

Memoirs of Baron de Tott. Containing the state of the Turkish Empire and the Crimea, during the late war with Russia : with numerous anecdotes, facts, and observations, on the manners and customs of the Turks and Tartars ... / [François Tott].

Contributors

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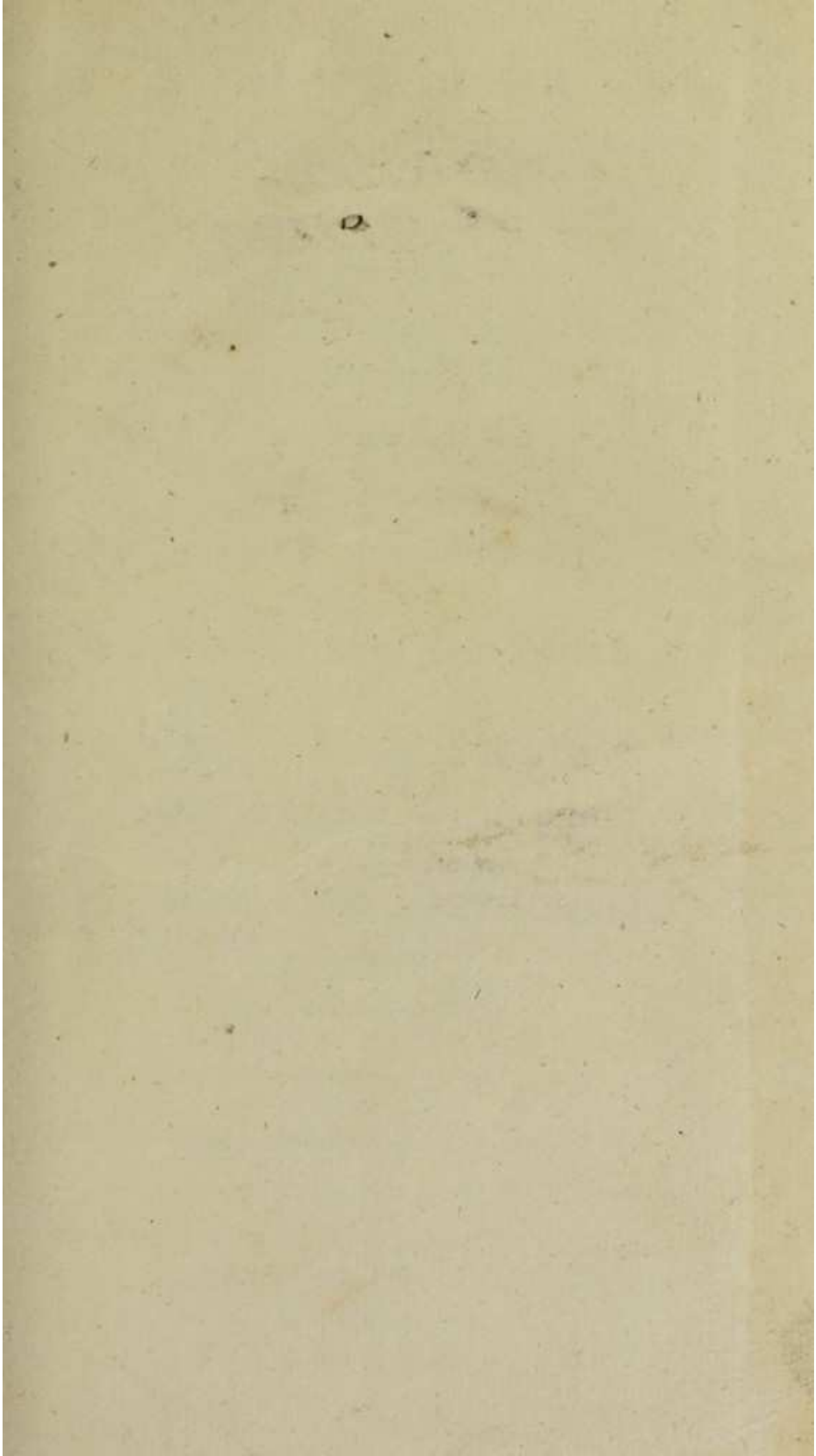


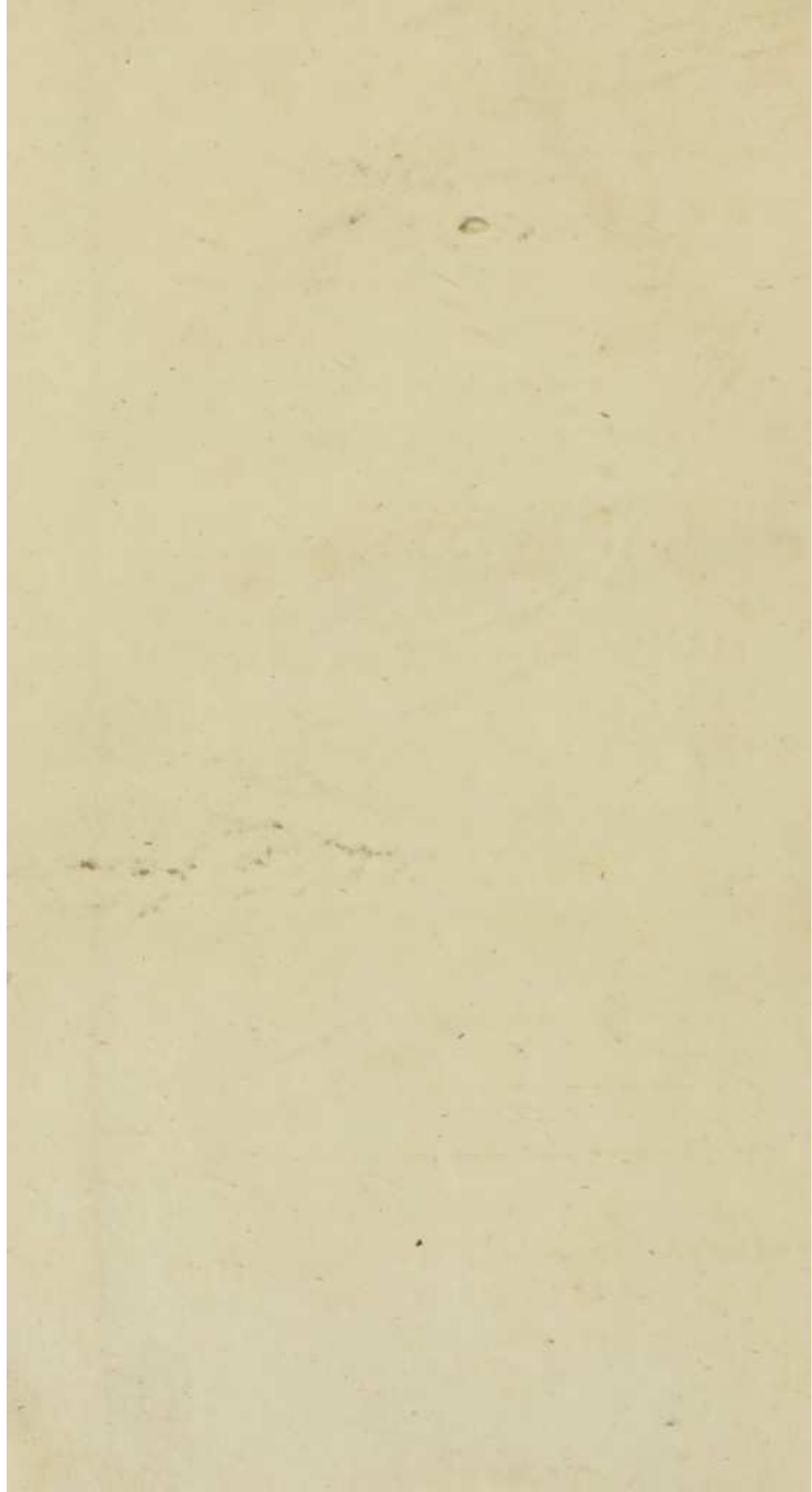
James Rimington.

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M E M O I R S

OF

B A R O N D E T O T T.

CONTAINING THE STATE OF THE

TURKISH EMPIRE AND THE CRIMEA,

DURING THE LATE

W A R W I T H R U S S I A.

WITH NUMEROUS

ANECDOTES, FACTS, AND OBSERVATIONS,

ON THE

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

OF THE

T U R K S A N D T A R T A R S.

THE SECOND EDITION.

TO WHICH ARE SUBJOINED,

The STRICTURES of M. DE PEYSSONNEL.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

V O L. II.

L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR G. G. J. AND J. ROBINSON,
PATER-NOSTER-ROW.

MDCCLXXXVI.

M. E. M. O. I. R. 3

BARON DE TOTT

THE BARON DE TOTT
AND THE CRIMINAL

AND THE RUSSIA

AND THE CRIMINAL

MANUSCRIPTS AND CUSTOMS

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THE SECOND EDITION



IN THE UNIVERSITY

OF LONDON

1804

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M E M O I R S

O F

BARON DE TOTT.

PART THE THIRD,

I HAD seen, during my journey, but a small part of the Cruelties and Disorders of the Turkish Army, on its leaving Constantinople; but on my arrival in that City, I found every one still agitated with a horrible Spectacle, just exhibited, of which I could easily collect the particulars.

An antient Custom, the origin and use of which is no longer known, has mixed the most insipid buffoonry with the act of assembling together the Forces of this vast Empire. This ridiculous Ceremony is called by the Turks Alay; that is to say, The Triumph. It consists in a kind of Masquerade,

querade, in which each Trade, successively, presents to the Spectators the mechanical exercise of its respective Art. The Labourer draws his Plough, the Weaver handles his Shuttle, the Joiner his Plane, and these different Characters, seated in Cars, richly ornamented, commence the Procession, and precede the Standard of Mahomet (*a*), when it is brought out of the Seraglio to

(*a*) This Standard is of green silk, and preserved in the Treasury, whence it is never brought out but to be carried to the Army. It was indeed intended to display it against the Rebels, who dethroned Sultan Achmet. The Visir of that Prince, who was the first Victim to the rage of the Malcontents, had given this counsel to his Master, and the Insurgents, who had no object in view but Plunder, would certainly have been dispersed by the numbers which the holy Banner would have united against them. They likewise preserve in the Treasury another Relict of Mahomet. This is every year dipped into a quantity of water, which is afterwards distributed, in phials, to the Grandees of the Empire. The Infidels, for there are such even among the True-Believers, pretend this Relict is only an old pair of the Prophet's Breeches; but it is certain this Holy Water is dear enough to those who are favoured with it; and those who dispense it, know how to employ the things of this

to be carried to the Army, in order to insure Victory to the Ottoman Troops.

This Banner of the Turks, which they name Sandjak-Cherif, or the Standard of the Prophet, is so revered among them, that, notwithstanding its Reputation has been so often tarnished, it still retains their implicit Confidence, and is the sacred Signal unto which they rally. Every thing proclaims its Sanctity. None but the Emirs are allowed to touch it, they are its Guards, and it is carried by their Chief. The Mussulmen alone are permitted to look upon it; if touched by other hands it would be defiled, if seen by other eyes profaned; in short, it is encompassed by the most barbarous Fanaticism.

A long Peace had unfortunately caused the ridiculousness, and especially the danger, of this Ceremony to be forgotten. The Christians, imprudently, crowded to see it, and the Turks, who, by the situation of their houses, could make money of their windows, began to profit by the advantage; this World, and the Salvation of the World to come, to purposes of Extortion,

when an Emir, who preceded the Banner, proclaimed, with a loud voice: LET NO INFIDEL DARE TO PROFANE WITH HIS PRESENCE THE HOLY STANDARD OF THE PROPHET; AND LET EVERY MUS-
SULMAN WHO PERCEIVES AN UNBELIEVER MAKE IT KNOWN UNDER PAIN OF REPROBATION.

From that moment no Asylum was to be found; even those became Informers, who, by letting out their houses, had rendered themselves Accomplices in the Crime. A Religious Fury seized on every mind, and put arms in every hand; the more atrocious the Cruelty, the more was it meritorious. No Regard was paid to Sex or Age; pregnant Women, dragged by the hair, and trodden under Feet by the Multitude, perished in the most deplorable manner. Nothing was respected by these Monsters; and under such auspices the Turks commenced the War.

The Katty-Cherif (or Imperial Mandate) by which it was proclaimed, expressed in the usual form, invited all True-Believers, able to bear arms, to unite under the
Stand-

Standard of the Faith to combat its Enemies. This Kind of Convocation, by Arrier-ban, promised a numerous Army, but it was far from promising an army composed of good Toops. Ignorance and Avarice rather chose to assemble this Multitude of Volunteers, who were not to be provided for after the War, than to employ the Janissaries, whose pay and demands would be continually increasing. It may likewise be presumed, that the Grand Seignior, fearing to restore to this Corps the power of which his Father had been the Victim, wished only to make use of it as an addition to his Forces.

The most essential, though at the same time least expected, inconvenience, was the absolute want of foresight with regard to Provisions. It is the nature of Despotism continually to flatter itself, that Authority will supply the place of Prudence. The Grand Visir commanded the Army; all the Ministers accompanied him; even the Registers of the Chancery followed in his Train. No doubt was entertained either

of Success or Plenty; and this blind Confidence was general.

While these great Officers, by removing from Constantinople, seemed to carry with them the very Seat of Empire, Substitutes, appointed to each Employment, were resident in the Capital, and respondent to the Despot for the prompt execution of his will (*b*).

Let us now take a view of the Springs of Government in action; and the successive Incidents, I shall present, will enable us to form a better Judgment than we can from a vague Dissertation, unsupported by Facts.

A few days after my arrival at Constantinople, and before I had time to make the necessary arrangements to hasten the return of my Baggage, which I had left in the Crimea, and Bessarabia, the First Physician of the Grand Seignior sent, at eleven o'clock

(*b*) It is however to be remarked, that the absence of the Registers of the Chancery must, necessarily, retard those Orders, the execution of which requires Form; but it is likewise to be observed, that affairs of this kind rarely interest the Despot, and that, if they did, he would dispense with Form.

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at night, to ask permission to pay me a Visit. His mysterious manner, added to the Knowledge I had of the great favor he was in with the Sultan, excited my curiosity; though I did not presume to suppose he was charged with a direct message: the Physician, however, informed me, that Sultan Mustapha, having heard of my return, had sent him expressly to enquire what had occasioned it. If you have a complaint against any one, said he, immediate justice shall be done you. I have just parted from the Sultan; he spoke much concerning you, knows the origin of your family (*c*) and thinks he has a right to your zealous Services. I begged the Physician to assure his Highness of my Gratitude. Though this measure seemed produced by private esteem, I clearly perceived I was not personally the object of Sollicitation to a Prince whose Armies were in the Field. This Messenger, who was to carry back my an-

(*c*) It has been already seen, that my Father was a Hungarian, that he had followed Prince Ragotzy, and it is well known that the Porte granted refuge to that Prince, and all those who accompanied him.

swer, returned again, at the same hour as before, but better informed. As this Italian Physician (S) spoke Turkish but indifferently, the Questions he was directed to put to me were sent in writing; I also wrote back my answer, and this Correspondence with the Grand Seignior, which procured me his confidence, was unknown to his Ministers, until his Highness required from me Services which could no longer be concealed.

Emin-Pacha, without any talents necessary for the Post, either of Visir or General, blinded by self-love, believed he could preserve the one without Danger, and fill the other with Glory, and finish the War before it was well begun. His Army, continually increased by the accession of Fanatick Muslemen, soon became the most dangerous Enemy of the Empire. The want of Provisions, the disorder of this famished Multitude, the Pillage which attended distribution, and the Murders which ensued, an authority always weak, and always despised when the administration is evidently vicious, mutually conspired to render an alteration

alteration necessary. The Grand Seignior, who, alone, really interested himself in the Success of his Army, dispatched, to the Visir, an order for some new Regulations. Emin-Pacha had the Audacity to disobey; his false Policy was mistaken, his Army defeated, and, soon after, an order, more punctually executed, placed his head on the Gate of the Seraglio, with this inscription: FOR NOT HAVING FOLLOWED THE PLAN OF OPERATIONS SENT HIM IMMEDIATELY FROM THE EMPEROR.

He was succeeded by Moldovangi. This new Visir proved more enterprising, though not more able; he was defeated in like manner; but he was fortunate enough, when deprived of the Visiriat, only to lose a Place no less dangerous than eminent, and which no one could properly fill.

To the haughty Ignorance of the Generals was added the stupid Presumption of the Subalterns; and the Turks, who took the field with a prodigious train of Artillery, but which consisted of Pieces ill mounted, and full as ill served, slaughtered in every Action by the Cannon of
their

their Enemies, could only avenge themselves for their Disasters by accusing the Russians of cowardly Artifice. They overpower us, said they, by the Superiority of their Fire, which, in fact, it is impossible to approach; but let them leave their abominable Batteries, and encounter us like brave men, hand to hand, and we shall soon see whether these Infidels can resist the slaughtering sabre of the True-Believers.

This Multitude of wretched Fanaticks even reproached the Russians for having attacked them during the holy Season of Ramazan. Nevertheless, the Grand-Seignior, having been informed that the Howitzes had very much annoyed his Cavalry, enquired of me what kind of Artillery they were; for they were unknown at Constantinople. To satisfy his desire to be informed, concerning the different Bombs and Pieces of Ordnance made use of in Europe, I sent that Prince the Memoirs of Saint Remy; he could only examine the Plates; and these he had carried after him, when he went abroad, by one of his Attendants.

Sultan

Sultan Mustapha, whose first care, as we have already seen, was employed on his Finances, after having lavished enormous Sums, without Success, began to bargain with his Ministers concerning the new expences they proposed; and, while they reproached him with Avarice, he blamed himself for yielding too easily, which, he said, only served to enrich the Knaves about him. It certainly was not to be supposed, this Prince could see, without concern, his Treasures squandered, his Army mouldering away, and those Enemies whom he imagined would be subdued the first Campaign, already victorious on the Danube, and threatening him with an Invasion in the Archipelago.

His activity caused him to discover new Abuses every moment. He complained of them to his Ministers, never without making them tremble, but always without effect; for, had they wished to re-establish good Order, it was scarcely in their power. The Recruits, who were to join the Army from the extremity of Asia, passed the Bosphorus, and halted at Constantinople, not so
much

much to solicit as to enforce their own terms on the Porte.

While the Officers were bargaining about their pay for the Campaign, these Asiatics, dispersed through the Capital, compleatly armed, and every night robbing every one they met, hastened the Negociation, by rendering it absolutely necessary to get rid of such a lawless Multitude. The Government, too weak to repress their Insolence, stipulated to no purpose, and ceded without shame. Among the number of these Banditti, was a body that came from the Country of the Las (*d*), who learned, on their arrival, that some Janissaries of their Company (*e*), were confined in the Fortrefs of Yffar (*f*), on the Strait. The Porte had

(*d*) This Country extends along the Southern Coast of the Black Sea, and contains the Cities of Synopus and Trebifonde.

(*e*) This Company, which, I believe, is the thirty-fifth, is the more numerous, as the Las never enlist in any other; and the number of those enrolled amounts to thirty Thousand.

(*f*) This is the Castle where those Janissaries are confined whom they intend to punish or strangle; on which account, an imprisonment in it is, to them, a very perilous Situation.

acceded

acceded to their Terms, and had advanced them pay; but they farther demanded the release of the Prisoners. The Visir neither dared to grant nor refuse this Request; he was obliged to have recourse to an Accommodation. It was agreed, they should make an attack on the Castle, fire upon the Gate, and the Governor, seemingly compelled by this act of Hostility, should give up his Prisoners.

There were Precedents to justify this ridiculous expedient; but it is not the less a proof of the Cowardice observable in an absolute Government, and exhibits the invariable character of Despotism. The arbitrary Monarch cannot lose his power, for a moment, but it is immediately seized on by the Multitude.

While the feebleness of the Government made it connive at the excesses of a licentious soldiery, the Ministers sought to conceal the War by Sea, with which the Empire was threatened. No Russian Ship had yet ever appeared at Constantinople, therefore, said they, the Russians have no Ships; or if, by chance, they have, that is nothing
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to the purpose, since there is no communication between the Baltic and the Archipelago. Neither the Danes nor Swedes, whose Flags were known to the Turks, could overthrow this favourite argument. Shewing them Maps had no better effect, and the Divan was not yet persuaded of the possibility of the fact, when news was brought of the Siege of Coron, the Invasion of the Morea, and the appearance of twelve Russian Ships of the Line (*g*).

The uncertainty of the Ministry, however, did not prevent their preparing a Maritime Force. They hastened the fitting out of thirty Men of War, and expected,

(*g*) There are several examples of the Ignorance of the Turks in Geography still more surprizing than this. A Venetian Ambassador, coming to Constantinople with two Ships of War belonging to the Republic, met, in the Archipelago, the Fleet of the Grand Seignior, which, in time of Peace, goes out, annually, to collect the Tribute of the neighbouring Islands. The Turkish Admiral invited his Excellency on board, to entertain him; and, in the course of their conversation, asked him, Whether the Territories of Venice were near those of Russia? the Venetian, despising his Ignorance, replied, Yes, there is only the Ottoman Empire between them,

with

with such a decided Superiority, to make amends, in the Archipelago, for the losses they had suffered on the Danube.

It was likewise found, in the Records of the Empire, that the last War with Russia had occasioned the fitting out of a hundred and fifty Gallies, intended to penetrate into the Sea of Azoph; and, the particulars mentioned in the account of the expences not specifying the Motives of this Armament, it was forgotten that the Ports of Azoph and Taganrog stood for nothing in the present War; the building of the Gallies was ordered, and carried on with the greatest dispatch.

These Preparations, by furnishing plenty of money to the Soldiers and Sailors, intended for the two Fleets, carried their licentiousness to such an excess, that every day produced some new extravagance; and M. le Comte de St. Priest, the French Ambassador, whom the fine weather invited to his house near the Strait, not willing to be deprived of the pleasure of the Country, nor exposed to the insults of the Soldiery, which he had already experienced when
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in his carriage, resolved to travel with the Bayonet fixed, and cause all his Attendants to do the same; which was the only means to procure respect from the numerous Bandidi perpetually repairing to the Army both by Sea and Land.

The situation of the French Ambassador's Palace in the Country was such, that all the Boats, which went up the Strait, must pass under the windows, which, towards the Sea, were carefully kept shut.

We had gone out, after dinner, to take our usual walk, and already gained the heights of Tarapia, when we heard a brisk firing of Musquetry, at Sea, near the Palace, and stopt to consider what occasioned it, when the shouting of a Man, coming towards us, drew the attention of M. de Saint Priest. From him we learned that the Palace was attacked by a number of these rascals, and hastened our return to repress their audacity, but could not arrive in time; the Boat, from which they had fired upon the Palace, was already at a considerable distance; and though the Ambassador had only a few Shutters shot through, and Windows broken, by some dozen

dozen of bullets which we found in the Saloon, this Insult appeared to him of sufficient importance to justify a Complaint to the Porte. An Interpreter, dispatched for that purpose, reported the matter to the Reis Effendi, who heard it with marks of the greatest concern. What, said he, have these Rascals dared to insult the Palace of the French Ambassador ! They must be Idiots ; How could they expect to escape punishment ? They could not but know that, on the first Complaint, they would be immediately pursued. Such an insult is inexcusable Madness ! They might have found Houses enough belonging to Greeks, Jews, and Armenians in their way ! Why did they not attack them instead of plunging us into such an embarrassment !

Thus did this Minister lament the necessity of securing the Tranquility of an Ambassador, while he made no difficulty of sacrificing that of the Public. A Colonel of the Janissaries was ordered, with a Party, to guard the Country-house of M. de Saint Priest. Other Officers, of the same Corps, were dispatched to seize the Offen-

ders, before the departure of a Vessel which was to carry them to Varma; and it was soon after asserted that they had been taken and drowned; but the weakness of the Government was such, that this false report did not even appear probable.

Some time after, an adventure, of the same kind, which, though it originated in a less serious cause, might have terminated very disagreeably, happened at my door. I occupied the Country-house which M. de Vergennes had built, during his Embassy, at Buyukdera. A Quay, which served for a road, separated it from the Sea. Some Soldiers, passing by, talked so loud that a Parroquet, the cage of which was hung in a high window, distinguished, and repeated some free expressions with which their gaiety seasoned their Discourse. They immediately stopped to abuse him who dared to mock them, and this Abuse too was repeated in the same manner. They became outrageous, prepared their Arms, and were on the point of attacking the house, to revenge themselves on those within, when the noise roused the attention of a Janissary, whom I kept

kept there as a Guard, and who opened the Door to discover the reason of the Tumult, just as their rage was at its height. Though he was in no small danger of being made their first Victim, he, however, came to an explanation, and told them of the Parroquet. This excuse only irritated them the more, till at last, by shewing them the Offender, they were, with difficulty, appeased, and prevailed on to lay aside their resentment. Some basons of Coffee, being offered them, were accepted, and thus an end was put to this Quarrel, no less difficult to avoid than foresee.

While the Capital and its Environs were infested by a licentious soldiery, who possessed no courage but that of Robbers, the Provinces were a prey to similar Disorders, and, oppressed by their Governors with as much impunity, suffered every species of Extortion. The principal object of the Ministry was, to provide, at once, supplies for Constantinople, and subsistence for the Troops; this rendered their Exactions more heavy, and at the same time more numerous. Their measures were, at first, so

ill concerted, that the People could not fail to suffer doubly ; both from the precipitation, no less cruel than imperious, with which the Imposts were levied, and the injustice of the Agents employed to levy them.

The Turkish Government may be always considered as an army encamped, the General of which issues orders, from his head Quarters, to forage the Country. In this manner the Visir supplied his Army by the Black Sea, while the Capital depended, entirely, for its subsistence on the Provisions brought from the Archipelago ; which Supply was to be insured by the Superiority of the maritime Forces prepared against the Russians. But, though arbitrary Violence was able to hasten the construction and fitting out of the Fleets, and to collect a number of men, whom it obliged to become Sailors, every thing plainly shewed, that Ignorance and Presumption had conducted these Preparations.

High decked Vessels, the lower tier Guns of which were laid under water by the least Gale of wind, presented the Enemy with much wood, and little fire. Embarrassed Manœuvres,

Manœuvres, Cordage and Pullies which broke on the least effort, thirty men employed, in the Gun-room, to move the Tiller of the Helm, according as they were called to by the Pilot on the Fore-castle, no idea of properly stowing their Ballast, no nautical Knowledge, incumbered Decks, Guns without equality in the Calibre, were a part of the defects of this Armament, which was to be commanded by men too ignorant to perceive it had any Imperfection.

The several Stations, on board, were, nevertheless, objects of Intrigue; and the Captain-Pacha, who had the right of nominating the principal Officers, by disposing of the Command of every Ship to the best bidder, gave each Captain the same right to sell Commissions to his Inferiors. This paltry commerce, established by Custom, compleated the list of Blunders and Absurdities, which were sufficient, without the aid of their Enemies, intirely to annihilate the Turkish Marine. Accustomed, only, till then, annually to ravage the Archipelago, with a small Squadron, the Sea Officers

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knew.

knew nothing, either from Science or Experience, of any Military Principle; and when the Fleet was ready, it seemed as if nothing was to be done, but to Sail and receive a Tribute, which could not be disputed. Hassan, a Fugitive from Algiers, appointed Captain of the Admiral's Ship, seemed, alone, to go on board with an intention to fight: but this man, whose rashness is known, and who imagined that rashness would supply every defect, was desirous to signalize himself by an Invention, no less destructive at Tchefmai, than it appeared strange at Constantinople. This Invention consisted in a number of Iron-bars, which, fixed to the Gun-wale, projected out horizontally beyond the Ship's side, in order to hinder the Enemy from boarding. Though this description may give no great idea of the Genius of the Inventor, I believe I have said enough, of the Abilities of the Turks, to leave no doubt but it must excite their Admiration.

The continuance of the South-wind prevented the Fleet from Sailing; and this delay, far from being employed to put it in
better

better condition, only favoured the desertion of the Sailors, and the extortions of the Commanders, under pretence of having their Ships completely manned.

The Army, though twice destroyed, was become more numerous than ever; and the Ottoman Empire, though powerfully attacked both by Sea and Land, defending itself, on every side, with forces triple to those of its Enemies, gave itself up to all the Pride of Success, of which it entertained no doubt.

The absence of the Troops restored tranquility to the Capital; and the presumptuous hopes of Victory kept the People in good humour. The Comte de Saint Priest was willing to take advantage of this disposition, to give an Entertainment, on account of the marriage of the King of France; and, to amuse the Turks, was desirous of adding to the Balls and Diversions which could only suit the Taste of the Europeans, an Illumination, and some Fireworks, which I undertook to make. The Saloon we were obliged to build for the Ball was already finished; the Fire-

works were prepared, and we were busy in arranging the Decorations, when the doubly disastrous news of the destruction of an Army and a Fleet arrived, spread a Consternation through the City, and rendered all our Preparations useless.

It was no longer possible to think of giving Entertainments. The Grand Seignior was in the greatest anxiety, his Ministers in despair, the People distracted, and the Capital filled with the dread of Famine and Invasion.

