion, for unless the people are kept in continual dread they would soon endeavour to assert their independence. The moment they gain the least courage by kind usage they become ungovernable ; their loyalty (if they have any), their peaceable behaviour, their blind obedience to their lords, all arise from a fear that, by contrary conduct, their goods would be confiscated, or their lives taken away without the smallest scruple. Many instances are even recorded of wanton cruelty on the part of Persian monarchs in depriving innocent men of life, for the sole end of showing their power and inspiring terror.

The principal object of antiquity at Hamudan are the tombs of Esther and Mordecai. There is no necessity to hazard an opinion as to the accuracy of the legend which has given them this claim: it must be obvious to our attention, that nothing can be more probable than that as Ecbatana was the summer residence of king Ahasuerus and Esther, whilst Shusan was the winter palace, it might also have been their burial-place. A colony of Jews, who have been there from time immemorial, protect these sacred remains: this circumstance might also seem to assist to verify the tradition. These Hebrews, as those of their faith in all countries, naturally regard the memory of Esther with the highest veneration; and the book of the Old Testament relating to her adventures is still read once a year in their synagogues. It is often written on a scroll of parchment by itself (*megillah*), and is thus distinguished from all the other books of the Old Testament.

Soon after quitting Hamudan we were agreeably relieved from the dearth of ancient ruins in these parts, by the remains of a temple of Diana at Kangovar. It appears to have been about three hundred yards long, and of dimensions equal to those of the celebrated temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens; but its position is far superior, for it stands on a slightly elevated spot of ground, in the centre of a fine plain of thirty miles, stretching out imme-

diately in front of it, and bounded by a splendid range of mountains, of which Elwend is the chief. The foundations of this once splendid temple can still be traced, and there yet remain nine very imperfect Doric columns in succession: little else has survived the destruction of time. The Persians consider it a rich quarry of marble, and unscrupulously apply beautiful columns to the most ignoble purposes, to the horror of every admirer of art that chances to witness such atrocities.

From Kangovar we were distant but two days journey from Kirmanshah, our farthest point to the south, where we had to summon all our fortitude to limit the natural desire to extend our journey to the ruins of Babylon the Great, when only two hundred and fifty miles from them; and no little self-denial was necessary to induce travellers, who, it may be said without too much vanity, had already proved themselves of some enterprize, to abandon a project they had at times entertained of visiting Shuster, one of the ancient capitals of the Persian Empire, and Susa, which, with the Tigris and Euphrates, and the scite of Nineveh (Moussoul), seemed within our reach. But every traveller must expect to forego the gratification of inspecting some favourite object nearly within his view, from some reason or other; and if we could have spared the time necessary for such an acquisition to our journey, perhaps an equal dis-

appointment might have awaited us elsewhere ; or we might have regretted our inability to take shipping for India, the most interesting country, in my opinion, an Englishman can contemplate.

Apropos, it may not be generally supposed that the distance from London to Bombay can be performed in so short a time as forty-seven days : but it is said the journey has been done in that time. Of my own acquaintance, I know one individual who went to Constantinople in twenty days ; another who went from thence to Bagdad in eighteen days ; and a third from thence to the Persian Gulf in eight, and to Bombay in fourteen ; making sixty days altogether.

Sir R. K. Porter, in a large work on Persia, has so fully and accurately described a curious specimen of sculpture cut out of the solid rock near Kirmanshah, supposed to be of the age of Hosro Purveez, in the sixth century, and the figures and inscriptions at Besitoun in the same neighbourhood, as well as other objects of a similar description, that a reference to his work is recommended to the curious on these subjects. We carried the two large quarto volumes of this zealous traveller with us on our expedition through these parts, and were extremely indebted to him for much useful and amusing information.

We were warned there was danger in the vicinity of Kirmanshah, from the Koords, who live scattered about in black tents during the summer for the sake of pasture for their cattle. They are notorious robbers, and we found ourselves in considerable difficulty upon one occasion; although it seemed ridiculous so trifling an occurrence could have given us any uneasiness, and that a lamb should have been the innocent cause of our misfortune. The little adventure is worthy of mention, as a caution to other travellers who may find themselves among such people as the Koords, not to feel too confident in their own cause, but rather to submit to the caprice of the inhabitants, however inconsistent it may appear.

Our interpreter stopped to purchase a lamb from a shepherd, and the people of the country observed him following us with it: it was natural for those who themselves are in the habit of continually stealing to suspect others of similar practices, and they accused our servant of robbery, and desired him to stop; perceiving he did not comply, they hallooed to another group of people on the road to seize him, and we thought it desirable to hold up. We assured them the lamb had been paid for; but here again was a new difficulty, for the people spoke hardly any thing but Koordish, and the interpreter did not understand that language. In the hope of extricating ourselves from a serious dilemma we

gave up the lamb; but this made them more vehement than before, conceiving that we had acknowledged our guilt by such conduct, and they forcibly detained our horses. Upon this I became exasperated, and drew my sword; but the mehmandar entreated me not to use any violence, as it might cause our total destruction; and the interpreter was quietly conducted back towards the village, near which he made the purchase. My companion and I had never been in such a state of embarrassment: we feared that the shepherd might have sold the lamb without the right to do so, and would deny it, and that the poor fellow would be made a victim; or that the people had carried him away for the purpose of robbing him; as we thought they could not doubt the respectability of a party who had a passport from the Shah, particularly when the sum in dispute was a mere trifle. Great, however, as were our fears, and greater the interest we both felt for a man who had served us honestly and well, yet any attempt to rescue him, if his life had been in danger, would have been madness; for by this time all the inhabitants of a populous country were collected, formidably armed, and in a state of great excitement. The result happened fortunately: the shepherd admitted the sale; the people begged his pardon most humbly and most ardently; our man and his lamb were both restored; and we thanked our stars that we were so easily

relieved from our anxiety. We reached our night's quarters without further molestation, and were amused the next morning to find, that our anticipations of a repast when we bought the lamb, our anxiety when we defended it, and our joy when we recovered it, had been uselessly excited, and to the satisfaction only of the devouring rats of the caravansary.

The weapon of the Koords, against which we narrowly escaped having to contend, is a stick of tough wood, about five or six feet long, with a tremendous club at the end, of such weight and strength that a blow would knock a man off his horse, or break through the guard of any sword: indeed, if a Koord can once close in with a horseman, nothing but fire-arms will be an adequate defence against such a hideous and awful implement.

The country about Kirmanshah is the finest we passed through in Persia; not being deprived, in so great a degree, of the two essentials to a fine landscape, wood and water, which fail almost from the smiling Georgia to the Persian Gulf. Persia is, notwithstanding, a very pretty country in the spring, being one succession of hill and dale; and though the soil is not rich, there is abundant pasturage for flocks and cattle: indeed, nothing can have a gayer effect

than the undulating ground, decked with wild flowers of every species and colour.

The system of irrigation is extremely well understood and universally practised: the mountains abound in springs, which are conducted over the vallies at all seasons, and although rivers and lakes, for the beauty of the scenery, are too scarce, there is sufficient water for all purposes of cultivation; and it is particularly required, as is well known, for rice, the national food.

Whilst travelling in Persia, and in the habit of living almost entirely on rice, we felt that England had a great loss in not being better acquainted with such a delicate diet, or understanding better the manner of dressing it; but notwithstanding a food little nutritious may be sufficient in hot climates, it would be very inapplicable to the phlegmatic constitutions of northern countries.

We passed two or three days at Kirmanshah, during which time I had an audience of the governor, who partakes of the agreeable qualities of his royal relations, being remarkably elegant in his appearance, and exceedingly polite in his manner. The governors of the different provinces, who resemble the pashas of Turkey, are generally the

sons or grandsons of the king: but in the Ottoman empire, far from being entrusted with any authority, the relatives of the sovereign are kept imprisoned in a harem for fear of treachery against the Sultan. The prince of Kirmanshah is son of Mahomed Allee Meerza (the eldest son of the Shah) between whom and Abbas Meerza (second son, who being born of a woman of royal blood, was selected by the Shah as heir-apparent in preference to his brother), it was expected there would have been a rivalry as to the succession to the throne, for the crown of Persia may always be said to be taken by the sword.

Mahomed Allee Meerza died, however, in 1827, and is succeeded by his second son, a remarkably well looking man: the whole royal family are, indeed, particularly handsome; the ease and beauty of their dress, and the full growth of their beard, which dispenses with the tight neckcloth, is altogether striking, and makes the poverty and mean appearance of our Frank costume very apparent. The Persians and Turks consider our dress indecent, and notwithstanding it might have pleased the personal vanity of Louis XIV., to whom we are chiefly indebted for it, they may with great propriety think it most unbecoming when compared to their own.

We were received at Kirmanshah in the house

of Hussein Khan, who, as we were informed, is allowed a certain stipend annually from the prince for giving the necessary accommodations to travellers : at many other places also we were similarly entertained ; but when we had a choice we usually preferred the independence of being in a peasant's house, where we could ask without scruple for what we might require, and were not liable to be annoyed by the officious visits of ceremony from the Persians, whose real object was not so much to do honour to us, as to satisfy a natural but importunate curiosity. We had full opportunity of remarking here the ridiculous observance of the fast of the Ramazan : it lasts during a whole month, and the punctuality with which fasting during the day-time is implicitly conformed to, can only be exceeded by the precision, if possible more strict, with which at the sound of the evening gun they commence to atone for many hours abstinence from all food, and even from smoking ; for nothing is permitted to refresh their lips from sunrise to sunset. The result of this penance is, that the night is turned into day : eating, drinking, and smoking, become the amusement for the night ; and a great part of the day appeared to me to be past in sighing for the evening gun, and regrets that the solace of the *kaliaun* was denied them during so many hours. I have been frequently asked if Mahometans are strictly obedient to the law of

their prophet, which restricts the use of spirituous liquors, and I have no hesitation in saying, that although I can recall to my memory several instances of gross excesses from the use of an inordinate quantity of wine or brandy, these were exceptions to the general rule : in some cases the example set by ourselves, and the convenience of drinking with Christians, who served as a cloak for the sins of unsteady Mussulmans, were irresistible temptations. It is singular that I never remember but one instance of an infringement of the strict law, where the offender did not become inebriated : this was the Bey at Athens, whose habits, I suppose, were so regularly irregular, that half a bottle of rum was no inconvenience to him.

A distance from Kirmanshah to Sennah of about eighty miles occupied us three days ; for we could not expect to travel more on an average than twenty-five or thirty miles a day, especially over a mountainous country ; and even at this rate the cattle would require occasionally a day's rest upon a long journey. The feats performed by Persian horses are extraordinary : Sir John Malcolm, in his history of the country, mentions one instance, that came within his own knowledge, of a Toorkoman horse going from Shiraz to Tehraun, a distance of five hundred miles within six days. The price of horses varies according to the animal as much in the East

as in England : we were asked one hundred and fifty pounds at Makoo for some of the breed peculiar to that place ; but the common roadster, such as we had principally for our journey, cost from ten to fifteen pounds only.

At Sennah we were in Koordistan (Carducia), a country of that inaccessible description, that it ever has been, and probably long will be, inhabited only by robbers, and wild, independent mountaineers. The night before our arrival there we were obliged to seek shelter high on the mountains out of our direct road : the villagers had a very wild appearance, and we did not feel ourselves so secure as would have been agreeable, although we formed altogether a large party ; the Prince of Kirmanshah having sent an escort of four of his own servants with us, in addition to ten of our own ; for it is necessary to have many more servants in those countries than in more civilized parts, the rank of a person being estimated by the number of horses and followers in his train. The young prince of Hamudan, for instance, was attended by four hundred, and few Persians, in the character of gentlemen, would condescend to be attended by less than fifty ; and in the summer when tents are carried, the number is necessarily much increased. Every thing required on the journey must be taken by travellers with them, excepting food for the horses,

which is always abundant ; and rice, eggs, and milk may generally be depended on. We carried cooking utensils, and our European servant dressed dinner for us occasionally ; but we more often partook of the national food of boiled rice, sour milk, and eggs.

The Koords treated us with hospitality, and provided us with a delicious pillaw for supper. We were gratified too to see the faces of females again, having long lost sight of these interesting objects : the women are like gypsies, handsome brunettes ; they do not conceal themselves, and are much ornamented with coins and beads, which they consider as amulets against the evil eye. The people at Sennah were astonished to hear we had not been robbed, for the village where we had slept the preceding night was known to be inhabited by a desperate set of brigands, and on reflection we were satisfied that the apprehensions we at one time entertained were not without reason. We suspected that our host on the mountain, who so long as we were under his roof could not be guilty of so treacherous an act as to rob us, had contrived a scheme to way-lay us on the road, on our departure ; for we had been on our journey an hour, when to our great astonishment he came riding after us post-haste, merely, as he said, to tell us to avoid a dangerous pass of the river ; and we no longer doubted that the real object of his mission was to attack us, but

seeing that our party had not diminished, as we had intended on quitting the village, owing to a misunderstanding with some of our guides, he was afraid to attempt any violence.

Sennah is nominally independent, but the Wallee (such is the title of the prince) pays tribute to Persia: a great part of Koordistan is called independent; there is none however that does not in a greater or less degree admit some allegiance, either to Persia or Turkey. Whilst we were there, an annual present of a rich dress from the Shah arrived, and as a proper respect to the gift of his majesty, the Wallee rode out with all his train to receive it. A tent was pitched for the occasion, where he put on the new robes, and then returned in state. The procession was preceded by about thirty camels mounted by men, carrying a small gun each, and accompanied by a band of music: this singular and formidable force is rendered necessary by the impregnable nature of the country, for artillery could not otherwise be conveyed over mountains impervious to any description of carriage. In order to show their proficiency in the practice of the guns, the Koords in advance with the camels went to the side of the procession, and no more interesting sight can be easily imagined than the picturesque appearance of these submissive animals, who knelt down, whilst the guns were discharged and reloaded

from their backs. My admiration was not less excited by the exquisite horsemanship, the magnificent cattle, and superior equipment of some of the attendants, who displayed their skill in a mock fight, cantering backwards and forwards before the Wallee; waving the lance at one moment, firing four or five pistols off in rapid succession at another, or turning themselves so completely round on the saddle, that they could shoot directly over the tail of the horse, and always preserving the same graceful seat. The horses were clad in armour, and would have been worth three hundred guineas each in England, and showed by their tractability what perfect masters the Koords are of all that belongs to the art of equitation. The whole cavalry of England could not perhaps exhibit men and horses equally adroit.

Having accidentally been led to speak in praise of the good understanding between the horses and men in these parts, it is natural to advert to the condition of horses in our own country. Some attention to their treatment and general comfort in many parts of the world obliges me to confess with regret, that in no country are the noble animals so much abused as in England, with the exception of our race horses and some few others. It has been frequently remarked by those who have been accustomed to the entire horses in India and the East,

and I have myself had an opportunity of judging, that riding English horses afterwards is a labour, rather than an agreeable exercise. The eastern horse is so buoyant and elastic, whilst the other comparatively is little more than an automaton: it is surely a vitiated taste too, that prefers the miserable docking system, to the elegance and utility of a long flowing tail.

At our audience with the Wallee I spoke in high praise of the horsemanship and equipment of his attendants, adding that the English flattered themselves they could ride tolerably well, but we could not pretend to equal the Koords. He seemed much gratified by this remark, and in the plenitude of his delight immediately offered to make me a present of one of the horses, with the rider, the armour and appurtenances, saying that they could easily be sent to England. By way of excuse, being anxious not to offend him, I said that if I could serve in his army (being in uniform at the time) and make myself useful to him, and deserved such a handsome present, it would be a great honour to me, but that I was obliged to return immediately to England. These people may seem very liberal of their presents, and no greater compliment can be paid than receiving their gifts, but it is to be understood that a much more valuable return is expected to be given. I

never remember to have admired a man's horse, or any thing belonging to him, but it was immediately offered me, and I have sometimes found myself placed in a very unpleasant situation, fearing to offend a man by refusing the proffered gift, and not knowing how to make an adequate recompense.

The nature of the language abounds in elevated expressions, and thus more may be said than is meant literally to be understood ; but at the same time I am disposed to believe, that the hope of obtaining an advantage by the exchange of gifts is more often the object in making presents, than the mere conformity to the hyperbole of a florid tongue.

At Sennah there were many Russian deserters, who had entered into the Wallee's service, and were employed in disciplining his troops ; and we had frequently encountered others in various parts of the north of Persia.

Three days after leaving Sennah we visited the caves of Carefto, which lie but little out of the direct line to Tabreez : they appear to resemble the description of the catacombs of Egypt, but not a hint in history is given to enable us to form any conjecture as to the period or the object of their original construction. Having provided ourselves with torches and

loaded pistols, we proceeded to reconnoitre the extraordinary galleries, which seem principally to have been formed by a natural convulsion, but yet give abundant proof of being partly artificial. It was hopeless to satisfy our curiosity in such an interminable labyrinth ; it was moreover dangerous to explore it without great caution, for the cave was curved in such numerous directions that we might have lost our way ; whilst, however, we were discussing the question, our guide discovered the recent print of an European boot, which he supposed must be a symptom of Russian deserters being concealed in the dreary abode, and who were probably there for no good purpose : we hesitated no longer, but grasped our pistols, and left Carefto and its interest to future travellers.

Shortly after this we found ourselves in the province of Azerbaijan, under the government, comparatively civilized, of Abbas Meerza ; for if it be not entitled to much commendation, it has a good foil in the still more barbarous Koor-distan ; and we looked forward with great pleasure to the prospect of seeing our countrymen again at Tabreez, whilst our Persian servants seemed not less delighted than ourselves to leave a people whom they feared, and whose language they but little understood ; for the peasants in the north of Persia speak Turkish habitually, and Persian (the court language of the country) may be considered an

accomplishment. We had, indeed, a much more elevated opinion of the government of Abbas Meerza after we had seen other parts of Persia, than when we first entered it on leaving Russia. The people were civil and obliging, and unlike the wild Koords, readily acknowledged the authority of the officer attending us. The contrast in the obedience of the Persians to Christians, as compared with the Turks or Koords, was most remarkable: a little salutary chastisement with a whip seemed to have a most beneficial effect upon the former; but a Frank would never dare to strike an Osmanlee or a Koord, unless in self-defence, or under peculiar circumstances. To refrain beating a Persian is interpreted by him as the effect of fear, and he gives no credit for a humane disposition; but it would be an unpardonable insult to use violence towards a Turk, who would probably level a pistol at the offender's head without the smallest hesitation.