Such was then the Situation of an Empire, which, a month before, had believed itself so formidable. Yet Ignorance, which is always ready to flatter the Pride that accompanies it, saw nothing, in this double Catastrophe, but the impenetrable decrees of Providence, to which Mortals should submit with resignation. No one considered, that an undisciplined Multitude contributes more to its own destruction than all the efforts of its Enemies. But, though the want of Discipline, alone, sufficed to destroy the land Army, at Craool, the concurrence of the most extravagant stupidity,

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on the part of the Admiral and his Officers, was necessary to complete the destruction of the Fleet, at Tcheshmai.

This Armament left the Strait of the Dardanelles to go in quest of the Russian Squadron; and, after bearing towards Chios, anchored on the Coast of Asia, between the Continent and the Islands called Spalmadores, in front of the Port of Tcheshmai. Some Frigates, newly built (for the Turks were ignorant of their use before this War) were stationed at the extremities of this long line, to give notice of the Enemy's approach; and had orders to let them get entangled in this Channel, where thirty Ships, riding at convenient distances, and moored with four Anchors each, lay in wait.

This ingenious Ambuscade being thus prepared, the Russian Ships, better arranged, having doubled the Isle of Chios, and perceived the Turkish Vessels, penetrated quite to the center of their Line before the latter made any motion to get under Sail. The two Admirals, however, being laid side by side, the Russian, after having poured in his Broadside, closed with the Turk, in order

order to throw some Combustibles on board him, but blew up in the attempt. Hassan Pacha, then Captain of the Admiral-Ship, from whom I had this account, having disengaged himself from his Enemy, thought he was out of danger, when he perceived his Stern on fire, and his Ship ready to undergo the same Fate. The Crew had already thrown themselves into the Sea; he soon followed, and was fortunate enough to lay hold of a Wreck of the Enemy's Ship, and escape the Explosion of his own; for the fire was not long before it reached the Powder-room.

It is easy to perceive, on a calculation of the real loss on each side, that of the Russians, being far the most considerable, justified them in resolving not to renew the Attack; but the Turks, whose military Knowledge scarcely extended to the effects of Saltpetre, terrified by those it had produced, thought of nothing but being blown up, if the Russians should engage them again. Tchessmai was the Asylum whither all the Fleet retired, in the greatest disorder, and some Cannon, landed

landed in haste, and placed on the two Capes which shut in the Port, gave supposed Security to the Fugitives.

The Russians were, in the mean time, employed to watch the motions of the Enemy; and the next day learned, no doubt with great astonishment, what had passed at Tchefmai. As they could only attribute this strange conduct of the Turks to a panic Terror, which will always justify attempts that otherwise would seem least likely to meet with Success, they appeared before the Harbour, with two Fireships, which they sent in. On the approach of the Russians, the Turks, still terrified with what had happened the preceding day, thought more of saving themselves, on Shore, than defending their Ships; but the Sight of two small Vessels, sailing into the Port, awakened in them their ideas of Conquest; and, as they took them for Deferters, far from endeavouring to sink them, they were only anxious for their safe arrival: they resolved to lay the Crews in irons, and already enjoyed the pleasure
of

of carrying them in Triumph, to Constantinople (*b*).

But these supposed Deserters, entering without opposition, soon fastened down their rudders, threw out their grapplings, and, presently, setting fire to their Vessels the flames communicated to the whole Fleet. The Harbour of Tchefmai, encumbered with Ships, Powder, and Artillery, soon became a Volcano, which englutted the whole naval Force of the Turks.

Though this Misfortune humbled the Ottoman Pride, the Ministry were in danger from a still more important Calamity. The Capital was threatened with a Famine; for the destruction of the Turkish Fleet, by giving the Russians the command of the Archipelago, prevented Constantinople from being furnished with Provisions. The Enemy might even force the passage of the Straits, present themselves before the Seraglio, sack the City, and prescribe their

(*b*) I have been assured of the Truth of this Anecdote by Hassan-Pacha, whom I have mentioned above.

own terms to the Grand Seignior. The Consternation was general, nor was ever any fear better founded; and Ignorance, which always does itself justice when Terror has destroyed its Presumption, could not object to the Grand Seignior's orders, that the defence of the Dardanelles should be intirely committed to me, and the means of securing the Capital left wholly to my directions.

This Commission, however, could not be granted without the customary Forms, and the Porte hastened to comply with them, by requesting the permission of the French Ambassador. I received an Invitation at the same time from the Reis-Effendi, pressing me to come and concert with him the Measures I judged necessary in the present posture of Affairs, and which certainly required the greatest dispatch.

I shall have such frequent occasion to mention the Turkish Ministers, that it seems proper to make some preliminary Observations on the Characters of those who were then in Office, as they will be necessary for understanding the following details.

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We have already seen that the Grand Seignior, addicted to Oeconomy ever since his advancement to the Throne, saw, with regret, his Treasures dissipated, without procuring him the Glory of which he was ambitious. Nor could this Prince blame those Ministers who were about his Person, for the Ill Success of his Arms, which, if he thought them incapable of remedying, it unhappily was not in his power to substitute others of greater Abilities. Besides, it was in the Army that extraordinary Talents were necessary; and those who enjoyed the most of their Master's Favour, knew their interest too well, to persuade him to remove them from his Person. Ismael-Bey excelled most in that difficult Art, of governing his Sovereign, and managing all public Business, without renouncing personal tranquillity, or forsaking any of his Pleasures.

Ised-Bey, Superintendant of the Coin, stood foremost in the Sultan's Favour; but without exciting either Hatred or Jealousy. Too wise to be ambitious of the Post of First Minister, he only employed his Influence to mitigate the hasty Anger which
the

the Grand Seignior frequently expressed against the other Officers, and was ever ready to afford succour to the indigent and unfortunate.

Mellek-Pacha, Caimakan, or Deputy to the Grand Visir, and Brother-in-law to the Grand Seignior, was only remarkable for his elegant Figure, which had engaged the Sultana to ask him of her Brother.

The Grand Treasurer, less in favour, but proud of a Kind of Reputation which his Father had acquired in the last war, and full of confidence in that which he expected to acquire himself, more violent than ambitious, had also more activity than abilities.

The Ministers of the Second Class, even the Mufti himself, had too small a Share in the Government, to render it necessary to delineate their particular Characters.

Ismael-Bey, appointed to confer with me on the State of the Dardanelles, and the danger which threatened the Capital, thought the fears of Government would be best concealed by holding our Conference in the Night. He received me in his own house, where I found him engaged in an affair

fair the Importance of which greatly diverted his attention from the Subject of our Meeting. This Turk, refining on all his Pleasures, though childishly, was desirous of possessing two Canary-Birds which should both sing the same air. His servants had searched the City to procure them, but without Success; and this Minister was contriving how to gratify his Fancy, when I arrived to consult by what means the Capital might be preserved from the Catastrophe with which it was threatened.

The state of the Dardanelles was not better known to him than myself; for it was evident, from the letters of Moldovangi-Pacha, formerly Grand Visir, and who had only been degraded to the Subaltern Government of the Castles on the Strait, by the Title of Defender of the Dardanelles, that this Barrier, till then held impregnable, could not resist the feeblest attack. The Russian Squadron, then sailing, with a favourable Wind, in sight of the first Castles, might, with ease, penetrate into the Sea of Marmora, and advance to the very Walls
of

of the Seraglio, and prescribe its own Terms to the Grand Seignior.

Such was the Situation of this proud Court: the Ignorance of the Chief Ministers, and the Knavery of the Subalterns, had reduced it to a state so low, so humiliating and so distressing. An examination of the Castles, built near Constantinople, on the same plan with those of the Dardanelles, served to shew me what was to be done, on my arrival.

Means of securing Ships of War did not seem easy to be obtained: two Vessels, which, not being able to join the Fleet, had escaped the general Destruction, were anchored beyond the first Castles, but might very probably be taken by the Russians, before my Arrival; and the Arsenal contained only one old Ship, condemned as unfit for Service. I, however, concurred with the Reis-Effendi, that this Vessel should be hastily repaired, provided with Artillery, honoured with the Admiral's Flag, loaded with Planks, Spades, Pickaxes, and other Utensils, of which I gave a list, and

set sail as soon as possible to meet me at the Dardanelles.

The Captain of a Maltese Corsair, taken Prisoner many years before, who, by declaring himself a knight of Malta, in hopes of better treatment, had only rendered his Ransom more difficult, was then in Irons. The Comte de Saint-Priest was desirous to take advantage of the present Opportunity, and deliver this unhappy Man.

For this end, I pretended I should be under the necessity of preparing some Fire-ships, and wanted Instructions on that head; and, in order the better to colour my requesting this Slave, I extolled his Talents, declaring he was the only Person who could give me the Assistance I wanted, and, at length, so far prevailed as to have him sent with the Vessel, with the most positive Assurances he should be set at liberty, if I found he possessed the Abilities I supposed. I was, indeed, very certain I could supply him with those he had not; but I could not foresee, though it nevertheless happened, that this man, informed by the Turks of my Expectations from him, could be so stupid

stupid as not to conceive my Reasons, and to deny all I had asserted. We shall soon see some ridiculous Consequences from this Scheme, which had no other motive than Charity.

The Grand Seignior's eagerness, to be informed of my arrival at the Dardanelles, would not permit me to wait for any of those things which were necessary for commencing my operations (*i*). His Highness had given orders that every thing should be under my Directions. I requested an Assistant Commissioner, and Mustapha-Bey, Grandson of the famous Dganum-Codga, (*k*) was appointed. I immediately hired

(*i*) The hope of Universal Empire was so soon succeeded by the dread of utter Destruction that, on the first news of the appearance of the Russian Fleet, the whole City was sunk in Despair. Public Prayers were put up for the Success of my endeavours; and the Grand Seignior, whose only confidence was in me, could not rest till my Departure.

(*k*) Admiral at the time of the Revolution; which, after having dethroned Sultan Achmet, continued to threaten his Successor. The Chief of the Rebels was killed, in the Divan, by this Admiral, whose Fortitude and Prudence re-established good Order.

a French Vessel, to carry me to the Dardanelles, where I found the Commissioner from the Porte had arrived a few hours before me.

The Orders he delivered to Moldovandgi-Pacha, to obey me in whatever I should command, had not much disposed the latter in my favour. I did not imagine I ought to put any great Confidence in the mysterious Covenant of the Bread and Salt, by which, as has been already seen, this man had formerly vowed inviolable friendship to me; yet his fear to disobey the positive Orders he had received, and the presence of an Enemy whom he had always found his Superior, made him dissemble his Discontent, and afforded me time to sooth his Indignation.

This I effected by flattering his Vanity, and we had no apparent disagreement during my stay at the Dardanelles. His peevishness only shewed itself in his first letters to the Porte; but as his Complaints were unsuccessful, they were not repeated.

My first care was to examine the state of the Castles. A view of the Soldiers, appointed

pointed for their defence, was sufficient to perceive there was no greater resource to be hoped from Discipline and good Order, than from the Condition of the Fortifications. Terror had seized on every mind to such a degree that they, openly, talked of abandoning the Batteries, on the first discharge of the Enemy's Cannon.

The Permanence of the Turkish Garrisons, by making each Soldier an established Citizen, furnishes him with too many interesting Objects, which demand his care, for him to devote himself entirely to the Defence of the Citadel in which he is stationed; his concerns extend beyond the Walls he defends, nor can he be confined by Discipline, which, among the Turks, though always severe, is never exact.

The slightest consideration, of the construction of the Dardanelles, will be sufficient to make us perceive the reason of this Desertion which threatened us. Walls without mortar, raised more than thirty feet above the Batteries, which were level with the Sea, were expected to tumble on

the Cannon and Gunners at the first Broad-side of the Russians ; so that the Turks were in more Danger, from such a Defence, than from the Attack of their Enemies.

An Artillery, formidable in Appearance from the width of its bore, but little to be dreaded, after the first Discharge, from the slowness with which these enormous Pieces must be served, formed the principal Batteries on each side of the Channel. The fire of the Castles, called the Dardanelles, could reach to the opposite shore ; but scarcely to the middle of the Strait, from the two Castles erected near its mouth.

This Artillery, all of brass, without Trunnions or Carriages, laid upon hollowed pieces of wood, with their Breeches secured by large stones, to prevent their recoil ; a number of other pieces, lying in the sand, together with several Mortars, seemed more like the Ruins of a Siege, than Preparations for a Defence.

Such was the state of the Dardanelles when I arrived ; and the Russian Squadron, consisting of seven ships of the Line, two
of

of which were three Deckers, and two Frigates, had only to take advantage of the favourable Wind, with which they remained at the mouth of the Strait, to insure the success Admiral Elphinston had promised himself, and to oppose which the Turks had made no Efforts.

The Strait of the Dardanelles, situated fifty leagues to the West of Constantinople, between the Archipelago and the little sea of Marmora, extends from the Coast of Troy to Gallipoli over against Lampfacus. This space, about twelve leagues, of an unequal breadth, contains different points, in which the Continents of Europe and Asia, which this Strait separates, approach to within the distance of three or four hundred Fathoms. Three leagues from its mouth, on the side next the Archipelago, at the narrowest part of the Strait, have been built the two Castles called the Dardanelles; the Cannon of each of which commanded the opposite shore. These were, for a long time, the only Barrier to secure Constantinople; but the Turks, becoming more fearful, though not more

enlightened, at length, built two others, near the Mouth; but as they are at the distance of fifteen hundred Fathoms, their Fire is uncertain, and their Defence insufficient.

I have already mentioned the two Turkish ships of War, which, having been delayed in fitting out, were hindered from joining the Fleet and sharing in its Destruction at Tcheshmai. These Ships were moored between the two Castles, but so much without the Strait that they might easily be taken by the Enemy's squadron. My first care was to give orders for them to re-enter the Strait, that their Cannon might sustain that of the Castle, and command the Entrance; but a farther examination of the Crews and Officers convinced me this was impossible for them to perform. The Wind, though favourable, was not sufficient to change their Situation, which Situation became excessively critical the third day after my Arrival.

While I was at the Castle, on the European Shore, the Russian Squadron, sailing in a line from the Gulph of Enos, coasted
along

along the Shore of Europe towards the Headland of the Castle, and seemed, by this Manœuvre, rather to intend to take the two ships, than force the Passage; each of which Designs was equally easy to execute. Those Ships could no more have opposed a single Frigate than the Castles could the whole Squadron.

The only advantage which remained to us, and the most important for us to preserve, was the Enemy's Ignorance of our Weakness. The manner of their Squadron's advancing shewed they were fearful of exposing themselves to the fire of our heavy Batteries; yet had I nothing to employ against them but a single Iron Culverin, which, however, would carry a Ball of sixty pounds.

This had been placed without the Castle, or rather, entirely abandoned by the Turks. It rested on two pieces of Timber, and was levelled point blank against the Squadron. A Cape, about a hundred Fathoms in advance, where were placed some Cannon of a smaller size, prevented this Culverin from being discovered by the Russians, till they
had

had got through the entrance, and were exposed to its fire. But as this Headland permitted the Top of the Walls and the houses near the Fortrefs to be seen, the Squadron began its Cannonade; which, though brisk, could do no damage, and would only have served, if any thing could, to accustom the Turks to the fire of Artillery; but they ran away on the first discharge, and it was with difficulty I prevailed on seven or eight men to stay and serve the Culverin, the only means of Defence I had left.

I was still obliged to wait till the Enemy exposed themselves to its direction; for this Piece was immoveable; this, however, rendered its first discharge more certain, which was made on the Frigate of the Vanguard, and immediately drove it a-stern; and the second was soon ready for the ship which followed. The Russians still continued their cannonade over the Cape, and the Fleet tacked about, after having sent seven or eight hundred Balls and Bombs above our heads, several of which I perceived burst in the air, and some were brought me
which

which had not gone off. This attempt, repeated three days successively, in the same order, and at the same hour, obliging me to occupy this Post, hindered me from preparing more essential means of defence, and I made use of an Expedient which I thought might remove the Enemy from the Coast.

On my arrival, in the Evening, at the Dardanelles, I caused a small piece of Cannon, taken from the Venetians, to be brought out; and after having heated some Bullets red hot, and charged the Piece, I gave the Spectators, who always followed me in Crouds, a slight Specimen of red hot Balls. The Pacha and the Turks, who were present at this Experiment, thought the Ottoman Empire already avenged for the Destruction of its Fleet.

During the night, Grating, Charcoal, and Bellows, were carried to the Batteries at the Cape, which had hitherto been cannonaded by the Russians. But, while the Turks were assiduous in the execution of my orders, some Greeks were not less so, to give notice of them, to the Russians; their Fleet

no more approached the Coast, and they seemed only intent on the Siege of Lemnos. The first use I made of this Cessation was to insure the Safety of the two Ships, which seemed to be the Apple of Discord. I procured four hundred Jews, notwithstanding it was their Sabbath, to assist in towing them out of danger; and, as they were thus removed from the course of the Current, a fresh Gale, which arose some days afterwards, carried these vessels up to the second Castles, where their Artillery was more necessary.

The Surplus of Waters which the Black Sea receives, and which cannot be evaporated, pouring into the Mediterranean, through the Bosphorus of Thrace and the Propontis, forms, at the Dardanelles, Currents so violent, that, frequently, Ships can scarcely stem them, with all their sails set. Pilots should likewise observe, when they have a sufficient Wind, to sail in such a manner as to present the least resistance possible to the Force of the Waters. To effect this, it is evident, the direction of the Currents must be considered; which, driven
back

back from one jutting Shore to another, are the grand Obstacles to the Navigation of the Straits ; and expose those to great Danger who neglect to allow for their Effects.

This, indeed, was the only kind of Instruction I could receive from the Pilots of the two Turkish Vessels ; and my Observations, on their passing up the Straits, suggested Hints extremely useful for their defence. I perceived that a Battery, erected on the Headland called the Barber's Point, to correspond with another, at a convenient distance, on the European Side, would give the Turks the power of raking every Ship which should endeavour to force a Passage, while the Ship or Ships could not fire their Broadfides without exposing the Vessel's side to the Currents, consequently to be driven back by their Violence ; and the same situation would afford an opportunity to the Turkish Artillery, to employ its Bar-shot, with great effect, on their Sails, expanded by the brisk Gale, necessary to attempt forcing their way, and which, soon destroyed, would leave them in certain danger of being shipwrecked on the Coast.

I had

I had likewise another powerful Motive for adopting this System of Defence. These Batteries would command the Anchoring Place of the White Spots (1); and indeed, the whole Space between them and the Dardanelles, and render Constantinople entirely secure, if the Turks would only serve the Artillery I was about to have brought thither in any passable manner.

Another Headland, called Mill-Point, nearer the Dardanelles, on the European Shore, seemed convenient for constructing another Battery, as it might extend its fire to that at Barber's Point, and the Castle of Asia. I also determined to erect a fourth on the Banks of the Simois, to cover the Fortress which joins to it, and which, for the reason I have already mentioned, is not tenable.

(1) A Cove, in the Straits, on the Coast of Asia; between the first and second Castles. It is the only anchoring Place, where the Enemy could establish themselves, after having forced the Passage of the first Entrance.

While

While I was employed in making these Dispositions, and the necessary Orders were issuing for assembling the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Villages, who were obliged to labour in these works, Moldovandgi Pacha, desirous to acquire some notice, projected the rebuilding of the ruined Walls of an Old Genoese Castle, situated on the Heights of a Cape, within Sight of the Archipelago, but so lofty, and distant, that its Cannon must be considerably elevated for the balls to reach the Sea. Moldovandgi laid his Plan before me, and though it was both expensive and useless, I bestowed on it many commendations, and yielded to the request of the Pacha that I would climb the Rock and see what he had done.

I found, there, two or three hundred Masons, building on the old Foundations, an uncemented Wall, eighteen inches thick; while, at the same time, a great number of Carpenters were constructing a Lodgement for the Garrison, within the Wall. But what I thought most remarkable was the haste of the Pacha to white-wash
his

his new Wall. We may perceive, by this, that he did not wish to mask his Battery. The Enemy might discover it at Sea, when ten leagues distant, but certainly would not think its appearance very formidable; though this was the only Intention of Moldovandgi. Indeed, the Turks were so terrified, that any method of keeping the Enemy at a distance appeared preferable to the means of destroying them, if they attempted to force a Passage, which was nearly impracticable, by the natural Situation of the Straits.

These Considerations determined me to construct the Batteries twenty-two feet thick. The Inhabitants of the neighbouring Villages were already at work, to raise Epaulements of Earth and Fascines; but they were hardly allowed a few Tents to protect them from the Weather. Government took no care to provide any Subsistence for these its wretched Slaves, whose neglected Harvests perished before their Eyes.

The Baron de Pontécoulant, who had accompanied the Comte de Saint-Priest to Constantinople, proposing to return to
France,

France, was unwilling to leave the Ottoman Empire in so precarious a Situation, without making me a visit, and observing, on the Spot, the actual state of the Dardanelles. He arrived when my Plan was so far compleated that he might form a Judgment of its Propriety. It was easy for him to perceive the Cowardice, Disorder, and habitual Negligence of the Turks.

The Pacha, only intent on washing white the wretched Walls he had erected, out of the reach of Cannon, thought himself sufficiently obliging in not contradicting me; and the Commissioner, from the Porte, who was ordered to spare no Expences, which I judged necessary, neglected those that might have been useful, and loaded his List with Items, which he thought specious, but for which he paid nothing.

The Manners of the Turks were certainly their most dangerous Enemies, and those which gave me the greatest uneasiness. But, as, in difficult Situations, it is always a fault to neglect making use of the most trifling Means, which may prove serviceable, I endeavoured to turn the arrival of the Baron

de Pontécoulant to my advantage; and, after having informed him of the nature of my Scheme, presented him to the Pacha, as a Surveyor, sent by the French Ambassador, to examine the State of the Dardanelles, and make a Report to the Grand Seignior; after which he was to set out for France, to give the like information to the Emperor my Master. M. de Pontécoulant played his part to perfection, and testified all that Dissatisfaction which we agreed he should. Our Stratagem had the good effect of rendering the Pacha more active, and as he thought it became him to shew the Baron the greatest respect, when he came to take leave of him, he desired me to present him with a small Sum of money, which, with the Turks, is always the height of Civility. We were by no means of the same Opinion, but, as a Refusal would have led the Pacha to imagine we were determined to do him an Injury at the Porte, and must have made him very untractable, I persuaded M. de Pontécoulant to overcome his repugnance to this kind of Oriental Politeness; and his Boatmen, who profited

fited by the Present, found their advantage in French Delicacy.

This Journey, which had no motive but Curiosity, though I had found means to render it serviceable to my Designs, was, afterwards, the occasion of great Uneasiness to the Grand Seignior. For M. de Pontécoulant, meeting with contrary winds, from the North, was obliged to land on the European side, above Gallipoli, and take horses for Constantinople. At the Gate of Andrinople he was stopt and examined by the Guards of the Customs, who, surprized to see an European, enquired who he was, and whence he came, and, on his answering that he was the Beyzadai of France, (*m*) and that he came from the Dardanelles, the Guards, perswaded it must be me, suffered him to pass without further enquiry, and immediately hastened to inform the Grand Visir of my return, who directly carried the news to the Grand Seignior.

The Consternation became general; it was not doubted but that the Dardanelles were

(*m*) Gentleman of France, by which name I had been a long time called by the Turks.

forced, and his Highness instantly sent a person, in whom he could confide, to M. de Saint Priest, to enquire the particulars ; when the Ambassador, by explaining the Error, and communicating to the Grand Seignior the observations of M. de Pontécoulant, relieved the Emperor and his Ministers from their Apprehensions.

I was one evening with Moldovangi-Pacha, near whom I resided, and who began to place some confidence in me, when a Turk presented himself, and claimed the Promise he had made him to speak to me in his behalf. Yes, said the Pacha, I must recommend this man to your notice ; you will find him extremely useful, he has a surprizing Genius for throwing of Bombs, and a lesson or two from you will render him amazingly expert. We have seen a proof of his Abilities that would have given the greatest Satisfaction, but for an accident, the cause of which we cannot discover, for the Mortar burst, and killed seven Persons on the spot.

During this Discourse, I examined my man of Abilities, and perceived, from the
form

form of his Turban, that he was a Crier of a Mosque. I congratulated him, on his good fortune, in escaping his dangerous Experiment; and questioned him concerning the method he used. I provided, answered he, every thing that was necessary; and, though this Misfortune happened to the very first Bomb I fired, I am certain I omitted nothing proper to render my Attempt successful.

Well, said I, let me know how you proceeded. In the first place, replied he, the Mortar being set on its Carriage, I pointed it towards the Sea, filled the Chamber with Powder, and rammed it down with Earth, beaten with a Mallet: after which I filled, in like manner, with Powder, a Bomb, of the same Caliber.

You see, interrupted the Pacha, that he knew very well what he was about. Proceed, said I, to this Favourite.

I placed, continued he, the Bomb in the Mortar, and set fire to it. How! cried I, without a Fusee? You deserve to have been the first who had fallen a Victim to your Ignorance.

And can it be possible, then, with so great a number of Mortars, intended for the defence of the Castles, you do not possess one single Bombardier, who knows, at least, that Bombs are not to be fired without Fuses? This proves, though, said the Pacha, that he wants but little to become an able Engineer; and I must repeat the request I have already made, that you would give him a few Instructions.

Forced to give way, in some measure, to so much absurdity, I sent to search for the Keeper of the Magazine; we examined its contents, but could not find even the Materials proper for the Composition of Fuses. The Pacha, however, would take no denial, and desired I would immediately make an Experiment. I had, assuredly, so little concern whether I gave him satisfaction or not, that it was scarcely worth while troubling myself about it; but, as much is always to be lost, by denying such requests to ignorant People, I ordered my Carpenter to set up a clumsy Lathe, turned a few Fuses, procured some Saltpetre and Sulphur, prepared my Composition, and charged several
Fuses

Fusees before my Pupil, making him observe whatever was requisite in the Operation.

In the evening the Bombs were thrown, to the great Satisfaction of Moldovangi, who only waited for a like Performance, from his Crier of the Mosque, to give him the post of principal Bombardier. But, such was the awkwardness of this man, that, after several days trial, he was not able to charge a Fusee in such a manner as to be useful. Discouraged by such fruitless Application, though not the less desirous of Glory, he had again recourse to his Protector; and, exclaiming against the difficulty of my method, desired him to get me to shew him some way of firing Bombs without Fusees. But what will appear still more surprizing, is, that Moldovangi, the Visir, who had raised the Siege of Kotchim, and afterwards commanded the Ottoman Army, was simple enough to make me this Request.

It will be seen by this Anecdote, alone, how little capable the Turks were to defend themselves; and how necessary it was

to conceal this weakness from the Enemy.

It was not, however, much to be feared the Foe should gain any dangerous Information from the Greeks, though they were known to be Spies; accustomed to bend under the yoke of Ottoman Despotism, and possessing as little knowledge as the Turks, they looked on whatever appertained to the later with respect. But it was necessary to have a watchful eye over the Europeans, and prevent their betraying our situation. With this view an Embargo was laid on all Shipping, immediately after the burning of the Fleet. A great number of Vessels, of all Nations, were detained at the Dardanelles; and the Turks had long ceased to navigate the Archipelago (*n*).

(*n*) During the whole War, neutral Vessels only were employed in carrying Corn on the Grand Seignior's account; and the Porte gave the French a preference very profitable to their Merchants, who were settled at Constantinople. I must not omit to mention, in this Note, a Speculation of Commerce, capable of enlightening the Policy of Nations. An English Vessel, loaded with Rice, from Carolina, sailed directly for Constantinople, induced by the account published in the Newspapers. She was consigned to no one, but sold her Cargo in the Harbour.

The

The Supplies which I had requested from the Porte were arrived, and I expected nothing farther to be sent, when I perceived a large Saïque (*o*), with all its sails set, coming down the Strait. I observed this Vessel did not endeavour to make the usual anchoring-place, but continued in the Current, and directed its course between the castles. I then supposed it was loaded with Ammunition, but presently discerned it had Grapplings at the Yard-arms; and I imagined that the Porte, recollecting the demand I had made of the Maltese Slave, to assist me in building Fireships, had, on his disclaiming any knowledge of the kind, found one to supply his place. But I was not a little surprized to see the Commander hoist his Grapplings when sixty leagues distant from any Enemy.

His Vessel, however, having passed the Anchoring-place, a Gun was fired, from

(*o*) A kind of Turkish Vessel much used in the Black Sea, though the manner of its Construction is not proper for any Purpose of Navigation; in bad weather they are frequently wrecked, as they are only fit to sail before the Wind.

each side, as a signal for him to bring to; but he took no notice. I went into the Castle of Asia to observe this Incendiary more distinctly; a second Gun was fired with Ball, and when I saw that he paid no regard to that, or a third, which succeeded it, but was ready to pass us, I determined to fire upon him, so as to do as little Damage as possible. The Gunner was luckily so dexterous as only to carry away a part of his Prow; but the confusion which this occasioned in his Ship presently brought him in; and a Detachment of the Guard, which I sent on board, to secure the Captain, after having moored the Vessel, conducted to me this zealous Mussulman.

We must form to ourselves an Image of ignorant Fanaticism, devoting itself, and imagining that it can, without other assistance, destroy the whole Fleet of the Enemy, to conceive the rage of this Enthusiast, when he perceived himself hindered from proceeding, and brought before a Christian for Examination. He considered us all as Traitors, who, in league with the Russians, prevented him from avenging the
True-

True-believers for their disgrace at Tchef-mai; he reproached the Turks around me, for shewing me so much respect; all endeavours to sooth him were in vain: and it was not till the next day that he could be brought to hear reason, and was sufficiently cooled to perceive the Madness of his Undertaking.