As we approached Tabreez, the land bore symptoms of superior cultivation, and gave another indication that we were among a more civilized people; and our two last days' march were much enlivened by a view of the fine Lake of Oouroomea, for our eyes had been so long unaccustomed to water scenery, that it was most refreshing to them. Several small islands are dotted about in this lake,

and add extremely to the beauty of the landscape : the water is said to be more salt than that of the Dead Sea, and fish cannot exist in it.

On our return to Tabreez, after a *giro* of about a thousand miles since we left it, we prepared ourselves for a journey *en courier* through Asia Minor to Constantinople, and determined to take the road by Hoey and Wan to Arzroom, in order to avoid passing through the advanced posts of the Russian army ; for Diadeen and Bayazeed, on the usual line of route, were occupied by Cossacks, who are notorious for scrupulously inspecting passports, and giving travellers unnecessary trouble ; besides, it was very desirable to avoid the danger of suspicion to which we should have been subject on entering the Turkish territories, had we passed through places occupied by an invading enemy.

During the few days we were at Tabreez, we had an opportunity of witnessing the superstitious practices of the Persians, with respect to the predictions of astrologers, who are held in such esteem that no great undertaking is ever commenced but in conformity with the decisions of these *soi-disans* prophets, who can accommodate their answers to the wishes of those who consult them, with no more difficulty than the renowned Pythian Priestess at Delphi.

The arbiters of good and evil hours had in this case to determine on an auspicious moment for the departure of Hosro Meerza, (one of the younger sons of Abbas Meerza,) on his mission to Russia, to explain the unfortunate affair of the massacre of the embassy from the Court of Petersburgh, at Tehraun ; and on consulting the stars, the oracle foretold a propitious time for the commencement of the young prince's expedition. Accordingly, on the appointed day, Hosro Meerza set out with a numerous suite of attendants, and as it happened that the day decided by the astrologers was not the most convenient for the Prince, he pitched his tents at a short distance from the town, and thus yielded to the influence of the stars at the same time that he followed his own inclination as to the period of his actual departure. This is so ordinary an occurrence in Eastern countries, that it would be scarcely worth mentioning, except among the casual observations which compose these pages.

In the course of our second visit to the seat of Abbas Meerza's government, we were fortunate enough to see a Persian horse-race. This species of amusement seems to be very ancient among these people : the object is rather to try the strength and power of maintaining a certain pace during a long time, than to prove the swiftness of the horses ; for the length of the race varies perhaps

from eight to fifteen miles, and thus the horse that may best be depended upon for a long and rapid journey is easily discovered. The cruelty with which Tartars are represented to treat their horses is well known to be excessive: they endeavour to discover how much the animal can endure of hard work, privation of food, and exposure to cold, without yielding to the course of nature, in order to prepare themselves with the best cattle on expeditions of danger and difficulty. The mares in these countries are kept exclusively for breeding; so much so, that I never recollect to have seen any during the whole of my travels in the East.

Being about to quit a remote country, in all probability for ever, we racked our brains to think of any sights, or singular amusements, characteristic of the people, that we had not yet seen, and I should have been very sorry to have missed a wrestling match, which took place a short time previous to our final departure; for, although we visited the exhibition at a time when they were unprepared for us, and had not all their best performers present, still it was a very novel and very entertaining sight. The wrestlers were in a small pit, in a very confined building, and kept very warm, intentionally. We found them in the act of receiving their ordinary instruction, under the direction of a man who might have been taken as a model of Hercules. In their gym-

nastics they wear breeches with stout bands at the knees and round the waist, for the combatants to lay hold of, but they are otherwise dressed after the fashion of nature. They commence their exercise by hopping on one leg, for a length of time, which seemed to us interminable, and doing various steps, after an uniform system, in order to supple the body. There were about a dozen westlers upon this occasion, and they perform these preliminary movements to the sound of a drum. At length, after great exertions, when the body was perfectly supple, they began to apply their strength and dexterity, and we saw some very amusing encounters. An Abyssinian among them, of particularly neat make, tried his best efforts to throw the master to the ground, but his attempt was as unavailing as that of all the others had been.

We remained only a few days at Tabreez, being anxious to proceed on our journey, and on the third morning we were at Hoey, the prettiest town I had seen in Persia: it is approached by an avenue of trees, and several thriving plantations on the outskirts tend to relieve it from the generally naked appearance of Persian towns, and make an agreeable contrast to the dirty colour of the houses, which are invariably built of earth. The governor of this town is a son of Abbas Meerza, a young man of ordinary appearance: he seemed to possess, how-

ever, a superior mind, as far as we could form an opinion in the course of conversation, and left us with a more favourable impression than we should otherwise have had of royal princes in Persia. It has been the fashion to extol the praises of his father, and it may, perhaps, be no unmerited compliment that he has shown some disposition to improvement, in an anxiety to organize an army on European principles, and in many external matters ; but it may perhaps be no injustice to Abbas Meerza to add, that although he may be superior to his father or his brothers in affairs of no material importance, yet in all essential points of moral principle there is little choice between them.

In the course of our march, not many hours before we got to Hoey, we fell in with a body of between two and three hundred Armenians : when we first saw them at a distance, as they were proceeding across the country, we supposed they were irregular troops, but the moment they perceived us they hailed us with enthusiasm, conceiving us to be Russians, and were sorely mortified to find that their pleasing expectations were not to be realized. The party consisted of about forty Christian families, who had obtained permission to emigrate, and they were then on their road to Russia. It was a very interesting *rencontre* indeed, and the scene was not a little heightened by the various modes of conveyance,

consisting of camels, horses, and mules, that were employed in removing their children and all their effects. The poor people appeared overcome with delight that they were leaving the iron rule of Mahometans, and were going to colonize in a Christian land ; this was a very natural feeling for them : but I have heard it disputed whether the delegated authority in Russia, especially in the remote parts of the empire, is not equally severe as the government of Turkey, or of any other state.

Hoey was in the hands of the Russians during the latter part of the war with Persia in 1827, and many of the houses bear evident marks of the dilapidations committed by the troops whilst they were there, for the principal buildings were made use of as barracks during their occupation of the town. At this place we felt, for the first time in our lives, the shock of an earthquake. We were sitting quietly in the house when a noise overhead, like a violent trampling of horses, astonished our unaccustomed ears. The house rocked from side to side ; but before we had time to collect our senses, or consider the cause of our alarm, all was composed. On enquiring with earnestness what damage had been done, we were calmly answered that these occurrences are very frequent, but that they seldom do much injury, and that upon the last occasion a child only was killed. Upon this occasion no

damage appeared to have been done, although the shock was so violent that the side of our room seemed to move five or six inches out of its perpendicular.

In continuing our journey from Hoey, we had to take a very unusual route towards Wan, and narrowly escaped serious danger, in consequence of our guides having missed the way in passing over a high range of mountains, which form the present boundary between Persia and Turkey. We proceeded forty miles without knowing our right course, and were twenty-four hours before we regained it, and we were obliged to bivouac on a mountain which did not even afford a tree to shelter us, or fuel for a fire, of which we indeed stood in need, for it had snowed the whole day; and although we were accustomed to regard little the mere want of comfort, there was something truly hopeless in laying one's bed on the ground, and manœuvring to get under the clothes without letting the snow in first; and this on as wild a tract of mountains as any in Koordistan, at a moment too when the Russians were expected daily to commence their warlike operations, and we might have been taken for their videttes. My companion and I were provided with mattresses and wadded counterpanes, and slept well; but our servants and horses were sorely exposed to the inhospitable clime, and did not readily

recover the severity of the privations they had undergone.

Early the next morning we pursued steadily our course by compass, and at last hailed the sight of a flock of sheep with inexpressible satisfaction ; we made friends with the shepherd immediately, and he provided us with ewe's milk (no despicable repast under such circumstances), and having learned from him that Hoshab was only two hours distant, we looked forward with infinite pleasure to being comfortably housed in a short time, although twenty miles out of our direct course.

Hoshab is extremely characteristic of Turkish towns : it has a very high citadel in its centre, on a natural rock, and is fortified ; but the walls are in a ruined state. Our cattle and servants were so much exhausted that we had great difficulty in pursuing our journey to Wan, and on our way there, as if our first entrance into Turkey were doomed to be inauspicious, I was again placed in a very unpleasant and dangerous situation.

I had dismounted, and the interpreter was holding my horse, whilst the rest of the party were proceeding on the march ; they were barely out of sight when my servant called to me, saying fourteen or fifteen mounted men were coming, and on

repeating the same hastily, added that they were close, and that a slight rise in the ground had shut us out from the sight of our party. I turned round, and saw, to my terror, the whole body in a canter, one or two with pistols presented at us, and others waving their swords as if violently enraged. They surrounded the servant immediately, asking, with great impetuosity, what business he had there? where we came from? and who we were? They did not at first perceive me, but the moment they did they quitted the servant, and one of them came close up to me in a furious attitude, holding his sword over my head preparing to strike: I explained, in the few words of Turkish I could muster, that I was not Russian but English, and extending my arms on each side to show my want of power to defend myself, thought my fate determined, when his hand was arrested by the chief of the party, and they proceeded on their journey, as if their hearts had failed them to destroy a person in my helpless and hapless predicament. My first feeling was to call back my companions, and attack the ruffians; but their numbers and arms were vastly superior, and the attempt would, for various reasons, have been absurd and dangerous in the extreme. Thus we were compelled again to submit to circumstances, over which we had no control, and to receive, without redress, the insults incidental to a journey among people in such a state of barbarism.

In reflecting on the various accidents that befel us at different times, it is impossible not to feel most thankful that we escaped from all unhurt, particularly when we consider the unfortunate fate of a French *savant*, with several servants, and a party, consisting in all of thirteen persons, who followed us, and were attacked and murdered very nearly at the same place where I was only alarmed.

This gentleman, Dr. Shutz, was an *employé* of the French government, from whom he received an annual travelling pension. He was not only a delightful man in society, but was considered one of the greatest *savans* of the age; and I am informed, (for I had never the pleasure of his acquaintance), that his erudite learning and deep researches had gained for him very distinguished honours. A thirst after science and knowledge tempted him to visit Julamerik, in the mountains of Koordistan, which country is chiefly inhabited by an ancient sect of Christians (Nestorians).

The jealousy which these people entertain of foreigners visiting their country, and the extreme danger of the attempt, were frequently represented to him by our countrymen during his residence at Tabreez: but notwithstanding, he was still very desirous to make the experiment, and was received by the barbarous people with hospitality, and more

than common respect and consideration. But on his return, under pretext of showing him some remarkable ruins, his guides conducted him to a secluded defile in the mountains, where he was treacherously murdered, without being able to deal a single blow in his defence. Some of his property was recovered through the assistance of our mission; but, I fear, there was little hope of succeeding in bringing the atrocious offenders to punishment. It was reported that the deceased was supposed to have been a Russian spy: another rumour was, that the people were induced to commit this horrid act of treachery from a religious feeling that it would atone for the blood of one of their own countrymen, who had been killed not long previously by a Frank, in consequence of which they had made a vow that that offence should be redeemed by the blood of the first European who had the misfortune to travel amongst them.

Another party also followed immediately after us from Tabreez, and were captured by the Koords, imprisoned at Malasghird on the Euphrates during some months, and were ultimately obliged to return to Persia: they are now coming through Russia on their way to this country, having failed to effect their journey through Asia Minor to Constantinople.

Possibly I may be disposed to attach more im-

portance to these events, frightful enough indeed in themselves, but not, I regret to say, of unusual occurrence in such parts, than others would attribute to them, because I narrowly escaped having formed one of the party who were victims to the barbarous ferocity of the Koords; having waited in vain during some days at Tiflis in expectation of the recovery of Dr. Shutz from a fever, whom we had agreed at that time to accompany: and by similar good fortune, as it now seems, I was obliged to abandon the intention of travelling in company with the latter party, who did not indeed meet with so summary a fate, but were exposed to considerable danger and imprisonment, and suffered annoyances, independently of what they missed at Constantinople, that make me doubly sensible of what I was spared, and doubly grateful for what I experienced. With respect to the danger of travelling in the East, it is to be observed, that much depends on the individuals themselves: if men appear inquisitive, they are suspected as spies; if they do not conform, in some measure, to the customs of the country, they are liable to offend the people; and if they attempt any violence, they run great risk of being killed on the spot. So long as a traveller has an apparent object in travelling, is careful in not exposing any valuable property, is well armed, and conducts himself with respect, he will generally succeed in his object; and I believe

almost every case that has ever occurred of the murder of Franks, is to be ascribed to some act of great imprudence on the part of the traveller. As another measure of precaution also, it is very desirable to have as large a party as possible, since the danger of attack is thereby much lessened. I would never recommend a person to go alone, however well he may speak the language, or attended by one servant only, if that servant be a Mussulman. Mr. Brown was murdered in the north of Persia not many years since; and having but one servant with him no clue was ever obtained as to the circumstances attending his death.

We were now on the point of quitting a country which, from the earliest periods of history, has ever been remarkable; in antiquity, one of the four most ancient kingdoms in the world; its importance moreover attested, and rendered illustrious, by mention being made of its kings in the sacred volume. The rival of Greece in her flourishing days, she has lived to see that once distinguished country perish, and on the eve, perhaps, of being regenerated: such are the revolutions in the prosperity and downfall of kingdoms!

Persia, as it is, is more adapted to the traveller who delights to study men and manners, than to the antiquary, or those who seek objects of art and

science, which more usually excite attention. One great disadvantage is the tedious mode of travelling: there is no difficulty in hiring cattle for the journey, but if a little additional expense is no consideration, it is very preferable to buy them. Every traveller is aware of the power of even the best horses and mules, and can make allowance for the casualties that must attend them, and the patience and perseverance that is necessary, to travel far under such circumstances. If the facilities of locomotion in these countries were greater than they are, we could have seen much more than we did, and should not have been obliged to have left behind us objects of such peculiar interest as makes it matter of regret to reflect on what we have lost. But it is a consolation to the ambition of a traveller, to think, that if Persia offered the same facilities that most parts of Europe do, it would soon become *Europeanized* by more frequent importations of men and manners, and would presently lose the attractions which its singular habits, little changed perhaps since the time of Cyrus, tend at present to give it. We had not the opportunity of seeing so much of the Persians as we could have desired, to enable us to form a correct idea of their general character. From the experience I had, however, if it is not in my power to speak much in favour of them, I can with truth say, that their civilities, and more especially their professions of kindness, are most flattering to Englishmen.

We have, indeed, been very serviceable to them at various times, but in the last war with Russia we rendered them the most valuable assistance, and saved them from a danger that appeared to threaten their very existence; for it has already been observed, that when Prince Abbas Meerza was negotiating the terms of peace with Count Paskevitch, such was the uncompromising manner of the haughty Russian, and such the dissimulation and falsehood of the Royal Prince, that no adjustment could have taken place but for the mediation of our envoy, who, acting as umpire between the exorbitant demands of Russia on the one hand, and the unwillingness of Persia on the other hand to make any pecuniary or territorial sacrifice, succeeded, after great labour and anxiety, in accomplishing a treaty, as satisfactory to both parties as could be expected under similar circumstances.

The leading feature in the character of Fattee Allee Shah (the present sovereign), who has reigned since 1798, is avarice : his chief object is to wring from the nobles all the money he can ; they in their turn are compelled to adopt the same mode of extortion, and it pervades each degree of rank in succession, through the whole country. The manner in which this system is partly carried on is very remarkable, as it is under the garb of munificence and liberality that the most oppressive pecuniary levy is effected. One of the principal sources, for instance, of the

Shah's income occurs at the festival of the Norose, when all the nobles of Persia repair to the court, and carry presents of immense value. Mr. Morier, in his Journey through Persia, mentions a single donation as consisting of fifty-five mules, each covered with a superb cashmere shawl, and carrying a load of one thousand tomauns, which may be computed at a value of about forty thousand pounds sterling. The liberal contributor may expect some mark of favour, but a parsimonious discharge of this duty will assuredly incur some symptom of high displeasure. This system is well understood, and at the same time that it is hid under the modest veil of making presents to his majesty, it is the most arbitrary impost. The grasping inclination of the Shah allows him to condescend to make money by bets, or at shooting matches, and although very attentive to his gains he is always forgetful of his losses: it is even said, that when he misses the game, which is the subject of the bet, some of his servants knock it down with a stick, and swear his majesty shot it; he then puts his hand behind his back to receive the money staked.

It is not surprising, then, that Persia is in a distracted and impoverished condition. The present dynasty of the Kujjur family is weak and unfit to govern; and unless Persia soon sees another Shah

Abbas, to whom, like Napoleon of France, or Peter the Great of Russia, all the finest buildings are attributed, she will sink under the want of good government, and the total absence of all principle, that pervades the whole empire. These people are much to be pitied, for their present demoralization may be attributed to the effect of cruel tyranny. A man oppressed will fly to any refuge,—flattery, deceit, or falsehood,—to shelter himself from the abuse of despotism. If a nation is not happy it is the fault of its government, and there is no doubt that the Persians are as capable of becoming a civilized and flourishing country under a good administration, as they are certain of falling into still greater debasement under the lamentable misrule of the Kujjurs. The sons of the Shah appear to partake of their father's imbecility, and to be adroit at nothing but intrigue, extortion, and want of good faith and honour; but they are not less complimentary in their professions of good will and kindness towards England.

The population of Persia is about seven or eight millions, who are almost exclusively Mahometans; and here it may be observed, that Turkey, which may be estimated as containing about eighteen or twenty millions, including Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor, is not composed, perhaps, of more than two-thirds of Mussulmans, and differs very much

in this respect from Persia. In Syria the Jews are very numerous ; and all over the whole empire various sects of Christians are dispersed, as Armenians, Nestorians, Greeks, and Catholics.

According to the doctrine inculcated by Mahomet, the women in Persia are not only excluded from all society, but go about so little that a traveller might pass through the whole country and not see a female face ; as the Persians are, perhaps, even more jealous than the Turks. The Armenian, and other Christian women living amongst them, are obliged to conform to Mahometan law in this respect, and cover their faces, and wrap up their figures in a large sort of domino or *feradgee*, in the same manner as the native women, or they would be insulted. So naturalized are the Christians to this custom, that it was the cause of a great disappointment to us upon one occasion. An Italian doctor, who had been lately married to an Armenian, was polite enough to endeavour to induce his bride to uncover her face for our curiosity and amusement, but his best efforts to persuade her it would not be improper were in vain : the lady even smoked a *kaliaun* (the Persian hookah) whilst we were in company with her, but kept it under her veil ; it was altogether a most ludicrous scene : in vain we told her that it was unfair she should have the opportunity of seeing us through the little holes

of her dress, and that we could not be permitted the advantage of seeing her, even with her husband's consent. She felt it would be extremely indecent to show her face, and we were obliged to satisfy ourselves with the assurance of her husband that she was not worth seeing, and the great probability that she would accidentally have dropped aside her veil, if she had any hopes of exciting our admiration.

Thus the charm of female society, that chief cause of the civilization of Europe, is unknown in Persia; and it would not be too bold to add, that as long as it remains so, the same wretched state of society will exist. Where the presence of females is wanting to command the suppression of that which is objectionable, and create an emulation in that which is agreeable, life is deprived of half its attractions.

The singular state of society among these people will be illustrated, perhaps, by another trifling anecdote; for we were not a little amused during a sumptuous entertainment given us by a rich Persian, near Hamudan, having in the course of conversation asked our host how many children he had, to perceive him turn round to his chief servant for the necessary information: we were inclined to attribute this apparent ignorance to conceit, as if so indifferent a subject could not occupy a great person's

attention; for, although it might be a question not easily answered by the Shah, whose numerous progeny is sometimes stated at sixty or seventy, it must be matter of astonishment that a man could be ignorant of so moderate a family as six, which was the number given in answer to our inquiry. It may be incidentally observed here, that women are not allowed to attend public prayers, and if ever they go to the mosques it is at a time when the men are excluded.

Our diplomatic acquaintance with Persia has not been of very long standing; our first mission may be said to have been sent to the court of Persia in 1800, as if in reference to the extension of Russia by the possession of Georgia, which took place about that period. Sir John Malcolm was our representative upon that occasion, since which time there has always been a regular Minister, instead of the casual envoys who had been previously sent for particular objects. It may be amusing to give a specimen of the figurative language of Persia, and not inappropriate to take the commencement of one of our first treaties, literally translated, as an example. "These happy leaves are a nosegay plucked from the thornless garden of concord, and tied by the hands of the plenipotentiaries,"—after this it sinks into the ordinary diplomatic language.

In 1805 Napoleon was invited by the Shah to assist him against the Russians ; a temporary negotiation took place, and an ambassador was sent, but the connexion soon fell off, and, with the exception of Russia, who has had an ambassador there since 1827, we are the only nation which sends a representative to the Persian court.

I now take my final leave of Persia, having passed five months in its dominion, which will ever be remembered by me with interest and pleasure ; and proceed to the narrative of my journey in a country much more known in Europe, but whose importance in the political world at that moment was the theme of universal conversation.

TURKEY.

At Wan we entered the first town of any importance in the empire of the chief of the faithful, although it may be observed that both Hoshab and Wan are geographically in Armenia. The usually placid tone of the Ottoman bore, at that time, a character of excitement, the result of the momentous perils which seemed to threaten the existence of Turkey. Menaced on one side by a powerful enemy, its former subjects in rebellion, and protected by some of the most distinguished nations of Europe, and the representatives of those countries having recently withdrawn themselves from Constantinople, all conspired to make this period of no ordinary interest to the traveller. Wan has the distinction of having been one of the residences of Queen Semiramis; indeed it is remarkable on leaving Persia, where the traditions and even the names of the Assyrian kings seemed buried in oblivion, to find that here the mountains and streams frequently bring to mind the recollection of those ancient dynasties. A small stream to the south of Wan is called Semiramis; and on the mountains to the south of Hoshab are still shown the remains of a

hunting palace, said to have been built by the same queen. The range of hills about Bitlis are called the hills of Nimrod; and a rock to the northward of Bitlis the seat of Ninus. The antiquity of Wan is fully established by the testimony of the Armenian historians; and in the neighbourhood there are some rocks so remarkable for ancient inscriptions in the arrow-headed character, that they are to this day the resort of pilgrims. There is also a specimen of the same character on the side of the rock on which the citadel is built, in the centre of the town: the figure of this character is like the point of an arrow, varying in position, and length and size, but not in form. It was at this place we had our first audience of a Pasha: these formal ceremonies have been so often described, and are so well known, that it is unnecessary to mention more than that ours was quite *en règle*; coffee and pipes, hundreds of servants, and the usual trifling questions, with the guarded replies that Franks feel it necessary to make.

The appearance of Wan is striking, much more so than any town I had seen in Persia; it stands on a lake of the same name, whose waters are only moderately salt, and differ in that respect from the lake Ouroumea, by the side of which we had travelled

on our return to Tabreez from Koordistan. The population is about fifty thousand, of which nearly two-thirds are Armenians; their Chief had lately been suddenly sent for by the Seraskier of Arzroom, on suspicion of having been in secret communication with the Russians. During an interview with the Pasha we expressed a wish to be allowed to see an Armenian church on the island in the lake, as we had heard it was one of the finest in the East; but our wish was not gratified, for the Armenians were too much suspected for the Pasha to give them any opportunity of expressing their grievances, and exciting the compassion of Christians; to this cause, at least, we ascribed the refusal.

The general appearance of the buildings in Turkish towns is much superior to the Persian; the latter being constructed of mud, and having only a ground floor, and a flat roof covered with earth; whereas the Turkish houses are lofty, and bear quite an European character. They are several stories high frequently, and have regular staircases and rooms, with wooden floors, and seats all round (divans). The Turks use also little tables about a foot high at their meals, and pretend to be, in various ways, much more civilized than their more eastern neighbours. I soon perceived this feeling of superiority, for on one occasion, when I had drawn a comparison between the Persians and Turks, and praised the

comfort of the houses of the latter as compared to those of the country we had just quitted, it was not taken as any compliment, for they treat their fellow Mussulmans with utter contempt.

We were detained two or three days at Wan, for the Turks, finding us very passive, abused our mildness, and threw impediments in our way; and it was not without much difficulty we were finally enabled to quit. Our route to Arzroom lay over a wild and mountainous country, and we passed through many villages composed exclusively of Christians, who complained bitterly of the savage conduct of the Koords in destroying all their cattle. We had, indeed, abundant proof of the havoc that had been committed by plunderers, or by a murrain, for the air was literally infected by the putrefaction of carcases; but we were by no means satisfied as to the truth of the statement of the Armenians, for these wretched people are so driven to all the practices of deceit and falsehood, that it is impossible to believe scarcely any thing they say. One cannot fail, however, to commiserate their life under Mussulmans; nor can it be wondered that they look forward with the greatest anxiety to the approach of the Russians, for a deliverance from their unhappy condition. Upon one occasion, on entering a chapel where they were at prayers, we could not resist the conviction that their devotions were offered up for the conquest of

Turkey by the Russians, rather than any more remote object, and the interest we felt for them under such impressions was irresistible.

Christians and Mahometans can never be happy under one government; as well might it be attempted to mix oil and water together as to unite two people of such opposite persuasions, manners, and customs.

We were eight days on our way from Wan to Arzroom; about midway between these two places, at Latarr, we fell in with a strong body of irregular troops, for none of the disciplined troops had, at this time, been sent to the Asiatic frontiers of Turkey. They were principally Koords, under the command, however, of Turkish officers apparently; they examined us with great suspicion and doubt, and seemed as if they were ready to sacrifice our lives to their inveteracy of the Russians, if they could have found the slightest plea for doubting the correctness of our story. They asked a thousand questions, and would scarcely believe we were not Russians, and that our language was not the same. Upon these occasions of difficulty, which, indeed, occurred too frequently, we made it a rule to tell the plain and undisguised truth invariably; for if by denying, for instance, that we had been in Russia, or that our interpreter understood that language, we

had given them reason to doubt the account we gave of ourselves, we might have been destroyed in an instant, upon the supposition that we were spies, and not altogether without some ostensible reason. The Tartar in charge of us, was fortunately a very prudent and sensible fellow, and we were well received by the officer in command of the detachment, who ordered breakfast for us, and we proceeded; but whilst we were daily and momentarily in the habit of meeting small parties of military, who were marching towards the seat of war, we were extremely on the *qui vive*, to prevent being seen without our own Tartar, for we had already had abundant proof of the hazard of being taken by surprise.

Arzroom is one of the ancient capitals of Armenia, possessing about sixty thousand inhabitants; it was formerly fortified, but cannot be considered so at present, as the citadel, in the centre of the town, is totally dilapidated. The Seraskier (a pasha of very superior degree) used every art a Turk is capable of to learn the nature of the despatches we carried; but we already understood the Turkish character sufficiently to let him have his labour in vain. The cunning interrogatories he put to us in order to extract knowledge from us as to Russia, and her state of preparation for the campaign then about to commence, were very amusing. He asked

what reinforcements General Paskevitch had obtained since the last year's campaign, and what could be considered their effective force in the field. I told him that at the end of the last campaign he had not more than twelve thousand, but that they were supposed to have added about fifteen thousand men since that time: he then asked me if I had not heard a much larger amount mentioned; I replied thirty thousand had been given out by the Russians themselves, as their increased force; but added, that he (the Seraskier) had asked me what I thought was the additional force, and not what the Russians had put forth as such, and that I never believed above one-third, or at most the half, of Russian accounts; for that I had had frequent opportunities of judging of their proverbial inaccuracies; at Odessa, for instance, I found that the army employed had never exceeded one hundred and twenty or thirty thousand troops, and yet the vague reports in England and elsewhere would have led to the supposition that there had been three hundred thousand.

After a long conversation he at length politely dismissed us, ordering a Tartar and firman, and all that was necessary for our journey, and enabled us to quit the following day, when we commenced travelling post effectually, for the relays between Wan and Arzroom were so far distant, that the

travelling was scarcely worthy the name of *chupper* (to gallop), the term used for riding *en courier*.

Arzroom stands on very elevated ground ; the height, indeed, is evident from the circumstance of two fine rivers, the Euphrates and Aras, taking their source in the neighbourhood, and flowing in opposite directions. All the country towards Akhalstic (the present boundary of Russia) and Kars, is extremely mountainous, and difficult on every account for an army, and although it was the month of May the tops of the mountains were still covered with snow. The day before our arrival at Arzroom we crossed the Euphrates, and were delighted to be introduced to such distinguished waters, whilst we were again reminded of our misfortune, in being obliged to neglect the opportunity we had lately had of seeing them in their more southern and more interesting regions. The stream was about sixty yards wide where we crossed it, and the current was very powerful ; and from the very primitive appearance of the raft employed to ferry us over upon, I was well pleased to be landed safely. The raft is formed of a square wooden frame, something larger than an ox hurdle, under which a dozen inflated goat-skins were fixed. There were a couple of boatmen, with very broad paddles like scoops, and they took four passengers and a certain quantity of baggage, floating down in an

oblique direction with the stream ; the vessel was then towed up by men on the other side, to a certain point, and again returned for the rest of the party by taking a similar advantage of the current. There was some ingenuity also in the manner of inducing the horses to swim over ; a couple of men undressed and drove the cattle into the river at a point where it was shallow, and became gradually deep, and then frightened them on until they began to swim, and in the meantime some horses on the other side of the river were led to the landing place to attract the swimmers, for the bank was so abrupt in most places it would otherwise have been difficult to give the poor animals a proper direction.

The distance from Arzroom to Constantinople is about eight hundred miles ; even if we had not been desirous to profit as much as we could by the more speedy travelling on the great line of route from Asia to Europe, we should have had no inducement to delay on the road, as the suspicious Turks would offer every obstacle, if not danger, to the inquiring traveller, whose only excuse in their eyes for riding through the Ottoman dominions, is that he is travelling for his sovereign ; and they differ in this respect extremely from the polite though false Persians.

Having accidentally been led to draw a contrast

between the Persians and Turks, we may remark, that if a Turk gives a promise, in ordinary cases, it is rigidly kept; but it would be idle to believe a single word from the mouth of a Persian. There is something in his very appearance that denotes a servility and baseness of character; whilst the self-satisfaction and air of independence of the Turk, and the harshness of his manners (though most disagreeable) show his uncivilized mind, but seem indicative of more simplicity and honesty.

Such are the jealousy and want of good feeling between the Turks and Persians, that one of the latter, who was travelling with us on the confines of the two countries, changed his costume, and put on a Turkish dress, to avoid the contempt and disagreeable observations that they are always exposed to from the proud, overbearing Osmanlees. This little circumstance, trifling enough indeed in itself, shows the hostility which appears frequently to exist between different sects of the same religion. There is generally much more jealousy, and more ill will, between persons professing faiths fundamentally the same, yet opposed to each other in some of the minor doctrines, than between the avowed advocates of totally dissimilar religions. In the one case, hope of approximation is vain; the one treats the other with silent contempt, and the question of their belief is seldom, if ever,

mooted ; but, on the other hand, each resolutely defends the tenets of his particular persuasion, believes it to be the superior, and is extremely angry that the other does not conform to it : thus reconciliation is out of the case, constant jarring creates animosity and discord, and an inexpiable feud is often established.

The Turks consider Mahomet as the head of orthodox Mahometans, but the Persians believe his cousin Ali, who married Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet, to have succeeded to the caliphate on the death of the Arabian prophet : this is the chief distinction ; the minor points of washing and praying five times a day, whilst the Persians perform this ceremony only three times, and many other trifling differences, serve only as a groundwork for an irreconcilable animosity.

The followers of Ali are called Sheahs, whilst the Turks are called Sonnites. The Sheah sect had long existed ; but the Persians did not proclaim themselves as opposed to the Turks until three centuries ago, and then vowed eternal hatred to the Sonnites. An equally bad spirit is found to exist between the Armenian Catholics and those of the Armenian church ; the former never speak of the others but with an angry feeling, and contempt for the heretics.

Arzroom appeared to be in great preparation for the enemy: the boasting of the Turks, the exposition of all the paraphernalia of war, as if to inspire themselves with courage and the enemy with fear, made a bad contrast to their wretched conduct when the din of war actually sounded in their ears, and served to show how much better mild behaviour and humility would have become them.

We are now going post-haste to Constantinople: the journey was rapid; so must be my observations. If I have already incurred the censure of touching too slightly on all subjects, and all parts, it was from a desire to compress, as much as possible, hastily digested opinions formed in a long tour; much has not been mentioned that might have filled pages, had that been my object; it has been my wish, however, to confine my remarks to what appeared most novel, and had been least touched on by others.

We now began to look with some anxiety, as well as with intense interest, to the Turkish capital; for our ambassador not being there we had some doubt how we might be received; but when free from apprehension, we regarded it as a spot where all the interest of the world seemed concentrated. How delightful are such anticipations, when excited rather than allayed by the fears and

hopes of the circumstances under which we were ; nor did it add little to these pleasures to travel through a country yielding to none in point of scenery, abounding in rivers and woods, and the most beautifully situated towns, such as Tokat, Amasseea, and Isnik, where nature seems to have lavished all her beauties, and all her abundance ; forming a melancholy contrast with the character of the people, of whom I am not so zealous a friend as the policy of the present day seems to require.

At Nicksar, about two hundred miles from Arzroom, we suddenly left winter and its snow, for the spring and ripe cherries, and continued to enjoy the same season of the year all the way to Constantinople, for we had now passed the mountainous country. We were so fatigued on dismounting at Tokat, having been on our saddles for twenty-three hours, with the intermission only of an hour for dinner, that we were not sorry to profit by the hospitable invitation of a rich Armenian merchant to pass the day with him ; whilst, at the same time, the opportunity was afforded us of visiting the monument, in the Armenian burying-ground, to the memory of the Rev. Mr. Martyn, who died at this place of a fever brought on by the fatigue of travelling. We had a good night's rest in a comfortable room, and were recruited : for

although we usually laid down in the coffee-room of the post-house, where smoking and drinking coffee is going on almost all night, yet the sleep under such circumstances is little refreshing. The insects that infest these places, the dirt, the curiosity of the people to watch the habits of Franks, all conspire to render rest little more than nominal; and, excepting at Tokat, we had no opportunity of taking off our clothes during the whole sixteen days from Arzroom to Constantinople.

During the course of this journey we constantly met on the road large troops of Armenian families, who had been ordered from the capital by the Sultan to remote parts of the empire, on account of the scarcity of provisions, of which we had, indeed, early proof; for bread became eight times as high in price in the course of three days journey, and for the last seventy miles there was none at all; the wheat from the interior being shipped at Isnik, and carried over the sea of Marmara to Constantinople.

The posting through every part of Turkey is excellent: the post establishments are upon the same principle as those of France. Our party altogether required sixteen horses, for we were joined on the road by two or three couriers, with despatches from different parts of the interior; and although

there was at this time great demand for cattle, we were not more than once delayed for the want of a sufficient supply. A baggage-horse is supposed to carry three hundred pounds weight of baggage, but to travel quickly half that quantity is a full load.

In sixteen days from Arzroom we arrived at Scutari, approaching it through the celebrated burial ground of two or three miles in extent, and the long-wished-for Constantinople opened to our eyes. Notwithstanding my delight to gaze upon the queen of cities, and in spite of the real gratification I felt in being again in civilized Europe, after travelling for more than eight months among Asiatics, I own the expectation I had formed of the external appearance of Constantinople was somewhat too elevated : it had been always represented to me as nearly perfect. Every traveller acknowledges that the interior has no pretensions to admiration, and that the charm usually excited by a beautiful exterior vanishes immediately on entering the city.

As I stood and contemplated the general appearance of Istambool from Scutari, I regretted the want of more uniformity of building ; for if the various mosques, fountains, kiosks, and government establishments on the banks of the Bosphorus were designed more with relation to one another,

the exceeding beauty of much of the architecture would render the whole as magnificent and worthy of so charming a situation as they are individually chaste and beautiful; whereas at present very inferior dwellings are occasionally interspersed among the best specimens of oriental buildings, and tend to injure a harmony which would be otherwise possibly unrivalled. Its situation, however, is in the highest degree imposing; placed on the banks of the Bosphorus, from whence it derives not only much of its beauty, but its importance as a political and commercial city, and without which it would be deprived of the most picturesque, elegant, and lively scene imaginable,—the rapid movement of thousands of *caiques*, which float on the surface of the water, disdaining almost to touch it, so light and beautiful is their construction. Any effort of mine to describe minutely that which is so well known, and has been already detailed by a thousand authors, would be superfluous; my object is rather to draw attention to what is less known, than incur the risk of appearing to disadvantage by contrast, in speaking of what has been so often described and descanted on.

On landing at the custom-house at Constantinople we were immediately taken to one of the chief ministers, to be examined as to news from Arzroom and Persia; for the Turks were in great hopes the

latter country would unite with them in one common cause in defence of the Mahometan religion, as well as from a sympathetic feeling of antipathy to the Russians. They desired to have my opinion, and I told them that I thought they might place some reliance on Persia's inclination to attack Russia, if the Turks seemed carrying on the war prosperously and gaining ground; but if the Russians kept the upper hand, they need not expect much co-operation from Persia; for her policy depended on the immediate prospect of interest, without reference to any question of faith or promises, and altogether reckless of future circumstances. This was not so flattering an opinion as the Turk could have wished, but he seemed to consent to it, although unwillingly.