Notwithstanding the care which the Commissiſſioner from the Porte had taken, to collect the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Villages, who were capable of labour, and employing, besides, several Jews, in raising the Epaulements of the Batteries, the number of Workmen still remained too small, and not sufficient to carry on all the Works at once. Those at Barber's Point went forward, though the Plague daily carried off several of the Labourers (*p*). Obligated to be constantly with them, this malady was not the least inconvenience of my situation; but I could not avoid that communication which was necessary, and

(*p*) It has sometimes destroyed twenty in a day, at Barber's Point alone, several of whom did not live three hours after the first Symptoms of the Disease.

only abstained from those which were not of use to my designs ; and when any storm sent the Workmen to shelter themselves under their Tents, I continued in the Rain, and believe I may attribute to this single precaution my having escaped the Distemper.

I have already observed that the Government took no care about the Subsistence of the Labourers, for which the latter were not sparing of their Curses ; and I determined to seize this opportunity of procuring their Blessings, by loading, every morning, the Boat that carried me, with Water-melons and Bread, which I distributed among the Workmen before I appointed them their Work.

A Turk, who dwelt in the European Castle, and was one of the Chiefs of the District, after having carefully observed my manner of Proceeding, and made some attempts to tie and place Saucissons, requested me to give up to him the finishing the Battery I had begun at Mill Point, situated in his neighbourhood. My Workmen are ready, said he, and I will answer for their performing

forming what I undertake, if you will only come sometimes to see how we go on.

The zeal and application of this Turk had disposed me much in his favour, and I willingly accepted his Offer. The next day in the morning the Shore was covered with Carts loaded with Branches of Trees, and the new Engineer appeared holding the bands, and showing the use of the whole to the Labourers. Scrupulously attached to my methods, my Scholar did not even neglect to regale the poor People he employed at his own expence.

This Battery was one of those best executed, and the Commissioner of the Porte, astonished at the zeal and understanding of the Turk, and more amazed, without doubt, at the expence he was at, out of pure Generosity, wrote an account of it to the Porte, and received orders to commend his Zeal, and present him with three hundred Piaſtres as an Indemnification.

The Turk however, being sent for, after having coldly received the Compliments of the Commissioner, concluded by an absolute refusal of the Present which was offered.

He

He added, he should lose all the Merit of what he had done if he accepted any Reward; and that it would be too disgraceful, for the Ottoman Empire, to see a Frenchman risking his Life and Fortune in its defence, while no Turk would contribute towards it, either by his Abilities or his Substance.

In spite of all Entreaties the Patriot still continued inflexible; the Commissioner had not yet recovered from his astonishment when I arrived, and he was greatly surprized to find that I was not as much amazed as himself. This, said he, I could not have conceived, pointing at the fifteen heaps of Crowns ranged on the Ground: I could not have believed that any one would have refused such a Sum of Money. Nothing indeed is so rare as to find a Turk scrupulous and delicate in this Particular.

The Troops, intended by the Grand Seignior for the defence of the Strait, arrived from all parts; they composed a Body of thirty thousand Men, of which fifteen thousand were Asiatick; and fifteen thousand from European Turkey. But this Multitude,

tude, of whom what I have before said may give some Idea, more capable of producing Confusion than defending the Batteries, could hardly be kept in order by the Severity of the Pacha, who had no other method of maintaining his Authority but that of diminishing the number of the Mutinous, by the frequency of Executions.

Notwithstanding the inconvenience and embarrassment we experienced, from the want of Discipline among these Troops, it was necessary to impose on the Enemy by the appearance of numerous Forces, and to employ every means to prevent Desertion, with which we were constantly threatened. The Expedient which seemed to me most likely to prove effectual was to separate them from their respective Countries by the Sea, posting the fifteen thousand Asiatics in Europe, and the fifteen thousand Europeans in Asia. By this means the difficulty of escaping from the severity with which all Disorders were punished, rendered them less frequent.

But nothing could cure these Wretches of their Cowardice; they were not ashamed, openly, to declare their unwillingness to
serve

serve the Batteries. I however laboured to compleat them; and, after having furrounded that at Barber's Point with a covered-way, to secure it from a Surprize by Land, I went to the Castles, where I had prepared every thing for the making of Carriages for the Cannon, of which we were absolutely destitute.

No Boat had now entered the Strait for a long time, when we saw one appear, filled with Turks, most formidably armed. They brought in seven unfortunate Greeks, the Owners of this little Bark. The Turk, who seemed to have a command over the rest, informed the People that he had taken a Russian Prize, and wished to speak to the Pacha. Being directly introduced, he affirmed that his Prisoners were Russian Spies. Sentence of Death was immediately pronounced, but he insisted a great deal on the Insolence of one of these pretended Spies, who, being Master of the Boat, and finding himself attacked, had dared to level his Piece at him; and, in revenge for this Outrage, he requested Permission of the Pacha to be his Executioner. While they were discussing the Grant of this strange Favour

Favour, I was industrious to obtain more exact Information than the Justice of the Pacha thought necessary, in so plain a case; and I learned that these unfortunate Greeks, Inhabitants of Lesbos, had been out fishing, and had committed no other crime but that of resisting some violence of this Turk, who had watched their motions, to attack them, under the specious pretence that they were Spies; yet their Execution so immediately followed their Sentence that I could not prevent it; and derived nothing from my Enquiries but the wretched certainty that I had seen the Innocent perish.

It is plain, from the description of the Castles, that the numerous Artillery, which they contain, could be no-way useful in the defence of the Strait, unless more advantageously disposed. The Simois (that celebrated River, which, nevertheless, is only a small channel where the rain water forms a Torrent) descends from the Mountain, and falls into the Sea, below the Castle of Asia. I thought it proper to erect a Battery, which, serving for an Epaulement to the Castle, might contain a part of its Artillery,

tillery, while the approaches to it were impeded by this Brook. Thus I could cover the side of the Castle, the Artillery of which commanded the Strait lengthwise.

It was, also, with this view that the Turks had placed there an enormous Piece of Ordnance, which would carry a Marble Ball of eleven hundred pounds weight. This Piece, cast in brass, in the reign of Amurath, was composed of two parts, joined together by a screw, where the charge is contained, after the manner of an English Pistol. Its Breech rested against a massy stone-work; and it was placed upon timbers, cut and disposed for that purpose, under a small Arch, which served as an Embrasure. I could not make use of this enormous Cannon in the outworks; and, as they were disposed in such a manner as to prevent its being fired, the Turks murmured at my paying so little regard to a piece of Artillery, which, no doubt, had not its equal in the Universe.

The Pacha made some remonstrances to me, on that head. He agreed, with me, that the difficulty of charging it would not
I allow,

allow, in case of an Attack, to fire it more than once; but, he urged, this single discharge would be so destructive, and reach so far, that no one entertained a doubt but it would be, alone, sufficient to destroy the whole Fleet of the Enemy. It was easier for me to give way to this Prejudice than overthrow it, and, without changing my plan of Defence, I could, by cutting through the Epaulement, in the direction of this Piece, allow it room to be fired; but I was willing first to judge of its Effect.

The Croud about me trembled at this Proposal; and the oldest among them asserted, there was a Tradition, that this Piece, which had never yet been discharged, would occasion such a shock as must overturn the Castle and the City. It was, indeed, possible it might shake some stones out of the Wall, but I assured them they would not be regretted by the Grand Seigneur; and that the direction of this Piece would not allow me to imagine the City would suffer by the Explosion.

Never, certainly, had any Cannon so formidable a Reputation. Friends and Enemies

mies were alike to suffer from its Fury. A month was now elapsed since it was determined to load this Piece of Artillery, which required no less than three hundred and thirty pounds weight of Powder; and I sent to the Head Engineer, to prepare a Priming. All who heard me give this Order immediately disappeared, to avoid the predicted Danger. The Pacha himself was about to retreat, and it was with the utmost difficulty I persuaded him that he ran no risk, in a small Kiosk, near the corner of the Castle; from whence he might, notwithstanding, observe the Effects of the Ball.

Having succeeded in this, nothing remained but to inspire the Engineer with courage; who, though he was the only one who had not fled, shewed no great Resolution in the remonstrances he made to excite my Pity; I, at last, rather silenced than animated him, by promising to expose myself to the same Danger. I took my station on the stone-work, behind the Cannon, and felt a shock like that of an Earthquake. At the distance of three hundred Fathoms I saw
the

the Ball divide into three pieces, and these Fragments of a Rock crossed the Strait, rebounded from the Water to the opposite Mountain, and left the surface of the Sea all in a foam through the whole breadth of the Channel. This experiment, while it dissipated the chimerical Fears of the People, the Pacha, and the Engineers, proved to me likewise the terrible Effects of such a Ball; and I cut through the Epaulement in the direction of the Piece.

This Battery, which covered the Castle, was intended to contain a part of the heavy Artillery, in repairing the Carriages of which I had been employed ever since my arrival at the Dardanelles, with the assistance of a French Carpenter, whom I had brought on shore for that purpose, and whose abilities I found extremely useful.

Among the number of Pieces, which were to be employed in these Batteries, was an enormous Culverin, carrying a Ball of sixty pounds. This was so confined by the Arch, which served for an Embrasure, that it's situation, and it's great weight together, rendered all the means com-

monly employed to remove these Pieces ineffectual. I sent to borrow, from the Men-of-War, the Apparatus which I judged necessary; but the Shipping of the Grand Seignior was so ill supplied that my application was to no purpose; and I could not refrain from censuring Haffan-Pacha, who was then only Captain of the Admiral's Flag-Ship.

This Man, whom we have since seen distinguish himself so much by his rash Courage, proved to me, on this occasion, that he thought, a resolution to overcome any difficulty would supply the place of that knowledge which can only be acquired by profound Study. What would you do, said he, with your Cordage and Blocks? What signify these Inventions, when we have so many hands at command? Shew me what you wish to have removed, and leave the rest to me.

How! said I; would you carry, by strength of arm, a Piece of Ordnance which weighs more than seven thousand pounds? How many men would you employ? Five hundred, if necessary, replied he hastily.

What

What signifies the number, provided we do it? I find, said I, to the Pacha, who was present at this singular Discussion, that the Brave Hassan esteems nothing an impossibility. Let us see where his five hundred men will place their hands.

While Hassan collected his Instruments, and we prepared to go and form a judgment of the manner in which he would employ them, I sent my Carpenter to procure, from on board a French vessel, six Sailors, with the Cords and brass Pulleys for which I had in vain applied to the Turkish Admiral.

Being arrived, with the Pacha, at the Culverin, we soon saw Hassan coming, with his sturdy Companions : but the first thirty who attempted to move the Piece, being, as many as could stand round it, reduced their Comrades to be mere Spectators of their fruitless endeavours. This trial was renewed by others, with efforts equally ineffectual.

Hassan was vexed at the ill success of his attempt, and confessed himself vanquished ; when the six Sailors I had requested arrived with the necessary Tackle, and in

less than a quarter of an hour the Piece was laid upon the Platform.

It was still to be placed on its Carriage, when Hassan, not thinking my six Sailors sufficient for such an Undertaking, offered me again the assistance of his Attendants. For what purpose? said I; four of my People will be sufficient. I immediately sent for a Gin that I had caused to be made, the use of which Machine was unknown to the Turks. Nothing could surpass their astonishment when they saw this prodigious Weight raised, with ease, by the strength of only four Men; and this, though not very remarkable in itself, had a great effect on Hassan and his Companions.

It has been already said, that the Russian Squadron, removing out of the reach of my red hot Balls, was gone to the Siege of Lemnos; yet few nights past in which Terror, that always sees what it fears, did not occasion some Alarm; and as soon as the Cannon of the first Castles, which poured forth their Balls on every Phantom the Guards imagined they saw, were heard,
those

those of the Dardanelles thought the Enemy already under their Batteries. The Confusion produced by such Panics sufficiently shewed what was to be expected from real Danger. In order, therefore, to cure the Turks of this habit of groundless Terror, and enable them to see before they feared the Enemy, I prepared Fire-balls to be thrown on the first Alarm. This Expedient succeeded beyond my Expectations; and the means of suddenly casting so great a Light towards the Enemy, made the Turks imagine, that, as they could now see without being seen, Night itself was rendered more favourable to them than to their Assaultants.

The Works were finished, the Artillery placed, the Magazines stored, and nothing remained but to cause the Batteries to be manned. Before this could be done it was necessary to prove, to the Satisfaction of all about me, that Epaulements, twenty-two feet in thickness, would better secure those who were employed to defend them than uncemented Walls, which might be thrown down by the first Volley.

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This latter Prejudice was established, and I was certain that the Troops, intended to defend the Batteries, would only repair to them to preserve an appearance of Obedience, but with a resolution to abandon them the moment the Enemy came in Sight. I therefore resolved on an Expedient which would have been ridiculous, in the highest degree, had it not been the only one which could shew them their Ignorance.

I appointed ten in the Morning for a proof of the Batteries, and went, alone, to that of Barber's Point, while Gunners were employed, at the opposite one, to point the Artillery at the Epaulement which covered me, and play on it the moment the Boat that carried me was in safety.

The Multitude ran with great eagerness to this new Exhibition, and the Balls, which were thirty-six pounders, burying themselves in the Epaulement, behind which I stood, without doing it any damage, convinced the Turks they might take my place without Danger. They, however, gave a very manifest Preference to

to the Battery which had been proved ; but were, at length, satisfied there was no difference between that and the others.

The disposition of the Works, from the Mouth of the Straits to Nagara Point, where the last Batteries were erected, opposed to the Enemy an intersecting and continued fire for the entire space of seven Leagues ; and it might be presumed, that, as the Russians had never attempted to force a Passage while the Straits were without Defence, they had now given up the Project. I likewise perceived that my Presence, at Constantinople, would be more useful than at the Dardanelles, in defending the Castle, if I could bring to perfection the construction of Carriages, and the school of Artillery, two Objects, at once, equally interesting, and equally neglected.

As more than sixty European Vessels were detained in the little Road of Nagara, I easily hired a French Ship, in which I embarked, and which brought me to within six Leagues of Constantinople, where the Wind became contrary ; but I had too much impatience, to continue my Operations,

tions, to yield to this difficulty, and having procured a Greek Boat, manned by four Rowers, I proceeded to Constantinople.

My first care was to represent to the Government that, if the Capital had nothing to fear from the appearance of the Russian Fleet, it was no less necessary to insure its Tranquillity, by hindering any Invasion which the Enemy might effect in the Gulph of Enos. No Measures had indeed been taken to guard that Coast; and though such Incurfions could have no other Object than the plundering of some Villages, such was the disposition of the Populace, that the news of the landing of two hundred men, which number would be continually magnifying till it reached the Capital, would have produced the greatest Confusion.

Having made these representations to the Grand Seignior, his Highness advanced his Seliſtar to the Dignity of a Pacha with three Tails, and the title of Serasker of that Coast. But I soon learned, that this man, having repaired to his Post, had only a few Dependents about him, more likely to oppress

press than defend the Inhabitants: and when I remarked, to the Visir, the danger of relying on a General who had no Troops, So much the worse for him, replied he, coldly. He is ordered to defend the Coast, and if the Enemy lands, his Head must answer for it. When such security appears sufficient to any State, nothing, certainly, can preserve it from the Calamities of War but the negligence of its Enemies.

It was to this, only, that the Porte was indebted for the first successes of Hassan. This Turk, whom, as we have seen, I had left at the Dardanelles, where he made but little account of the Mechanic Powers, had conceived the design of going, with four thousand Volunteers, in little Boats, without any Artillery, to disembark at Lemnos, raise the Siege, and drive away the Russian Fleet.

This project appeared to me ridiculous, and certainly could not be justified, but by presuming, that no Frigate of Observation would be near, to sink the Adventurers; that their landing would be effected with so much secrecy that no intimation of it should

should reach the Troops employed in the siege ; that they, surpris'd by Hassan, should immediately betake themselves to a shameful Flight, toward the Port of Saint Anthony ; that, when pursu'd to the shore, the sight of their Squadron, instead of encouraging them to turn on their Pursuers, should only invite them to take Refuge on board ; and that, after having embarked, in the utmost confusion, Hassan, and his Companions, sword in hand, should see seven Ships of the Line weigh anchor with the utmost precipitation.

I could not help opposing this Scheme ; but after having discours'd on it with the Visir, he coolly replied, I clearly perceive the Ridiculousness of what Hassan proposes, but there will be four thousand Rascals less in the World, and that is equivalent to a Victory. On this consideration he was permitted to attempt the Execution of his Project, and with such insufficient Means did the fortunate Hassan perform what seem'd an Impossibility (U).

I had secretly gain'd admission to the Grand Seignior, to make that Prince see the

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the necessity of providing the Artillery of the Dardanelles with better Carriages, and more expert Gunners. The destruction, or, at least, the entire dispersion, of the Turkish Army, by the Action at Craool, had already induced his Highness to imagine, that the quick Fire of the Russian Artillery was the principal cause of the discouragement of his Troops. He enquired whether I could train Gunners in this Exercise, till then unknown among the Turks (*q*), and on my answer, commanded the Visir and the rest of his Ministers to confer with me on the subject, and give me every assistance which I thought necessary.

If, in the moment of Distress, to which Constantinople was reduced, by the burning of the Fleet, the Turkish Ministers were not displeased to see me accept a Commission, which, though it proved a confidence on the part of the Grand Seignior,

(*q*) Their Artillery was so badly served, that, in the Journal sent home of a Siege, they had made it a kind of boast, that after having past the whole night in charging their Cannon, they had, in the morning, begun a most hellish Fire.

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did not excite their Jealousy, they could not see, with the like unconcern, the same confidence extend itself to matters, the management of which was equally advantageous to their own rapacity, and that of their Favourites. Sultan Mustapha, however, was too absolute for them to dare put in force against me that fanatical Law, or rather absurd Custom, which forbids the True Believers accepting the services of a Christian. Besides, the first step was already taken, and the Ministers, who began to be jealous of me, only required me to act under a kind of Disguise. But though the name of the Grand Seignior was made use of, to induce me to take the habit of an Interpreter, under the specious pretext, that the Populace would be displeased to see an European employed in affairs which had never been entrusted but to Mussulmen, I could not be persuaded either that the Grand Seignior thought this ridiculous Precaution necessary, or that the People, after having seen me command at the Dardanelles, would be displeased at my superintending Operations

tions, in appearance, of much less importance.

I nevertheless thought it was best to give way for a moment to this mean Jealousy of the Ministers. I knew their weak side; the Grand Seignior was desirous to employ me; he was violent in all his Desires, and his Ministers dreaded both his Impatience, and the opinion he entertained of their Incapacity. They feared, likewise, that I should take advantage of my influence over him, to effect some change; but though this fear justified their wish to remove me from the Sovereign, as it only threatened an eventual Danger, I knew it must always cede to the more pressing one of displeasing their Master.

Thus armed, with the power of turning my Artillery upon themselves, I went to the Porte, assuming the grave Demeanor proper for my new Dress, and heard, in a reserved manner, the different Proposals which the Visir was impowered to make. The Grand Seignior wished me to teach, first, the art of Quick-firing; and I perceived, by the pressing solicitations of the

VOL. II. PART III. G Visir,

Visir, that the Emperor had not left to him the choice of the means I was to employ.

As, in the conference which we held the next day, on the same subject, I still continued to affect an Indifference and Inactivity, not natural to me, the Visir enquired, with some Eagerness, whether I was dissatisfied, or had met with any thing which had diminished my Zeal for their Service. No, said I; I only experience the natural Effect of the Dress I have been obliged to assume: it induces Indolence. I already feel a kind of Apathy, which it no doubt causes, come over me; and if you persist in obliging me to wear it, I shall soon be on a level with every thing about you. You suppose then, said the First Minister, laughing, that our habit impedes our activity; possibly it may; but as your industry is known to the Grand Seignior, who wishes to profit by it, and will lay the blame on us, if he finds it lessened, dress yourself more commodiously, inform us what you want, and be as diligent as possible in preparing your first Experiment of Quick-firing, at which the Grand Seignior desires to be present.

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The Porte sent me, the next morning, an Officer of the Artillery, in his habit of ceremony, who had orders to accompany me every where, precede me with his staff in his hand, guard me, and procure me free admission into the Foundries, the Arsenals, and every other Place I might have occasion to visit.

I luckily found two Four-pounders, which had been taken from the Russians, in the War preceding the Treaty of Belgrade; but it was requisite to mount and complete them; and the necessity of instructing the Workmen, in this new business, was the more difficult and disagreeable as the Plague, which that Year carried off a hundred and fifty thousand Persons, in Constantinople, was then at its height. Obligated to direct the Workmen myself, many of whom were attacked by the Distemper, I had nothing to defend me from it, but the salubrious smell of the Forges, and the precaution of giving directions with the end of my Cane. But, perhaps, what most preserved me from the Infection was never giving myself up to Fear,

and the melancholy Ideas its Ravages present.

The Jews, who profit by each branch of Industry, which is neglected or despised, are, at Constantinople, in possession of every kind of manufacture in which Bristles are employed. I therefore made use of their assistance in the fabrication of my Rammers. I carried on my operations too publicly for the least of them to remain unknown ; but I was not aware of the scandal some of them might occasion.

It had been signified to me that the Grand Seignior would be present at the first lessons of the Detachment of fifty Turkish Gunners who were become my Pupils. At the same time, the Visir, informed that my small Artillery was ready, ordered his Tents to be set up at Kiathana, where I gave my Instructions ; and I then learned, that, instead of a Visit from the Grand Seignior, I was only to be favoured with one from his Ministers ; and, early in the morning, I repaired to the place appointed, in order to receive this courtly Company. The General of the Artillery was there before me,
and

and caused me to be saluted on my arrival. He was, no doubt, desirous, by this Politeness, which I did not mistrust, to conceal the small trick he intended to play me, and which I could not foresee.

The customary Order, observed by the Ministers of the Porte, required the attendance of all the Subalterns, in the Train of the Grand Visir. I began to suspect some mischief when I perceived the Grand Treasurer appear the first. I advanced to meet him. Where are the Pieces which you have got ready, said he, with a mysterious air? There they are, answered I; in the midst of the Croud, which is gathered round them: for upwards of ten thousand Persons had assembled, to be Spectators of this *new* method of firing Cannon; and it was with much difficulty that we got thro' the Multitude, which is not very respectful, and never gives way but to Violence.

The first Observation of the Treasurer gave me to understand in what manner they intended to molest me. What is that, said he, pointing to one of the Rammers, furnished with a Brush to serve for a Sponge?

I pretended not to perceive the drift of this Question. It is a Rammer, replied I. Yes; but I ask what that is which is round it?

THE BARON.

It is the Spunge.

THE TREASURER.

That is not what I mean. You seem to have forgotten the Turkish Language. What is this Brush made of?

THE BARON.

Perhaps I may have mistaken you; but I should suppose you can see it is made of Hair.

THE TREASURER.

That too I see, plainly enough; but I wish to know what sort of Hair?

THE BARON.

Hog's Bristles; since I must tell you the name, which is the only thing proper for the purpose.

THE TREASURER.

And precisely that which we may not make use of.

THE

THE BARON.

But it is what you must make use of; or, if the Fetfa of the Mufti be necessary, I will engage to obtain it for you.

Here the Croud about us, who had long appeared dissatisfied, broke out into a general Exclamation of *God forbid*. The High Treasurer turned pale, and taking me by the arm, For God's sake, said he, trembling, do not pronounce the name of the Mufti; we shall be torn in pieces. But I was so enraged, at such a number of absurdities, that, without regarding this advice, I said, raising my voice, What signifies this ridiculous contention about a few Hog's bristles, when all your Mosques are full of them?

This last expression, for which I had my reasons, increased still more the agitation of the People, and the Terror of the High Treasurer, who, now, expected Murder to ensue. But I immediately mounted on the Carriage of a Cannon, and, looking on the Multitude, whose fanatic Murmurs were now grown very loud and violent, pronounced the word Silence, with a firmness

that astonished the Croud, and seemed to have given me a right to impose it.

Taking advantage, therefore, of the momentary calm, produced by their surprize, Is there, said I, any Painter among you? If there be, let him come forward to decide this dispute. Whereupon, a venerable old Man, raising his voice, I, said he, am a Painter, what is your Desire? I wish, answered I, if you are a good Mussulman, that you would tell us the Truth, and answer the Questions which I shall ask you.

During this scene, the High Treasurer, whom I had equally astonished, had recovered a little from his Fears, and, suspecting I intended to make use of the Painter to get clear of this Perplexity, caused him to come forward, and ordered him to be very exact in his Replies.

THE BARON.

Have you ever painted the Inside of any Mosque?

THE PAINTER.

Of several; and those very considerable ones.

THE

THE BARON.

And what Instruments did you make use of?

THE PAINTER.

Many different Colours.

THE BARON.

Remember you are a Mussulman, and should reverence the Truth. Why do you prevaricate? Colours are not the Instruments; they are the Means. You make use of Brushes: of what are the large ones made?

THE PAINTER.

They are of white Hair; we buy them ready made, and never prepare them ourselves.

THE BARON.

You know however from what Animal the Hair is procured; that is what I wish to be told.

THE TREASURER.

Yes; you must declare the Truth: it is of consequence it should be known.

THE

THE PAINTER [*raising his voice*].

In that case, I must say, that all our Brushes are made of Bristles.

THE BARON.

Very well; but this is not all. What becomes of the Hair, after you have made use of your Brushes, and the Mosque is finished? What do you bring home?

THE PAINTER.

I certainly bring home nothing but the Handles; the Hair remains on the Wall.

THE BARON.

If, then, Bristles do not defile your Mosques, it cannot, surely, be improper to make use of them against your Enemies.

The exclamation, Praise be to God! was the Answer which the people returned, unanimously; and the High Treasurer, elated with Joy, which was the more lively as it succeeded to Fear, immediately threw off his superb Pelisse, furred with Martin-skin, from Siberia, and seizing on one of the Rammers, and applying it to the mouth of the Piece, Come, my friends, cried he,
let

let us make use of this new Invention for the Safety and Glory of the True-Believers.

The ridiculous conclusion of this Scene was certainly worthy its Origin. The Treasurer was satisfied, and the People enraptured ; but this Proof of their Common Folly would have determined me to give them up, had not these Difficulties been to me a kind of Spur, which I found it impossible to resist.

What had passed being related to the Visir, and the other Ministers, at their arrival, disposed them to give their applause, more readily, to the alertness of the Gunners, who, however, could not, in this first Essay, fire oftener than five times in a Minute ; yet this was a great deal for the Turks ; and it might be presumed that younger men than those who had been sent me might, after a little Practice, attain to the desired Perfection ; and several of the Turks, who were Spectators, offered to enlist.

But every body found fault with the bent Rammers, and imagined that, by
simple-

simplifying this Instrument, the celerity of using it might be increased. This popular Remark had already reached the Tent of the Visir when I went to him. My little Company followed me, and the High Treasurer, always in haste to give his opinion, advised the use of the strait Rammer, as the readiest and best. I opposed this Proposal, by shewing the danger to which it must expose the Gunners. Pshaw, said he, with an air of Gaiety, what signify a few Gunners, more, or less, provided the Grand Seignior be but well served?

This Expression appeared to me so shameful, and the opportunity of revenging myself on this Minister and gaining the good will of the People so favourable, that, raising my Voice so as to be heard by the Gunners, without the Tent, I answered, As I could not separate the true Interest of the Grand Seignior from the Preservation of his Subjects, I should never allow myself to treat them so lightly, and that I would rather renounce the honor of serving
ing

ing him than have occasion to reproach myself with the smallest Accident.

This short Harangue excited a sudden Murmur among the Gunners, and the Croud behind them; nor could the Visir himself with-hold his Applause. When I went out to repeat the Exercise, the Gunners, still warm with what they had heard, pressed upon me, raised me from the Ground, and returned God Thanks for my Answer; saying frequently, and loudly, Ah! what signify a few High Treasurers, more, or less, provided the Grand Seignior be but well served.

Our repetition of the Exercise was scarcely finished, when I received notice that the Visir wished to speak with me. You have performed so well, said he, that there can be no doubt of your Success, when all the necessary Measures are taken, and for which we will obtain the Orders of the Grand Seignior. But, as it is customary for our Offices to be shut, when we are absent from the Porte, and as these Excursions are, besides a kind of Recreation we rarely enjoy, and are willing to prolong, I
have

have to request you would make these Gunners fire at a Mark. You may remain with us the mean-time ; we will converse, and shall find it very amusing.

A Butt, which I had raised, in front of the Visir's Tent, had, probably, suggested this Thought. In vain did I object, the Pieces were too short, and unfit for the purpose, and that no Ball would hit the Mark, where, besides, there was only a single Piquet to determine the Centre. That does not matter, replied he, they will make a Report, and that will be sufficient.

Accordingly the Pieces were drawn before the Tent of the Visir, where we amused ourselves with observing the Balls ; which, as I had foreseen, flew sometimes to the right, and sometimes to the left of the Butt.

During this, which was sufficient amusement for the Ministers of a great Empire, the Treasurer, ever ready to distinguish himself, and who had kept continually blaming the awkwardness of the Gunners, informed us he would make a Trial himself. Immediately he rises, takes off his

Pelisse, tucks up his Cloaths, goes to a Piece, and, with the assistance of one of his Servants, endeavours to point it carefully.