Having learned from the Seraskier, during our interview, that the ambassadors were expected to return in a very few days, we were quite free from apprehension of annoyance from the government; and began forthwith to turn our attention to the various antiquities and curiosities which this singular city affords to the stranger. We did not fail, I believe, to visit any of the remarkable places or sights, from the spot where twenty thousand Janisaries were destroyed by order of the present Sultan, in 1827, to the extraordinary religious cere-

monies of the dancing and howling Dervishes : we visited the slave-market, and saw some Negresses exposed for sale ; we had conversation in the *bagnio* with Russian prisoners ; and we saw Turkish soldiers drilling under French officers. I dined, upon one or two occasions, also, in company with Turkish officers, who conducted themselves like other human beings, used knives and forks, and satisfied their consciences easily that champagne was only sherbet. Of ancient remains nothing interested us so much as the old wall of the town, luxuriantly covered with ivy ; we followed it from the celebrated Seven Towers to the Golden Horn Canal, which divides Constantinople from Galata and Pera, in which latter place the Christian population principally reside.

The exterior of the celebrated church of St. Sophia offers little remarkable ; the interior may be splendid, but Franks are strictly forbidden to enter ; and the Sultan's firman, or pass, has of late been discontinued in consequence of some spoliation committed by the last party admitted, with the exception of a firman granted to Sir Robert Liston, on his departure, to see all the mosques in the capital, when he was attended by several British residents and travellers. The prohibition became more rigid from the period of the Greek revolution. I shall only mention one other object of interest,

which is particularly characteristic of Constantinople.

The burial-grounds cannot fail to attract a traveller's attention: for whilst at Scutari, the solemn shade of the cypresses seem to harmonize with the gravity of the Turk, the devotion of the zealous Mussulman, and contemplative mood of the stranger; the *champs-des-morts* at Pera, on the contrary, constitute every evening the promenade of those gay Europeans who seek amusement and exercise among the abodes of the dead.

Scarcely any intercourse is kept up between the Greeks, the Armenians, and other Christians living under the Turkish government, and the Europeans who reside under the protection of the different ambassadors: perhaps the principal reason is, that an intimacy would be looked upon with jealousy by the Turks, who would suspect that some intrigue against their government was carrying on. Marriages between them are prohibited; and although there are a few instances of Englishmen and other Franks married to Christian subjects of Turkey, it is very unfrequent, and only by special licence from the authorities, or after elopements.

In speaking of the Greeks and Armenians as we have found them, and of their situation under the

Turks, it is but due to the former to separate them most distinctly, as regards general information, and natural intelligence of character; for although the Greeks of Constantinople, even the best, are adepts at every species of art and intrigue, still they are superior to the Armenians, who, almost as destitute of all principle, have not the same talents or improvable qualities.

Whilst we were at Constantinople one of the dreadful conflagrations, for which it is so notorious, gave me an opportunity of judging of their frightful ravages in a city built entirely of wood. In this instance the fire raged with violent fury during fifteen hours, and about seven hundred dwellings are computed to have been burned. In a previous fire it was calculated ten thousand houses fell; for not only do the flames destroy them, but many are pulled down to create gaps, and cut off the communication: this precaution is seldom taken until too late, so unwilling are the Turks naturally to lose their respective properties, though not without reason; for if buildings were pulled down before the flames had reached them, without the consent of the owner, or an order from a Turkish authority, (the presence of some of the heads of the government being indispensable on all occasions of great conflagration), those who gave the directions for destroying the buildings would have to pay for them. The

officers and sailors of the French men of war were very conspicuous in their activity and ingenuity to extinguish the fire. In the most daring manner they defied the power of the flames to attack different positions which they had taken up ; at other times they astonished the Turks not a little by the skill with which they pulled down houses by main force, having fastened cables round them, with which the sailors, assisted by the crowd, at once laid low the edifices, and prevented the flames from extending themselves ; whilst the Ottomans were proceeding in the same work of destruction by a slower process, disengaging piecemeal, with hatchets and hammers, the different parts of such dwellings as were intended to be sacrificed to prevent the extension of the fire. The Turks worked hard at the engines when well paid before-hand, but would not move upon the faith of promises ; and when they succeeded in saving a house, perhaps demanded fifty pounds, independently of the stipulated sum for their services.

Frightful as the devastation was, and surrounded as we were by positive danger on every side from the houses that were momentarily falling, still the raging of the flames appeared to us awfully grand: once effectually on fire, a large house, of four or five stories high, would be laid low by the alarming

element in ten or fifteen minutes at furthest. Stone is not allowed to be employed in building, as it would interfere with the duty on timber; and a fire is therefore a source of real gain to the coffers of government, however much it may impoverish unfortunate individuals.

The state of commerce at the Turkish capital was naturally much depressed; the blockade of the Dardanelles caused the *munition de bouche et de guerre* to be landed at Smyrna, and conveyed at a great expense on camels and mules to Constantinople. This, in itself, was an expensive transport, but it had also the inconvenience of employing all the cattle in the country; and the merchandize from the interior of Anatolia was prevented being brought to market, and commerce was consequently greatly impeded. Considerable cargoes of provisions were also landed at Enos, in the gulph of the same name, and passed up the Maritza, a navigable river, to the army above Adrianople. I was sorry to find that our principal export from England to the Turkish market (manufactured cotton) was of very inferior description to that of Switzerland and of France, and was only able to procure demand at all from the inferiority of its price: we are so completely surpassed by the Swiss in the beauty and texture of cotton prints, and by the French in the finest

specimens of the manufacture, that English has become another word for inferior, and the avidity with which our goods were formerly sought after is sunk to the ignominious supply of those, whose tastes are rather governed by frugality than by superior beauty and excellence. In cloth, an article of great demand in Turkey, we have never had any pretension to vie with Germany; and so long as corn is sixty-five or seventy shillings in England, and from twenty to thirty shillings in Saxony, the reason of our inability to compete with them must be obvious. In hardware we are supplanted by the Prussians, and Belgium has had the principal supply of arms; some American merchants too are making large fortunes by the opium trade to China, whilst our less favoured countrymen are prevented sharing any of the profits, by the impolitic restrictions of our East India Charter.

The Turkish government adopt occasionally rather an extraordinary expedient in commercial transactions, in calling in the circulating medium, and re-issuing a similar coin, but of greatly increased nominal value. Previous to 1820 a gold coin of twenty-five piastres was worth twenty shillings sterling, whilst the repeated depreciations since that period have reduced the intrinsic worth of their coin so much that it requires ninety-six piastres of

the present gold currency to produce the value of a sovereign.

At this interesting crisis we were not disposed to investigate commercial matters—to seek for ancient remains, or modern curiosities—to look back at the history of the Roman eastern capital—to philosophise on the misfortunes that led to the expulsion of a Christian people, who were forced to succumb to a nation of infidels that usurped the fairest portion of the world : the consideration of the political events of the moment alone arrested our attention. “ Has Shoomla fallen ? ” was the general question ; and no subject unconnected with the war occupied the mind of any thinking person. All seemed to feel, as if by common anticipation, that upon that fortress depended the only obstacle to the immediate advance of the Russian army ; and, although Shoomla never did fall, it was owing to the subtle address and skilful manœuvre of Count Diebitch, that the enemy was deluded by a partial attack on that impregnable position, whilst he profited by the moment, when their attentions were directed to that point, to penetrate by a small defile over the Balkan, or at least through the difficult passage. Nothing could be more ingenious, and all were obliged to confess that the dexterity displayed upon this occasion, in 1829, compensated

for the failure of the preceding year, and retrieved the character of the military commanders of Russia.

The Turks made an unfortunate mistake in not dislodging the Russians from Sisopoli on the south of the Balkan, when they first landed there; for at one period, it is supposed, they had it in their power; but Turkish obstinacy disregarded the advice given. Sisopoli became a *point d'appui* on which the Russians could act, having once crossed the mountains; and there can be little doubt that this position, which was afterwards much strengthened, assisted very materially towards the subsequent success of the armies.

I had heard so much in admiration of the extraordinary exertions and zeal with which the Sultan had carried on various reforms; disciplined his army; and, unmindful of the prejudices of his people, made innovations which formerly would have caused a revolution; that it was impossible not to feel interested for a monarch who had effected such changes in spite of the bigotry of his subjects, and had proved himself a man of resolution, and eager to improve his government and the condition of his people; and without wishing to detract from the Sultan's merits for a resolution never surpassed, it may be incidentally observed that these infringe-

ments upon principles and practices, hitherto considered sacred and inviolable, could never have taken place, but that the Turks were driven by necessity to make every effort to secure the integrity of their religion and of their country against an enemy, who, they felt, would annihilate them and their faith if possible ; and that, under other circumstances, the determination of even so resolute a despot as Sultan Mahmood would have availed nothing against the prejudices of ignorance and Mahometanism.

I would fain have retained that good opinion of the Sultan, and added to it the hope, if not the expectation, that some permanent good might spring from his praiseworthy endeavours ; yet my impression as to the result of these changes is, that they will quicken the dissolution of Turkey rather than strengthen her ; and in proof of this I would wish to bring to the observation of my readers, that the Crimea fell into the hands of Russia in consequence of innovations introduced by the Khan in no very dissimilar manner, which created discontent, and ultimately severed it from Turkey.

These reforms have created a strong feeling of party-spirit throughout the empire, which alone will be dangerous whenever the opportunity of evincing it shall offer. The independent spirit of the true and blindly-devoted Mussulman, which

formerly inspired him with an ardour approaching madness, is exchanged for an attempt at European discipline, which can never be identified with a religion which inculcates contempt for the European officers who are employed to teach them. Besides, a strict attention to the forms of their faith is incompatible with the duties of the soldier; the necessity of saying prayers five times a day occupies considerable time, and these ceremonies are indispensable for a good Mussulman. Those who are acquainted with the character of the Turks, and who know the cause of their bravery in former times, or upon recent occasions as at Akhalstic in 1828, who feel that it was devotion to their religion, and compliance with the prayers and commands of their Mollahs, that led them to deeds of bravery which nothing could surpass, will surely join with me in opinion, that such a powerful engine set aside, and replaced by no paramount advantage, is a very problematical reform. As individuals, inspired by the force of their religion, I believe the Turks were matchless; but as European soldiers, at the present day, it is useless to deny that they are contemptible.

Since the commencement of the new system of discipline, which is on the same footing as the French army, fifty-eight thousand four hundred men, including two thousand four hundred artillery,

have been organized ; but, perhaps, not a fifth of that number can now be brought forward, many having been killed, and still more having absconded. The pay of the infantry soldier is about six shillings a month ; a captain of infantry receives a trifle less than four pounds. The dress of the cavalry is a blue jacket braided with orange, blue cossack trousers and boots, and a red Greek cap (*fesse*) with a long blue tassel, forming altogether as hideous a uniform as can be conceived, although much better than that of the infantry, which is, if possible, more frightful. The trousers formerly worn by the Turks were of such enormous size, and encumbered the men so much when on foot, that I was not surprised, but somewhat amused, to hear that, on some occasions when they were running away from the Russians, they took the precaution of taking off their trousers, and carrying them in their hands. This was a practical lesson to them of the necessity of a change of dress.

As to a Mahometan army being disciplined to move in bodies, and carry on war like Europeans, it may be possible whenever the Turks shall be able to furnish, from among themselves, officers who have sufficient intelligence to understand the operation and object of field-movements, and the art of commanding their men ; but such improvement seems to me improbable : it cannot be expected

Turkey will remain sufficiently long at peace to give an opportunity for such a result ; that she will not soon give Russia another ground for war, and again, perhaps, be found in the act of modelling an army, which will be driven back a second time to the walls of Constantinople, or more likely over to Asia. To attempt to stop this, which, to those who have studied the Turkish character, seems the natural course of affairs, would be as 'futile as the attempt of Xerxes to check the stream of the Hellespont ; and if the dismemberment of Turkey be even averted for a time by England at the expense of a war, she must ultimately yield to the course of inevitable events.

There cannot be an honest patriot in England who would wish to see his country involved in a war to preserve the integrity of the barbarous government of Turkey ; to prop up a fabric, the victim to its own corruption ; or vainly endeavour to sustain a nation, whose enmity to every branch of industry and improvement is of itself sufficient to overwhelm it.

Far be it from me to desire to dismember Turkey because she is barbarous ; although it is an argument we must remember ourselves to have made use of when conquering in India ; but let us never condescend to the unworthy act of supporting a

corrupt mass to meet our own crooked views of political expediency. It is said that if Russia should once possess Constantinople, our fleets will be driven out of the Mediterranean; our commerce with Turkey, who trades with us on so much more advantageous terms than Russia, would be lost; and our possessions in India would be in imminent danger, for Russia would soon have the ascendancy in the trade to Egypt, and establish a direct intercourse by the Red Sea. This last illusion of danger, however, seems to me an apprehension unworthy any serious attention.

But, in answer to these fearful forebodings, do we think, in the first place, Russia would dare venture on hostile measures against England, or that England has not the power and influence to control her? Do we know the interior misgovernment of Russia,—her system of slavery,—her discontented nobles,—her unwilling and brave subjects, the Polanders,—her Finlanders,—the independence of the mighty Caucasus,—the Tartars of the Crimea and Georgia; and that the first appeal to arms on the part of England against her, would be the signal for these discontented spirits to rise and liberate themselves from a situation, that weakness alone makes endurable?

When we see the seeds of discontent so dispersed

throughout her entire system, it is scarcely necessary to allude to the more obvious dangers, whenever her powerful enemies from abroad shall offer an opportunity. The Turks and Persians, although they were obliged to make terms of peace whilst the sword was held over them, would not be scrupulous to profit by any moment favourable for the annoyance of their detested opponent. Nor is this only a wild surmise; for, I believe I may state upon good authority, that Persia would have commenced hostilities against Russia, in the beginning of 1830, whilst the result of the Turkish war was still uncertain, had it not been for the salutary advice of those who fortunately had some weight with the foolish old Shah. It is scarcely credible, that in the face of a treaty, made only two years previously, whereby the provinces of Erivan and Nukshivan were given to Russia, that Persia should have entertained an idea of the absurdity, without reference to the breach of faith, of attempting to recover her lost territory. But it shows, even still more clearly, the character of Fattee Allee Shah, that he should have thought of avenging himself against Russia, at a moment when that country had just received the greatest insult that could have been offered to a nation, in the massacre of her representative and all his suite, without any cause moreover, but the inviting opportunity. Turkey made every effort to gain the coalition of

Persia in a common war against the ambitious Autocrat, in defence of their religion, and had very nearly succeeded: in the event of such co-operation their united forces would, no doubt, have embarrassed General Paskevitch in his manœuvres; but I do not conceive it would have had any further effect as to the general result of the war. Russia might not have advanced so far on her Asiatic side as she did, but this would have interfered in no way with Count Diebitch's progress towards Constantinople; and as soon as the Czar had a little leisure he would again have inflicted summary punishment on Persia, and perhaps obliged the silly old Shah to fly his capital, and carry away his carpets and jewels, and other valuables, to some more distant part; and, probably, have made way for the formation of a new Russian colony in the north of Persia.

But I have travelled further back than I had intended: let me ask then, if, with such impressions as these, as to the danger of foreign aggression, we can still hold an opinion that Russia would be anxious to court a war with us? Without reference to such impressions, have we not a right to feel that she would, on a future occasion, show the same regard for moderation, and respect for her honour and principles, that we are bound to give her credit for, when, after a two

years campaign, after a loss of thousands of men, she fought her way to Adrianople, and had Constantinople absolutely in her grasp.

Let us suppose that *we* had a just cause of war, and that the main body of *our* army had succeeded in getting within one hundred and twenty miles of the capital of the enemy; should we not give ourselves credit for moderation, if we did not profit by our situation, and allow our troops, what they seemed almost to have a right to demand, the possession of the capital as the reward of their services. It may be a subject of ridicule for some to hear of the moderation of Russia; let them, however, examine the facts adduced, and judge for themselves, rather than take up the opinions of others, that her only aim and end is aggrandizement and oppression. Russia is accused, too, of asking an exorbitant sum from Turkey as the expense of the war: but surely this was better policy than taxing the people of Russia. When *we* conquered the Birmans, after a most expensive campaign, we levied a million sterling on them, which was nine millions short of the whole expense; the remainder was raised from the army and the servants of the company; thus *our* own people paid the penalty of the insults of the Birmans, in order that we might have the appearance of liberality towards a people,

who, in their ignorance, laughed at and despised us. Charity should begin at home; and before we act a liberal part towards barbarous enemies, we should look with common consideration to ourselves.

To those who fear the aggrandizement of Russia, and the subversion of the equilibrium of power in Europe, I would represent Greece emerging from a long slavery, which has left her religion and language unchanged; her energies weakened indeed, but not altogether destroyed; and I would hope that she may succeed in raising herself, by degrees, to be the bulwark against Russia, and a substitute for the falling fabric of powerless Turkey.

As far as our trade is concerned, Turkey, in the hands of any more civilized power, would, probably, have twice the population, and her commerce would necessarily be greatly increased. This must be obvious to any person who, in his travels through Turkey, has observed the long districts uninhabited and entirely waste. It is needless to add, that I am not disposed to fear much danger, I will not say, from the possession of Turkey in Europe by Russia, but from the downfall of Turkey, whenever such an event may take place; on the contrary, I feel that civilization can only be extended

by Christianity, and that the greater the progress of both, the greater the advantage to the whole world.

There are others, again, who would think it desirable for the interests of Europe, that the Russian dominions should be extended, in order to disperse her strength, and spin out the thread of her power to such a length, that it would at last break, and cause a division of the empire, and the commencement of a lasting advantage to all the continental powers. But this is a question of such magnitude it is not easily to be disposed of.

When the Russians had crossed the Balkan, and were expected to enter Adrianople daily, the Sultan issued his proclamation for all Mussulmans, from the age of fifteen to sixty, to arm themselves, and make a last effort against the enemy. The order for a *levée-en-masse* was read with due ceremony in the mosques, and it was expected that Constantinople would be inundated with the influx of able-bodied Turks from Asia Minor; but we were soon convinced that the resources of the country were already drained: the people felt severely the effect of a protracted war;—bread was very dear,—commerce was stationary,—most of the young men were already serving in the army or navy,—and the people fully experienced that the

war was their worst enemy. Instead of bands of spirited fine young fellows, excited by the hope of rescuing their country from the hands of infidels, miserable decrepid old men, and boys unable to march under the weight of a musket, were all that the depopulated and enfeebled country could send forth. Nothing could be more ludicrous than the result of this *levée-en-masse*: on the first day only fifteen men appeared on the Atmeidan: such as the levy was, however, it went forth, and marched to the defence of Adrianople; but the Pasha in command at that place had doubts how true and obedient these wild fellows from Anatolia might be, and thought it prudent not to allow them to enter Adrianople for fear of mutiny or treachery. The Russians very shortly afterwards approached Adrianople, and the gates of the city were promptly opened to Count Diebitch, to the no small satisfaction of a great portion of the inhabitants. Terms were in a short time agreed upon, and the motley crew, who had been called together for the emergency, and proved so ridiculously inefficient, were despatched back to their homes; and such was the fear of them that they were not allowed to pass through Constantinople lest they might create disturbances.

In order to pacify the discontent among the people, they were told that the Russians had come

to Adrianople to sue for peace of the Sultan, and that he had condescended to grant their request. This is on a par with the expedient of the King of Ava, who told his people that some half starved beggars had landed on his shores, who were in such a state of distress that he had sent them a present of money; a singular mode of explaining that we had levied a contribution of a million sterling upon the Birmans.

Constantinople, in the possession of any civilized power, would be, perhaps, nearly invincible: the Bosphorus and Dardanelles might easily be made impregnable; and a natural line of defence on the land side, running from Silivria to Media, might be regularly fortified. The Turks owed all their successful opposition to the advantages of the natural fortification of the Balkan, and to the bad management of the enemy at the outset of the expedition. Few people are, perhaps, aware of the danger Constantinople was exposed to, when the Russians were at Adrianople: there can be little doubt if their army had advanced beyond that city, the Turkish capital would have been in an insurrection. The Janisaries, and those opposed to the recent reforms, would have simultaneously risen, as well as the hundred thousand Christians, who must always be considered natural enemies of Turkey, and who form a fourth part of

the population of Constantinople; for the present estimate is less by three hundred thousand than that in 1810, when it was computed at seven hundred thousand; such have been the ravages by plague, and the destruction and expulsion of the Janisaries. It may be fancied that the Christians are reduced to implicit submission by a slavery of nearly four hundred years; but, as I shall remark, in speaking of the Morea, it is only necessity that has given the Greeks an air of meekness; and the feelings of the other *Rayas* may soon be roused against their weak masters. In this state of anarchy the Sultan would have fled for his life to Bagdad, or perhaps Aleppo, and it is doubtful if another Mussulman would have ever reigned at Constantinople.

The moment the Russians shewed a disposition to remain at Adrianople, and not to march on the capital, the Sultan began the most summary executions on suspected Janisaries and disaffected subjects, and we soon witnessed the horrors of a barbarous despotism that would be disgusting to describe. For some time the only question asked of any one returning from Constantinople to Pera (the residence of the Christians) was respecting the number of bodies in the streets; for each day the numerous headless trunks gave evident proofs of the apprehension of the Turkish government, and of its effectual way of preventing insurrection. In

dread of a rebellion, some of the principal Turks chartered vessels to be in readiness to quit Constantinople; but had such preparation been discovered they would doubtless have lost their heads. The most active preparations were making also by many Frank families to be ready to quit Constantinople, in case the Russians should advance and pillage the city, or, in greater dread lest the Turks should set it on fire rather than allow it to fall into the hands of their detested enemy. It would be ridiculous to hazard any opinion as to the number of executions by strangulation, decapitation, and drowning; the most moderate would say six or seven hundred, and this in the space of two weeks! Good God! can this be true; and can it be possible we could desire to continue such monstrous enormities—that we could lend ourselves to protect such a government, and look without pity or remorse on such inexpiable cruelties? During the progress of these summary executions, forty females were reported to have been sown up in sacks and drowned in the Bosphorus, for seditious conspiracies: these pitiable women are made the means frequently of secret communications of insurrectionary tendency, as they are less liable to be detected, on account of their privileges of privacy. This extraordinary instance of the sacrifice of human life may not inappropriately lead to a few general observations on the want of respect for the lives of

our fellow-creatures among Asiatics, as compared with those feelings of jealousy with which we are accustomed to consider even an infringement of our liberty, and the horrors which we never fail to experience, whenever necessity may oblige us to enforce the extreme punishment of the law. Sufficient instances have fallen under my own observation, some of which have already been mentioned, to satisfy myself that I am entitled, from what I have personally witnessed, to say, that Asiatics appear to make no distinction between the value of the lives of rational and irrational animals, unless, indeed, it be in favour of the latter. One of the prominent doctrines of Mahomet is the cultivation of a kind disposition towards animals, and this excellent maxim is very minutely attended to in some respects; but Mussulmans, like all people who act upon prejudice and not upon principle, are apt to be extremely inconsistent, and the Turks are no exception to this rule: for instance, it is well known that the dogs at Constantinople infest the streets to the annoyance of the inhabitants; but a mistaken feeling of kindness towards the wretched animals, who can barely drag on an existence, disarms the tender-hearted Turk, who would not destroy a cur though dying at his feet from actual starvation, and yet will not procure him the subsistence which would enable him to survive his forlorn condition. But the same man, perhaps,

when riding courier, would feel it a disgrace to his profession, if he did not so contrive to bring his horse in, at the end of each stage, in such a state of fatigue, that he is unable to proceed any further without rest; for if otherwise it would show that he had not made the best of his way, as his horse might have been more pressed. The particular instances to which I allude of the extravagant sacrifice of human life are, in the first place, the massacre of a whole embassy at Tehraun, for offences which, even according to the exaggerated accounts of the Persians, would scarcely have come under the penalty of our laws. The second case which fell nearly under my own observation was the case of Dr. Shutz, of whose frightful termination to his distinguished career I have already given a little account elsewhere. But these are unimportant events when we contrast with them the destruction of the Janisaries, by the artful manoeuvre of the present Sultan; it is estimated that in the course of three or four days twenty thousand persons were butchered, the greater number in their barracks; but the work of extermination throughout Constantinople continued unremittingly, until no more victims could be found upon whom to exhaust a revenge apparently insatiable. Every corner was ransacked to find some unhappy subject, in order to conform to the commands of the unrelenting sovereign, to extinguish the whole race. It

is scarcely necessary to add to this catalogue of atrocities, and yet I cannot resist, when once upon the subject, to touch slightly on two other instances: first, the dreadful slaughter committed by the Greeks at the siege of Tripolitza in 1821, for it is calculated that at least half of the population of twenty-five thousand Turks fell victims to the unbridled vengeance of a cruel and relentless enemy. This frightful catastrophe was shortly afterwards exceeded by the blood-thirsty Turks at Scio, who, as if resolved to out-herod Herod in the perpetration of brutal assassinations, sacrificed to their implacable fury about forty thousand Greeks, of one of the most beautiful islands of the Archipelago. I am aware I have anticipated a subject which might, with more propriety, be reserved for a future observation, and I only venture to remark the small degree of slaughter in a regular encounter between two armies, as compared with the unavoidable havoc which ever exists in revolutionary warfare among barbarous nations. In one of the bloodiest battles the English ever had to record (that of Waterloo) only ten thousand, including British and Hanoverian troops, are supposed to have been slain.

During our residence at Constantinople, several Franks offered themselves to the Turkish government as desirous of service in their army and navy.

A French general (aide-de-camp to Buonaparte) aspired to the command of the cavalry; but the Turks are well known to hold the opinion that, although they yield in navigation to some other countries, all the world must acknowledge their cavalry to be unrivalled, and the French officer's services were therefore rejected. The command of the navy was the object of a gentleman once in our service; but after various attempts at a negotiation, the Englishman having asked two thousand pounds a year, and twenty thousand pounds at the signing of the peace, and the Turks having agreed, after great difficulty, to give only five hundred pounds a year, and nothing at the peace, he at length left Constantinople. The Russian admiral at the Dardanelles had received intelligence that such a person was expected, and a very strict look-out was kept at the blockade-station. A day or two previous to the arrival of Sir R. Gordon, a steamer hove in sight; when one of the frigates was ordered to weigh anchor, and several boats sent off to search the suspected vessel. On perceiving that great preparations were making to detain the steamer, the aspirant to the office of Captain Pasha hoisted a flag at the main, as a signal that the English ambassador was on board, lessened the power of his steam, and steered direct for the admiral's ship. The Muscovite feared he had already been guilty of an affront to our ambassador in sending out boats, as if to lay an embargo on him,

and a signal was given to call them in immediately. The English vessel then steered to windward, put on the full power of steam, and laughed at the Russians and their blockade. It was a very clever manceuvre; and although the Russian admiral was piqued at being duped, he could not avoid being amused at the ingenuity practised upon him.

The political interest of Constantinople at this moment, has led me much further than I had intended. I hasten to resume my narrative, and speak of an excursion to Brussa (the ancient capital of Bithynia), which was in the possession of the Turks as early as 1327, upwards of a century before Constantinople was taken.

Having crossed the Sea of Marmara in a Greek boat, we landed within six hours' distance of Brussa, a very pretty place, famous for its silks, which bear its name; for its natural hot-water-baths, perhaps the best in Turkey; and as the place of exile of many noble Greek families of the Fanar; and from having been once the residence of the Sultans, it contains many of their tombs. The view from the top of the Olympus, at the foot of which Brussa lies, is most extensive; the Sea of Marmara, the Bosphorus, the Black Sea, Scutari, and Constantinople, were at once presented to our sight, and formed a grand and enchanting spectacle. When

we were nearly at the summit, we were much amused by the ridiculous manner in which an immense black bear, on being frightened, ran down from the top of the mountain at a desperate rate ; making a *traineau* of his hind legs, he slid down most commodiously, and although passing quite near showed no disposition to attack us. At another moment we had doubts as to the safety of one of our party, who had quitted us, in order to satisfy his ambition to attain the very point of the mountain : we were sitting patiently awaiting his return, when he hallooed lustily to us, and we immediately perceived him running as if for his life, and another huge bear close to him, whom he had roused by approaching his den ; the fear, however, was perfectly reciprocal, for the frightened animal took to his heels ; and, indeed, we regarded it a fortunate circumstance, for we were entirely unprepared for any combat, and had no weapon with us of any description.

The fascination of the evil eye is a superstition well known to exist among the Greeks : when we applied to see the silk-worms, which are kept on an immense scale,* we were told they would die if we were allowed to look on them. Such is the infa-

* So extensive is the commerce in this article alone, that four thousand bales of silk, each valued at one hundred pounds, are yearly exported from Brussa.

tuation on this subject, that every crop in the field, every animal, the bread, the meat, all are provided with charms to avert the evil eye, lest they should attract envy and perish.

Being desirous to vary our route back to Constantinople, and see the town on the Lake Ascanius, where the Council of Nice assembled in 325, when our Nicene creed was composed, we made a little *détour* by Isnik, the present name. The lake is pretty, and the walls of the town have a very ancient appearance; but there is little worth remarking. As we re-crossed the Marmara we stopped at one of the Prince's islands, to pay a visit to an officer among the Russian prisoners. The island, which is but a speck in the Sea of Marmara, is a lovely spot; there were about six hundred prisoners, who seemed very comfortable, and in great hopes of speedy liberation; and we were surprised to find them perfectly free from any apprehension of danger, in the event of their comrades in arms taking Constantinople; for we ourselves entertained the greatest fears for their safety in such case, and thought they would be a sure sacrifice to the unsatisfied revenge of the fanatic Turks: most of them had been captured when on detached parties, foraging, or carrying despatches. We saw also about six hundred other prisoners at the *bagnio*; but their place of incarceration was not by any means so enviable. During

our visit at the island we took the opportunity of asking our Russian friend for an explanation of the capture of one of their frigates, which the Turks had taken in the preceding May; and we were informed that early one morning, when it was scarcely daylight, part of the Turkish fleet being near them, hoisted Russian ensigns; the Russian commander was deceived, and before he could discover his mistake was surrounded by the enemy's fleet; in despair, he told his men to blow the frigate up; but they refused, preferring the inconveniences of imprisonment to the certain perdition which would have attended obedience to his order. He lost all presence of mind, and did not recover until he found himself a prisoner, and burst into tears of mortification at his pitiable condition. It was a very fine frigate, and a great prize for the Turks, who were most proud of their prowess, and immediately manned it, and added it to their fleet.

Before I take my final leave of the Turkish capital, I am disposed to hope it may not be uninteresting to make a few observations on the contrast of character of the three great emperors of Russia, Persia, and Turkey, whom I had the good fortune to see, each under most interesting circumstances. The Czar, at Odessa, full of energy and activity, was on the point of embarking for

Varna, which was daily expected to fall. He is a superb man in person, of good countenance, and without the least ostentation; being dressed in the simplest manner, attended only by three or four courtiers. He seemed engrossed by one object alone; that of carrying on the war vigorously. He is deservedly loved by his subjects, for he is very desirous to improve their condition; and so much good is said of him by strangers, as well as by his own people, that he is greatly to be esteemed as an individual, and as a monarch, to be respected and admired.

There could not be a greater contrast to the Czar than the Shah of Persia. Squatting in his oriental apartment, dressed in large flowing robes of cashmere, with bouquets of roses casting their perfume in the air, and fountains of water playing before him; a black and brilliant beard, and remarkably agreeable countenance; all combined to render the appearance of his majesty peculiarly attractive. As we approached his presence, we passed by a long train of his courtiers, and bowed to him three different times; throwing off our slippers at the second bowing, and waiting for an invitation to proceed, which did not fail to come with all the grace and winning manner of the distinguished Persian. It may appear singular to those unacquainted with eastern customs, that we

kept our hats on in the presence of the Shah, and that we took our shoes off. To uncover the head before a superior is an affront in eastern countries : the Jews even at the present moment retain this custom of their ancient home, and enter into their places of worship, or perform the solemnity of an oath, with their heads covered, by way of peculiar respect.

The former Persian ambassador in England, now minister for foreign affairs, presented us ; and we stood at the end of a moderately sized room, whilst the Shah addressed us in a manner the most flattering to our country, and drew a comparison between the Russians and ourselves not very complimentary to the former. He said, "that England and Persia were one ; that we had been intimately connected for thirty years, and had never had any disputes ; but the first moment a Russian embassy came, a most melancholy event occurred." It will be remembered, that the massacre of the embassy took place a few days before our arrival at the Persian capital. He then dismissed us, offering to appoint one of his servants to attend us on our journey, which we readily accepted. The effeminacy and childishness of this great monarch, compared with the energetic character, and the mental and bodily exertions of the Emperor Nicholas, were extremely apparent.

Let us now speak of the haughty Monarch of Turkey—of him who has had the daring to attempt reforms that had previously caused two revolutions, and the death of two sultans, his predecessors. His pride is, indeed, not less than we could have supposed from what we had always read and heard. I had several opportunities of seeing his majesty, on horseback, and in his barge on the Bosphorus ; but the best view I had of him was at the audience of our ambassador. Upon this occasion his eyes (very large and dark) darted from side to side with a quickness scarcely conceivable, whilst he endeavoured to penetrate the characters of those presented before him. His countenance is most singularly striking, full of resolution and fire ; a broad, open face, with a dark beard, which being clipped, and made short and stubby, loses all its natural beauty and elegance, and appeared to me with peculiar disadvantage, having recently left a country whose only excellence perhaps consists in the beauty of this unusual, but graceful appendage. The Sultan of the Mahometan empire is so great a being in his own estimation, that he does not condescend to address the representative of the King of England, but through his minister ; or to receive him before he has been fed and clothed, and rendered fit to appear in his presence. It is, indeed, curious that the English, or any European nation, can reconcile to themselves such degrading

indignities. It is an affront, endured without any cause to excuse the humiliation.

Having little doubt that a full account of the audience of Sir Robert Gordon will be given by some one much better qualified than myself, I shall only give a little sketch of the ceremony, in the hope that it will not be uninteresting. The Sultan having left Constantinople in grand parade several months before this audience took place, to prosecute the war against Russia, could not enter the city, according to Mahometan laws, until peace should be restored; and although he lived principally at Therapia, about twelve miles up the Bosphorus, and was supposed to have been frequently in Constantinople *incog.*, it was necessary for him to hold his audience at the camp. The ambassador and his suite were, for the time, on board the *Blonde*, which was moored off *Buyukdere*, in front of the Sultan's encampment, close to *Therapia*; and all the disposable force of the regular army formed a line from the bank to the grand canopy-tent of his majesty, in front of the camp, a distance of about three hundred yards. The boats of the *Blonde* and *Rifleman* landed the ambassador and his suite, when his excellency mounted a fine horse, presented to him on the occasion, and riding into the splendid marquee of the prime minister, was first received by him with all due form. After

a short conversation, a multitude of servants were observed bearing trays on their heads for the approaching repast: there were five small tables, each presided at by some distinguished person; and an excellent dinner was served up, according to the fashion of Turkey. The want of knives and forks would have been enough to embarrass Englishmen; but the grease in all their dishes, and the early hour (twelve o'clock), served entirely to deprive the company of all appetite. This ceremony over, we were conducted to another tent, where pelisses of bright yellow, and others of pink, were freely distributed: the diamond clasps of some of them were worth one hundred guineas. We became rather impatient before the message arrived, that his majesty was ready to receive us. When this was announced, the ambassador, attired in his new costume, and followed by about twenty persons, were admitted under the canopy; and we saw before us Sultan Mahmood, sitting awkwardly on a large sofa, studded all over with pearls. He was sumptuously dressed; but his *coiffure* excited my admiration the most: it was a red Greek cap, much embroidered with gold lace, bearing a bird-of-paradise plume, which seemed but to increase the space on which the finest diamonds in the world were placed. The ambassador addressed him shortly in English, hoping that the unfortunate affair at Navarin had not disturbed the good feeling

which had so long existed between the two countries ; and expressing the sense of honour he personally felt in being thus brought into the presence of his august majesty. This address was translated by the interpreter ; and the Sultan told his minister, who was close by his side, to answer it: during the reply, which was translated into French to Sir Robert Gordon, his majesty several times prompted the secretary, in different expressions ; which was supposed to indicate a very friendly feeling towards England, as it is so unusual an act of condescension. The whole ceremony occupied about three hours and a half ; upon former occasions eleven or twelve hours have been consumed in the absurd parade: this may be considered one of the little improvements in Turkey, of modern times.

Among other prejudices which the Sultan has been able to shake off, is that of not allowing swords to be worn in his presence ; for formerly (a thing most incredibly submitted to) swords were taken from the ambassador and his suite before they were admitted into the royal presence. And now being on the subject of minor reforms, it would perhaps be remiss not to advert to the liberal principles lately introduced into the Sultan's harem, in allowing the women, if indisposed, to be visited by a Christian doctor, and to show their tongues

without the intervention of a piece of cambric : and it was also whispered by the best informed, that orders had been sent to London and Paris for a supply of stays and stockings, articles of dress hitherto unknown in the wardrobes of Turkish ladies.