As I was desirous to examine his operations more narrowly, and find some new opportunity of punishing him for the Adventure of the morning, I advanced, and made a sign to the principal Gunner to give him the Match, that I might be diverted with his fear to make use of it. His hand shook so much he could not guide it to the Powder. How! said I, do you talk of giving us Lessons and are you afraid? I then seized his hand, and forced him to touch the Priming; but he had pointed the Piece so high, that it was impossible to observe the direction of the Ball.

You are as unskilful as the rest, said the Visir, as we re-entered the Tent; and it is plain that nobody but Tott can give us any instructions. Then turning to me, you ought, however, continued he, to shew the Treasurer how to hit the Mark. I should be equally unsuccessful, replied I. While he continued to request, and I endeavoured

deavoured to evade an Experiment which might make them imagine I knew no more than they, the first French Interpreter, who had accompanied me to Kiathana, said to me, in French; Why do you not make the attempt? Perhaps you may hit it.

The Visir, perceiving by his gestures he persuaded me to comply with the request, redoubled his sollicitations, and at length prevailed on me to point the Piece. So certain was I it was only losing a Ball, that I was at very little pains in taking aim. My alertness, however, was admired, the Gunner prepared the Linstock, all eyes were attentive, and I made my Discharge.

I was by no means less surprized than those around me to see the Bullet hit the Piquet in the center of the Butt. The cry *Machalla* (r) resounded on all Sides. The first Interpreter applauded himself for his Prophecy, and the Visir, whom I endeavoured to persuade it was a mere matter of Chance, said, with the smile of one who

(r) *Machalla* (What God has done) An Expression of the greatest admiration.

thinks he has discovered what is wished to be concealed, Yes, Yes; it is mere Chance; but this Experiment is sufficient; we require no more, and make no doubt but you will be always favoured by Chance in the same manner. I vainly endeavoured to remove this ridiculous Prejudice; but every thing, in this day's business, seemed destined to expose the Ignorance of the Turks. I however had surmounted the Difficulties thrown in my way, and gained the good will of the Multitude.

The Grand Seignior, having received an account of our first Experiments, immediately gave Orders to provide the Army with some of these able Gunners, and every thing necessary for this *new Invention*. The Spirit of this Order was plain enough, but the Letter only was obeyed. Several Bales of English Shalloon, intended to make twenty thousand Cartridges, furnished those who had the inspection of this business with excellent Summer-cloathing. Fifty Four-pounders, badly cast, but provided with new Rammers, were embarked without Carriages, because they were not men-

tioned in the Order. Fifty Gunners were directed to accompany them to Varna, where they were to leave them, buried in the Sand, on the Shore, for want of means to transport them; and all this was the effect of the punctuality of the Grand Seignor's Ministers.

That Prince was soon informed of the little Success of all the care he had taken; and the Visir, who commanded the Army, having represented to his Highness the necessity of providing it with Pontoons and Persons able to make use of them (an Invention till then unknown to the Turks) Sultan Mustapha appointed me to provide them, and ordered that every thing relative thereto should be left entirely to my Directions.

As that Prince was convinced, by long experience, of the misapplication of Money, intended for useful Expences, he ordered the Treasury to reckon with me, alone, for the Sums necessary for the Business in which I was engaged. You may take up what money you think proper, said the Visir, it will be paid to your receipt; and

and this proof of the Emperor's confidence in you is the more flattering, as he grants it to none of us.

I am very sensible of the Honor done me, replied I, but cannot prevail on myself to make use of this Privilege: ever zealous for the Service of his Highness, I will refuse him nothing but the handling of his Money.

The Tefterdar, and the Reis-Effendi, who were invited to the Conference I had with the first Minister, relative to the Fabrication of Pontoons, joined in pressing me to take this Business entirely on myself; but I persisted to require the nomination of some Person, who could be confided in, and who might be accountable. A Man to be confided in! replied the Visir, briskly; where are we to find him? For my part, I know of no such Person. Do you? continued he, addressing himself to the High Treasurer. No, my Lord, replied he. The Visir then turning to the Reis-Effendi, Or do you, said he, know of any such? Not I, indeed,

answered he, laughing. I know none but Knaves.

You see, said the First Minister, the thing you request is impossible; and we have but one Remedy; it is only by cutting off a number of heads that the Disorder can be removed.

I was the more offended at all this, as these Judges, so severe against the Crimes of others, were, themselves, the cause of them; and could not refrain from proving it, by quoting a recent Example. I know, said I, to the Visir, that your Highness is the Depositary of Sovereign Authority; but, since this Authority is derived from God, you can only use it consistent with Justice.

Do you then, said he, believe it to be unjust to punish Robbers? I do, replied I, when their Robberies are authorised: they then cease to be punishable. What Right, for example, can you have to punish the Extortions of the Inspector of the Frontiers, whom you sent away last week, with Orders to examine and certify the State of the different Places? His nomination

nation cost him twenty Purfes; his Expences will amount to as many more; and yet he receives no pay. Is not this giving a tacit Consent to the hope he entertains of reimbursing himself doubly? And would it be just to examine into the Abuses which result from this Practice? (*s*) Sultan Soliman, of glorious Memory, added I, by establishing Superintendants over every Branch of Administration, and assigning them appointments proportionable to their Employs, preserved to himself the Right of punishing their Offences. To suppress lawful Emoluments is to authorise Rapine, which must supply their Place. Pay the Treasurer I request from you, and I will answer for his Honesty.

During this Harangue my Auditors looked on each other; and the Visir, far from making any objection, said to his

(*s*) It was from an Inspection of this kind, that, during the negociation at Belgrade, the Porte assured M. de Villeneuve that the Fortrefs of Oczakow was perfectly well provided, though it was taken a short time after, for want of the Ammunition necessary for its Defence.

Colleagues, I did not think he had known us so well. At length it was determined that, since I would have a Paymaster, it should be proposed to the Grand Seignior to nominate Shamlu-Hussein-Effendi to that office. A Salary shall be allowed him, added the Visir, laughing; but we would not advise you, on that account, to answer for his Conduct.

The Grand Seignior was too impatient to see me employed, in making the Pontons, to suffer a long interruption for want of the New Intendant; and Shamlu-Hussein, who had accompanied the last Turkish Ambassador into France, soon made me perceive he had not been chosen by the Visir to diminish the Expences which my Undertakings might occasion.

My Workshop was at the Arsenal, and, while I overlooked the Boat-builders, the Coppersmiths who had orders to prepare the plates of Copper, daily brought me Specimens, which rather proved a want of Honesty than Ability. The manner in which they can work in Copper is, indeed, so well known that, not suspecting the
true

true Reason, I persisted to require from them what I knew they could produce, until these poor fellows, reduced to Despair, and not daring to explain themselves before the Intendant, determined, privately, to implore my Commiseration, and thus avoid the Oppression with which they were threatened.

The Chief of this Company, being deputed to wait on me, confessed that their want of Skill was merely pretended. You have already, said he, discovered one part of our Secret, and I am come to entrust you with the other. The Porte obliges us to accept the stated price of the Miry. (*t*) We shall be ruined if you employ us; and severely punished if you complain. Our Fate depends upon you.

My Situation was now embarrassing, but I did not hesitate to relieve them from their fears: pretending that the Pontoons

(*t*) The Miry, or Treasury, among the Turks, has adopted the cruel, and far from æconomical, Practice of forcing those who work for the Public to accept so low a price that both Buyer and Seller are equally Sufferers.

would be the better for being lighter, I, the next Day, declared my Intention to cover them with leather. This would certainly expose the Tanners to that Oppression from which I had delivered the Copper-smiths; but the cheapness of this last Material rendered it less heavy.

A Company of Janissaries, only employed in working the Engines, and who were quartered within the Arsenal, afforded me a large number of Workmen, accustomed, by the making of Leather Tubes, to the work requisite for sewing and preparing the Casing of the Pontoons. The Commander of this Company had orders to give me every assistance; this was to him a very profitable employment, and he gave me many proofs of his zeal and good-will.

I was entirely employed in this business, and the Grand Seignior pressed me to throw some Pontoons over the River Kiathana (*u*), in order to try if this kind of Bridge, against

(*u*) A Paper Mill, which formerly stood on this River, has given its name to it, as well as to the Meadow through which it runs. The Mouth of this small River is at the bottom of the Harbour of
Con-

against which Ignorance continually raised a thousand Objections, was really sufficient for the Transportation of Artillery. I went every day to the Arsenal, and one morning, passing over a dangerous frozen place, in spite of all my precautions, got a fall, and sprained my left Leg.

I at first felt only a violent numbness, and, with the assistance of my Servant, continued my way, but soon experienced such extreme Pain that I could hardly reach the Quarters of the Janissaries, who had the care of the Engines, by a gate of their Garden, which I luckily found open.

Constantinople; it is also called the Fresh Waters, and is principally remarkable for the Palace built near it, by Sultan Achmet, at about three quarters of a league from the Capital. It is now only used by the Grand Seignior, on some parties of Pleasure, or when he is present at the Exercise of Artillery performed there. On each side of the Valley are still to be seen the remains of Buildings, intended for the reception of the Grandees, and the Cascades meant to decorate the Gardens. This rude imitation of the Castle of Marli, the idea of which was suggested by the Father of the last Turkish Ambassador, was destroyed by the Rebels who dethroned Sultan Achmet.

The

The Colonel was not there, but the Officers and Soldiers were not the less ready to give me every assistance which they thought I needed. One offered me Coffee, another a Pipe, a third something to eat, but none thought of any thing that might really be of service. Though I was almost fainting, I had sense enough left to perceive that, among such Physicians, I could not, without great danger, suffer myself to be overcome by Pain. I collected all my strength, and caused my stocking to be taken off, to plunge my Foot in cold Water. The Janissaries, who would never have thought of this Remedy, having no other Vessel, brought me the Kettle of the Company (x).

This cold Bath was, certainly, the only thing which could do me any real good;

(x) The respect paid to the Kettle of the Janissaries can only be compared to that with which we honor our Standards. The Company which should suffer it to be taken by the Enemy would be covered with Infamy. It is from this practice that the Colonel is called the Giver of Soup, the Major stiled Head of the Kitchen, and the Scullions and Water-bearer, Adjutants.

but

but it increased my Pain to so great a degree that, during three quarters of an hour, while I remained there, till the arrival of a Chair which I had sent for, I could only keep myself from fainting by smelling to Vinegar, and procuring cold Water to be thrown in my face. The Janissaries were not a little surpris'd at my preferring such Aid to the Wine and Coffee they continually offered me.

This Accident had too many Witnesses not to be publicly known; and hardly had I got home before the Visir sent to let me know his concern. The Grand Seignior was, also, kind enough to send and make enquiries; but this Prince was too active to allow me the rest which was necessary. He press'd me to continue my Labours; while his desire to have me carried to them, and wish that I would neglect nothing that might contribute to my cure, only shew'd his impatience to see the Pontoons completed.

The third day after I returned to my Business, and the Bridge was soon thrown over the River Kiathana, opposite the Kiosk

of the Master of the Horse. Sultan Mustapha was desirous to form a Judgment himself on the success of this Undertaking. He ordered the Arrabadgi-Bachi (y) to bring four pieces of Cannon to the new Bridge, and gave directions for me to be there, along with Shamlu-Hussein-Effendi, immediately after Morning Prayer.

As soon as we arrived, we perceived a Boat approaching, with three pair of Oars, not unlike those in common use, but so well known that our Watermen were not deceived. It brought the Grand Seignior, habited like an Oda-Bachi (z), and accom-

(y) Superintendant of the Train. This office was established by Sultan Soliman, who, at the same time, provided for the maintenance of four thousand Horses to draw the Artillery; but the Lands appropriated to this purpose having been successively granted to Individuals, meant to be favoured, were not long applied as bequeathed, and the Cannon were drawn to Kiathana, by Horses taken from the Mills.

(z) Commander of the Barracks. This military Office is equivalent to that of Captain; and it is to be remembered that, among the Turks, every kind of rank is distinguished by the different form of the Turban.

panied

panied by two of his Domestics, disguised like Janissaries, who immediately, on his arrival, retired, and kept at a distance, while Hussein and I attended the Emperor on the Bridge, the structure of which he very carefully examined. He afterwards caused the Artillery to pass over it several times, and neglected nothing that could give him any Information on the manner of conveying and fixing these military Bridges.

This Prince, who had long kept me standing, spoke to me with much concern of the Accident which had happened; and my Paymaster, thinking to make his court to the Sultan by extolling my activity, talked much of the Fatigue I made him undergo, though he only discovered his own Indolence.

Do you not know the reason, said the Grand Seignior to Hussein, of this great difference between you? I will explain it. When Tott came into the World, he fell upon his Feet, and directly began to run; whereas, you fell on your Breech, and there you have remained.

If

If this fall of Wit humbled the Courtier, he was presently comforted for it, by being ordered to distribute a Bag of Sequins (*a*) among my Workmen, as a Present. The vivacity with which Sultan Mustapha returned to his Boat, prevented his observing a step at the Door of the Kiosk, and he was very near getting a dangerous Fall, had we not hastened to support him. While he was taking water, and applauding the new Bridge, pressing me, at the same time, to make all possible Dispatch, and supply the Army with Pontoons, I perceived Hussein entirely employed in endeavouring to burst the Bag of Sequins, in his Pocket (*b*), in order to mix them with those he had himself, and thus confound his own Generosity with that of his Prince.

(*a*) The Sequin is a piece of Gold Coin, but there are Sequins of different Values. That most in use is worth about seven livres (five shillings and ten pence) of our Money.

(*b*) The Turks wear their under Garments wrapped over, and fastened by a Girdle, which will hold whatever they place under this fold, in the lining of which Pockets are contrived, for Watches, Money, or whatever else they wish to carry carefully.

My

My Colleague, at last, contented himself with distributing ten Sequins to each Workman, and thought he might, with a safe Conscience, reserve, at least, two hundred, for his own Profits.

The Visir and the Ministers of the Porte could not see without Jealousy the Conference I had had with their Master ; and under the specious Pretext of affording the People the sight of an Invention as new at Constantinople as it was useful, but, in reality, with a view to rot the Pontoons, commanded that the Bridge should remain where it was till further Orders. The care of the Workmen, however, hindered the effects of this mean Envy, and, for the space of forty days, the people continued to take advantage of this circumstance, by walking as far as the Bridge, and indulging their curiosity. At length, the necessity of no longer interrupting the Navigation of the River obliged the Ministers to wait some other opportunity of doing me an Injury.

The Grand Seignior had agreed that the fifty Pontoons, designed for the Army, should be accompanied by a necessary number of
Men,

Men, able to make use of them, with a Commander who had acquired sufficient Knowledge to give proper Directions ; but this very Knowledge was exactly the Article neglected. The whole Apparatus was embarked and sent off for the Army, and the Captain of the Poontoners followed with his Company, without deigning to become acquainted either with me or the Pontoons.

These different Reinforcements only served to encumber the Port of Varna ; and the Grand Visir, who commanded the Army, soon entirely neglected what he had so earnestly solicited from the Porte. The Ottoman Forces still remained useless at Bagdad, where they had been encamped near three years. The supplies of Provisions, the necessary quantity of which the Ignorance of the Generals was unable to calculate, though this, indeed, it was impossible to ascertain, on account of the unforeseen arrival of a multitude of Volunteers, continually presented either Excess or Want ; while Wastefulness, on the one hand, and Discontent, on the other, produced such neglect of Discipline as to insult all Authority,

thority. Despotism, which, though unacquainted with the art of preserving, is perfectly skilled in that of destroying, knew no remedy, but giving the Place of Janissary-Aga to Abdi-Pacha, in order to commit the Jurisdiction of the Army to one whose Character was that of an Executioner.

His first care was to dig great Pits, and his daily Employment to fill them with the Bodies of the Soldiers, whom he ordered to be strangled, on the slightest Pretences, and without any Examination. Abdi-Pacha had not been three months in Office before he had put to death more than thirty thousand Men; and the Government applauded itself for having discovered so efficacious an Expedient, to insure plenty and good Order.

The means the Turks employed to surprise their Enemies were not less strange. The High Treasurer, commanding a Detachment, in the Night, was lighted by the Flame of resinous Wood, burning in iron Chafing-dishes, fixed to long Poles. Abdi-Pacha, therefore, got the name of the Pit-

digger, and the High Treasurer that of the Blazer.

Such was the Ignorance of the Turks that their Army wanted a Field Artillery, without which the greatest Abilities could effect but little. The Founderies which they already had were useless; they had no method but using the Furnaces of *Ufina* (*c*), and the Metal, calcined by the action of the Bellows, and afterwards cooled at the bottom of the Vessels, which received it, was not hot enough when it reached the Moulds; the improper make of which added yet another defect to the Pieces they produced (*Y*). I proposed to use a reverberatory Furnace, and bore them with a Machine.

The Idea of melting without Bellows, casting the Pieces solid, and boring them afterwards, was laughed at by the Turkish Founders. But the Grand Seignior had honored me with his Confidence, and ordered his Ministers to assist me in the Execution of my Plans, who presently used

(*c*) Furnaces used for melting of Iron.

every Endeavour to render them abortive.

The first method they took, to effect this, was refusing to entice, to Constantinople, the necessary Workmen; and when I gave in my List of them to the Visir, You propose, said that Minister, very strange things, which our ablest Artists consider as impossible; begin, therefore, by shewing us they may be done; only produce a single Piece, made after your manner, and we will soon procure you as many Workmen as you please. An answer so absurd would certainly have justified me in abandoning the Turks to their Stupidity: but, blind to the rashness of my Enterprize, I agreed to go, the next day, with one of the Ministers of the Porte, to choose a proper place for establishing the new Foundry. I had no sooner made this Engagement than, considering the prodigious labour requisite to succeed, I was entirely taken up in the discovery of the proper means.

The Comte de Saint-Priest could not be ignorant of any thing I undertook, and I owed him the more respect and confidence

for that few Persons, in his Situation, would have taken the like Pains to increase my Credit with the Porte. The Project of directing the Fabrication of a new Artillery appeared, to him, so great an undertaking that he thought nothing could exceed it; and when, while relating to him all that had passed, I informed him of the answer of the Visir, and his refusal of the Workmen, he was so offended that, interrupting me hastily, I hope, said he, you will now no longer attempt to serve such People. I have accepted their own Terms, answered I.

The calmness of my Reply could not dispel the Fears of M. de Saint-Priest; his Prudence was aware of every Inconvenience, and his knowledge foresaw every difficulty; which were still more magnified by his Friendship. At length I pacified him a little by affirming I should succeed; but this Success I could not warrant to myself. I had never seen any Foundery, and my Taste for the Arts, which I had always made my Amusement, had never led me to attempt what could amuse nobody.

To

To procure the necessary Information required much Labour; I repaired to the High Treasurer, who was to accompany me in my search for a convenient place to establish the new Foundery; but we could discover none to which many objections might not be raised; and I plainly saw that the Jealousy of the Ministers wished to engage the Sea on their side, by placing me near its Shore. It had certainly been acting a prudent part to make a pretext of this new difficulty to give up the undertaking; but a Projector is seldom willing to lose his Labour. I only observed that it would cost the Grand Seignior so much the more, and added, with some pettishness, to shew the High Treasurer I was not his Dupe, if he was so little careful to save his Master's Money, I would set up my Foundery in the middle of the Harbour.

The Sheir-Emini had the payment of the Expences: A Greek, who pretended to be an Architect, was employed to collect the Workmen, and to see that they followed my Directions. I had digested my first Plan, and discovered a method of

preventing the bad Effects of the Water; but I was continually obliged to join practice with Theory, and to be at once Architect, Mason, Stone-cutter, Forger, and Whitesmith. My schemes were entirely my own, and understood by no one else. There was no similarity between the labour necessary for my Undertaking and that to which my workmen had been accustomed; so that I have frequently been obliged to set the Mason to the Forge, and give the Trowel to the Smith (Z).

A Greek, very expert in the Art of constructing Mills, was, however, of much Service to me, in making my boring Machine. The Memoirs of Saint Remi and the Encyclopedie were my constant Guides, and I wanted no other till I came to make the Moulds; but there I was quite at a stand.

Carthusian Earth being only mentioned, without any intimation how it was composed, I had no light with respect to what might supply its Place. I, therefore, had recourse to a mixture of Potter's Earth, Sand, and Plaister. At length, every
1 thing

thing being ready to heat the Furnace, I filled it with Thirty Thousand weight of Metal, attending its Fusion for Thirteen Hours together, the Fatigue of which Labour fell only to my Share, as no one was able to give me any Assistance; and, at break of Day, cast Twenty Pieces of Cannon, with a Success which surprized and enchanted the Turks, relieved M. de Saint Priest from his Apprehensions, and astonished Nobody so much as myself.

I then confessed, to that Ambassador, that this was the first casting I had ever seen. He shuddered at my Temerity. It might, indeed appear foolish, but it must be allowed that Perseverance in endeavouring, and Ingenuity in effecting, are two things which the greatest Obstacles can scarcely vanquish.

All the Absurdities and Misrepresentations which Ignorance and Artifice had collected, to oppose me, immediately disappeared. The Possibility of melting, without Bellows, was demonstrated; and the Machine for Boring soon left no doubt of the Perfection of this new Method. The

Porte no longer refused me my Workmen. I was supplied with them according to the list I had given in ; but the Founder was so ill chosen, by the Person at Marseilles, on whom I had relied in this particular, that I was obliged to attend every melting myself, and at length dismiss him, as soon as my Carpenter, who served me in every Capacity, was able to supply his Place.

While I was employed, at Constanti-
nople, in providing the Turks with a bet-
ter Artillery, the Progress of the Russian-
Arms, on the Danube, induced the Grand
Visir to concur with my Operations ; and
the Ottoman Cavalry having suffered con-
siderably, by Ricochet Bombs, the Porte
earnestly requested me to prepare some of
the same, and instruct a number of Bom-
bardiers in the manner of firing them.

The Plain of Ocmeidan (*d*) was the place
appointed for my first Experiments, and
every

(*d*) The Plain of Arrows : one part of it contains
a great number of small marble Pillars with Inscrip-
tions. Their distances point out how far Arrows
have been shot, and their Inscriptions preserve the
names

every thing being prepared, the Ministers of the Porte, always prompt to be my Judges, fixed on the next Day for this Exhibition : but the Grand Seignior sent them word they need not neglect their Employments, as he proposed to be present himself.

This determination, which I was not informed of till very late, obliged me to set out at Day-break, to prepare for his Reception. I had taken care every thing, necessary for this business, should be ready the Evening before ; had charged the Bombs myself, in order to prevent any Accident, which a trifling negligence in that respect might occasion. The number of People, who assembled, and increased every moment, shewed me this care was very proper : but the Imprudence of the Multitude

names of the Shooters. The Turkish Emperors almost all pretend to this kind of celebrity. Ocmeidan is, likewise, the place where it is customary to give Entertainments on the Circumcision of the Ottoman Princes. The Grand Seignior has there a very beautiful Kiosk, and other Buildings proper for the Reception of his Court,

made

made me fear the Mischiefs to which their Ignorance might expose them; for, as the Turks had always been used to see Bombs fired into the Air, they could not be persuaded that I had need of an open space before the Mortars; and I was obliged to wait the arrival of the Grand Seignior to dispose the Pieces for firing.

The Sheir-Emini (*e*), who was to be my Assistant in making these Experiments, walked about, with his white Staff in his hand, (*f*) when an Officer of the Seraglio, coming full Gallop, commanded him to repair, with me, to the foot of the Stairs, where his Highness was to alight, and ad-

(*e*) Superintendant of the City, and more particularly of the Seraglio. He is Surveyor of all Public Buildings, and those of the Grand Seignior. He also has the care of the Privy-purse, and transacts, by Commission, every thing relating to the Inspection of extraordinary Expences: but this Office, as well as all others, in the Turkish Government, by partaking of their barbarous Policy, cannot be compared to any among the Europeans.

(*f*) This Staff is the Commander's Ensign of Authority.

ded,

ded, that I must take the white Staff, which Orders were accordingly obeyed.

Sultan Mustapha presently appeared, and saluted me with much affability; while his Son, Sultan Selim, who accompanied him, surveyed me from head to foot with the greatest Attention. M. le Comte de Saint-Priest, curious to see this Exhibition, had arrived on Horseback, some Time before the Emperor, and had placed himself in one of the Apartments near the Kiosk, where his Highness and his Son were seated. Mustapha was soon informed of this circumstance, and I have since discovered that it occasioned a kind of circum-spection, in the Grand Seignior, for fear of displeasing the Ambassador. These little Particulars will not appear too minute, when we consider how well they describe the Manners of the Nation.

The Sheir-Emini, and myself, continued in the place which had been assigned us, where we waited the Orders of the Emperor, when the Seliſtar-Aga came to let me know I might begin firing the Ricochet Bombs. I then represented to him that
the

the Crowd, which furrounded us, and which exceeded twenty thousand Persons, must, first, be so far removed as to leave the Ground, before the Mortars, quite open.

Immediately a number of *Assequis* (*g*) employed their cudgels to force the Populace back, but found it not very easy to make them leave a free Passage for the Bombs, the rebounding of which only depend on their being fired more or less horizontally. At length they procured an open space, about twenty Fathoms in breadth; but it was much to be feared that, if the first rebound should happen within it, the least inequality of Ground would throw the Bomb among the Spectators; in

(*g*) A kind of chosen *Bostandgis*; a Detachment of whom always accompanies the Grand Seignior. They are armed with Sabres, and carry white Staves in their hands, to shew they are the Executors of the Emperor's Commands. It is also the *Assequis* who, in companies, do the Office of the French *Marchaillée*, in the neighbourhood of the Court; they, as well as the *Bostandgis*, do Duty on Horseback; except in the Excursions of the Grand Seignior, whom they always precede on Foot.

which

which case the People would have blamed me for what was only to be attributed to their own Stupidity. The first Shell, however, having grounded beyond the Multitude, considerably relieved me from this Fear.

Six Bombs had already been thrown, and, after twelve or thirteen rebounds, burst at the distance of more than three quarters of a League.

There now remained only one of the seven, all of which, as I have before said, I had charged with the greatest circumspection. This, too, was thrown; but it grounded in the middle of the open space, and remained there, with its Fusée burning, for twenty dreadful seconds, during which I, every moment, expected the most terrible destruction, from an Accident no less singular than unforeseen. No one attempted to get out of its way; this Bomb was looked on with the same curiosity as all the preceding; happily, at last, it did not burst. I then recovered from my Fright, and, though I carefully examined it, could not perceive but it had been charged in

every respect like the rest, nor ever discovered the cause of this Exception. As there was not time for my Anxiety to be discovered, this was considered as a stroke of dexterity, with which I chose to conclude; and the Turks boasted of the Courage they had shewn.

Some Shells, thrown from an eleven-inch Mortar, at a Tent, set up at the distance of six hundred Fathoms, by knocking down the Mark, completed the satisfaction of the Emperor, and his Grandees, assembled on the occasion. His Highness had brought with him a rich ermined Pelisse, which he intended to present me with; but, as I have already hinted, the presence of the Comte de Saint-Priest, whom he had not expected, determined him to suppress this mark of Distinction, for fear of displeasing that Ambassador, for whom he had not prepared the like Present. He therefore adopted the Expedient of sending for me to the Porte, there to receive this Token of his Approbation.

One of the Officers of his Train was immediately dispatched with these Orders, and the

the Sheir-Emini was directed to conduct me thither. However, the People, who had greatly applauded my Experiments, and expected to see me receive an honourable Reward, surprised to find me sent for to the Porte, imagined some Punishment was intended, and soon seemed convinced it was well deserved.

The Grand Visir, informed of my arrival, waited for me in the Hall of Audience, where all the Ministers were assembled. I received their compliments on the Satisfaction I had given the Grand Seignior. His Highness, said the First Minister, has ordered me to bestow on you this public Mark of his Esteem; and, at the same time, made a sign to the Master of the Ceremonies to invest me with the Pelisse; while the Hasnadar (*b*) presented me with a Purse of two hundred Sequins. I directly turned towards those who had accompanied me, and shewing them my Pelisse, I have received, said I, with Gratitude, this Proof of the Grand Seignior's Favour; do

(*b*) The Treasurer.

you return thanks to the Visir for this Purse; it is his Gift.

This Expedient, which I preferred to a discussion of our different Customs, was a sufficient Lesson to the Visir; at the same time that it disengaged me from the Embarrassment of Oriental Politeness (*i*).

The day began to decline when I left the Porte, and it was dark night before I arrived at the Suburbs of Pera. Two Officers, one belonging to the Artillery, and the other to the Fleet, who were appointed to guard me, preceded me on the two Pavements. I was not more than thirty

(*i*) This Turkish Custom, of giving money, occasioned the greatest Mortification to M. de Bonneval that a Man, like him, could suffer. The Ambassador Extraordinary, from the Emperor, who in the Austrian Army had been in an inferior Station to the Refugee, dined, as is customary, with the Visir. The Porte had chosen Kiathana for the Place of this entertainment. M. de Bonneval had orders to repair thither, with the corps of Bombardiers, of which he was Commander. When the Exercise was over, he was sent for by the Visir, who gave him a handful of Sequins, which his Situation obliged him to accept, with submission.

paces from home, when the Officer of the Fleet, whom I followed, was stopped by some persons he met, who roughly asked him to what Corps he belonged, and, on his answer, discharged two Pistols at him; he returned the fire, and was seconded by the Officer of the Artillery, who, at the same time, cried out for help. Immediately six Janissaries, from the German Ambassador's Hotel, which was opposite mine, rushed out with their Carbines, and, without farther Enquiry, gave us a general Volley. This certainly was not the assistance we wished; it was, however, sufficient to put our Enemies to flight, and the time requisite for our Auxiliaries to re-charge gave me an opportunity to get safe into my own House, without any of us being hurt.