GREECE.

WE had passed four months in Constantinople; the treaty of Adrianople had been signed; and this object of interest having disappeared, our thoughts were naturally fixed on the still unsettled affairs of Greece. In addition to the remembrance of antiquity, many other important considerations, together with the facility of transporting ourselves into that country, led us to the determination of proceeding there. Having sailed down the Dardanelles in a Greek boat, (an affair of thirty hours) we found, anchored off Tenedos, fifteen line-of-battle ships; of which, six were English, with a proportionate number of corvettes and brigs—as fine a sight as can be imagined; the remainder, with the exception of one French and one Dutch ship, were Russian. There had been a great state of excitement some time previously between these powerful forces, and a declaration of war had been almost daily expected.*

Having visited the plains of Troy, we proceeded direct for Egina, then the residence of the Greek government. Four months in this unhappy country

* This was in September, 1829.

gave me an opportunity of obtaining information as to the characters of the greater number of the military and political chiefs, of whom I shall speak hereafter. Our tour in the Morea introduced us to the most celebrated of the ancient ruins,—the tomb of Agamemnon at Mycene,—the citadel of Tyrinth, in the plain of Argos, (a most interesting specimen of Cyclopean architecture),—the theatres of Argos and of Hiero, near Epidaurus,—the walls of the city of Messene on Mount Ithome, which last are, indeed, a splendid specimen of the beauty and chastity of the architecture of the age of Epaminondas. It was curious to remark here the similar construction of the embrasures, in some towers still extant, with those of the present day ; the opening within being very narrow, whilst great scope is given by the increased width of the outside of the loophole. Though there appeared here the most inviting reasons to excavate, the French commission of antiquaries had been at work apparently without much effect.

The Temple of Bassæ, from which the Phigaleian frieze now in the British Museum was taken, is, perhaps, the most beautiful, as well as most chaste, ruin of that age in existence. The excavations by the French at Olympia gave employment to the poor Moreotes, but did not discover much. A statue of Minerva, and a lion with a foot on his shoulder much mutilated,

supposed to be a fragment of Hercules treading on the Nemean Lion, and some other *frusta* found in the temple of the Olympian Jupiter, were lying on the banks of the river Alpheus, ready to be embarked for France, by the President's special permission. The situation of this temple, in which was one of the seven wonders of the world (the statue of Phidias), is so low, and close to the river, that in the course of a short time the sandy soil will again cover it, and leave but a field for the speculations of the antiquary with few visible remains. Several votive helmets, and other relics of the olden time, have been fished up from the Alpheus; and it is to be presumed that if that river were diverted from its present course, which might easily be done, the expense and trouble would be amply repaid.

I passed a day at the curious convent of Megaspelia, of the time of the Greek Emperors, which had been recommended to my attention, on account of its singular position, being built under a kind of archway formed by the side of a mountain. It had resisted several times the attack of Ibrahim Pasha, who had a great desire to discover the treasures which it was rumoured had been sent there from all parts of the Morea for security; but the place was strong, and the monks desperately defended their retreat.

The mode of life and habits of Greek monks are little agreeable: they flatter themselves that their recluse life places them out of the way of the vanities and vices of the world; but it may be doubtful if this retirement does not produce even more disgusting effects than any it may remove. The want of neatness in the persons of these people is too conspicuous; and they are frequently addicted to pilfering, and many fraudulent and vicious practices, the sure result of an unnatural and unsocial life.

Athens is, indeed, most interesting to every traveller; whether he wish to contemplate the finest ancient ruins in the world, which even the most savage battles, and the unparalleled events of a war of extermination have spared, as if barbarity itself had a respect for their antiquity; or whether, in looking at the ruined city, he delights to revel in the idea that, at some future moment, she may once more become the school of the sculptor, the historian, and the philosopher.

The few monuments of past grandeur standing amid a mass of ruin, as if saved by magic,—the wretched huts of some Albanian soldiers,—a paltry bazaar,—and five or six tolerable dwellings, in which the Bey and the chief officers reside, form the exact state of Athens in 1829. So divided, however, was the interest excited in the fallen city,

that whilst I was making a tour of the ancient walls with Sir W. Gells' itinerary in my hand, my companion, who had served with the Greek army under General Church, was absorbed in contemplating the position of the Turks while besieging the citadel, and examining the tambours thrown up at one time by the Greeks, and at another by the Turks. We were now, indeed, on the site of the ancient wall of the city, near the Philopappus, on the ground, perhaps, from whence Sylla besieged and took Athens, 86 B. C. ; where the Venetians attacked and took it in 1687 ; and where the Turks made an assault in 1827. Near this spot is the Pnyx of the Pisistratidæ. The identical rostrum from whence, perhaps, Demosthenes and Pericles may have addressed the Athenians, still remains perfect. It is a platform, nearly square, cut out of the solid rock, and has a commanding view over the city, as if to give effect to the eloquence, of which it was the most distinguished theatre in the world. This interesting relic carried me back more completely to the flourishing era of Greece, than any other object I had met with in the course of my tour.

Having, with some difficulty, clambered over large heaps of rubbish, we were amply repaid by a specimen of the most beautiful Corinthian order, the tomb of Lysicrates, better known as the lantern of

Demosthenes. Its preservation seemed miraculous, but was owing to the protection of a monastery, in which it had been immured; and the revolution which destroyed the asylum happily spared the precious monument it contained. Under the impression that this, as well as other valuable remains, would, according to the assurance of the Turks, fall a prey to their vengeance before they left Athens, I ventured to ask the Bey if he would permit me to have it carried away, rather than suffer it to risk being destroyed; adding, that the stones were of no value, and that I could send him European articles of much more use to him. He replied, in the plenitude of his delight at the prospect I held out of presents, that I might have it, and that if it were worth millions still he should be happy it were so well disposed of. For the moment I was willing to entertain hopes that I might be able to rescue this beautiful ruin from entire destruction, and procure for the British Museum a specimen of Grecian architecture, such as it has not at present in its collection; but, on reflection, I found it would be difficult to remove, without material injury, a mass of about the weight of eight tons; and I was not anxious to incur the reproach of despoiling Greece of that which, perhaps, may still be an object of pride to her in her dawn of freedom, in spite of the determination of the Turks. I there-

fore abandoned this project, which, like many other resolves, gave a momentary delight in anticipation, although it was never destined to be realized.

We regretted not being able to ascend the Acropolis, although we had as good an external view of the Parthenon, from the city, as we could have desired. The Turks are so distrustful they would not permit any one to enter the citadel: they pretended, in their boastful manner, that they had provisions and ammunition for three years, and would never give up the city, although the Sultan commanded it.

The whole of the destined territory of Greece, with the exception of Athens and Negropont, was already evacuated. The country all around Athens is most barren: there are no trees within sight for miles, with the exception of an olive grove of some extent, but of which a great part had been recently destroyed by the Turks.

The port of Athens at the Piræus had not one stone upon another: the monastery of St. Spiridion, where two hundred Turks had resolutely defended themselves against the troops under General Church and Lord Cochrane, in 1827, was laid

low : nothing could exceed its melancholy appearance.

I am fully sensible how exposed to criticism is a writer who ventures to speak of Greece, and touches so superficially on the grandest relics of antiquity ; but I can add nothing to what has been already said on this subject, and therefore prefer going over at once to the description of her present state. We made the entire tour of the Morea, by passing through Sparta, Messene, Phigaleia, Olympia, Megaspelia, and Corinth, and returning to Argos and Nauplia. The mode of travelling was on horseback, with mules for the luggage, which were hired for the journey ; and we had with us an interpreter, who spoke Greek, Italian, and a little French. We carried our beds, coffee, sugar, and, in short, every thing required, depending only on the ruined villages for bread (which was frequently of Indian corn), eggs, and occasionally chickens.

The town of Nauplia (called by the Italians, and thence almost generally, Napoli di Romania)*, may

* The reader must have in mind, that these remarks were made at the end of 1829, as circumstances of importance have occurred with respect to Greece since the author traversed that country ; such as the nomination as king, and resignation of, Prince Leopold.

be considered, for the present, the metropolis of Greece. The first *coup d'œil* on approaching it from Epidaurus is very pretty. It was gratifying to us, after our long and fatiguing travels among ruins, to enter into a town which has some slight resemblance to civilized Europe; for the demand for passports reminded us of more civilized countries, and was not, upon this occasion, so disagreeable an interruption as it usually is considered. Napoli is a poor cramped place, incapable of being increased, surrounded as it is by fortifications and water. It is in better preservation, however, than any town in the Morea; for when it capitulated to the Greeks in 1823, after the greatest endurance on the part of the Turks, the surrender was effected quietly, and the town saved.

The citadel or palamede, of Venetian construction, is very strong, but partly commanded by a height. Great improvements were being carried on in the town for the accommodation of the government, and a square is nearly completed, to be called "The Three Admirals," in honour of Navarin. Probably when Athens is given up Nauplia, will no longer be the capital, but in the meantime it is much benefited by these alterations.

It is impossible to pretend to the smallest accuracy as to the population of Nauplia. Every place

in Greece, which offered a temporary security, either from its own position, or from becoming the seat of the provisional government, has, in its turn, been the asylum of persons of all classes, whom the events of war had driven from their own homes. Thus Nauplia has at times had, within and without its walls, from three to twenty thousand inhabitants. Its present population may, perhaps, be five thousand. Indeed, nothing in Greece can more forcibly give an idea of the war that has been carried on, than finding on inquiry that not a third of the residents in any place are natives of it, but only sojourners there, till security is afforded them in their own birth-places. Thus, in every town the inhabitants are classified into *κάτοικοι* (natives), *πάροικοι* (adopted residents), and *μέτοικοι* (temporary sojourners.)

The plain of Argos is as good a specimen of land as any in the Morea. Before the revolution it was covered with vines, mulberry, and olive trees. The Turks, and the rage of rival chiefs, have left it bare. The tobacco is celebrated, and cotton thrives well: the cultivation of indigo has also been tried with success. Corn of all kinds grows abundantly. This, and many other rich plains, which drained would produce immensely, are almost entirely government property. Speaking, however, of the whole Morea, an indifferent soil is more frequently

met with. A great part of it is mountainous, capable only of feeding sheep and goats, which, indeed, give great quantities of cheese, but cannot be considered as land yielding any surplus.

There is something in the very name of Sparta that offers great attraction to the traveller. The ruins are much too vague for any but professed antiquaries to attempt to speculate on them; my attention was therefore devoted to the general position of the city, and to the consideration of what appears at first rather inexplicable; that it should have been renowned in former times for the purity of its air, and the general salubrity of its climate; whereas it is now much affected with *malaria*, and the whole plain is considered unhealthy. It was not difficult to reconcile these seeming inconsistencies. The Spartan plain is naturally a fine abundant soil, and in the time of Lycurgus, when sloth and inactivity were unknown, the cultivation, and consequent fertility of the land effectually precluded the progress of disease. Previously to the revolution the Greeks had no encouragement to labour for a harvest which others might reap; and since that period Sparta has been the seat of warfare, and has therefore remained neglected.

The river Eurotas, which, kept in a regular channel, was once a beauty and a blessing, now

runs waste in a variety of branches, flowing over the whole plain, and causing *malaria* from its evaporation; whilst olives, oleanders, orange, and mulberry trees, grow so thickly, that the circulation of the air is impeded, and the decomposition of the leaves produces the ill effect that now exists.

The whole of the low-land of the Morea is more or less affected. I pity those who may have to assist in recovering the land from its present state, for they will be swept off in numbers by the fever; but the result of such exertions will ultimately be beneficial. The principal object should be to fell a great portion of the trees, to restrict the unlimited course of the rivers, to drain the soil, and to turn the ground effectually. The unhealthiness of nearly the whole of Greece is a subject of deep regret. When I was at Egina fever was at such a height, that from ten to fifteen persons on an average died each day; and, for fear of increasing the consternation, the church bells were not allowed to be tolled. It was at the end of September before the usual autumnal rains had commenced, and until the atmosphere is refreshed by heavy falls, that period of the year is very liable to an epidemic disease.

But the unhealthiness of the Morea is not solely attributable to the want of cultivation, but also to a

bad system of irrigation ; for when it is necessary to inundate land for the growth of Indian corn, the water is so ill conducted, that it is allowed to become stagnant, and in consequence it invariably occurs, that wherever this species of wheat is cultivated the vicinity is subject to *malaria* and its terrible effects. Such is the violence of the fever sometimes, that strong men are attacked and carried off in a few hours, and others suffer almost continually during the whole year ; there is scarcely an instance of any individual, who has resided in Greece for a twelvemonth, having escaped the fever ; the natives may grapple with it better than strangers, but are by no means exempt from it.

It is said, but I do not speak from personal observation, that the western part of continental Greece is a richer and more beautiful country than the Morea. Those parts of Roumelia were not sufficiently tranquil to be safe for travellers, on account of great dissatisfaction among the irregular troops, whose pay was many months in arrear, and who well knew that there could be no good excuse for withholding it, when money was never wanting for the purposes of bribery.

It is to be feared these irregular troops, so long accustomed to plunder, and an independent manner of living, will be troublesome subjects to a sovereign

of Greece, unless they be organized and receive a regular pay. The military chiefs, having long possessed a feudal superiority, will be very unwilling to obey, and are unfitted for the occupations of peace by the life they have hitherto led in the service of their country. The present regular army of Greece, disciplined by French officers, who partly have assisted in the revolution, and are in part new comers, consists of about two thousand infantry, which includes two hundred artillery, and one hundred and sixty cavalry. The whole organization and uniform is according to the French system: the latter is a very bad exchange for the Albanian, one of the handsomest costumes in the world; and, indeed, one of the greatest obstacles to the increase of this corps is, that the military of Greece have a decided objection to divest themselves of their national dress. There are also other objections; and one of the most forcible is the knowledge that the President (Capodistrias) wishes to destroy the union which has hitherto existed between the military leaders and their men. The former, who, previously to the war, had either entered into the services of other countries, (principally into our own Ionian corps under General Church), or had been the *armatoli* of Greece, have no other means of subsistence, and cannot therefore patiently submit to the authority of foreign officers, who have not taken a share in the revolution. At present

the corps is chiefly composed of artisans from the islands of the Egean, the Moreots and Roumeliots considering it disgraceful to join. The cavalry have been supplied with horses and accoutrements by the French *corps d'expedition*, but they are indifferent horsemen, and are as inferior in this respect to the Turks as they are superior to them in all nautical affairs. The old bezestein at Argos has been converted into barracks for them.

The army which has been engaged during the revolution has, with the exception of the few regulars of Colonel Fabvier, been exclusively guerillas. At the commencement of the revolution every province had its military chief; and as enthusiasm reigned, and the hope of rich plunder prevailed, the arming was almost general in the Morea and Roumelia. In the latter division of the confederacy, as they either had been *klephtae* or *armatoli*, they were competent to soldiering more than in the Morea. Every man, who could unite a few under his command, became a captain or a general, and a candidate for honour or riches. The enthusiasm did not last long; pillage was the word. When the loans came from England the captains received pay, but the soldiers were but poorly recompensed. There is, however, in Greece a clanship and a feudal connexion, which have supplied the place of discipline. The most renowned chiefs have been

Marco Botsaris (the Suliot), Kyriakoulis, and Elias Mavromichalis (the brother and son of the Spartan chief Petrobey), and Karaiskakis (the Roumeliot): these have all died in battle. The Suliots have played a celebrated part in the war; they are brave and active, but greedy of gain, and very turbulent. Their chiefs are Zavellas, Botsaris, Dangli, &c. Through the introduction of a friend I was enabled to form the acquaintance of Constantine Botsaris. We called on him at Nauplia, in a house which had formerly been the residence of the Aga Pasha, and subsequently of Prince Mavrocordato, when President of Greece. We found the Prince just risen from his afternoon *siesta*. The room in which ~~he received~~ us was, perhaps, one of the richest in gilt and ornamental wainscotting I had seen in the East. Botsaris is about thirty-eight years of age, and of pleasing manners; his name was rendered celebrated by the feats of arms of his father and brother, and by the latter's glorious death in 1823. He himself has not a military reputation, although his conduct at the loss of Navarin, in 1825, was creditable to him. He is intimately connected with Mavrocordato, and is consequently a participator in the odium with which that citizen is regarded by the government.

Since the arrival of Capodistrias the army has been more regularly paid (or rather the ac-

counts of what is due to them have been more accurately kept), and the feudal tie has been loosened by the commissaries being officers of the government instead of their own chiefs.

General Church was the commander-in-chief of the armies of Greece, and by his perseverance and popularity he managed to gain successes in Western Greece of considerable importance, and within the last year obtained possession of Vonitza, Caravasara, Macrinoros, and of all Western Greece on this side of the Gulf of Arta. His blockades led to the capitulation of Missolonghi and Lepanto.

Prince Demetrius Ypsilanti was appointed, on the arrival of Capodistrias, commander-in-chief in Eastern Greece. He is a true patriot, a man of honour and integrity, brother of Prince Alexander Ypsilanti, who commenced the revolution in Wallachia and Moldavia. Demetrius came to the Morea in 1821, and was received with cordiality, and immediately named commander-in-chief; but he had not talents to take advantage of the enthusiasm in his favour, and being surrounded by a number of intriguers, to whom he gave implicit confidence, he soon lost his superiority, and he has mostly lived as a private citizen, jealous of every man of talent, as if he deprived him of a rank due to himself alone. But Demetrius Ypsilanti has

never omitted an opportunity of taking up arms ; and in many instances he has shown courage and conduct very superior to most of the other chiefs of Greece.

As far as regards the regular troops, Colonel Gordon, in 1821, first formed a corps, which was of short duration. The military chiefs were opposed to the organization of regulars, because any appearance of order would have prevented their excesses. In 1825, Colonel Fabvier began the organization, and carried the number to about four thousand ; but he met with opposition, and having rashly engaged in enterprises beyond his strength he was defeated by the Turks, and this brought the regulars into disrepute. During the siege of Athens, Fabvier introduced himself into the castle with about six hundred men ; this was his first, and only, success. On quitting the Acropolis he was only able to collect about one thousand men. At the end of 1827 he undertook to reconquer Scio, but again failed. When Capodistrias came he was decidedly opposed to Fabvier, whose manners were far too coarse and brutal to allow him to agree with so polished a courtier ; and as he was not able to obtain any rank, he left Greece ; and the regulars were placed under the command of Colonel Heiderk, who raised four battalions : but the colonel was a weak man, open to flattery, and no

soldier. The regulars were well clad, and paid monthly; but the officers were chosen from men who would flatter, or who had the advantage of being able to speak to the colonel in his own language.

Fabvier came back to Greece with the French troops, but his services were again rejected by the President, and he once more left the country. Heiderk also was recalled to Bavaria, and was succeeded in the command by General Trézel, who was recommended to the President by the French Marshal Maison. But the policy of France having changed, the general has been informed that he will lose his rank in the French army if he does not return. He will, therefore, leave Greece shortly. General Trézel, who had been the brother in arms of Colonel Fabvier, was thought to have undertaken the command of the French troops that he might, at a future and more favourable moment, again make way for the colonel. Colonel Gérard afterwards joined the Greeks, and was immediately promoted to the rank of Adjutant-General. Trézel has recently retired in disgust from the service; and the affairs of France having enabled Fabvier to obtain the post of commandant of Paris, it is not probable that he will again return to Greece.

General Church met with every opposition from

Count Capodistrias, and tired at last of battling with the many difficulties which were raised to disgust him, and having finished his task of driving the Turks from this side of the Gulf of Arta, he came to Egina, and openly reproached the President with having acted towards him in an ungenerous and disloyal manner. At the national assembly of Argos, he sent in a written act of resignation, assigning his motives for retiring from the army; but the assembly was not constituted so as to be able to listen to any free declaration of sentiments: they were bought men, and refused to read the letter, when they found that it contained a statement of charges against the President. The resignation was accepted, and the General now resides at Egina to see the end of the present corrupt system.

I shall now say a few words on the navy. The modern Greeks excel in the building of brigs, schooners, and small craft, which are principally adapted to sailing in the Levant. It is wonderful how they contrive, without docks, or indeed accommodations of any kind, or even the requisite instruments, to set good vessels afloat. The address with which they manage their vessels in the most squally weather is astonishing: for in the Archipelago the winds are so partial, that two vessels have been known to be sailing in opposite directions at half a

mile distance, with stern sails set; which in more intelligible language would mean that there were two winds exactly contrary within the distance of half a mile, and that they equally favoured the two vessels in their course.

Steam-boats would be extremely applicable to the Archipelago; for such are the land winds, and the eddies between the various islands, that no wind can be depended on for an hour together.

The three islands of Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsara, have furnished ships for the Greek navy. They had risen to wealth and importance previous to the revolution, by their mercantile speculations, and they were as free as they could possibly be. No Turks resided among them; they paid a slight tax, and were suffered to govern themselves, on condition of furnishing a stated number of sailors to the Ottoman navy. Spezzia and Ipsara joined the revolution at its first commencement. Hydra was more backward; but the sailors being unemployed, forced the ship-owners to espouse the cause of liberty. They lent their vessels to the Government, and in the first year the fleet was commanded by Tombasis, a brave and worthy patriot, who obtained great successes. Hydra furnished at that time about sixty vessels, and the other two islands thirty each. Miaülis was the next admiral, and

has continued to be so until the present period. He is a respectable old man, a good patriot, and a man of courage. He was once possessed of great property, but lost a vessel on the coast of Spain, which with its cargo was his own, and this reduced his fortune to mediocrity. He is indifferent to politics, meddling in no other party but that of his own island, where he is popular.

The sailors were at first paid by the chiefs of the islands, who made great sacrifices on this account. When the loans came, they were in part reimbursed; and a great proportion of the sums which reached Greece, were devoted to the navy. The national vessels are now, a frigate, built in America from the produce of the English loans, and three steamers built in England, a corvette (the Hydra,) taken by Lord Cochrane from the Turks, some brigs, and about forty boats of all descriptions, armed with from one to four guns.

The principal persons of the islands of Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsara, are opposed to the President. The chief men are, at Hydra, Lazaro and George Conduriottis: the former never quits his island, but is always at the head of the local government. The latter brother was President of the general Government in 1824 and 1825. He was a man of integrity and patriotism, but with limited capacity;

and the loans which came at those periods to Greece were employed in putting down civil wars, and the Government derived no strength from so eminent a support. These two brothers have been very liberal in their pecuniary contributions to the cause of their country, and enjoy high reputations. George has been in employment under Capodistrias, but he was soon disgusted. He was a member of the National Assembly of Argos, but merely listened to the debates.

The two brothers, Jacomo and Emanuel Tombasis, were also distinguished inhabitants of Hydra. The former was admiral; a man of integrity and patriotism, and far more talented than most of his fellow islanders: he died at the end of the last year (1829) at Poros. The latter brother was Governor of Candia in 1823, but he has not the honesty of his brother, though he is perhaps better informed.

The other leading men are, Orlandos, who was deputy in London, Buduris, and Isamados, and several others.

The leading men at Spezzia are, Bottasis, Anargyros, &c. They have figured but little in the Government, though they have aided the cause with money and vessels. Caracazzanis is one of

the few Spezziot politicians, and does little credit to his island.

The leading men at Ipsara are, Apostoli, Monarchidi, Marki, Canarès, &c. They are very strong oppositionists to the present Government. Monarchidi spoke most freely at the last National Assembly.

Trees for the building of ships of war are scarce in Greece. I have been informed that they are only to be met with in those parts of Greece in the immediate vicinity of Arta, Negropont, and south of Zeitouni. At one time the French drew from the neighbourhood of Arta supplies for their navy. At Leondari, in the Morea, trees applicable to ship-building may be found, but it would be difficult to transport them to the sea-side.

The plane trees and Spanish chesnuts in various parts of the Peloponnesus are of surprising size. Oleanders too, especially about Sparta, spring up from the bed of the Eurotas to a height of twenty feet. The prickly Indian fig tree is often found forming an impenetrable barrier as a fence; and whole groves of arbutus, like the rhododendrons in Asia Minor, give more the idea of extensive pleasure-grounds than open waste land.

Indian corn, cotton, and currants, thrive well ; and there are abundant falls of water in all parts, which might be usefully employed for machinery in the manufacture of cotton. Grass is extremely deficient ; until November, when the Spring seems to commence, not a blade is to be seen. Artificial grasses, however, might be cultivated ; and potatoes, carrots, and mangel-worzel, seem to do well.

The present taxation on produce is ten per cent. on private land, which constitutes little more than a third part of the Morea, and thirty per cent. on the government lands. The duty on importation is twelve per cent. *ad valorem*, excepting on particular articles, which are much higher. From port to port there is still another four per cent. charged, and it happens occasionally that an article pays a port-duty three or four times, which is very severe. But it seems to me, that all that is wanting to render Greece an abundant and exporting country, is a government so constituted, that security of property may be firmly established : money would then flow in, and the peasant who now pays in some instances five per cent. per month interest for a trifling loan, would be able to procure it on more moderate terms. Articles of husbandry, and cattle for ploughing, would be introduced ; the wheels of commerce

would be put in motion ; and this unhappy country would be regenerated. Those who feel satisfied of the truth of this opinion, must earnestly wish to see a more permanent state of things than exists at present.

This brings us to the political state of Greece, and here is a great field for diversity of opinion, and perhaps for prejudice ; and although the result of my inquiries and observations as to the President would not have led me under other circumstances to desire that he should be confirmed as Chief of Greece, yet nothing can be more detrimental to the country than the present provisional state of its government ; and it might, perhaps, be better to invest Count Capodistrias with sovereign power for a limited period, than to allow a continuance of uncertainty, which tends to the creation of parties, and to the prevention of all advancement.

Those who may be much interested in the affairs of Greece, will find the Smyrna Gazette, edited by a Frenchman, and very well written, the best reference for all that has occurred during the last two years. It is very violent against Capodistrias—whether too much so, or not, I will not presume to give an opinion ; but it is certain that it has correspondents among the principal men of Greece,

whom the restrictions, which the Count has imposed on the press, deprive of any other vehicle for the expression of their opinions. The Count has many qualifications, such as relations of intimacy with the diplomatists of Europe; great experience in state affairs; an application to business rarely equalled, of which the wan appearance of his countenance is a striking indication; the advantage of belonging to the Greek church, and of speaking the language: but when we place against these, the effrontery with which he misapplied the funds from France and Russia to bribe the members of the Government, and thus dared to expend for purposes of corruption that which was given to Greece for charity,—were we to look no further, and accusations are not wanting, we should at least pause before we were desirous to see the permanent establishment of such a person, and such a system.

The result of my fairest inquiries is decidedly, that the present government of Greece is not worthy of the confidence of the allied powers; and although the peculiarity of the circumstances may render it politic to allow a continuance of the existing state of things for some time longer, in order to fashion, if possible, the rude people, and rectify the ill effects that barbarism and revolution have occasioned; yet the present mal-administration could

not otherwise be tolerated. The most distinguished men in point of talents, principles, devotion to the cause of liberty, are, almost to a man, opposed to the present system; and feel that Ionians and stranger Greeks, who have no real claims on Greece, usurp honour and influence due to those only, who are identified by property, birth, or zeal, with the cause of their country. Intricate as is this question, the interest of it may be received as an excuse for hazarding these opinions. The state of party opposed to the present government is becoming so high, that decision one way or the other is of the utmost importance. Little to be envied will be the situation of that man, who, with the honours of Prince of Greece, will receive the embarrassment attending the organization of a people just emerged from a state of anarchy, if he be not possessed of sufficient energy of character to support the difficult charge intrusted to him. Enfeebled in resources, the efforts of the people are unavailing to relieve them from the ruinous effects of their former debasement, of their recent difficulties, and the present uncertain state of their government. The desolation of every town of the Morea and Roumelia, the encumbrance of the national debt (for which all the property of Greece is mortgaged,) the difficulty of pacifying the disbanded irregular army, the want of efficient men to assist in the government, and the unhealthiness

of the country, seem to defy all efforts, and to damp all energy.

These difficulties however exist; and they can only be surmounted by courage, and a zeal and activity on the part of the government. Under a firm and honest administration, I should have the fullest confidence that Greece would again flourish. They are a stirring people, if properly guided, and would soon emerge from the state of listlessness and apathy in which they have been so long buried, and prove to the world they are worthy their bettered condition, and were compelled to adopt the vices, because they had the misfortune to bear the yoke of Mahometans.

By the arrangements made since I left Greece, it seems that her independence will be insured; and that though her territory will be diminished, she will on that account not be required to indemnify the former inhabitants of the Morea, for the property they have lost. This arrangement (which on account of the insecurity of the present frontier may be deplored) is so far advantageous, that it effectually removes many otherwise insuperable obstacles. The Greeks could never have paid the value of two-thirds of the Morea, which formerly belonged to the Turkish Pashas, who had always the power to appropriate to themselves whatever

portion of land attracted their cupidity. Nor would the Greeks in their turn have ever received from the Sultan the value of the property they abandoned in other parts of his empire; and the remuneration they might have been able to give to individual Turks, would have entered the Imperial Hasnè (treasury) without benefiting the private owner.

The emigration of such useful subjects as the Greeks are to the Turks, would have been prevented: now, a good treatment on the part of the Ottoman government will be the best means of inducing them not to join their liberated brethren.

I shall now lay before the reader some notes on the characters of the members of the government, and of the leading men of the country: for although I feel it an invidious task to speak personally of individuals, still it may be interesting to others to obtain the opinion of a person so well qualified to speak on all matters relating to Greece, as that gentleman is to whom I am indebted for the following notes, and to whom I beg to take this opportunity of expressing my very best acknowledgments for the information he afforded me, not less than for the very kind manner in which it was furnished to me for my own private perusal, when in Greece. I allude to Mr. Lee, who was formerly secretary to the army under Sir Richard Church, and a captain

on his staff. I am also indebted to the same gentleman for the preceding remarks on the army and navy.

Count John Capodistrias is a native of Corfu ; by profession a medical man, and was employed in that capacity by the Sultan, when the Ionian Islands were subject to Turkey : he was introduced by the Bishop Ignatius to Mocenigo, then, and now, an employè of Russia, and he accompanied the bishop as his secretary in a mission to Wallachia. At St. Petersburg, he gained the confidence of the Emperor Alexander, by becoming the associate of his pleasures, and he was appointed a *conseiller de cour*. His talents soon raised him to higher posts, and at last in his capacity of minister for foreign affairs, he attended the Congress of Vienna. Byron, in allusion to him, says, “ And subtle Greeks intrigue for stupid Tartars.” In 1819, Capodistrias visited the Ionian Islands ; and, under pretext of merely seeing his father, he fomented the discontentments then existing, and on his return to Ancona, he wrote to Sir T. Maitland on the government of those islands. Sir Thomas complained to the English Government of this unwarranted interference, and it was made a matter of instructions to our ambassador at St. Petersburg to insist on his being dismissed from the post of foreign secretary there. He did not resign, as is generally thought.

He then retired to Geneva on a pension from Russia ; and as he had peculiarly exerted himself at the Congress of Vienna for the independence of Switzerland, he was received with open arms. He resided at Geneva till 1827.

Capodistrias had disapproved of the Greek insurrection at its commencement. He wrote a letter to the chiefs, desiring them to first spread instruction, and induce the people to listen to their clergy : but this advice came too late ; the insurrection had begun, and nothing could stop it. He had been one of the chief promoters of the *Hetæria*, and had sent the so-named " apostles " into various parts of Greece in 1815, and the succeeding years. His visit to the Ionian Islands in 1819 had, for its principal object, the keeping up of the spirit which had long manifested itself in Greece.

Capodistrias was named President of Greece by the Assembly of Trœzene in 1827. Before he received the official notification of this nomination, he had been informed of it by his brother, Count Viaro, and he left Geneva for Paris and Petersburg, at which latter place he interested the Emperor Nicholas in his plans. He visited London, but his reception from Mr. Canning was not very cordial. He arrived at Egina in January, 1828, in the English ship *Warspite*, Captain Parker, after having visited

Admiral Codrington at Malta. His first step was an unpopular one, namely, the dissolution of the senate; but his being accompanied by a vessel of each of the protecting nations, and his having them placed at his disposal for six months, the salutes given him on his going on board, and the extreme respect shown him, induced those who were opposed to his first measures, to coincide with him, under the persuasion that he was the chosen man of the three courts, and that they would protect him against all opposition. The people were also tired of anarchy: it was evident their own chiefs were not competent to the government of them, and they looked up to him as the most able of the Greeks. He has shown talents, and circumstances have been favourable to him; but his attachment to his own friends, his love of his countrymen to the prejudice of the native Greeks, his violation of his promises, his contempt for all who have been instrumental in forwarding the revolution, for the strangers who have served Greece in general, the sacrifices of all considerations unconnected with Russia, and his conduct in regard to the National Assembly, when every law of decorum was openly violated, have rendered the number of his friends very few; and it is certain, that should a prince be appointed in his place, there will be no difficulty in removing him. Since these remarks were penned, Prince Leopold has been chosen Sovereign of Greece, and

has resigned his claims on that country. The enthusiasm of the people of Greece in his favour, I am told, was unlimited; and had the prince been more anxious to gratify ambition than to maintain the ease and comfort he here enjoys, he perhaps would not have given up a kingdom, which, under a good government, may eventually repay the exertions of its future monarch. In the mean time, Capodistrias has contrived to keep an authority, which he was unwilling to lay down, in spite of the many difficulties which he represented as surrounding it. For many months he received a subsidy of half a million of francs from France, and an equal sum from Russia: the revenues of the country have also been increased by the establishment of order, and he alone has had greater means at his disposal than all the preceding governments since the commencement of the war.

The present ministers are,—

1. **Jacovakis Rizos**, for foreign affairs,—a Constantinopolitan,—formerly minister of two Hospodars of Wallachia,—a man of ability. He was named in the place of S. Tricupis, who had refused to take his seat in the National Assembly *with limited powers* for Missolonghi, his native place. Rizos is less independent than Tricupis, but he has equal talents. His post is not a difficult one, as the pre-

sident takes this department more especially on himself.

2. N. Spiliades, secretary of state and for home affairs,—a Moreot,—one of Colocotroni's party,—a man of mean abilities, and meaner character,—a fawning courtier, a participator in any scheme which will increase his own influence with the President.

3. N. Chrysogelos, secretary for instruction and religion,—a native of Siphanto. A man first heard of, when the President made him secretary of the National Assembly. He is his master's humble slave.

4. Genetàs, of *Corfu*, secretary of justice,—a man of talent in his profession, but willing to do any thing he is ordered,—a friend and confidant of Count Viaro.

5. Count Viaro Capodistrias, a *Corfiot*, minister of war and marine, elder brother of the President, whom he has greatly injured in public estimation, by his absurd and unjustifiable conduct. Viaro has great influence with the President: besides his above post, he is commissioner extraordinary of the Argolis, with Hydra and Spezzia, and has in his hands all patronage and appointments.

To offend Viaro is much more dangerous than to offend the President. He is director of the secret police. With limited abilities, indeed none, he has engrossed the principal posts, and has injured the country in many respects. In his present post he has succeeded Mavrocordato and Count A. Metaxas. The former is a man who cannot be equalled in Greece for patriotism, talent, and indefatigability. The latter is also a man of talent, but of that kind which is wonderfully effective in working mischief, but is incompetent to do good. (Of these two I will speak afterwards.)

Count Augustino Capodistrias, *a Corfiot*, is the third son of the family: he is lieutenant-plenipotentiary in continental Greece, a man of very limited understanding, and fond of pomp. He is constantly resident in the frigate *Hellas*, which is employed at an immense expense for this sole object. He has been in France and Russia. At St. Petersburg, his brother's credit obtained a decoration for him. He is open to flattery, weak, but not ungentlemanly in his manner. When Missolonghi and Lepanto had been reduced to extremities by the blockade which General Church had kept up, he arrived, and received their submission. This success turned his weak head. He wears a general's uniform, builds himself a palace at Lepanto, and hears no opposition. Count

A. Metaxas has now the direction of his weak mind.

There are in Greece, commissioners extraordinary, provisional governors, and numerous administrative officers, but almost all of these are favourites, and new men, of whom little can be said: they have been chosen for their insignificance, and are spies, flatterers, or whatever circumstances make them. No man of importance has any influence now, and the worst which can be said of the present system is, that every man of independent feeling is excluded from it.

The new senate, or rather council, is called the *ἑρουλία* (Gerousia). The President has appointed every member, and has, as usual, made a farce of this also. The members are those whom he purchased at the National Assembly. They are to be twenty-seven in number.

George Sissini, of Gastorini, is the President. He is a man of notoriously bad principle; always fluctuating between the different parties, to take part with that which may best suit his interest. He was president of the assembly of Trœzene, and of the recent assembly of Argos. His present pay is one thousand five hundred piastres, or one hundred dollars monthly, the largest salary of any civil functionary in Greece.