Though I had made no complaint of this Attack, which certainly was not personally levelled at me, the Officers of the Police, at Pera, sent to inform me that all possible care should be taken to punish the Offenders, if I would describe them. The Grand Visir, likewise, sent, the next morning, to enquire after me, and receive an account of

the Assault made on us the preceding evening. The Grand Seignior himself, also, expressed his concern; but the attention of Government was soon necessary to matters of more Importance; an account of which will explain the reason of the Skirmish I have mentioned; at the same time that it will give a proper Idea of the manners of the Turks, the Spirit of their military Corps, and the Feebleness of their Government.

The Janissaries of the Company of the Lasses had, for some time before, been at variance with the Troops employed on board the Fleet. The Quarrel began in one of the Taverns of Galata, where a Boy, of about thirteen or fourteen, used to dance to bring Custom to the House. As he equally pleased both Parties, the dispute concerning him rose to a great height; and, the one successively taking him from the other, they at length publicly declared War, of which Galata became the Seat.

Their Outrages were carried so far that, one Party having taken refuge within the principal Mosque, the other carried off Cannon from some Merchant-ships, and
fired

fired on the Gate of the Temple. In every Corner of the Street there was an Ambuscade, and the Night was disturbed by continual firing, within the hearing of the Grand Seignor himself. All Business and Communication of every kind was interrupted.

The Government, which had neglected to stifle this Contention in its Birth, and which might easily have perceived to what Extremities it was carried, by the Attack on my Attendants, knowing no method of re-establishing good Order, but that of destroying the Human Species, thought it best to suffer the Combatants to murder each other, after having endeavoured, to no purpose, to procure a Reconciliation.

This scandalous Anarchy lasted three days, during which more than fifty persons were killed. I happened to be with the Visir when word was brought him of some new, and still more obstinate, Engagements, between the belligerent Parties. So much Bravery, at Galata, said he, and Cowardice, on the Danube, plainly shews the Turks are only afraid of Hats. We

shall never quell this Disturbance, continued he, laughing, without we send Tott with a score of Frenchmen, to bring them to Reason.

It was time to treat the subject seriously, for it was to be feared lest the other Companies of the Janissaries, taking part with their Comrades, should spread the Tumult to Constantinople itself. Vigorous measures were, on this account, not without Difficulty. Policy was therefore employed, and the subject of their contention taken from them; but the Party who had got possession would not consent to give him up, without the most positive Assurances that he should not be yielded to their Opponents; and the Boy, surrendered on these Conditions, was directly hanged, to the great satisfaction of those who had fought for him but a moment before.

During the Riot, the Ministers of the Porte treated with me concerning the Establishment of a new Corps of Artillery. Not that the Turks wanted Troops appointed for this service; more than forty thousand men, enrolled, and paid under the name
of

of Topchi (Gunnery), composed a Body, already too numerous ; but, in reality, more expensive than useful.

Subject to no Discipline, and never embodied, they were, like the Janissaries, scattered through the Capital, and the Empire. A Ticket, named *Effamai* (Pay), which each Soldier had, intitled him to his Pay, whether he presented it himself, or sent it by another ; and frequently these were sold, in all which cases the Bearer never rejoined his Company, unless he knew not what to do better, or in order to receive his share of the Allowance of those who remain with the Corps.

This Abuse will be much more evident on a view of the Barracks of the Janissaries, which are erected at Constantinople in a chosen situation. Sultan Soliman, by whom they were built, has bestowed a splendid Gilding on the Cielings of the Porticos, which his Successors have always maintained, though they have entirely neglected the Discipline which he established. This disregard of Good Order, by totally destroying the Spirit of the Institution, has in-

creased the number of those who receive Pay to four hundred thousand, for that of those who are enrolled is unlimited. Yet twenty thousand are scarcely ever collected at once (A).

It is likewise to be observed that this small number is principally composed of those who receive but little Pay, or, perhaps, none; having only entered the service to obtain a right to it. This Pay, which is only distributed every three Months, has a progressive Increase from three Aspers to ninety-nine (*k*).

Such a method of recompensing military Services, by subjecting their Reward to the

(*k*) The Asper may be estimated at six Deniers (one Farthing) therefore ninety-nine Aspers are equivalent to forty-nine Sous and a half; (two shillings and three farthings). But from an estimation made of the respective Currency, the course of Exchange reduces it to thirty-nine Sous six Deniers (one shilling and seven pence three farthings); though even this calculation is much above the intrinsic value of their Coin. The silver Money of the Grand Seignior is scarcely seven Deniers fine.

The silver Assay of France is divided into twelve Deniers, or two hundred and eighty-eight grains. T.

Pleasure

Pleasure of the superior Officers, is alone sufficient to effect the Destruction of this Corps. Favor, which misapplies every thing, has assumed the Disposal of the most considerable Salaries, and the greater part of the Revenues appropriated to military matters. These, in Turkey, the Man of Power, or Influence, bestows on his Footmen; and the Empire, deprived of the assistance provided by the Legislator, scarcely finds in the Remainder Supplies for the most necessary and urgent Occasions.

Indeed, if we except the produce of those Oppressions which swell the private Treasure of the Grand Seignior, under the legal, but not therefore less unjust, Title of Confiscation, the Revenues of the Empire, though entered in the Registers at more than twenty millions Sterling, do not, in fact, produce above three millions nine hundred thousand Pounds. Out of these the Troops should be paid, the Fleet maintained, and other current and unforeseen Expences defrayed: while the sixteen millions and a half, appropriated by Sultan Soliman for the Support of a numerous Cavalry,

valry, as well as of the four thousand Horses to draw the Artillery, and to pay for the Reparation of Fortresses and Highways, with other public Expences, only constitute the private Fortunes of some Individuals; and, in case of a War, the Grand Seignior is obliged to supply the deficiency by the Treasures he has in reserve (B).

Those of Sultan Mustapha were now nearly exhausted; and, though he had expended more than twenty-five millions Sterling, he found but little effected to console him for disbursements so great. He felt the necessity of having his Troops entirely new formed, and was desirous I should myself give Rules to the new Corps of Artillery; but it was first necessary that provision should be made for the Expence which this must occasion. The High Treasurer could only form a Revenue of twelve thousand five hundred Pounds, by seizing on some Perquisites before exacted by the Clerks of his Office.

The Porte next considered what name should be given this new Corps; the Learned were consulted, and the word *Su-ratchis*

ratchis (*l*) was unanimously adopted. The Grand Seignior gave his Sanction to the Ordonnance, which I had drawn up, by the Hattu-Humayonn (*m*), which he issued for the Creation of this new Corps.

Its uniform was determined in like manner; and as the nature of the Service required it should be light, without, however, being liable to be ridiculed by Ignorance, or offend Fanaticism, all this was effected by borrowing the Form of the Albanian Habit; and these Suratchis, in the whole six hundred Men, were, with their Officers, lodged in Barracks at Kiathana, where the School was already established.

Though they were only to be employed to serve the Artillery, yet, as a Knowledge of the Bayonet was become indispensable, I determined not to neglect this opportunity of accustoming the Turks to the use of that Weapon. It might likewise be expected, that, since it had so much contributed to the Successes of the Russians,

(*l*) The Diligent.

(*m*) Supreme Edict, which has the Force of a Law, and is obligatory for ever.

the introduction of this Novelty should have escaped Censure; but, to silence that, we were forced to impose upon Prejudice, by procuring the public Approbation of the Mufti.

The Head of the Law, accompanied by the Vifir, and all the Ministers, repaired to the School: I was before informed of this extraordinary Visit, and prepared to receive it. As soon as the Exercise was over, the Mufti requested me to draw up the Regiment, before the Kiosk, in which he was; he then asked me for one of the new Musquets, which I brought him, and, after having discoursed with me on the Utility of the Bayonet, he pronounced a Prayer, aloud, that God would bless this Weapon, and prosper it when employed in defence of the True Faith.

The Exclamation, Praised be God! uttered by the whole Corps, was immediately repeated by the Multitude, assembled by Curiosity; and the Fanatics, ever ready to applaud either a Benediction or an Anathema, talked of nothing but the Advantages

tages which this Invention could not fail to procure the Empire.

The Janissaries were far from Inattentive to the punctuality with which the Pay of the Suratchis was advanced every week, or the Uniform in which they were cloathed; and openly said they would submit, with Pleasure, to the same Discipline, to receive the same Reward. Indeed this Body, formerly confined to Children received as a Tribute, and once so formidable to its Masters, having been long debased, by a total neglect of all Discipline, was, at length, disregarded to such a degree that, at the Time of the Institution of the Suratchis, the Grand Seignior owed the Janissaries nine quarters pay. Nevertheless they gave not the least uneasiness to the Sovereign; yet this Tranquility, far from being a Proof of their Submission, was only a certain presage of the success of the Enemy. Troubles, in a Despotic Government, only exhibit national Energy; which, when it sinks before Internal Oppression, does but prove itself no longer in Condition to oppose a Foreign Force.

The

The Severity of the military Punishments, already established, afforded me an Opportunity to gain the Love of the Soldiers, without sacrificing the Regard due to Discipline; and I, as soon as possible, substituted, instead of the Bastinado and Fetters, other Punishments, less violent in appearance, though full as efficacious in establishing Good Order and Obedience, by inspiring a Sense of Honour, which no Soldier ought to be without, though even the Word is unknown to the Turkish Language (C).

Doubling the Guard-duty was the Punishment of any slight Offence. The Lapels and Collar turned back, without interrupting duty, was inflicted for more considerable Faults; and Deserters, before not considered as guilty of any Crime, were condemned to the Gallies. Sentinels likewise were placed, a Practice not before heard of among the Turks; and some Tartars, who had formerly been in the Russian Service, enrolled in this new Corps, set an example of exactitude in Duty.

This

This Troop, principally intended to serve the small Artillery, was exercised every Day, and was soon capable of firing fifteen times in a Minute; (*n*) but I constantly refused to accede to their desire of learning the Exercise of small Arms, because this Corps was too inconsiderable to repel the Raillery of the others; and I must observe that M. de Bonneval only failed, in his project of forming one, in Turkey, similar to that in Europe, (*o*) because, inattentive to

(*n*) Less quickness in firing and more care in taking aim had certainly been preferable; but the Turks were only terrified by Noise, and were desirous of making one; any superior reasoning was beyond their knowledge,

(*o*) I have been informed by the Turks, that M. de Bonneval, who had collected a Body of Albanians at Scutari, after having exercised them in wheeling to the right and left for some time, could never obtain from them a promise to return the year after for the same purpose; and that a Dervise, seeing them wheel, turned towards some Janissaries, assembled out of Curiosity, and said, the same Fate is preparing for you that Peter the Great made the Stretlitzes suffer, But the Murmur excited by this Expression was less the

to the Spirit of the Nation, he began where he should have ended. The Exercise, indeed, properly so called, was useless to the new Corps, the particular Duty of which was always to begin by piling their Arms.

Sultan Mustapha came frequently to these Exercises, was much pleased with the quickness of the firing, and always rewarded the Agility of the Gunners; but he never permitted any thing to be ordered but as coming from me, and I took advantage of this Opportunity to excite the Activity of the Minister, by encouraging that of the Emperor.

The Visir, though his business was only to give my Labours every Assistance in his Power, was desirous to honor them with his Inspection. In one of his Excursions he came to Kiathana, without my receiving any information that he intended it, and asked for a Repetition of the Exercise,

the cause of the disappearance of this Phantom of Discipline than the Interest of those who were to be disciplined, and whom it was necessary to pay in the first place.

which

which was gone through every Morning. We cannot repeat it without Orders, answered the Officer, who had the Command. Are not mine then sufficient? replied the Visir. We respect them, without doubt, returned the Officer; but in this Particular acknowledge no Superior but our Adgibektache (*p*). The Visir smiled at the reply, and was satisfied; it was by his means it came to my Knowledge.

It was now some time since I had been consulted, by the Grand Seignior, on the methods proper to be taken for the security of

(*p*) *Adgibektache*: A Dervise Santon, revered by the Turks, and considered as the Founder of the Janissaries, though he only gave them Laws. He lived under the Reign of Amurath the first, and when that Prince, by the advice of his Visirs, formed a part of the Slaves who had been allotted him into a new Corps (*Yeni-Tchery*) he applied to Adgibektache to give them rules, and his Benediction. It is said, that, in order to consecrate this new Corps, when he addressed his prayers to God, he placed the sleeve of his white Robe on the Head of their Chief, and that the white Felt, which still hangs from the Bonnet of the Janissaries, is worn in memory of the Sleeve of Adgibektache.

the

the Strait of the Black Sea. I had advised the building two Castles near the Mouth, and thought this project had been given up, when I was informed of the works, carried on, by the Porte, near the two Lighthouses of Europe and Asia. They were entrusted to the Abilities of two Architects, as little acquainted with the nature of Lines of Defence as with the Rules of Vitruvius.

Near the Entrance of the Strait, and out of the reach of six and thirty pounders, they erected some wretched Towers, and uncemented Walls, which were to contain the Artillery; and, the whole having been whitewashed, the Ministers were soon able to inform the Grand Seignior of the completion of this Work.

Sultan Mustapha, who certainly meant I should superintend the Undertaking, astonished to find no mention of me, in the Account he had received, enquired the reason. His Ministers, who sought to employ me as little as possible, alledged, as an Excuse, that their Orders did not state I was to be consulted; but his High-
ness

ness, not willing to rely on their Judgment, subjected them to the mortification of having their Work submitted to my Inspection.

The Reis-Effendi, (*q*) and the High Treasurer, were appointed to conduct me to the Castles, where I was to decide whether they should be preserved or demolished. The Civility with which the Grand Visir made me the Request proved the same complaisance had not been observed by the Sultan in giving his Orders relative to this business; and tho' the Commission rendered them uneasy, it was no less embarrassing to me; for I must either betray the Trust reposed in me, or sacrifice the Innocent. It was plain that if I had disapproved of the Works, which had been erected, those who had planned them would throw the blame on the two Architects; and, as these could neither do better nor refuse to undertake what they were commanded, it would be barbarous to impute the error to them.

(*q*) Minister for Foreign Affairs.

We took these poor Fellows with us, and their first Care, on our Arrival, was to represent the Danger to which they should be exposed, if I disapproved of their work. I assured them that their Ignorance ought to be their Protection; but this did not relieve them from their Fears.

The two Ministers now pressed me to give my Opinion, and already began to find fault with the Masonry, as well as the bad condition of the Lodgments, which had been erected within the Walls. That, said I, is of little Consequence; the principal thing to be considered is, whether the Cannon carry far enough to make the Balls cross each other; every thing else may easily be remedied. Immediately one of the Architects asserted he was certain they would. Whether they do, or do not, said I, it is nothing to you; you have built where you were directed, and, if the distance is too great for the Artillery to command the intermediate space, it will be needless to examine your part of the business, because, every thing must be demolished, and a new Situation chosen.

The

Then Greek then perceived the Folly of his Reply, and the Gunners received Orders to charge their Pieces. The High Treasurer, who, of all the Ministers, had had the greatest share in planning those works, proposed we should go upon the Strand, and observe the Balls. The principal Engineer, added he, has assured me he has already perceived them cross each other. I have so much confidence, replied I, in his Observations, that I will take care not to make mine at the same Place: I shall go to the top of the Tower; its height will better enable us to form a Judgment.

We immediately ascended the Battlements of a wretched Tower, intended by these prudent Planners to serve for a Powder Magazine; and, a Flag having been displayed as a signal, we perceived, distinctly, that the Balls from the Cannon, on each Side, scarcely passed over a third of the Distance between the two Castles,

This Experiment, several times repeated, confirmed our Observations, and decided the Question. Any examination of the construction of the Castles was now super-

fluous, and the Inutility of the Fortresses compleatly demonstrated. The memorial was so drawn up as to remove the apprehensions of the two Architects. I dined with the Ministers, and we afterwards reimarked, to return to Constantinople, and to endeavour to discover, as we went along, a proper Situation for the two Castles, thought necessary for the defence of the Bosphorus.

We quickly found such a one: the two first Capes we passed, standing at a convenient Distance, and situated in such a manner as to defend the Anchoring Places before them, seemed as if intended for the very Purpose. A representation was made of these Observations, the Ministers gave in an account of what had been done, and the conclusion of all was that, for above six Months, I heard no further mention of this Scheme.

The Superintendance of the Foundery, and the daily Exercises of the new Regiment of Gunners, afforded me sufficient Employment, and I thought no more of the Project of fortifying the Strait. I imagined the
Grand

Grand Seignior had entirely laid it aside, when two Messages, arriving at the same time, the one from the Visir, and the other from the Reis-Effendi, to press me to repair to the Porte, made me suspect some particular Orders from the *Interior* (r) the execution of which would admit of no delay.

I found the Ministers all assembled, at the Visir's, in great agitation, and still terrified with the Anger and Menaces of the Emperor (s). Sultan Mustapha, who often came to the Porte, to confer with the Officers of State, and receive an account of their Proceedings, had been there that morning. Well informed, no doubt, that the new Castles had never been begun, he hastily called his Ministers together, and the opening of his Harangue made them tremble. Traitors, said he, you have shaken

(r) This Term, which is a literal Translation of the Turkish Expression, is used to signify the Palace of the Grand Seignior; and seems better suited than any other to Despotism.

(s) These particulars I had from the Reis-Effendi.

my Throne, and are wholly intent on my Destruction.

His Eyes sparkled with anger and his Auditory were struck dumb.

Ismael Bey (*t*), more daring than the others, because more certain of his Master's Favour, alone had the Courage to request him to name the Traitor. Yourself, replied the Sultan. Where are the Castles that Tott was to have built, six months ago? He has pitched on a favourable Situation: have you supplied him with the means of laying the first Stone?

The Ministers defended themselves by declaring they had received no such Orders: the Grand Seignior declared they had, and was with Difficulty pacified by their Assurances that Workmen should be employed the next day. We, therefore, appointed a time to meet, and gave a few strokes with a Pick-ax, that these Officers might, with a safe Conscience, assure the Emperor a beginning had been made.

(*t*) The Name of the Reis-Effendi.

While

While I was busy in forming Plans to take every Advantage which the Situation afforded, the Visir consulted the Astrologers, to know what day and hour were most proper for laying the first Stone (*u*). They had resolved the important Question, and I was going to set out, to be present at this Ceremony, when a Turk, followed by several Tchoadars, arrived, and announced that he came from the Grand Seignior. The important Demeanor of this Personage, and his silent Gravity, would not suffer him hastily to explain the nature of his Mission. The slowness with which he swallowed his cup of Coffee, that Prelude to every Turkish Conversation, served, still more, to increase my Impatience.

At length, he drew from his bosom a small Bag, of red Satin, with which he presented me, on the part of his Master, complimenting me, at the same time, on the

(*u*) The Absurd Science of Astrology, which is founded on Fear, and exhibits nothing but the Ignorance of those by whom it is regarded, is so much revered, at Constantinople, that the Turks have a *Munedgim-Bachi*: Chief of the Diviners.

Mark of Distinction it enclosed, and the Prerogatives attached to it. In the mean time, I opened the Bag, and took out a bundle of Handkerchiefs, embroidered with Gold, in which were wrapped four Pieces of Ebony, joined by silver hinges, and constituting the Measure or Standard of the *Pic* (*x*) used in Building. You may now, continued the Turk, dispose, at Pleasure, of all the Workmen in Constantinople; and the *Pic* of the Grand Seignior, now intrusted to you, extends your Authority over them to the infliction of any Punishment.

Such high Privileges lost much of their value in my hands; but I was obliged to shew what great Estimation I held them in by making the Bearer a Present, and bestowing a few Sequins on his Attendants.

I took the Standard, along with my other Instruments, and set off for the place

(*x*) *Pic* is the name of the Turkish Ell, but there are various kinds of this Measure. The French Ell, used to measure Cloth, is equal to a *Pic* and three quarters. The *Indasai* is another sort used for the measurement of other Stuffs; and the *Pic* employed in Building, which is the longest of them all, is two Feet four Inches three Lines long.

where

where the new Castles were to be erected. Here I found about forty Overseers of the Workmen, and each provided with a double Pic. This mark of Authority making me recollect that which I had received, I resolved, while I waited for the astrological Hour, which was to bring the Ministers, to employ the time in examining the Measures of these Surveyors, in order to establish that Uniformity without which no exactness could be expected.

All these Gentlemen came round me with great Familiarity; and their Chief, who stiled and believed himself to be an Architect, and seemed to imagine I should listen to all he said, proposed to adjust all the Measures by his own. It will first, replied I, be necessary to examine yours: I immediately took from among my Instruments the little crimson Bag, and drew out the Standard: the Sight made the whole Company retreat ten Paces at least.

I took advantage of this first Surprise to establish my Authority by an Act of Severity, which shewed my Power without being cruel. I commanded all their Measures,

fures, which, on examination, should not be found conformable to the Standard, to be destroyed ; none of them, on trial, escaped ; that of their Chief shared the common Fate, and I caused new ones to be made, on the Spot, divided all on the same Scale.

We were still employed in this manner when the Ministers arrived, and repaired to the Place I had fixed on for laying the first Stone. That, the Mortar, and the Workmen, were all in readiness. The High Treasurer, holding in one hand the Astrological Sentence, and his Watch in the other, observed the Minute with the most scrupulous Enthusiasm ; and the name of God, pronounced at the last second, was the Signal for compleating this ridiculous Ceremony.

My First Business was to level the Ground, and procure from it the necessary materials for building the Castles. This could not be effected in a Rock, the quality of which was a Matrix of Porphyry, but by Gunpowder. I collected, and lodged in Barracks, near the Works, fifteen hundred Macedo-

Macedonians, who are the Auvergnats (y) of Turkey.

The School of Artillery, the Foundry, and the new Castles, obliged me to go six Leagues every day: the Grand Seignior gave orders to the Bostandgi-Bachi to furnish me with the Boatmen of the Seraglio, who received an extra pay from the Public Treasury; and from that time my Boat was laid up, in the Arsenal, by the Side of the Felucca of the Grand Seignior.

The first Work of the New Foundry was to be a Train of Field Artillery, with which the Turks were entirely unprovided: it was to be served by the new Corps. The Visir, in all his Letters from the Army, was very pressing for its Arrival, and the Grand Seignior gave me orders to prepare fifty Four-Pounders, and their Carriages, which were to be accompanied by three hundred Suratchis, instructed in the new School. The construction of the Carriages was another addition to my Labours,

(y) *Laborious Mountaineers. From Auvergne a mountainous Province of France.* T.

and

and the building of the Castles was carried on, with the utmost Expedition, in order to satisfy the Impatience of the Emperor to have the lower Batteries finished, and supplied with their Artillery.

But though the Stone was procured from the Rock on which we built, and the Materials, consequently, at hand, yet the Layers of Porphyry it contained, by resisting the best tempered Tools, made it difficult to penetrate; my indefatigable Macedonians, however, overcame all obstacles.

Notwithstanding the Grand Seignior desired so much Dispatch, I had established a Day of Rest, and permitted the Workmen to go, on the Sunday, and amuse themselves in the neighbouring Village. Those who worked at the Castle, on the European side, took advantage of this Indulgence to divert themselves at Fanaraki (z). Twenty-two Macedonians, each with his Musquet on his shoulder, went thither, and met in a Tavern, where they sang the Victories of

(z) A Village situated in Europe on the Point of the Cape which stands at the Entrance of the Strait, and takes its name from the Light-house erected there,

Alexander. At the same time a large Saïque, loaded with Ammunition, for Varna, meeting with a contrary Wind, had anchored, under shelter of the Rock, before the Village.

Ninety Turkish Soldiers had landed from this Vessel, when one of my Workmen, having left his Companions to take the fresh air, happened to come down to the Sea Shore, where he found these Turks, all armed, one of whom, proud of the superiority of their number, came up to the Macedonian, and gave him a blow with all his force.

The latter, having no Weapon to revenge the Affront, and little acquainted with the Turkish language, only made a Sign to the Champion, who had attacked him, to wait till he came back. Immediately he returns to the Tavern, and, without saying a word to his Companions, takes his Musquet, unperceived, returns to the Turks, finds out his Adversary, and makes him a sign to strike him again.

The Turk, having his Pistol in his hand, fired it close to his head, but missed the Macedonian,

Macedonian, who, in an instant, shot him through the Body, and fell himself by the fire of more than eighty Musquets, discharged at him by the rest of the Turks.

The report of the Pieces soon roused the attention of the twenty-one Macedonians, who, finding one of their Companions gone, seized their arms, and hastened to the Sea-Shore, where they saw their Comrade lying dead by the side of the Turk. Without further Information, they charge the Enemy, kill nine on the spot, and drive the rest towards the Sea; where these valiant Fellows, some in boats, and some by swimming, escape on board their Vessel, cut the Cable, and get out of danger, by standing away from shore.

This Adventure was too serious for me not to receive an account of it immediately. Two Macedonians were dispatched to give me information, and, being desirous to be first with the Visir, I went directly to complain, to that Minister, of the Insult offered the Workmen at the Castles. He, having heard what I had to say, coolly replied, It is very well; let us think no more about it.

As I did not imagine he already knew of the Transaction, this answer did not seem sufficient, and I continued to insist on further satisfaction. What, says he, with warmth, will you pretend, then, that nine Mahometans, killed on the spot, are not a sufficient number of Victims to atone for the death of one Infidel?

I then lowered my tone, but represented to him, that it was necessary to provide, by the severest Orders, for the Security of the Labourers. At this rate, added he, laughing, you and your fifteen hundred Macedonians will make a conquest of the country. Your methods of protecting yourselves are better than any with which I can furnish you. This I knew as well as the Visir, and, as all I expected was to procure an Indemnity for the Greeks, I returned, perfectly satisfied with my Negociation, and without any apprehensions for the consequences of this affair, notwithstanding the Threats of the Company of the Lasses, which no one among them had the Courage to put in execution.

The Grand Seignior had assigned me a Country House, hired at his Expence, and situated on the Sea Shore, in the Village of Tarapia. As this was at an equal distance from Constantinople and the Castles, it was very convenient for the different works I had to superintend. One day, on my return from the Foundry, I learned that a Turkish Vessel, from the Black Sea, meeting with a contrary wind, opposite Tarapia, had overset at the Entrance of the Harbour.

The Weather was so serene, and they had so fine a Breeze, that it was difficult to conceive how this Accident could happen. Curious to enquire into its Cause, I went down to the Sea Side, and the first thing I saw was the Keel of the Vessel, rising above the Water. The Captain, and five or six Sailors, who had composed its Crew, had saved themselves by swimming, and were sitting on the shore, in melancholy contemplation of their Disaster. They informed me that a young Girl and her Mother, Passengers on board, were drowned.

But

But this did not explain the Reason of so extraordinary an Accident: at length, after a great many Questions, I found their Ship, loaded with Planks as high as the middle of the Mast, had sailed from Sinope, without any Ballast. I shuddered to think of the Risk they had run, and which was not to be avoided, on the least change of Wind. They only owed the good Fortune of not having overfet in the middle of the Sea to the Wind continuing full in their stern, till it had brought them within the Strait, where a slight Gale from the South had, at last, punished them for their Ignorance.

It was plain, from their own account, that this was the first Voyage the Captain and his Sailors had made. I took pity of them, offered them assistance to right their Vessel; and my Pity increased when I found that a Turk, who pretended to be very skilful in maritime Affairs, had persuaded them to advance him a hundred Sequins, to undertake this Operation. I could easily imagine this Sum, which was all they possessed, after their shipwreck, was a still greater loss; and I was not deceived.

Some Cordage, brought from Constantinople in a Shallop, and accompanied by a dozen Leventis (*a*), only served, by bringing the Vessel nearer the Shore, to place it on Rocks, where the least swell of the Sea must have dashed it to pieces: and these officious Assistants, pretending they must have more Money, left it in this condition.

The poor shipwrecked Sailors were now reduced to Despair, when I sent to the Castles for some Capsterns, and other necessary Apparatus, with which, in one afternoon, I put their Ship in condition to continue her Voyage to Constantinople.

It was truly affecting to see the Joy of these poor Fellows, and their eagerness to collect me a Present. I, however, would accept nothing, but a Promise that they would never again sail without Ballast. Misfortune gives good advice, said the Captain; and I will make use of that you have given us to offer you a Tribute of Gratitude more suitable to the Services we have received. In short, some months after, he

(*a*) Sailors on board their Ships of War.

returned to me again, accompanied by the same Sailors, loaded with dried Raisins, Butter, and other Provisions, from the Black Sea. They likewise brought several Sheep.

I made him come in, but was determined to receive no part of his Present. You see, said he, the unfortunate Sailors who are indebted to you for their Preservation. God has blessed your Good-work; we have made a prosperous Voyage; whatever we possess is justly your due, and we bring you this Testimony of our Gratitude.