Theodore Colocotroni, a principal member of the Gerousia, has acquired celebrity in the revolution, and enjoys greater reputation in foreign countries than he deserves. He has been in the service of Russia and England: in the latter service he was under General Church, as captain of the Guides in the Ionian Islands. When the revolution broke out he was at Zante in indifferent circumstances. He came immediately into the Morea, and as his name was famous among the *armatoli*, he soon got together a band of troops, and being victorious in his desultory warfare he became the military chief of the Morea. Whilst his poverty lasted Colocotroni was a patriot; when he succeeded in enriching himself he became a coward, and a factious. He has all the low cunning of a partisan chief, and has unreservedly committed himself to the guidance of Count Metaxas and other intriguers. He has been the constant opposer of every government, even of that which he himself most contributed to form. In one civil war, he lost his eldest son, Panos, a young man of promise, and who had influence over his father, and since that time his reputation has been evidently declining. At Tripolitza, Napoli, and elsewhere, he enriched himself, and he is now one of the chief proprietors of the Morea. He has still great influence in the south of the Morea, and has in his family some of the most celebrated chiefs, such as Nikitas, Coliopulo, &c. who follow him in

every thing. He was instrumental in bringing Capodistrias to Greece, but was long neglected by him, until at last the convocation of the assembly rendered his adherence to the government necessary, and he was then purchased for about fifteen thousand dollars, and has maintained the administration through every measure.

I visited Colocotroni at Nauplia, where, as well as at his native place (Caritena), his newly acquired riches have enabled him to build himself a superior kind of mansion. I could not have had a finer specimen of the brigand-chief. He is now about sixty years of age, of strong and muscular proportions; sometimes wearing a fanciful helmet, sometimes a turban, and at others the simple scull-cap. We were ushered into his neatly furnished *salon* by a Maltese bull-dog, between which and its master there seems to exist a sympathetic feeling. This dog would have been wanting in any representation of the chief, and serves admirably to complete the picture of the brigand and his suite. We had a long conversation with Colocotroni, but it would be useless to note his professions of attachment to England, when it is well known, that whoever best pays may have him. Though no longer, like his forefathers, an inhabitant of the mountain, he retains that peculiarity of their robber-life.

Count Andreas Metaxas, a *Cephalonian*, came to Greece at the beginning of the revolution. He distinguished himself in some engagements with the Lalliois and other Turks. He is a man of intrigue; a turbulent factionary; and has been the guide of Colocotroni in most of that chief's disorders. He has always been a leading man, and the constant opponent of Mavrocordato and Zaïmas. He contributed to Capodistrias coming to Greece, and has been rewarded since his arrival by being placed in eminent posts. His cousin, Constantine Metaxas, has also been in Greece since the beginning of the revolution; a man of less talent, worse character, and not so leading a personage. He is now commissioner extraordinary of Eastern Greece.

The other members of the Gerousia are not marking characters. They each receive one thousand piastres monthly. Miaülis (the Greek admiral), Conduriottis, and Tombasis, have refused the seats which were offered them in that council. Mavrocordato and Zaïmis have also declined.

The opposition is now very formidable. The leading members of it are Andreas Zaïmis, A. Mavrocordato, S. Tricupis, C. Zografos, A. Londres, and his brother, B. Roufos, Clonares, and, indeed, all the talented men of Greece. A. Zaïmis was, before the revolution, a leading man under the

Turks. Superior to his countrymen in dignity and natural talent, he has been a leading man among them. His sacrifices have been very great. He has been one of the chiefs of the English party, and was the first to sign the offer of the protectorate to England. He is a sincere patriot, and opposed the arbitrary measures of Capodistrias from their commencement. He was a member of the last assembly, but refused to continue taking his seat, when he found it to be influenced entirely by the President. Since then he has retired to his estates near Calavryta.

Mavrocordato, a Constantinopolitan, descended from one of the first Greek families of the Fanar. He had been secretary to the Hospadar Caradjà. He studied in Pisa and Leghorn, and has travelled in Switzerland and France. He came to Greece at the commencement of the revolution, with several other Greeks who had studied in Europe. He joined Ypsilanti at Tripolitza, but the latter was jealous of his superior talents. In union with Negris he drew up a provisional constitution, which was confirmed by the first assembly of Epidaurus, and Mavrocordato was named president of the government. He established a degree of order, and his administration was a respectable one. He was obliged to yield to the intrigues of Metaxàs,

the cunning of Colletti, and the force of Colocotroni, and went to Western Greece, where he defended Missolonghi, in its first and second sieges, with courage and talent against the Turks, who were then obliged to retire. He was subsequently secretary to the government of Conduriottis. When he found that the party attached to France was endeavouring to bring in the son of the Duke of Orleans, he made a counter party, and succeeded in effecting the address to England. Since 1825 he had not taken an ostensible part in affairs, when the President arrived. He was then made director of the marine forces, and a member of the council called the Panhellenium. He was there a member of the opposition. He took no part in the national assembly of Argos, and did not even visit the place during its sittings. He has lately withdrawn entirely from the government, and declined to become a member of the Gerousia.

Mavrocordato is the pride of Greece, a man of honour and integrity: this is best proved by his present poverty. It is to be regretted that he is not a native of Greece proper, for he has been looked upon as a stranger; and not having landed possessions in Greece, he has been exposed to the enmity of low-minded men, who have neither his honesty nor his ability. I have no hesitation in

saying, that Mavrocordato is one of the best men of Greece, and that his talents would be respectable in the first country of Europe.

S. Tricoupi, of Missolonghi, was a secretary to the English Consul at Patras, Mr. Strani; then to Lord Guilford, with whom he resided some time in England, and at Corfu. He came back to Greece in the second year of the revolution, and has almost constantly been a member of the government. He does not possess the talents or the industry of Mavrocordato, nor would he be a distinguished character in another country; but he is a superior man in Greece, and a man of integrity. He has been, since the arrival of Capodistrias, secretary of state; then secretary for foreign affairs. He refused to take his seat in the National Assembly of Argos, when his countrymen offered him the representation, with limited powers; and he was consequently obliged to retire from his office of secretary for foreign affairs. He was offered the government of six islands in the Archipelago, or a distinguished place in the Court of Appeal; but he refused to accept of any employment under the present government, unless the system was changed. He is now giving an example of independent principles as a private citizen. He is the brother-in-law of Mavrocordato.

Constantine Zograffos, of Calavryta, studied as a medical man at Pisa. He is possessed of great talent, and very independent character. He has constantly represented his native town in the senate, and in all the National Assemblies except the last one. Since the arrival of Capodistrias, he has been a member of the Commissariat-General, and of the Panhellenium. He is a principal leader of the opposition, a man of true integrity and patriotism, and a very poor man. He cannot fail to occupy a distinguished place, when the administration of Greece is a liberal one.

The other members of the opposition are guided by the above four.

January, 1830.—All is perfectly quiet at present in Greece, the continental parts excepted: for Roumelia cannot be considered tranquil, whilst the irregular army is allowed to remain in great arrears of pay. Very recently, indeed, there have been three systematic revolts among the soldiery, and Ypsilanti advocated their cause. But it would be an injustice not to speak highly of the perfect security with which one passes through the Morea, the islands, and the parts of Roumelia not in insurrection. We never met with the least disrespect, much less with the smallest danger. The want of

accommodation and all comfort, though very distressing to the traveller, is easily accounted for: the first sentence we heard on entering almost each town, was the same complaint against Ibrahim Pasha, who had destroyed their houses, burnt their fruit-trees, and left them, as they still were, in the most lamentable condition. The Greeks, however, have also to lay to the charge of their own people the effects of those evil passions which revolution produces; and often, in a state of recklessness and desperation, they committed excesses which they could not have accounted for in calmer moments. Many towns have alternately been destroyed by Turks and Greeks, as they in turns made way for each other; whilst other places were desolated, when they were the temporary headquarters of some military leader opposed to their own feudal chief.

We were a little alarmed upon one occasion, when in a part of Messenia which formerly was inhabited by robbers, who still retain their independent manners and savage countenances, although they no longer follow their predatory pursuits. Having left the usual track in search of some relics, we had lost our way, and perceiving a mountaineer at a distance, we hailed him: he came, and in a very authoritative manner bid us follow him, as he knew the road well. We were

so glad to have a prospect of being put in the right road, as night was advancing, that we did not hesitate to accept his services. But before we had gone far, the Greek interpreter came to me with a most terrified countenance, and said he was afraid the guide was one of a banditti, and would lead us up to some infested spot, where we should be plundered ; for it was impossible such a pathless track as he was taking us, could conduct to any village. The mountain was most inaccessible : the guide was a powerful man, of horrible countenance, and armed with a gun, two pistols, and a knife. I had only my English servant on whom to depend, as the others were Greeks, and probably would not have rendered any assistance in case of attack. In this dilemma, there seemed no alternative but to proceed. The only weapon I had with me at that time was a double-barrelled pistol, being totally unprepared for danger : I took this, and placed it in a conspicuous part across my waist, and the interpreter begged to have the scarlet case, to appear as warlike as possible. Armstrong, (my servant, who had been with me during the whole journey,) dismounted, and for the want of a better weapon, carried a large stone in his hand ; and it was agreed between us, that in case of any attack, I would shoot the guide, and he being close to him, would take his arms, and thus we should be better prepared for a fray. Presently, the almost inaccessible

part at which we had arrived, drew from our interpreter the advice to disarm the guide, in order to prevent the possibility of treachery; but I could not sanction such a breach of confidence towards a man, whose appearance alone was the cause of our apprehensions. I believe really, had we seen any persons bearing the least suspicious appearance, we should have destroyed the poor fellow in an instant. The fear of bloodshed, or plunder, once awakened, a man's feelings are quickly excited; and the recollection of the scenes to which the unhappy country in which we then were, had been recently a prey, were so fresh and acute, that they forced themselves upon the imagination, in spite of one's best fortitude.

Some towns have been totally annihilated: Lalla, for instance, in Elis, formerly a large Turkish town, is hardly distinguishable; nothing but a small fortress remains; even the grave-stones of the Mussulmans have been carried away, or destroyed. It was a war, in short, of extermination; and either party would have swept the other from the face of the earth, had it possessed the means.

Happily, however, we have assisted in the pacification of Greece, and in insuring her independence. "*Esto perpetua!*"

I shall now imagine myself issuing from the Lazaret of Corfu, and roaming about one of the most beautiful islands imaginable, for it seems to abound in every species of scenery that the amateur or the painter could desire. As far as individual industry is concerned, we were somewhat reminded of the desolation of the Morea.

My remarks on Corfu will be very limited ; but it is not possible to leave unnoticed, a ceremony which appeared to me the most singular I had seen since the commencement of my journey,—that of English soldiers assisting in the pageant of a Greek church, and presenting arms to the embalmed body of a Saint Spiridion ; but in case these observations should meet the eye of any one who might have the power, as well as the inclination, to remonstrate upon this subject, I shall be careful to prevent my feelings influencing the accuracy of my statement. Saint Spiridion is worshipped by the Ionians of Corfu, as their patron, with all the enthusiasm of their pompous religion. On a particular day in the year (or on extraordinary occasions, as on earthquakes, heavy storms, &c.) his body is carried in state through the town, when it is customary, and has been so since the English were the protectors of those islands, for the garrison to follow in the procession, led on by the Lord High Commissioner, the officers bearing lights, and swelling the proces-

sion of the patron saint, the guns at the same time firing a salute from the citadel. It was upon a minor occasion, however, that we saw what appeared so extraordinary. The church, sacred to, and bearing this saint's name, had a fête during three days and nights, and an officer's guard was in the church the whole time to keep order, and assist in the ceremony, by presenting arms to the body as it was paraded down the aisle once or twice a day.

I could not help smiling to see a rough young Irishman collar an old woman, and push her out of the church ; for it was the chief duty of the soldiers to keep back the crowd, who pressed in upon all sides ; and I observed another refuse admittance to a young Greek, who begged to be allowed to enter, to kiss the saint's toe, when the soldier replied, " You have kissed his toe already," and turned him away. The military band played—" God save the King," when the bishop entered, and tended at other times to enliven the extraordinary proceeding.

This can be regarded only as a manner of ingratiating ourselves with the Greek priesthood, which here, as well as on the continent, is of the most grossly ignorant condition. It was impossible to avoid feeling contempt for such a paltry expedient,

which seemed alike regardless of all sense of dignity for ourselves, and for our religion.

Having ventured these few observations, I leave the unpleasant subject to those who may remedy the error; and I only hope, that if the practice be considered, by those more competent than myself, to be derogatory to the dignity of our nation, it may fall under the observation of those who may have the power of reforming it.

It might, perhaps, also be worth consideration, whether having received the Ionian Islands under our protection and government in 1814, contrary to our own inclination at the time, and as they occasion us a large annual surplus of expenditure, it would not be for our interest to unite them to Greece, when her government is so firmly constituted as to be able to take advantage of this addition of territory; this might be acceptable to the Ionians (who call themselves Greeks), and at the same time that we restored what may be asked for Greece on the ground of justice, we should reap great advantage for ourselves by saving a considerable expense.

I shall conclude the narrative of my observations and adventures in the East, by a few remarks on quarantines, the places of penalty for those who travel into unhealthy climates.

On arriving from Turkey at Corfu there are thirty days quarantine; from the Morea, twenty-one: the time varies from fourteen to forty days; yet a second quarantine is required on landing in Italy or Malta, or any other place in *pratique* with the continent. This seems to suppose the purification at Corfu imperfect; yet the authorities at Ancona deny this, and are fully sensible of the extreme punctuality of the Corfu government, as to its health-office department. The real reason is, that France and Austria insist upon it, and declare they will not otherwise give *pratique* to vessels from Malta or Italy, and thus we are obliged to submit. Certainly this is a subject of considerable importance; not so much perhaps for those who travel for their pleasure as for the commercial interests of our colonies. Many are of opinion the quarantine system will never be put on a good footing until it be made the subject of a treaty; for where so many interests are concerned, it is hopeless to effect any improvement that will meet with general approbation, without making it a special object of arrangement. The performance of quarantine is at present strictly required by the Papal and other governments, not so much from fear of infection, as from the assurance that they themselves may be obliged to submit to it, if they do not enforce it.

On applying to the delegate at Ancona for an abridgment of our quarantine, he said he had not the very smallest power to lessen it a single moment ; that his commands from the Pope were peremptory, adding, "*Non sono delegato sono ligato.*"

In proof of the absurdity of quarantine, as sometimes practised, it may not be amiss to mention a case that occurred to a French ship at Toulon : she had performed about twenty days, when she was suddenly ordered off to the coast of Spain, at the time of the occupation of that country by the Duke d'Angoulême ; having remained on that station two or three months, and had no communication but by signal with any vessel during the whole time, she returned to Toulon, and was ordered to complete the remaining term of fifteen days which had been left unfinished, the full period being thirty-five days. I should hardly dare to put forth a case so extraordinary lest it might be thought a traveller's story, had it not been related to me by good authority, as undoubtedly true.

Having, however, undergone the penance, we soon lost the remembrance of it, in the excitement caused by approaching daily near, and more near, to our native country, where we arrived in the commencement of 1830.

SKETCH OF TOUR.

Calais.
 St. Omer.
 Lille.
 Brussels.
 Waterloo.
 Namur.
 The Meuse.
 Spa.
 Aix-la-Chapelle.
 Cologne.
 Coblentz.
 Mayence.
 Worms.
 Heidelberg.
 Baden Baden.
 Stutgard.
 Ulm.
 Blenheim.
 Schellenburg.
 Ratisbonne.
 Passau.
 The Danube.
 Castle of Richard Cœur de
 Lion.
 Vienna.
 Luxeburg.
 Baden.
 Valley of Brill.
 Vienna.

Plains of Austerlitz.
 Olmutz.
 Cracow.
 The Vistula.
 Wilichka (salt-mines).
 Lemberg.
 Brody (leave Austria).
 Toultschin.
 Balta.
 Novo Doubosari.
 The Dniester.
 Odessa.
 The Boog.
 Nickolaef.
 Kherson.
 The Dnieper.
 Perekop.
 Sympheropol.
 Bacchiserai.
 Sevastopol.
 Inkermann.
 Sevastopol.
 Monastery of St. George.
 Balaclava.
 Baidar.
 Aluyпка.
 Nikita.
 Alushta.
 Sympheropol.

- Karasubazar.
 Sudack.
 Caffa.
 Kerch.
 Apouk.
 Kerch.
 Straits of Yenikale.
 Taman (in ASIA).
 The Kouban.
 Ekaterinodar.
 Stavropol.
 Yeorieusk.
 Karass.
 Konstantinogorsk.
 Yeorieusk.
 Ekatenirograd.
 Caucasus.
 The Terek.
 Vladi Caucase.
 The Koor.
 Tiflis.
 Telaf.
 Signag.
 Balakan.
 Tiflis.
 Erivan.
 Mount Ararat.
 Echmiatzen.
 Erivan (leave Russian do-
 minions).
 The Aras.
 Makoo.
 Sophian.
 Tabreez.
 Miana.
 Casveen.
 Abhar (supposed Habor of
 Scripture).
 The Kissilouzan.
 Tehraun.
 Rae.
 Hamudan (tombs of Esther
 and Mordecai).
 Kangovar.
 Besitoon.
 Kirmanshah.
 Tackt i bostan.
 Sennah.
 The Kissilouzan.
 Caves of Carefto.
 Maraga.
 Lake Ouroumeea.
 Tabreez.
 Hoey (leave Persia).
 Hoshab.
 Wan.
 The Euphrates.
 Arzroom.
 Tokat.
 Amaseea.
 The Kissil Irmak.
 Ismitt.
 Scutari.
 Constantinople.
 Brussa.
 Mount Olympus.
 Lake Ascanius.
 Nice.
 Prince's Islands.
 Constantinople.

Bosphorus.	Phigaleia.
Mouth of Black Sea.	The Alpheus.
Therapia.	Olympia.
Belgrade.	Lalla.
Constantinople.	Tripotamia.
Dardanelles.	Kalavrita.
Tenedos.	Megaspelia.
Troy.	Lepanto Gulph.
Cape Colonna (leave Turkey).	Corinth.
Egina.	Hexamilia (American colony).
Epidaurus.	Port of Cenchreæ.
Jero.	Mycenæ.
Napoli.	Argos.
Tirynthus.	Napoli.
The Inachus.	Epidaurus.
Argos.	Egina.
The Erasinus.	Athens.
Tripolitza.	Salamis.
Tegea.	Egina (leave Greece).
Mistra.	Corfu.
Sparta.	Ancona.
Leondari.	Bologna.
Messene.	Milan.
Mount Vourkano.	Simplon.
Kleissora.	Geneva.
Mount Lycæus.	Jura.
Ampeliona.	Paris.
Andruzzena.	Calais.
Bassæ.	

THE END.

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