I am extremely pleased to see you again, replied I, but will not forfeit the merit of what I have done, by accepting a Reward. You need not entertain such a fear, answered he; but we have determined to make this annual Offering, that God may bless our Undertakings. I was now still more resolved not to accept any thing; but the Turk, more affected by my Refusal, than I could have expected, said to me, turning pale as he spoke, You certainly may refuse if you please, but, depend upon it, we will not accept such a refusal with-

out placing ourselves and our Vessel, once more, in the same situation from which we were delivered by your means.

The manner in which he uttered this Expression had such an Effect upon me that I was forced to accept their Present; but stipulated it should be the only one (*b*).

The Grand Visir had long desired to see my Foundry, and I was employed in getting ready the new Train of Field-Pieces, which were much wanted by the Army, when that Minister was announced. The activity with which these Works were carried on enabled me to explain Particulars; and, when we came to the Forges, he seated himself on an Anvil.

We conversed, with much earnestness, on the most important Subjects, while one of the Tchoadars, who attended him, in-

(*b*) This Anecdote, of the Gratitude of these men, ought not to be supposed to Characterise the Turkish Nation, any more than could a Single Instance of Ingratitude. The disposition of a whole People must be judged of by their general Manners, which can only be known by carefully collecting individual Instances.

interrupted me, every moment, by requesting a Gratuity. At length, tired of his importunities, and still more offended that they were permitted by his Master, I thought to put an end to them by bidding him at least to stay till our Conversation was ended. Yes, said he, but he will go then, and I shall no longer have an opportunity to remind you of me. This Answer was insolent enough, but it appeared so to me only. I gave him two sequins, but was told there were a great many Attendants. I then gave him four, and the Visir, who had said nothing all this while, began again to ask me questions, as before.

At length he returned to his Boat, after having distributed, by his Treasurer, a hundred Sequins among the Workmen, besides those he gave my Domestics. I had accompanied him to his Boat, in which he had taken his seat, and the Rowers were just going to push off, when an Officer of the Artillery, who attended me every where, laid hold of the Stern of the Boat, stopped it, and demanded a Gratuity which he had not yet received. An Officer of the

Fleet, who waited on me in like manner, made the like request. The First Minister enquired of his Treasurer why these two men had received no share of the Distributions. The Claimants replied, because they were walking before me. They continued their Solicitation, and the Visir, from whom a single look was sufficient to make the boldest tremble, could not disengage himself from their Importunity, but by giving four Sequins to each. How could I complain of his Servant, when mine were no less troublesome?

This First Minister, whose Character I have already drawn, only preserved his Place by giving up the Reins of Government to the Reis-Effendi, who, subtle and reserved, managed the public affairs with so much negligence that, talking one day with him, and the conversation turning on the Conquest of Constantinople, by the Turks, and the instability of the most powerful Empires, he asked me where I thought an unsuccessful War might carry them. Over the way, said I. He immediately looked through the Window, and, after glancing

glancing at the Coast of Asia, there are some pleasant Vallies, replied he, turning to me, with a Smile: we shall build delightful Kiosks.

It is easy to judge, from this Answer, that Ismael Bey, little affected by those Misfortunes in which he did not immediately share, principally endeavoured to get through the usual Business, in the customary Manner, and took the Orders of the Grand Seignior as his Protection, in all matters of importance; regarding more the keeping his place than the doing his Duty. His connections with Ised Bey had advanced him to and maintained him in his Post; and this latter, satisfied with his Master's favour, preserved it without Intrigue, enjoyed it without Ambition, and, was anxious to do good, though not sufficiently informed to know how it was to be done.

I was very intimate with the Favorite: he was the Instrument of Communication between his Master and me, and, by giving him an account of our Conversations, furnished me with the means of indirect Insinuation, which I often used. It was

through him I was consulted by the Emperor, whose views, becoming every day more extensive, led him to think seriously of the Project of cutting through the Isthmus of Suez. He was desirous of adding, to the Knowledge I already possessed on that Subject, the information of several commissioned Inspectors who had been in Egypt; and it will be seen, in the fourth Part of these Memoirs, that, if Mustapha had lived to have undertaken this Work, he would not have found it difficult to execute a Design which must have produced vast Revolutions in the Policy of Nations.

He certainly did not possess the same Penetration, when, allured by apparent Advantage; he adulterated the Coin. One Tair-Aga, in favor with Mustapha, during the beginning of his Reign, and appointed Superintendant of the Mint, had advised this erroneous Measure. Though I have no doubt but that, having better discovered his true Interest, had he lived till the Peace, there would have been a new Coinage. The Sacrifice which this required

required could not be expected during the War. Specie was necessary; the Treasury began to be exhausted; Money was continually coining, and the Silver Pieces reduced to the low value before described, losing their Ductility, frequently, at the very first stroke of the Engine, broke the Dies; the Steel of which was as ill prepared as it was badly tempered.

This Inconvenience, which retarded, or rather intirely stopped, a Fabrication that would admit of no delay, required a speedy Remedy. I was requested to point one out, and remembering that, with the Ignorant, it is necessary to seem to know what we do not, in order to preserve the merit of the Knowledge we really possess, I undertook this Business, informed myself of its Principles, and succeeded so far as to prevent the Dies from flying.

While I was thus employed, the Workmen, who were interested in the destruction of the Dies, not able to make any other Objection, endeavoured to take advantage of the methods I employed to perfect their temper. They pretended that

Only

I only made use of Urine instead of Water, for the pleasure of defiling the Grand Seignior's Name, by dipping it in so impure a Liquid; and, after having spread abroad this ridiculous Report, they made a formal Complaint of it to the Grand Seignior.

It seems impossible that such an Absurdity should be regarded; yet, such is the force of Prejudice, the Grand Seignior himself thought it an accusation worthy attention. Perhaps he imagined I should be able to prove myself innocent of the Charge. He sent me an Account of what was alledged against me, and requested me to make my Defence. The very Paper, on which my Accusers wrote, supplied me with the means: confessing, therefore, the Fact, and the respect due to the Emperor's Name, I added, that it was not proper to pay it greater regard than was due to the Name of God, which was daily written on a substance made from Rags, left to steep in Filth. This Answer, at the same time that it persuaded the Grand Seignior he had suffered no Insult, was a sufficient Ridicule of the Calumny.

The

The Sultan, not content with a few useful Improvements, which might remedy, for a time, the Vices that infested every Branch of Administration, was desirous to extend Knowledge of every kind, and requested me to found, and direct, a Mathematical School. The Body of Mathematicians, instituted by Soliman, exclaimed against this Innovation, which seemed to accuse the Muhendis (Mathematicians) of Ignorance, for whose Knowledge their Chief was ready to answer. His Highness ordered these Geometricians should be previously admitted to an Examination, in the presence of two of the Ministers, appointed Commissioners for that purpose.

On the Day fixed for this business, we met, and, if these learned Men were not perfectly at their ease, I myself experienced no small anxiety. My situation was certainly embarrassing: I wished to prove my Superiority, yet was fearful of humbling others, and must either offend my Vanity or my Delicacy.

The Assembly was composed of the Reis-Effendi, the High Treasurer, the Sheir-Emini,

Emini, the Chief of the Geometricians, and six learned Men, chosen out of this Body, to defend its Honor. I was the Scare-crow of this Meeting, the Business of which was opened by Ismael-Bey, in a Discourse, displaying the Interest of the State, and the Will of the Sovereign ; and, universal attention being excited, I was requested to begin my Examination.

I had long reflected on the subject, and having determined for the side of Moderation, modestly asked their Chief what was the Value of the three Angles of a Triangle. I was requested to propose the Question once more, and, all the Learned having looked on each other, the boldest among them replied, with firmness, It is according to the Triangle. I was struck dumb with Astonishment ; but must confess I had need to receive so absurd an Answer, not to be ashamed of my Question.

To continue the Examination longer would have been needless. I contented myself with resolving my Question, and demonstrating this mathematical Truth. The Ignorance of these pretended Mathematici-

ans needed no Demonstration; but I must do justice to their Zeal for the Sciences: they all requested to be received into the new School, and nothing was now thought of but its Establishment.

I had gone to the Porte, to confer on some Particulars, relative to this Business, and the Visir had referred me to the Mek-toobchi, or Secretary. I found him busy making out some Dispatches, and sat down on a Sofa till he had finished. A Shek (c) of Mecca came and seated himself beside me. This was one of those Fanatics who, because they were born in their Holy Land, think themselves superior Beings, insult all temporal Authorities, and ask Charity with Insolence. I had often seen this same Man violently open the Door of the Visir, place himself by his side, and never leave him till he had bestowed a Piece of Gold, the only method by which he could get rid of his Company. This compliment he now

(c) A kind of Arabian Princes, Descendants of Mahomet, who attend the Holy Mosque, indulge themselves in every sort of Insolence, and solicit Charity from the Great.

expected,

expected, and behaved himself in a very haughty manner. The Mektoobchi, who was not disposed to part with his Money, entered, while he was present, into every Particular relative to the new Establishment, and turned the Discourse on the various Undertakings in which I was concerned.

The Shek, who was very attentive, looked on me with Astonishment, and knew not how to reconcile my Habit with the Authority I seemed to have acquired. The Mektoobchi, having been sent for by the Visir, begged me to wait till he returned, and left me with this Shek, and a Secretary, who was writing at one corner of the Apartment.

The Silence we kept, for some time, was first interrupted by the Emir; the green Turban of the Shek shewing his relationship to the Prophet. Since you are so much employed in the service of the True Faith, said he, addressing himself to me, why do you not embrace it, and abjure those Errors which actions the most meritorious cannot expiate?

Scarcely

Scarcely had he finished this Apostolic Harangue when the Secretary whose Pen dropt out of his hand, threatened he would go, directly, give an account to the Visir of his Insolence, and have him driven from the Porte. I interrupted the Secretary, and requested him not to be so warm, but to leave me to answer the Shek, who was somewhat disconcerted by this Reprimand. I can easily imagine, said I, to that pious Mussulman, that you take every opportunity to propagate your Faith, and I thank you for accounting me worthy to embrace your Creed: but I think I can point out a Mission much more becoming your Zeal; and that is, the Conversion of a great number of green Turbans, who, like you, are related to the Prophet though they have little belief in his Law. Go, and convince them, and, when you have completed that good Work, return to me and I shall know better what to answer.

A loud Laugh, from the Secretary, covered the unfortunate Shek with Confusion; and the Servants, who always listen at the Doors, asked him, as he went out, if he

was going to convert the green Turbans. Presently all the Porte was acquainted with this Sarcaſm, and the poor Shek was aſhamed to be ſeen there any more. The Mek-toobchi, informed of this Scene at his return, apologized for what had paſſed, laughed at my reply, and expedited the neceſſary Orders, for the Eſtabliſhment of the new School.

This School, principally intended to promote maritime Knowledge, was eſtabliſhed at the Arſenal; but none could be admitted except perſons old enough to ſerve thoſe views of preſent Advantage with which it was undertaken. Captains of Ships, with white Beards, and other Scholars of mature Age, left me no occaſion to forbid Playfulneſs, and boyiſh Tricks. I every day dictated the Leſſon in Turkiſh, each Scholar wrote it down in his Book, and I appointed one to repeat it to the whole School the following day (*d*).

This

(*d*) This Method, of making Scholars Teachers of each other, might be practiſed, with Succeſs, in our Seminaries. Nothing is ſo well learned as what

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This method, by fixing the attention of my Scholars, caused them to make a very rapid Progress; at the end of three Months they were able to work, in the Field, all the Problems which result from the four Theorems of plane Trigonometry; which was as much of this kind of Knowledge as was required. It was only necessary to form a few Field Engineers, and some Seamen capable of taking an Altitude, steering by the Compass, and keeping a Ship's Reckoning. This was very sufficient for Scholars sixty years of Age.

I had agreed, with Sultan Mustapha, that these Studies should be perfected by Practice; and that two Frigates should be fitted out, and constantly kept sailing, within his sight, in the Strait, which separates Constantinople from Prince's Islands (*e*). Their Method of Ship-building, likewise, stood in

we explain to another; and to make Vanity incite Industry will always insure Instruction.

(*e*) This Project, which could only take effect after some Months teaching, was dropt on the Death of Mustapha; whose Activity, alone, gave force to Ministers, who were corrupt by the very nature of the Government.

great need of Improvement. I was asked for new Plans, which I made haste to furnish; but no part of them was adopted, except the Decorations of the Stern. My Proposition to lower the Decks was rejected, on account of the height of their Turbans; and that of raising the Mast because, as it would occasion the Vessel to heel, that would incommode the Crew.

Such were the Objections raised against both me and the Arsenal. I cannot doubt of these Absurdities, nor oblige them to be believed. The Ship *La Ferme*, ceded to the Grand Seignior, could not produce an improvement in the make of the Tiller, because Despotism, though it can destroy, cannot reform. We have already seen that the Establishment of the new Foundry had not abolished the old. The Funds intended for the Artillery were spent upon that; and it was with difficulty that the necessary Supplies were obtained for what was acknowledged to be much more useful.

The Body of the Geometricians had a certain Revenue, but the new School had no Encouragement; and, of all the new
Establish-

Establishments, the Corps of Suratchis, alone, founded in Perpetuity, received the Sums appointed for its maintenance; but it has been already observed that this money was taken from some subaltern Knaves, who had not sufficient Power to preserve the fruit of their Extortions.

The Abuses which prevailed in the Administration of maritime Affairs, being better protected, were with difficulty attacked; however, the excessive Expence of masting a Ship, for want of a Machine, to raise the Masts, of which I had often spoken, induced the Government to request me to construct one. It was determined to fix it by the side of the Careening Place. The Superintendant of the Marine had orders to furnish me with the necessary Timber. I contrived a convenient Shed for my Carpenter, and fixed its height at one hundred and twenty Feet.

The badness of the Ground obliged me to make use of Piles in the Foundation; and, since the Solidity of my Work depended on it, I bestowed a great deal of care on this Particular; which will appear less surpri-

sing than the Reproach of the Admiral on my casing the Piles with Iron. That, said he, is throwing the Grand Seignior's Money into the Sea. He also objected to my using so many; however, his Highness did not think proper to sacrifice, to such paltry Oeconomy, the Solidity of a work, the Management of which he had committed entirely to me.

The Porte continued to encourage my hopes that an Establishment should be granted my mathematical Pupils, without which they could not devote themselves to those Studies; but nothing was done; and my young Scholars began to be weary of labouring, at their own Expence, and without any Prospect. My representations on this subject, however, procured, by the means of the Superintendant of the Coin, some Gold Medals to be struck; with the Cypher of the Grand Seignior, on one side, and, on the other, an Inscription relative to the School.

The Reis-Effendi was ordered to be present, at the first Examination, to distribute, to those whom I should nominate
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these Medals, which were to be worn pendant from a Gold Chain, and to add the most positive Promises of Promotion and Fortune. This redoubled their Affiduity, and I soon had a Scholar sufficiently instructed to repair to the Army ; which, continuing still at Babagdag, did not promise a Campaign more active than the former. We were, indeed, so accustomed to this Inaction that I never asked the Ministers any Questions concerning military Operations.

It should seem, too, that, since I was entirely occupied with the business of the Arsenal, and the School, it would be strange to enquire of me concerning what passed in the Army. Yet, one day, the Visir asked me, very seriously, whether the Ottoman Army was numerous. If, I replied, I wished to know, I think I ought to ask you that Question. I am sure I do not know, answered he. And how then should I ? By reading the Gazette of Vienna, replied he.

I was confounded ; so many Absurdities could not be counterbalanced by the improving Understanding of Mustapha ; and what was most unfortunate for this Empire

was, that this Prince, whose Health was declining, though his Activity supported him, at length died. He left the Throne to his Brother, the only remaining Son of Achmet, and who, having been confined ever since the death of his Father, was of a mild Temper, and naturally desirous of Rest, which he wished to enjoy on the Throne, after having passed forty years in Fear and Solitude.

His first Employment was to go about his own Palace, where he was a Stranger, to open every Coffer he found, and distribute, to those about him, whatever was most valuable. The Change he experienced in his Situation took effect, for a whole Year, on the most essential Interest of the Oriental Princes, whose Despotism seems only intent on the perpetuation of Despots.

The Ceremony of the Coronation has already been described, and the Accession of Abdul-Hamid (Servant of God) afforded nothing remarkable, except his first Edict; in which, after the Form customary on such occasions, he enjoined his Ministers to take

care of the new Establishments of his Predecessor. The same reasoning which had dictated this Phrase determined him, no doubt to make his first excursion to the School of Artillery ; and the Minister, informing me I should receive a visit from him, at Kiathana, invited me to amuse the new Sovereign in the manner I judged most proper.

The Mode in which I should pay him Respect was also left to my own Choice ; and, desirous to fix his attention on the Address of the Suratchis, I commanded a Detachment of that Corps to repair to Kara-Agatcha (*f*), with a single Piece of Cannon, and salute the Sultan, as soon as his Boat should come in sight, with twenty-one Discharges.

This had all the effect I could have wished. The Grand Seignior, surprized at the Report of the second firing, ordered his Boatmen to lay on their Oars (*g*) till the Salute

(*f*) A Palace of the Grand Seignior, situated at the entrance of the River of Kiathana, at the bottom of the Harbour.

(*g*) This is sometimes done to shew respect to the Salute, but is never practised by the Sovereign.

was ended. This served for a Signal to draw up the Regiment in front of, and two hundred Paces distant from, the Kiosk which was to receive his Highness. As there were some small Pieces near, belonging to the new School, I placed a Tartar to stand Centinel, who had served among the Russians, and knew the European Discipline too well to leave his Post.

The heavy Artillery, which I had pointed at a Mark, and loaded with Ball, gave twenty-one Discharges as soon as the Grand Seignior was seated. I continued near the Kiosk to receive his Orders, and remarked he bestowed little attention on the old Gunners, but much on the Tartar, who, with his Bayonet fixed, remained immoveable by the side of the small Pieces.

When the Salute was over, he said something to his Selictar, who directly came to me, to request, on the part of his Highness, the Pardon of the Culprit, whom I had obliged to perform Penance ; alledging that the first appearance of the Sovereign should display his Clemency. I immediately approached the Sultan, to assure him
that

that this Soldier, placed as Centinel, far from suffering Punishment, was only too happy to have excited, but for a Moment, the attention and concern of his Emperor; but if your Highness, added I, imagines him to suffer Punishment, that is sufficient to deliver him from his apparently uneasy Situation (*b*); and, turning to the Tartar, I ordered him to rejoin his Colours. No, said the Grand Seignior, let him remain; I did not mean, when I requested the Pardon of a Man I supposed an Offender, to dispense with the Rules which you have established; far from wishing to infringe, I am come to learn, and confirm them. A second Order replaced the Centinel in his station, and his former Immobility.

The Grand Seignior then desired me to begin the Exercise, and, while I went to bring up the Regiment, his Highness, still attentive to the Tartar, gave some Sequins, to one of his Pages, to carry to that Auto-

(*b*) The Turks pretend that what the Grand Seignior says must always be true. A Despot cannot be deceived, and his Slaves must contrive to validate whatever he imagines or asserts.

maton.

maton. Immediately the Page approaches, with a deliberate air, and, shewing him the Gold, See, said he, what is sent thee by the Shadow of God, the King of Kings, the Refuge of the World. Prostrate thyself before him. Lay those Sequins on the Carriage of that Cannon, and retire, answered the Centinel, still continuing immoveable. How ! Wretch, replied the Page, dost thou not tremble before the Master of Blood *(i)*? He sees and hears thee ; perform thy Prostrations. Do what I bid you, and begone, interrupted the Tartar.

The Page then obeyed, and went to give an account to his Master ; who, no longer doubting but I had deceived him, said to his Seliſtar, I told you that poor fellow was suffering a Punishment. You see he cannot even receive Money ; but let us not say a word.

This suspicion, however, was presently overthrown ; for the Regiment, directly coming up, took possession of the Battery, and relieved the Tartar, who did not forget his

(i) This is one of the Grand Seignor's Titles.

Money, and shewed such great Agility in the performance of his Exercise, that he again excited the Attention of Abdul-Hamid.

This Prince seemed to take great Pleasure in seeing the expertness of the Gunners. I was obliged to make them go through their Exercise several times, that day; and, to give him the greater satisfaction, at the end of the Performance, one hundred and twenty Discharges were made, by each Piece, in less than eight Minutes. Different manœuvres of the Artillery, and some Bombs, fired at a Mark, finished the Entertainment; and the new Sovereign appeared to prefer military Occupations, to those various Amusements which an imprisonment of forty Years might, very naturally, have made him more eager to enjoy.

It is, besides, to be observed that Abdul-Hamid, on arriving at the Throne, was become incapable of the Enjoyments of the Harem. The Turkish Doctors, and European Physicians, who were consulted on this Circumstance, after having discussed its Origin, recommended to his Highness

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to engage in every Amusement which might banish all such Ideas from his Mind, and thus destroy the Effect by removing the Cause. Frequent Excursions, Musick, and some Buffoonries, took up all the Attention of this Prince (D). His Favorites wished to see the end of a War that englutted immense Sums, which they supposed they could employ to better purpose; and his Ministers saw, with dread, the moment approaching when the Enemy would force them to accept the most humiliating Terms.

A common Bostandgi, attached to Abdul-Hamid, during his Retirement, had become his Favorite on the Throne. Accustomed to perform inferior Offices, his Abilities were confined to mean Intrigue, to which, when in favor, he joined an Insolence he could not before discover. The Visir Caimakan was his first Victim; his Place was supplied by that Abdi-Pacha, surnamed *Kooyoodgy* (the Pitdigger) whom I have before mentioned, and whose Cruelty could find none but destructive means of restoring Order (E).

Ised-Bey, whose mild and beneficent Character I have already described, was, in
like

like manner, dispossessed of the Place of Superintendant of the Coin, and degraded to the much inferior office of Sheir-Emini. I instantly went to visit him, and testify my Regret, but my Friendship had soon reason to rejoice with him in his change of Situation. The Poor still followed him, and crowded round the Door of his new Habitation, and his Degradation was more an Honor to him than a Disgrace.

The new Visir, chosen for the reputation of his Severity, was desirous of acting up to his Character, by making the Court of his Palace the Place of the first Execution he ordered; and it was with some Difficulty he was brought to understand that there were certain Cases in which even his will might suffer controul.

The Superintendant of the Foundry, which I directed, was soon alarmed with the Dread of becoming his Victim. One Day he arrived later than ordinary. Terror was painted in his Countenance, and it was with difficulty his Servants supported him. What has happened? said I. What can have occasioned your present disorder?

I am

I am a lost man, he replied; the new Caï-makan has just assured me he will cut off my head, unless the Fifty Pieces, you are at work upon, are on the Road for the Army within two Days. What he demands is impossible, and it is out of your Power to save me. I pray God to preserve you yourself from those Calamities which will be the Disgrace of our Empire.

The Agitation of the Nafir (*k*) was too great for him to listen to Reason; but, as soon as he was somewhat recovered, I asked him what reply he had made to the Minister. Reply! said he: I took care not to answer a single Word; for if I had, it would have been my last. If so, added I, every thing is well; lay aside all Fear, and do as I direct you. Repair to him immediately, and tell him, very humbly, you have been with me to inform me of his Orders, and that I have received them in a manner you dare not relate; add, that on your repeated Request that I would put them in execution, I had roughly replied, Your business was the Payment of the Expences only,

(*k*) Superintendant.

but

but that, in every thing else, the Minister must address himself to me; in which case I should know what Answer to return. By this means, added I, you will get clear of all Blame; and do not terrify yourself on my account, for I intend to give this Pit-digger of yours a Lesson.

It was with great Difficulty I persuaded Seid-Effendi to return into the Presence of the Beheader of Men. His Fear, however, at last, produced sufficient Courage, and I prevailed. On his return, I learned, that all the Rage of Abdi-Pacha was now directed against me. The Superintendant, having been questioned concerning me, had assured him that though most zealous for the Interests of the Grand Seignior, I untractable in every other Respect.

I was, indeed, determined to resist every Procedure which should appear unbecoming; and it was not long before I came into the Presence of the Caimakan. He sent one of his Mekters (*1*) to the Foundry,
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(1) This Name, which signifies Musicians, is given to those Tchoadars, or Footmen, principally
c m-

the next Day, ordering me to come to the Porte ; and this Tchoadar, who, doubtless, had judged, from the manner of his Master, that his Dispositions towards me were not very favourable, believed he might, by Anticipation, address me with Familiarity, and take me by the Arm, while he executed his Commission.

My Reply was a Blow with my Fist on his Breast, accompanied with an Order to push that Insolent Fellow out of the Foundry of the Grand Seignior, whither he had dared to come and insult me.

The Workmen, though Turks, hastened to my Assistance, and drove the Messenger of the Visir out of the Door. Terrified by such a Reception, he protested his Innocence ; and begged me, in a more polite manner, to come to the Porte, whither his Master had ordered him to conduct me.

I grant you your pardon, on two conditions, answered I : first, that you go, and employed in carrying Messages. They belong to the Office of the Visir, and their Perquisites are sufficiently lucrative to render their Places very desirable.

no more set your foot within these Walls, and, next, that you relate to your Master every particular of your Reception, in order that he may recommend more circumspection to those he may hereafter send. I shall take great care, replied the Tchoadar, not to tell him a word of all you have said. This Vifir is not quite so tractable as his Predecessors, and I must beg it as a Favour that you will come and speak with him; God knows what may be the consequence if he sees me return alone. This, however, said I, must be the case. I am in no humour to go to the Porte to-day; perhaps I may to-morrow. The Mektar, after many solicitations, not being able to prevail on me, was obliged to depart by himself.

My Nasir, who was a Witness of this Scene, asked me what I expected from such Conduct. Your Safety, replied I, and less Trouble to myself, in future. To deal with Abdi-Pacha he must be astonished; this I will undertake to perform, and engage to render him as mild, to-morrow, as he appeared ferocious, yesterday.

The day following I went to the Caimakan; but, as our Conversation might be warm, I thought it best to take the Dragoman of the Porte, as a Witness. By this means, also, I provided an Interpreter, to begin the Conversation; reserving to myself the power of taking it up when I thought proper. The manner in which Abdi-Pacha began was, as I had foreseen, brutal and imperious. Observing that I affected, while he spoke, to look any other way than towards him, he asked the Dragoman of the Porte, whether I did not understand Turkish. He was answered in the affirmative. Why then does he make me no Reply? continued the Visir. Because, returned I, taking up the Discourse, I have never spoken standing to any of your Predecessors. Call the Master of the Ceremonies; he will inform you of those Customs of which you are ignorant; otherwise, I shall take the liberty to teach you.

I then came forward, and, seating myself by his side, began a vague Conversation on his Journey, and Arrival. In the mean time, Coffee and Pipes were brought; and, after

after having sufficiently repressed his haste to speak to me about the Artillery, by interrupting him, every instant, with Questions relative to the Court, I at length consented to hear all he had to say on that subject. He then spoke in a very circumspect manner, throwing all the Blame of his Violence on the pressing Orders he had received from Babagdag (*m*).

I have no Doubt, said I, but what you had the Letter of the Grand Visir (*n*) properly explained; but I must give you one piece of Advice, necessary for our mutual Quiet, and the Good of the Service. The Grand Seignior has appointed you to provide for the good Order and Supplies of the Capital; but depends upon me for whatever concerns the Artillery, and the different military Preparations. Let each of us at-

(*m*) A Town near Balkan, where the Ottoman Army was encamped for three years successively.

(*n*) Abdi-Pacha-Caimakan could neither write nor read.

The Baron has called this Caimakan, or Deputy Visir, first Abdi, then Hassan, afterwards Mustapha, and lastly Kooyoodgy; but it was thought most intelligible and convenient for the reader to continue the first name. T.

tend to his respective Business. It is your part to assist me as much as in your power, and to inform your Master of my Requests and Observations, when I wish to convey them through that Channel. Your Predecessors, who were very sensible persons, always conducted themselves thus; and I must request you, by their Example, to shew some Respect to Seid-Effendi. That Nasir is, indeed, so easy to intimidate, that to terrify him can do you no great Honor. I could not refrain laughing, continued I, at the Fright into which you had thrown him the day before yesterday. He gave himself up for lost; but I have dissipated his Fears.

During this Harangue, the Caimakan looked on me with Astonishment. He complimented me on the fluency with which I spoke the Turkish Language; and, as he no doubt supposed the very sight of him must inspire Terror, he likewise praised my Courage, and said, he imagined me to be a Soldier: after which I took my Leave.

Scarcely

Scarcely had I left the Apartment, with my Companion, who laughed in his sleeve at the Lesson I had given the Caimakan, before the Vifir called back the Dragoman. This Frenchman, said he, appears to have Spirit, but he talks a great deal. Yet, I do not think, replied the Interpreter, that your Highness finds any thing he said improper. No, returned Abdi-Pacha; what he said is admirable; yet I must say he talks a great deal. After this little Dialogue, of which I was immediately informed by the Dragoman, I hastened to assure the Nasir of his safety, and laugh with him at his Fears.

As soon as the Train of Artillery, and the Detachment of the new Corps, had set off for the Army, I was employed in casting some Ordnance for the new Forts. The Grand Seignior, also, requested I would make two small Models of Cannon, which he intended as a pious Present to the Tomb of the Prophet. He had just promoted his Favourite to the Dignity of Surra-Emini, whose Office it is to conduct Pilgrims to Mecca; but an appointment to this Place, considered as an Employment merely lucrative,

erative, can only prove the Decline of Favor, and the imprudent Avidity of the Favorite.

I went to him, to deliver the Offering I had been employed to prepare; and took this Opportunity to examine the different Presents intended for the Temple of Mecca. He shewed me the green Silk, worked with Gold, which was to cover the Tomb. It is of an extraordinary Thickness; but, what is no less remarkable, is that, the Republic of Venice has contracted the Custom of making this Present to the Porte, with every new Ambassador. Workmen are always employed for that purpose, which makes it perhaps too much resemble Tribute (o)(F).

(o) There can be no doubt but the Liberty of giving or with-holding makes the difference between a Tribute and a Present. To establish the Practice of giving the same Thing, at the same Times, is, in some measure, to acknowledge a Right; which Right will acquire more Force, when in favour of a People who have no Law but their Customs. The Study of the Manners of any Nation will always furnish us with the first Elements of sound Policy; which are very ill understood, when any such Practice is established, among those who can boast they are free.

I was

I was afterwards shewn things fitter to amuse Children than becoming of the grave Purpose for which they were designed. These were several Camel-saddles, with little Kiosks on them; containing Representations of different kinds of Labor; such as Reaping, Mills, Bakers at work, and others. Several little Banners ornamented these Toys, which were to be borne foremost in the Procession of the Holy Caravan.

While the Favorite saw, with Pleasure, the Moment of his Departure approach, Umer-Effendi, High-Treasurer, who had no occasion to leave the Capital to advance his Fortune, had been able to secure its Enjoyment, notwithstanding the Enemies he had procured by the Haughtiness of his Manners. Their Intrigues had all been directed to remove him, by giving him some distant Employment; but it was reserved to Abdi-Pacha to succeed in this Attempt.

Umer, called before him, and appointed Governor of a Province, endeavoured, in vain, to refuse his new Dignity, by alledging it was too foreign to his former Occupation.

pation. The Vifir ordered the Turban designed for him to be put on him by force. The Treasurer resisted this Violence for some Time, but was at length obliged to submit to this strange Method of Promotion.

Abdi-Pacha, however, soon became, himself, the Victim of his want of Moderation. The Complaints of the Professors of the Law procured his Disgrace, and Exile into Asia; where, a short time after, he was employed in the manner most suitable to his Character, by being appointed to free the Provinces from those Robbers whom the War had rendered extremely numerous.

His Successor was that Ised Bey who, after his late Disgrace, was advanced to the highest of Dignities, when he expected and desired it least. The thing most remarkable in his Promotion was that the Office of Sheir-Emini, which he filled, had never before been a Step to the Vifiriat. But the Necessity of opposing Firmness to Passion, Humanity to Barbarity, and Circumspec-
tion

tion to Imprudence, was perhaps the true reason of this Choice.

The third Day after his Installation I went to the Porte to pay him my Respects. He received me in the same affable manner as when in Disgrace. I had placed myself on a Sopha, keeping a respectful Distance ; and as it was not proper that what I had to say should be heard by the Crowd, who were standing before us, we leaned towards each other, and conversed in a low voice. He perceived this Attitude was inconvenient, and desired me to come nearer ; when, observing a kind of Restraint in my manner which he had not before noticed, he said to me, aloud, How ! my Friend ; are you afraid to approach me ? Then opening his Pelisse, and spreading it on the Sopha, Sit down, said he, on that Fur ; that is your proper Place : though you have forgotten, it ought not to escape my Memory. The Multitude, who always act from first Impressions, directly exclaimed, with a kind of Enthusiasm, Long live our new Master.

The Negotiations for Peace, which had been begun a considerable Time, were only retarded by the personal Apprehensions of the Visir, who commanded the Army. The Porte pressed him to finish them, desirous, at all Events, to put an end to the War. But it was certain that all the Blame of a Dishonorable Peace must fall upon him, and his Life must pay for signing such a Treaty: He therefore required an Indemnification, which was refused, under the pretence that it was not necessary, but, in reality, for the same reason that it had been demanded. The Ministers, who thought of nothing but their own Security, treated the care which he took of his, as Pusillanimity; at length, his Wife, who was one of the Grand-Seignior's Sisters, put an end to the Contest. The Sultana wrote to her Husband, that he need not fear to conclude the Treaty; and the Visir, who was of a very advanced Age, died soon after he had signed the Peace and disbanded the Army.

Ised Pacha, who had before only possessed the Dignity of Caimakan, immediately received,

received, with the Seals, that of Grand Visir; and the Turkish Government, again concentrated in the Capital, soon relapsed into its former Absurdities. The Establishments which I had formed were, however, still continued; but the Foundery, and the Schools of Artillery and Mathematics offering only a continuance of the same objects, without hope of Improvement, I determined to return to France, though not immediately to inform the Porte of a Circumstance which they did not seem to desire. I was even requested, when my Intentions were known, to nominate Vekils (*p*) to my different Establishments. The Grand Seignior, when I took my Leave, caused a beautiful Pelisse, of the Zibelin Martin's Skin, to be put on me. But I soon experienced a Separation by which I was much more sensibly affected.

The Vessel that was to convey me to Smyrna, where I was to go on board a French Frigate, had already weighed anchor, and set her Sails, when several Boats

(*p*) Substitutes, Deputies,

came

came about us, and I saw myself surrounded by all my Pupils, with each a Book or an Instrument in his Hand. Before you leave us, said they, with much emotion, give us, at least, a parting Lesson: it will be more deeply impressed on our Memories than all the rest. One opened his Book to explain the Square of the Hypothenuse; another with a long white Beard elevated his Sextant to take an Altitude; a third asked me Questions concerning the use of the finical Quadrant; and all accompanied me out to Sea, for more than two Leagues: where we took leave of each other, with a Tenderness the more lively, as it was with the Turks unusual, and to me unexpected.

END of the THIRD PART.

M E M O I R S

OF

BARON DE TOTT.

PART THE FOURTH.

HAVING observed the Character, Manners, and Government of the Turks, in the Capital of their vast Empire, it remained for me to Visit the distant Provinces, to examine the different Nations which they contain, and discover the variations which the distance of the Despot necessarily produces in Despotism.

The abuses which had crept into the different Establishments of the French Commerce, in the Levant, arising more from

a contrariety of Laws than inobservance of Regulations, determined the Government to cause the maritime Towns to be inspected; and I was entrusted with the Commission.

The Frigate *Atalanta*, commanded by the Baron de Durfort, was ordered to be got ready for my conveyance; and the Count and Countess de Tessé, the Duke d'Ayen, and the Count de Meun, whom the same Frigate was first to carry into Sicily, being arrived at Toulon, we set sail the 2d of May. At the heights of Cape Corfa, we found a settled East wind, and M. de Durfort resolved to put into Genoa, from whence we sailed a few days after, and landed our Passengers at the place of their destination.

We then continued our Voyage to Malta, where I acquitted myself of a Commission I was charged with to the Grand Master; and we proceeded to the Isle of Candy, at which I began my Inspection.

This Island, the ancient Crete, which in some measure separates the Archipelago

pelago from the Mediterranean, is formed by a long chain of Mountains, extending from West to East; and may be considered as a continuation of those which, from the North of the Adriatick, pass over the Morea, and appear again in Caramania, where they join Mount Libanus.

The Island of Crete, celebrated by the Poets of the most remote Antiquity, still offers its famous Labyrinth to the curiosity of Travellers. It likewise claims to itself the true Mount Olympus, the possession of which is disputed with it, by the Coasts of Europe and Asia (*a*); but pious Fictions, which succeed each other, have substituted, to these Monuments of Paganism, the Grotto of

(*a*) There are two other Mountains of this name; one in Asia Minor, at the foot of which is situated the famous City of Bursa; and the other in Europe, in the Gulf of the ancient Thessalonica. This last, near which is a small Valley, still called the Valley of Tempe, seems to have the best right to the Title; but no preference is to be given to either of these Mountains, from their Appearance.

St. Margaret (*b*), beyond doubt, more worthy the veneration of the modern Greeks, and more proper to engage the attention of the Natural Philosopher. The Mountains, standing thick together on the South-side, render this Island almost inaccessible towards the Mediterranean, whence the North-side derives all the advantages of Culture, of which a bad Soil can be susceptible. It is, likewise, to the excellence of the Climate, only, that it owes the richness of its Productions, exchanged by the Inhabitants for Corn, which the Country does not afford. Oil is the principal Article of their Commerce, and the fabrication of Soap their principal Art; which is, nevertheless, brought to so little perfection that, notwithstanding the neighbourhood of the Consumer, they suffer our Traders to export the greater part of their Oil, to furnish with it the Soap-

(*b*) This Grotto is principally remarked for the quality of the Stalactitæ which it contains, and the varieties of them which it affords.

houses

houses at Marfeilles, and to carry a considerable quantity to Constantinople. (G) The wild Olive-Trees, which I found on the eastern and inhabited part of this Island, are plainly indigenous; which may likewise be affirmed of the Laurel-Rose, that shades and ornaments all the Valleys, producing a Vapour believed to be deadly, to those who suffer themselves to be overtaken by Sleep. The Country is covered with Orange and Citron-Trees, the fruits of which are preferable to those brought from Malta and Portugal. The Muchemuche, of the Apricot kind, and the size of the Mirabella (*c*), but more delicate than the best fruits of that species, seems to belong only to Candy, which produces the most valuable Plants.

This Island, a long time in the possession of the Venetians, but taken from the Republic by Sultan Solyman, who successively stripped it of its principal Domains, preserves the Fortresses, which could not defend it, and which, now, serve only

(*c*) A kind of Plumb.

for an Asylum to its Oppressors, without being able to resist the slightest foreign attack; while the Inhabitants, in the narrow Defiles, and barren places of the Mountains, contend, by their Robberies, for an Independence which the Cultivator of the Land never enjoys.

The three Cities, Candy, Cana, and Retimo, are the Seats of the three Pachaliks, into which the Ottoman Government has divided this Island. The first, who enjoys the title of Seraskier, has pre-eminence over the other two, and all three strive which shall most oppress this unhappy Country. The Turkish Soldiery, to which the Candiot Greeks have allied themselves, by frequent Marriages by Capin (*d*), has often set bounds to Oppression, by rising against the Oppressors; but these same Greeks always take advantage of their relationship to the Janissaries, to become Oppressors themselves, more dangerous to their Neighbours, and constantly unpunished.

(*d*) An account has been given of these Marriages in the Preliminary Discourse.

At the same time that this mixture, of Anarchy and Power abused, extends itself all over the northern Coast, a Band of Robbers, established in the Mountains, preserve Order among themselves, repulse every Attack, and cover the Sea with Pirates. This kind of Republic has for its Allies the Maniots, its Neighbours; and they mutually assist each other; while the weakness of the Turks can afford no succour to Humanity, groaning under the Depredations of these Plunderers.

The height of the Mountains, in Candia, the barrenness of some, and the nature of the Vegetables which cover others, are among the least proofs of their containing Minerals. Every appearance shews there have been Volcanos, now extinct; several Mountains have their Cratera, and I found, near Cape Solomon (*e*), a small Isle,

(*e*) It is situated at the most eastern point of the Island, and forms, with Cape Sidera, the Island Morena, and five other smaller ones; it is the Anchoring-Place of Paloa Castro; (in Greek, the Old Castle.) During the late War, an English Privateer, which had seized on this Post, and placed Centinels on the

Isle, of white Marble, covered, in part, by a Bed of Lava.

After our departure from Candia, the Frigate anchored under cover of that Island, and we set sail, the beginning of June, for Alexandria. The Winds, which, at this Season, blow almost constantly from the North-west, without being strong enough to cause a high Sea, enable Navigators to calculate the exact time of their arrival in Egypt. I observed, during the course of this Voyage, a Vapor, which the Wind drove before us, and which resisting the attraction of the Sun, and growing thicker every day, formed itself into foggy Clouds, on our approach to the Shores of Egypt. These were announced to us, by the appearance of Pompey's Pillar, before we could discover the Land; but we presently perceived the Castle of Pharos, and, after having doubled the Dia-

two Capes, to give notice of the approach of any Vessels, from the North or South, very much incommoded the French Trade.

mond,

mond (*f*), the Frigate anchored in the New Port of Alexandria. I dispatched an Express the same day, to the Consul at Cairo, to inform him of my Arrival, and request the Government to furnish the means for my Passage up the Nile, to the Capital. The Vice-Consul of Cairo, accompanied by four Merchants and an Aga of the Mamelukes, arrived, the 11th of June, in the morning, from Rosetta, where he had left the Boats which had brought them, and which the Shek-Elbelet had sent to convey me to Cairo. The misunderstanding which began to break out among the Beys (*g*), and, above all,

(*f*) This is the Name of a Rock, about half a Cable's length from the point of Land on which the Pharos is built, and which separates the two Harbours of Alexandria.

(*g*) The four-and-twenty Provinces, into which Egypt is divided, are governed by as many Beys: the first Bey has the command at Cairo, and is honoured with the Title of Shek-Elbelet, or Prince of the Country. When assembled they constitute a Divan, at which a Pacha, of three Tails, presides, in the Name of the Grand Seignior. The Narration in the Text will present a Picture of this Government, tyrannical

all, the departure of Murats (*b*), who with some Troops, had quitted the Capital, under pretence of subduing the Arabs of Sharkia, but, in reality, to oppress Egypt, rendered this precaution necessary to my safety. We set out for Rosetta, on the 12th, in the evening, in order to shun the violent heat, during a journey of twelve Leagues. Our little Caravan consisted of thirty Passengers, mounted on Mules, and we baited at Maadia, which is half way. This resting-place, for Travellers, is built in a part of the Country formerly cultivated, but, long since, abandoned to the inundations of the Sea, the barrenness which that produces, and the depredations of the Arabs. We left it some hours after, and by Day-break discovered the Tops of the Palm-Trees, and points of the Minarets of Rosetta, and, after passing through part of the City to the Banks of the Nile, on

rannical in its Origin, and only become more monstrous by being enfeebled.

(*b*) One of the twenty-four Governors, and he, whose Power, at that time, seemed to preponderate.

which

which it is situated, we enjoyed the astonishing Prospect which, on the opposite Shore, is presented by the Island of Delta.

I embarked, in the evening, with those who accompanied me, on board the Felucca of the Shek-Elbelet. This Vessel, the Stern of which was covered by a large Awning, contained a Bed-chamber, and an Apartment furnished with Sofas. Another Boat accompanied us, which carried our Servants, and in which our Provisions were cooked: this came along-side of us at meal-times. Thus, by the assistance of the Winds, which drive back the Waters of the Nile, we sailed up that River to Cairo; where we arrived the third Day, in the Evening.

A Janissary, stationed by the Consul, in a Boat below Boolac (*i*), to watch our coming, shewed us a Landing-place, at which we were provided with proper Conveyances to the Consul's, where we arrived at the close of the Evening.

(*i*) A Town on the Banks of the Nile, where it is convenient to land whatever comes to the Capital, to which it is a kind of Suburb.

Ifed-

Ifed-Pacha, that old Favourite of the Grand Seignior's, whose character has been already given, was then Pacha of Cairo; and, being informed of my arrival, sent to compliment me the next day: the Shek-Elbelet also did me the same kindness, pressing me to make him a Visit as soon as possible. I did not immediately see the Motive of this Solicitation, and answered him that, however informed I might be of the reality of his Consequence in Egypt, I could not allow myself to neglect respecting the Power of the Grand Seignior, in the Person of the Pacha. The Bey ordered his Master of the Horse, and the Officers of the Police, to prepare every thing to expedite my Visit to the Governor.

The Consul had told me, as soon as I alighted, that the Shek-Elbelet, informed of my arrival, and presuming I should land in the Day-time, had prepared a great number of Officers and Saratches, in order that I might make a public Entry, which would have been so much the more distinguished as, notwithstanding the right of mounting a Horse is reserved to the Beys,

Beys, and great men of the Empire, seven Horses had been prepared for the use of those by whom I was accompanied. The care I took to arrive late only served to retard the troublesome Ceremony I was obliged to undergo, in my way to the Castle of Cairo, where the Pacha, always the Prisoner of the Beys, nevertheless, represents the Person of their Sovereign. The Curiosity of the common People was such that the fear they might be expected to have had of the two rows of Saratches, who preceded me, did not hinder their pressing upon me, as I passed; and the blows which the Soldiers dealt freely about them, for no other reason but to make themselves merry, as they went along, could not prevent the Multitude from waiting my return, at the Gate of the Castle. I there found the Pacha, encompassed with all the Pomp of the Vifiriat; he received me with the same Ceremonies which are customary at Constantinople; but our former acquaintance inclining us to a more familiar confer-

ence, he ordered the Hall of the Divan to be cleared, for a time, of the Throng by which it was filled: when, informing me of the Discontents existing among the Beys, sure presage of a Revolution, he explained the reason of the Shek-Elbelet's anxiety to have the present Visit over. Nevertheless, he was not allowed time to receive me; for scarcely had I returned home, in the same order in which I had been conducted to the Castle, before the opposite Party, having broken out into Sedition, the reigning Beys thought of nothing but seizing on the Fortrefs, the possession of which is productive rather of a civil than a military Advantage; for it puts it in the power of him who can obtain it to dispose of the orders of the Grand Seignior, by forcing the Pacha to issue them, with a Pistol at his Breast. A Firman, therefore, immediately appeared, by which the Insurgents were condemned to Banishment; but these, little regarding vain Formalities, and firing their Pieces on their Enemies, compelled them, after a few

fews days skirmishing,, more noisy than bloody, to fly towards the upper Egypt.

Some Mamalukes of the victorious Party, advanced to the dignity of Beys, supplied the places of the Fugitives, and, the state of Public Affairs once more appearing tranquil, I went to Gisa, to pass a few days, and visit the Pyramids, which are only four Leagues distant.

The Soil of Egypt, its Commerce, its Government, and its Monuments, which ought to be considered as the most ancient Annals of the World, are Particulars too deserving of attention to be confounded with the historical relation of my Voyage; and I shall reserve the Remarks I have to make, on these Subjects, to present them in one View.

The Arabs, who were to conduct us to the Pyramids, made us set out at Midnight, and we alighted near those enormous Masses at Day-break. Those who accompanied me were eager to enter them; but, less curious to be informed of their interior Structure, already sufficiently known by the Plans which
have

have been given us by M. Maillett, and other Travellers, all agreeing in their Relations, I employed the little time I had to make Observations and Researches, which appeared, to me, to have been, till then, neglected.

On approaching the Sphinx, of which I shall speak elsewhere, the Arabs, who attended me, made me observe the opening, which one of the Beys of Egypt had caused to be cleared, to a certain depth, of the Sands with which it had been formerly filled. They added that the Wickedness of that Undertaking, the design of which was to penetrate into the Asylum of the Dead, did not go long unpunished, but that the Bey lost his life in the last Revolution. Nevertheless these scrupulous Arabs daily traded in Mummies, and met with no harm; but the project of the Bey would, without doubt, have been detrimental to this Traffic; and every Dealer aspires to a Monopoly.

On my return to Giza, where I had employed myself in taking a Drawing of the Island of Rhoda, the Nilometer, and
Old

Old Cairo, situated opposite, I accepted the offer of a Coptic Merchant, to go to his House, on the other side, and take a Design of Giza and the Pyramids. While I was thus busied, a large body of Cavalry passed, on full speed, under our windows; other Troops followed, and the firing of Pistols was heard on all sides. The Tumult increased, the Master of the House barricadoed his Doors, and we presently learned, from the Janissary who accompanied us, that the Flame of Rebellion, concealed for some days, had broken out, that morning, in the Assassination of three Beys; and that a fourth, to shun the same fate, had fled, with the remains of his Party, to join his Adherents in Upper Egypt, while the victorious Pursuers did their utmost to hinder their Union. We saw, at the same time, a large armed Felucca, stationed in the middle of the Nile, to prevent the Fugitives from avoiding the Proscription, by escaping to the Coast of Lybia. A stranger to this quarrel till then, I finished my Drawing, and, the Disturbance seeming over, embarked

to return to Giza, without foreseeing any Obstacle; but scarcely had our Boatmen begun to handle their Oars, before a score of Mamaluke Horse, coming up, on full gallop, presented their Pieces, and threatened to fire on us, if we did not instantly land. We immediately obeyed the Command, and learned that one of the Beys was at Old Cairo, appointed to take charge of the Navigation of the Nile, along which he had forbidden any Vessel to pass. I objected, in vain, that he could not mean to include mine in the Interdiction; all the answer I could obtain, from these Gentlemen, was the muzzle of their Carbines. I sent a Merchant, who was with me, to negotiate this affair with the Bey himself, who, we were told, was sitting at the corner of a street, not very distant. He appeared, at first, much surprised, on being informed I was at Old Cairo; and when he knew I came there to take some Drawings, objected, with no little reason, that I might have chosen a better opportunity; but my Ambassador having replied, with at least as much

much propriety, that it was impossible I, in the morning, should foresee they would be pleased to cut each others throats, he at length, with some excuses for what had passed, obtained an Order to suffer me to continue my Journey. In the mean time, an Officer belonging to the Bey, stole some Pipes from us; yet were we obliged to take this Officer on board, under pretext of defending us from the Insults of the Felucca, but, in reality, to extort a reward for this pretended Service. At length we arrived at Gisa, where I entirely employed myself in preparations for my return to Alexandria.

The Nile, of which I had observed the increase, had arisen to the height which permits the opening of the Canal of Trajan. Public Criers, appointed to inform the People of the daily increase of the River, had just proclaimed the Festival of the Arooffa (*k*); but, notwithstanding these Preparations, and those which were made to pursue the Fugitives, I obtained of the

(*k*) The Festival of the Bride.

Shek-Elbelet, the means of returning to Alexandria, and re-embarked on board the same Boat in which I came; to perform a Journey, so much the more agreeable, as the elevation of the Waters afforded us a prospect of, at once, the richest, and most populous Country in the World.

Anxious of knowing, circumstantially, what appeared so beautiful and interesting in the whole, I collected, with care, all the Information I could procure on the Government, Population, Manners, and Commerce of this Nation. The sprightliness and good humour of the Inhabitants, near the Banks of the Nile, induced me to cultivate their acquaintance; but as the very aspect of the Mamalukes, who wished to accompany me, would have put them to flight, I took care they should remain on board, and went among them with Europeans only. I have often enjoyed the Pleasure of gathering together these Villagers, and confirming myself, by their answers to my enquiries, in the Opinions

ons I had formed, and which I am now about to lay before my Reader.

Egypt, situated in the eastern Angle of Africa, extends from the Mediterranean Sea to Abyffinia, and comprehends the space included between the 31st and 23^d degrees of Latitude, extending to the City of Suenna, near the Tropic, below the Cataracts of the Nile.

This River, the Sources of which are not known (*l*), receiving all the Streams with which Abyffinia and Ethiopia are abundantly watered, descends into Egypt, which it crosses from South to North, to about

(*l*) A Traveller, named Bruce, it is said, has pretended to have discovered them. I saw, at Cairo, the Servant who was his Guide and Companion during the Journey, who assured me, that he had no knowledge of any such Discovery. It may, perhaps, be objected, that a learned man, like Mr. Bruce, was not obliged to give an account of his Discoveries to his Valet; but, in a Desert, the Pride of Celebrity vanishes. The Master and Servant disappear, and become only two Men necessitated to assist their mutual wants; the only superiority is possessed by the strongest; and the Servant I have mentioned, born in the Country, would certainly have corroborated Mr. Bruce's Assertions, in a Discovery purely topographical.

four Leagues below Cairo, where, dividing itself into two Branches, it forms the Island, so celebrated and well-known by the name of Delta: it is, likewise, only to the extremity of this Island, which the Egyptians name in Arabic Batn-el-Bacara, (the Belly of the Cow) that the Plains, on each side the Nile, shut in by the higher Grounds, are capable of Cultivation; for the River can no further extend the Treasures which its Waters lavish on the Lands they inundate.

The Mountains, four Leagues from the Nile, and facing Cairo, are only a ridge of Rocks of forty or fifty feet high, and divide the Country from the Plains of Lybia. This Ridge accompanies the course of the River, at a greater or lesser distance, and seems as if only intended to serve as a Bank to the general Inundation. The most mountainous part of Arabia is that which lies on the Borders of the Red Sea, and already assumes the rocky nature generally observable on maritime Coasts.

At

At the summit of the angle of Delta, the Rocks of Lybia, and the Coasts of Arabia open, and recede from each other, towards the East and West, parallel to the Mediterranean. This great extent of Country, from the Kingdom of Barca to Gaza, is either inundated by the River, or, at least, capable of being so; and this periodical Inundation, in a Country where it scarcely ever rains, and which the heat of the Climate and the very nature of the Soil seem to have devoted to perpetual Drought and Sterility, is, without doubt, a most surprising Phænomenon. But, if we investigate the Mechanism by which it is effected, we shall perceive that even Europe contributes to it, by pouring, on Abyssinia and Ethiopia, the Exhalations with which our Climates abound. Periodical Winds, from the Northwest, blowing regularly in the Months of June, July, and August, drive before them foggy Clouds, which, without depriving Egypt of the Sun, convey, into Abyssinia and Ethiopia, those Vapors that condense there, and enter, by a hundred Channels,

into the Nile, which spreads them over Egypt, together with the Mud with which its Waters load themselves in their Progress.

It is to be remarked that, though this Water becomes thick, by washing the clayey Soil over which it passes, it appears, when drank, as light and limpid as the clearest; the Egyptians themselves believe it nourishing, and say, whoever drinks of their River will never remove to any great distance from its Banks.

The divine Honours which the ancient Egyptians paid to the Nile, and for which the Plenty it occasions may be some Justification, are, in a manner, still preserved under the Mahometans; they give this River the Title of Most Holy; they likewise honour its increase with all the Ceremonies practised by Pagan Antiquity.

The progress of the Inundation is observed at the Nilometer, situated at the southern Point of the Isle of Rhoda, opposite Old Cairo. Public Criers, distributed in each quarter of the Capital, every day,

day, make known to the People the rising of the Waters, till they are come to the height proper for opening the Canal, by which they are conveyed to the middle of the City, and the Cisterns. But this moment cannot be ascertained with precision, because Superstition prevents the Eye of Curiosity from approaching the graduated Column, placed in the center of the Basin of the Nilometer. The Cry of Oof-Allah, which signifies God has kept his Promise, proclaims the opening of this Canal. Children, bearing Streamers of different colours, accompany the Crier, and diffuse a general Joy at the certainty of Plenty.

Sultan Selim, after having conquered Egypt, gave it Laws, established a new form of Government, and decreed that this Kingdom, now become a Province of his vast Empire, should be only liable to a Tribute then when the increase of the Nile should be sufficient for opening this Canal : as, in fact, it is only then that the Waters suffice for the wants of Agriculture. This is what takes place every Year ; but it is not
merely

merely this degree of increase that yields the greatest plenty. To produce that, the Waters must reach the foot of the Mountains, and then it is, that the Criers proclaim *Minel-Dgebel il-el-Dgebel*, (from one Mountain to another.)

It was, without doubt, to provide against those Years when the Nile does not overflow a great part of the Country that the ancient Sovereigns of Egypt cut so many Canals, the principal of which are still kept in order, but the greater part neglected, and, consequently, one half of Egypt deprived of Cultivation. Those which convey the Water to Cairo, into the Province of Fayoom, and to Alexandria, are most attended to by Government. An Officer is appointed to watch this last, and hinder the Arabs of Bachria, who receive the superfluous Waters of this Canal, from turning them off before Alexandria be provided, or opening it before the time fixed, which would hinder the increase of the Nile. That which conveys the Waters into Fayoom is watched in like manner, and cannot be opened before that

that of Cairo, which is called the Canal of Trajan.

The ancient Egyptians had the barbarous Custom of sacrificing a young Girl to the Nile, when the Waters rose to a sufficient height for opening this Canal. They called her the Arooffa, or the Bride. And the Name and Ceremonies of this sanguinary Festival are still preserved; though the Caliph Omar has rendered it more humane, by substituting a Pillar of Earth, which represents the Victim, and is thrown into the Nile. The principal Inhabitants of Cairo appear, at this Ceremony, in their Gondolas, richly ornamented; and it is always succeeded by Entertainments and Fire-works.

A number of other Canals, only taken care of by those who derive Advantage from them, issue from that Arm of the Nile which runs to Damietta, and fertilize the Province of Sharkia, which, making part of the Isthmus of Suez, is the most considerable of Egypt, and the most capable of a great increase of Cultivation. The Plains of Gaza, which lie beyond, and are possessed

possessed by the Arabs, would not be less fertile, if the Spirit of Devastation did not destroy even the spontaneous Productions. A number of other Canals run through the Isle of Delta, many of which are navigable; and that of Manoof communicates with the two Branches of the Nile, ten Leagues below the angular Point, called the Belly of the Cow. This Canal begins at Nadir, and not at Gueseid, where d'Anville has placed the mouth of it; and crosses the Province of Manufia, the Culture of which may be compared to a well managed Kitchen-Garden. The Map of this celebrated Geographer appears to me, in other respects, as exact as it is possible to make it, in a Country where the Government would not allow an actual Survey, and where the Land is too flat to afford any Point from which an Observation can be taken.

The whole Country of Egypt is, indeed, so low, that, at a distance, it is only to be discovered by some rising Grounds, formed by the Ruins of ancient Alexandria, and the prodigious height of Pompey's Pillar;

Pillar; the whole Coast is a plain, so that, three Leagues off at Sea, nothing is to be perceived but some Palm-Trees, which seem to rise out of the Water. It is not, however, merely to this flatness that it owes the periodical Inundation by which it is watered.

We have already seen that the constant Winds, from the North-West, driving the Mists of Europe over Abyssinia, blow in the direction of the Nile; and we may perceive that, by forcing back the Waters of that River, they become the principal cause of its overflowing. Having arrived at its height, about the middle of September, the wind, then settling in the South, concurs with the natural course of the Nile, to facilitate the draining of the Waters; and, at the same time, collects the surplus of Clouds, no longer useful in Abyssinia and Ethiopia, to carry them towards the Sources of the Euphrates; where the same Phænomenon, of a periodical Inundation, enriches Mesopotamia, immediately after that of Egypt.

At

At that time, a Column of Clouds is seen to cross the Red Sea, towards the Isthmus of Suez, pass along Syria, and gather round Mount Ararat, whilst the same settled wind, in the Gulph of Persia, compressing the Waters of the Euphrates, procures to Mesopotamia, by the same means, the same advantages which Egypt enjoys.

This meteorological Observation, in my researches concerning which I have been scrupulously exact, may every Year have its Truth ascertained, in a Country where the clearness of the Heavens renders all such remarks least liable to Error.

All the Descriptions of Egypt have, hitherto, agreed to consider the Mud, which the Water acquires, during its increase, and, at length, deposits on the inundated Lands, as a Manure by which they are fertilized. No vegetative Quality, however, is discoverable, in analyzing it, before its union with the Sand; which, together with Clay, composes the Soil of Egypt, mixt in the same proportion as they are in the manufacturing of Pottery.

This

This Mud, likewise, is only washed off by the Nile from its two Banks, with the clayey part of which it becomes loaded. Its lightness, together with the motion of the Waters, keep the Particles suspended; till, at length, the sandy part sinks down, and appears, in heaps, after a decrease of the Inundation. These the Industry of the Husbandman turns to his Advantage, tempering the dryness of the Sands with Pigeon's Dung, and the Seeds of Water-Melons, which he sows in it; and gathers an abundant Harvest, before the returning Floods again destroy these Fields, and form others in their stead.

The whirling of the Waters, which produces these Variations, results necessarily from the double effort of the Stream and the Wind, acting against each other; but the Nile is, notwithstanding this Agitation, so easy to confine, that many Fields, lower than the surface of the River, are preserved, during its increase, from an Inundation destructive to their Productions, merely by a Dam of moistened Earth, not

more than eight or ten inches in thickness.

This method, which costs the Cultivator but little trouble, is made use of to preserve Delta, when it is threatened by the Flood. This Island, which annually produces three Harvests, is continually watered by Machines, constructed on the Nile, and the Canals cut through it; but it rarely is in danger of being overflowed; and this rich part of Egypt, which extends to the Sea, would be still less affected by the swelling of the River, did not the Wind, blowing a long time in one quarter, raise the Waters of the Mediterranean towards the South.

It is proper to observe, that Delta, more elevated than the rest of Egypt, is bounded towards the Sea by a Forest of Palm-trees, called the Forest of Berelos, the Land of which is much higher than the highest rising of the Waters; and this topographical Remark is sufficient to destroy the System of the formation of Delta
by

by Sediment. A Country which rises higher than the highest Inundations can never owe to them its origin. Such Sediment could only occasion the Division of the two Branches of the Nile; but neither this circumstance, nor the Existence of the Island which separates them, deserve so much attention; and M. Maillet might have spared himself the trouble of reviving the System of Ephorus on this Subject, which seems not to have met with any regard from his Contemporaries.

The Vestiges of the Canals, which watered the Provinces westward and eastward of Delta, prove them to have been the best cultivated of any part of ancient Egypt. We may also presume, from the extent of the Ruins of Alexandria, the construction of the Canal, and the natural level of the Lands which encompass the Lake Mareotis, and extend themselves westward to the Kingdom of Barca, that this Country, at present given up to the Arabs, and almost a Desert, was once sufficiently rich in Productions, of every kind, to furnish the City of Alexandria with its whole Subsistence.

It may be observed, with respect to the Situation of the Canal of Alexandria, that, at the same time that it supplied the City with Water, and facilitated its Commerce, it must, as it passed along the upper part of the cultivated Lands, on the left-hand of the Nile, have contributed to their fertilization: while a Dyke, constructed at Bekers (*m*), kept the Sea within its bounds, to add to Egypt a large Tract of Country, which reached to the Suburbs of this immense City, at present reduced to an inconsiderable Town, built on the new Isthmus, which has formed itself between the two Ports, and joins the Isle of Pharos to Terra-firma.

This Capital of the Commerce of the Universe, condemned long since to be merely the Receptacle of what is brought for the home consumption of the Country, seems to be shut out from its own Walls; but we cannot survey the extent and magnificence of its Ruins, without reflecting

(*m*) A small Sea-port situated between Alexandria, and Rosetta.

that the most certain means of Grandeur only have a value proportionable to the Genius of the Age, and the abilities of those by whom they should be employed.

Egypt, happily situated to extend its Commerce over Europe, Africa, and the Indies, wanted a Harbour. It was necessary it should be large, and easy of access; the mouths of the Nile offered none of these advantages; the only Port which was upon the Coast was twelve Leagues from the River, in a Desert, and would not have been perceived but by a Genius bold and sublime. A City was to be built, and he designed the Plan. To what a degree of Splendor did he raise Alexandria, even in its very Infancy? He joined it to the Nile by a Canal, at once navigable and useful to Cultivation; it became the City of all Nations, and the Metropolis of Commerce. His name honours these Ashes, which barbarous Ages have heaped up, and which only wait to be tempered by some beneficent hand, to form a Cement for the re-construction

struction of the most noble Edifice the human mind has ever conceived.

The rocky bottom, which extends along the Coast of Egypt, proves the Isle of Pharos to have been formed by the Ruins of Alexandria; and that the Shallow, which separates the two Basons, has been caused by the Rubbish driven thither by the Sea. The new Shore likewise confirms the truth of this Observation; and the rolling of the Waves continually discovers a number of Stones, which have Inscriptions on them, and are certainly part of the remains of this ancient City.

Its Ruins afford us, at every step, a testimony of its former splendor; and the figure of a Macedonian Cloak, which its Boundaries resemble, by recalling to the memory its illustrious Founder, seems to have excited veneration, even from the Barbarians, in their different pillagings of this City. The same Walls which defended its Industry and Riches still defend its Ruins, and present us with a master-piece of ancient Masonry.

Some

Some Historians pretend these have been built by the Saracens, instead of the old ones, which they destroyed; but though the hand of those Barbarians may be discovered in such parts of it as they have repaired, and which are equally destitute of Elegance and Regularity, it is impossible to suppose they constructed the Walls which separate Alexandria from Necropolis; that would be no less absurd than to attribute to them the erecting of Pompey's Pillar.

This Monument, the Object and Founder of which are equally unknown, situated near the Canal, between Necropolis and the Walls of Alexandria, must have been placed in the Suburb which, Authors affirm joined the Lake Mareotis. It may be conjectured, from the Fragments of rose-coloured Granite, and above all, from the ancient Foundations which surround this Column, that it stood in the middle of some place of Traffic. But, without carrying our Researches beyond the Bounds prescribed by the obscurity of ancient Times, what is still to be seen of

this great Work, is sufficient to insure our Admiration.

I shall not repeat the Description given of it by M. Maillet, and other Travellers; but shall confine myself to remarking that this enormous Mass, placed on a Stone, less by the one half than the Stilobates, which rests centrally upon it, has only been sustained, during so many Ages, by the precise adherence of the two Planes, and the perfection of their horizontal Section. This Support, more nearly examined, by means of an Excavation made in the rough stones which seem to sustain the Base, proves to be a piece of Granite, sunk to a greater or lesser depth in the calcareous Rock on which the whole is constructed: and we might be led to imagine, from the Hieroglyphics which appear upon it, that some Fragment of an Obelisk had been made use of, as a Foundation; though, perhaps, it is more natural to suppose these Characters contain the History of the Column.

Its perfect uprightness, which I have just remarked, leaves no doubt but the
Stilobates,

Stilobates, the Base, the Shaft, and the Capital have been perpendicularly placed on each other; but it is not so easy to conceive the means employed to raise this same Shaft, a single piece of red Granite, of the Corinthian Order, the Module of which is above four feet. This could not be effected without the assistance of the Crane; and may again lead us to believe that some imitation of the Crow, of Archimedes, had, in Egypt, preceded ours: which is no more surprising than to find, under the Lava of Mount Vesuvius, the representation of the Plane and Vice of our Joiners.

This Monument is not the only one in Egypt, the boldness of which astonishes Travellers: Cleopatra's Needle, no less difficult to erect, will not allow us to attribute the great Works which are found in such profusion, in the higher Egypt, to the Arts of Greece. We may even observe, in the Capital of Pompey's Pillar, a rude imitation of the Leaves of the Acanthus, manifestly the Performance of Hands more accustomed to move these

vaſt Maſſes than to handle the Chiſſel of Phidias.

The Sculpture of the Egyptians is without delicacy, except in the Hieroglyphicks. Theſe abound on the four ſides of Cleopatra's Needle. Its Baſe, concealed by the quantity of Ruins, will not permit us to form a judgment of its point of Reſt; but an examination of a like Needle, thrown down, and broken, near the firſt, ſhews them to have been both placed on four Cubes of Bronze. It may be perceived, likewise, that theſe two Obeliſks, placed on a line with two Wings of a vaſt Pile of Buildings, at equal diſtances, were the Ornaments of what appears, by its Ruins, to have been a Palace. It has been ſuppoſed to be that of Cleopatra. I diſtinctly ſaw, in a Rotunda, tolerably well preſerved, and, above all, in ſeveral Dungeons which ſurround it, the Tribunal of Juſtice, and was aſtoniſhed at the preſervation of the Plaſter which covers its Walls.

Still leſs equivocal Marks indicate the principal Square of Alexandria. Several Columns,

Columns, two of which are placed in the middle of one of its sides, and opposite a prodigious Mass of ruined Vaults, point out the Entrance of the principal Temple, and leave no doubt but it belonged to Jupiter Serapis. If the Spirit of Destruction were not always idle and ignorant, these precious Remains would sooner disappear: I have seen the Barbarians, who possess them, employed in cutting off pieces of the Pillars, to make Millstones; and have had the satisfaction to find their labour rendered useless, by their want of skill.

Though this may tend to preserve heavy Masses, the Statues cannot escape that Avarice by which they are discovered; yet the Arabs never sell them to the Europeans, till they have satisfied their Feticism, by the mutilation of these pretended Idols. The small profit they derive, from this Traffic, happily discourages them from searching the Ruins, and reserves this precious Deposit for Posterity.

That Suburb of Alexandria which joins the Necropolis, and that other, the Streets
of

of which are still to be distinguished in the Plain, leading to Rosetta, contain, without doubt, many Riches, buried under their Ruins. The open Square of Necropolis (*n*) is covered with Hillocks, which invite us to search for the remains of Temples and Monuments, raised by the superstitious Piety of the ancient Egyptians. I visited, with care, the Catacombs of this City, the burying-place of Alexandria; and, though they cannot be compared to those of the ancient Memphis, which the Arabs will not permit to be visited, in order to make the better market of their Mummies, it is probable that, the method of embalming being the same, the form of these Catacombs can only differ in their Proportions.

It is to be observed that, Nature not having furnished this part of Egypt with a ridge of Rocks, like that which runs parallel with the Nile, above Delta, the ancient Inhabitants of Alexandria could

(*n*) The City of the dead: this name is formed from the two Greek words, *Νεκρος*, dead; and *Πολις*, a City.

only have an Imitation, by digging into a Bed of solid Rock, and thus forming Necropolis.

This Excavation, from thirty to forty feet wide, two hundred long, and twenty-five deep, is terminated by gentle Declivities at each end. The two Sides, cut perpendicularly, contain several Openings, about ten or twelve feet in width and height, hollowed horizontally, and which form, by their different Branches, subterranean Streets. One of these, which Curiosity has disencumbered from the Ruins and Sands, that render the Entrance of others difficult or impossible, contains no Mummies, but only the places they occupied. The Order in which they were ranged is still to be seen. Niches, twenty inches square, sunk six feet horizontally, narrowed at the bottom, and separated from each other by Partitions in the Rock, seven or eight inches thick, divide into Checkers the two Walls of this subterranean Vault.

It is natural to suppose, from this disposition, that each Mummy was introduced

duced with the feet foremost, into the Cell intended for its reception; and that new Streets were opened, in proportion as these dead Inhabitants of Necropolis increased. This Observation, which throws a light on the Catacombs of Memphis, may perhaps likewise explain the vast Size and Multitude, as well as the different Elevations, of the Pyramids, in the higher and lower Egypt. I shall proceed to the examination of those of Giza, to draw such Conclusions as appear to me most probable.

I have already said, they are constructed on the Ridge of Rocks which is the Boundary of Lybia. Two of these Pyramids differ but little in their proportions; and the third, only of three hundred feet, has never excited any attention. The largest, each side of the Square of the base and height of which is six hundred feet, permits the Curious to examine the inside of this vast Pile.

The Consul Maillet, who has given us its description, accompanied by very exact Views and Plans, says it has been violated;
but

but the strange manner in which he supports this supposition, by the pretended Damage done to the Layers of Stone, which are imagined to have concealed the Entrance into the Galleries, through which, at present, there is a Passage, quite up to the Sarcophagus, in the center of this Monument, is no real demonstration of such Violation. On the contrary, it appears certain that this Pyramid has never been shut.

In fact, neither Avarice nor Curiosity could endeavour to damage it, without making several attempts, of which no traces are to be found; and, when none of the Sides of the neighbouring Pyramids have the least signs of any such opening, how should this have been so readily found? Why should the inferior Layers, which were no Obstacle, have been taken away? How came the projecting Stones (o) so remarkably well preserved? Why should not the Basso-relievo, placed under

(o) PIERRES D'ATTENTE: *Projecting Stones to continue the Building.* T.

the Key of the Vault, and the perfection of the whole Work have suffered by the same Violence? Maillet, to support his Hypothesis, enters into a particular Detail of the Labour he supposes necessary; and furnishes the Egyptians with complicated means of security, which the enormous size of such Masses, and, still more, the pious Superstition of this People, render needless to prevent the Violation of these Asylums, which every thing engaged them to respect.

The exactness of this Writer would leave us nothing to wish, with regard to the description of the inside of this Monument, if his Researches could have penetrated into the Well, which descends, perpendicularly, in the Center of the Pyramid, and of which he has only marked the opening. Different Attempts to descend into it, rendered fruitless, either by the insufficiency of the means employed, or the timidity of those by whom they were made, have still left a wide Field for Conjecture; and, as it cannot be discovered to have had any real utility, may well be supposed to have
been

been a mysterious Passage. This Idea, compared with the Opinions concerning Death, entertained by the ancient Egyptians, will acquire more weight by the following Observations.

The principal of these is, the relation which the upper Tombs bear to the lower. Each Pyramid has its Catacombs; the ridge of rocks, cut with the Chiffel, the length of fifty Fathoms, perpendicular to the summit of the first Pyramid, and parallel to its horizontal Face, presents many openings, of which one, lateral one, is hollowed in such a declined direction that a Person cannot descend into it, without being let down by Ropes, even though the Arabs should permit it to be entered. There are likewise other openings, still shut, by long Stones full of Hieroglyphics and Basso-relievo.

One only of these openings, through which the Arabs get the Mummies, in which they trade, is secured by a wooden Door; and the entrance into this Cavern is guarded by an Arab, who lodges there; but, notwithstanding the kind reception I met

met with from him, I could only obtain permission to look through a Window, which he has doubtless made himself, and could perceive nothing but a vast Vault, where the sight is lost in obscurity, and the direction of which corresponds to the Base of the Pyramid.

If we suppose it to contain different Branches or Streets, similar to those at Necropolis, with height and extent proportionate to the City of Memphis, we may easily conceive its wonderful Dimensions.

Another Observation, no less important, is, that the Pyramids are incontestibly of the same Rock; and there are not wanting those who affirm, the Catacombs were the Quarry, whence the Stones were procured.

If we add, to these Remarks, the necessary Effects of the Prejudices of a People whose life seemed employed in thoughts on Death, will it not appear probable that, at the commencement of every King's Reign, the Inhabitants of Memphis shut up the last Catacombs, and opened new ones;

ones; that the Stones, procured by this Excavation, were reserved for the Mausoleum of the Sovereign then on the Throne; that the duration of his Reign ascertained the Proportions of the Edifice they were to erect? Nothing more was necessary, to raise such Monuments, than to place these Stones, which are all of the same size and shape, in a pyramidical Form, as soon as the Calculation of their number had given the extent of the first Layer, which formed the Base. It may likewise be conjectured that the Well, I have mentioned, descending to the lowest Tombs, gave the Sovereign the means of communication with all his Subjects, who had died in his Reign; which must certainly tend to inspire him with a most desirable and never useless Wish, of being beloved by them during life.

Thus might the Chronology of the Kings of Egypt become subject, in a degree, to mathematical Calculation: for, by taking the mean duration of Life, in a given Population, and the Proportions of the sums of the Stones of the Catacombs, the length

of the Reign of one of the Pharaohs, and the height of his Monument, would be sufficient to find the duration of every other Reign.

Thus considered, all Ideas of Oppression, Slavery, or Tyranny, which the sight of such stupendous Buildings might otherwise inspire, disappear. We should then only look upon them as the last Compact between the Sovereign and the Subject: and, if we recollect the severity of the Tribunal, where every deceased Person received a Trial before his Interment, we may imagine we perceive the motives for opening the grand Pyramid of Giza; nor shall we be able, without veneration, to behold those which are shut.

If the Materials of which the Pyramids are composed suggest this Supposition, it will be farther confirmed by a more careful Examination. The Canal of Joseph, the Works in Upper Egypt, the famous Lake Mœris, and the Canals which still enrich the Lower Egypt, are Monuments, the existence of which is as certain as that of the Pyramids. How can we then suppose these
latter

latter the Work of Tyranny? Have the Benefactors of the human Race ever been their Oppressors? And among a People intirely employed concerning their Interment, to which they never were admitted, unless they were accounted worthy, can it be supposed that any kind of Oppression was exercised in the construction of their Sepulchres (*p*)?

The Stones, which compose the Pyramids, are from seven to eight feet in length, three in height, and four in breadth; every Layer retreats three feet, and has a Coating of a foot thick. The Coating of the first Pyramid is totally destroyed, on which account it is easy to ascend to the top; though it cannot be doubted but that this slant Coating was at least prepared, when we observe the Prisms of Granite, which are still scattered round it. I have even found one, in which the Hypothenuse had been cut, to serve for one of the Angles of the Pyramid.

(*p*) We do not mean, by this, to contradict what the Holy Scriptures teach us, concerning the Oppression which the Israelites suffered in Egypt; and the Labours to which they were condemned.

This Discovery might have spared M. Maillet the pains which he has taken to find the quality of the Coating by the Cement. It would likewise have prevented his falling into the Error of mistaking some parts of the calcareous Rock for fragments of white Marble. It may be presumed that the Prisms, which still cover the upper part of the second Pyramid, will be broken off, merely for the pleasure of seeing them roll down. Such motives must have produced the Destruction of those which are wanting; the slightest effort is sufficient for that purpose, and Wantonness of this kind is not in habits of Self-denial.

Opposite this second Pyramid, a little before the Rocks, we still see the famous Sphinx, which is much more celebrated than it deserves. This, in reality, is only an angular ridge of Rock, extending to the main Bed, in the direction of the center of this Pyramid. They have given it the form of a Sphinx, and opened, in its back, two square Wells, to serve as Entrances into the Catacomb; and hence the guard-
ing

ing of the Tombs seemed intrusted to this kind of Monster.

It likewise appears probable that a Temple was added to each Pyramid and its Catacomb ; though, at present, we can only discover their Ruins, notwithstanding their care to erect them with such enormous Stones. I have measured some of them which were twenty-two feet long, seven in height, and nine in thickness, the joints of which were, nevertheless, perfectly united.

If we reflect that the most ancient Writers speak of these Edifices in the same manner as we do at present, at what period of Time can we date the Construction of several great Pyramids, west of those at Giza, a few Layers of which only remain ?

I shall say nothing of the small Tombs, which are scarcely to be perceived ; but I cannot take leave of these Monuments, without mentioning a strange Deception in their appearance at different Distances ; it may serve to give some idea of the

height of these Masses, which is not to be conveyed by any Comparison.

I have already said that I set out, at Midnight, from Giza, with the Arabs, who were to conduct me to the Pyramids. We directed our route by keeping these prodigious Edifices, which seemed like so many mountains, continually in view. Being arrived at a Village, which had hid them a moment from our sight, they re-appeared, on leaving it, so large and so near that I thought I could touch them. I was even desirous to alight, but the Guides assured me they were still a full League off. In fact, we continued to ride on, near three quarters of an hour, at the end of which the Pyramids seemed so much lessened, that I alighted from my horse, a hundred paces from the first, as much surprised to find it no higher as I had been before at its enormous size. But I presently found it magnified again on my nearer approach; and these Contrarieties, in its Appearance, made me curious to discover the Cause. For this purpose, I removed to the distance of six hundred paces from
the

the Pyramid, along the Plane horizontal to its Base; I then turned about, and, this point of View giving me its greatest apparent Elevation, I remarked that, at this Distance, its perpendicular height filled the Angle of the visual Rays in such a manner that, on a nearer approach, this same Angle, which I shall compare to the two legs of a Compass, could only embrace a part of the Object, and that at the distance of a hundred paces I could scarcely discover a third: to which the sensation I experienced must be attributed.

It follows, from this Observation, that each Elevation, which exceeds the Chord of the two visual Rays, appears greater, and each which does not fill them less, than it really is. This Principle might be usefully applied to public Buildings, if the best point of sight were to regulate their Proportions (*q*).

Though

(*q*) The Colonnade of the Louvre has apparently increased in Size since the pulling down of the Houses, which forced us to view it too near. It would certainly have the best effect if it could be seen on a line

Though the business I had to transact did not permit me to visit the Plain of Mummies, I yet procured certain information that the Sands, which cover it, preserve their property of drying dead Bodies. The Rock beneath served, at the same time, as the burial-place of Luxury.— May we not conclude that this Plain, which cannot be overflowed, and, on that account, is as useless to the Living as favourable to the Dead, served for a Cemetery to the little Towns and Villages of Egypt, which by their situation might use it for that Purpose?

The People of the Country assured me that the funeral Monuments in the Thebais are innumerable, and surpass, in magnificence, those of Memphis and Alexandria. They added that there were still to be

with St. Germain l'Auxerrois, but would lose by being seen at a greater distance. For the same reason, *La Place de Louis XV.* should be proportionate to its distance from the Road to Versailles; and we feel a regret, on seeing St. Genevieve, from the *Rue St. Jacques*, that so beautiful a Copy of the Antique should not have been proportioned by the boldness of its Models.

seen

seen Temples, with Columns of red Granite, as large as that of Pompey; and that the Paintings within are not less remarkable.

It cannot be doubted but what the higher Egypt contains also amazing Treasures, buried under its Ruins. It is not long since a Copt discovered an Urn, filled with Gold-medals, of which he secretly melted down a great number; but an Englishman had the good fortune to procure about a hundred, some of which are now in the King of France's Cabinet.

We must not suppose that such an Example, by exciting the Avarice of the Inhabitants, can ever become destructive of these Remains of Antiquity; the dread of the Extortions which would certainly follow such Discoveries will always restrain those who might be inclined to attempt them.

Among the various Labours, by which Ancient Egypt has been rendered illustrious, the Canal of communication, between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, would deserve the first place, if the Efforts of
I Genius,

Genius, in favor of public Utility, had been seconded by succeeding Generations, for whose use it was intended ; and if Undertakings, which must promote the good of Society, were as durable as the Prejudices which tend to its Destruction. Yet such is the Abridgment of all History ; it offers no other Picture of every Nation, and of every Age. Without these continual Devastations, Geography would have governed the World ; the advantage of Situation would have dictated immutable Laws, and the Canal of the Red Sea would for ever have been the Basis of the Rights of Nations.

Ill-founded Prejudices, which will always prevail over the most accurate Observations, have caused the existence of this Canal to be doubted, and even its possibility denied ; yet that there really was such a Canal is attested by Diodorus Siculus ; and, whatever we may think of that Author, we certainly have no right to reject the Facts of which he declares himself to have been a Witness. The account he
gives

gives of it, in his Universal History (*r*), is as follows :

“ A Canal of communication has been
“ cut, which passes from the Gulph of
“ Pelusium into the Red Sea. It was be-
“ gun by Necos, son of Psameticus,
“ and continued by Darius, King of
“ Persia, but at length laid aside by the
“ advice of some Persons, who asserted
“ it would lay Egypt under water, be-
“ cause the Land was below the level of
“ the Red Sea; Ptolemy the Second,
“ however, finished the Undertaking, but
“ constructed in the most convenient part
“ of the Canal, a Dam, or Sluice, inge-
“ niously contrived, which opened to give
“ Passage, and immediately closed again;
“ on that account the River, which dis-
“ charges itself into the Sea, near the
“ City of Arfinoe, has received the name
“ of Ptolemy.”

It is plain, from this Passage, that the Sluices still existed, in the time of Diodorus. The Radier which supported them

(*r*) *Diod. Sic. p. 20. Edit. Hen. Steph. 1559. T.*

is still to be seen; it was discovered near Suez, at the entrance of the Canal, which still remains, and which might easily be rendered navigable, without employing Sluices, or endangering Egypt with Inundations (*s*).

Nothing can indeed justify the Fears of the Engineers of Darius, even though they had taken their level when the Sea was highest. It is no less important to know that all this part of the Isthmus affords a Land very favorable for such an Excavation, through the small space of twelve Leagues, which separates the Arabian Gulph from the Arm of the Nile which approaches it, and afterwards falls into the Mediterranean at Tineck.

After having surveyed these Monuments, which, by their size and antiquity, seem

(*s*) Sultan Mustapha, who began to make great Improvements, employed me in some Preparations for this important Business, the finishing of which he intended after the Peace, when he proposed to correct the Vices of his Government. I think it probable this Prince would even have sacrificed his own Despotism, had he outlived the unfortunate Accidents which paved the way for the ruin of the Empire.

rather

rather to belong to the whole World than Egypt in particular, let us examine the actual State of this Kingdom.

If we consider it in relation to what constitutes the real Power of a State, the Politician will, perhaps, look with a kind of contempt on this great Metropolis of the World, this Nurse of every Science and every Art, now become a Province of the feeblest of all Empires. But the political Philosopher will consider it in a light more worthy of his attention, should he discover, in the Climate, Production, and Population of Egypt, the means by which it has been rendered so celebrated. Those Advantages which Ages cannot destroy, and which have resisted the greatest Revolutions, will appear to him preferable to such as, like chymical Compositions, are to be decomposed by the contrary Process to that by which they were produced.

Such have been, no doubt, those Kingdoms, the memory of which has been preserved by History, though Geography can now scarcely point out the Situation of their Capitals. We shall perceive that,

in

in Egypt, the greatest Kings endeavoured to acquire Fame, by Labours useful for the cultivation of the Country; with these they appeased that thirst for Glory which, among other Monarchs, was perpetually productive of Violence and Rapine.

If so prodigious a Lake as that of Mœris may be supposed to be formed by the hands of men, the utility of this immense Reservoir would be the greatest Monument of the Beneficence of the Pharaohs; but should the extent and depth of this Lake leave some doubt, as to its origin, none can be entertained with regard to that of the Canals of Joseph, or Trajan, that of Alexandria, or those of Delta: they are visibly the Work of human Industry.

The facility with which the Country is watered leaves no part of it uncultivated; and the richness of the Soil, by multiplying the Harvest, maintains and animates Population. There is no Country to be found in which it is more remarkable than in Egypt. Delta, the Provinces of the East and West, and all those on each Side of the Nile, quite up to the Tropic,
are

are populous to an amazing Degree. I have been told that there are more than nine thousand Villages and twelve hundred Towns in Egypt. It is very certain they are so near to each other that, having stopt at *Mentoobes*, below *Fooa*, I reckoned forty-two within sight; the farthest of which was not two Leagues off.

Wherever the Inundation can reach there Habitations are erected, on little Hills, raised for that purpose, which serve for the common Foundation of all the Houses, which stand together, and which are contrived to take up as little room as possible, that they may save all the Ground they can for Cultivation. This Precaution is necessary to prevent the Waters washing away the Walls, which are only of Mud.

The Villages are always surrounded by an infinite number of pointed Turrets, meant to invite thither the Pigeons, in order to collect their Dung. Every Village has, likewise, a small Wood of Palm-Trees near it, the property of which is common: these supply the Inhabitants with

with Dates for their Consumption, and Leaves for the fabrication of Baskets, Mats, and other things of that kind. Little Causeways raised, in like manner, above the Inundation, preserve a Communication during the time it lasts.

The Cities are all situated on the Nile, or the great Canals ; the Houses in them are built of Brick, several stories high, and in a Taste nearly like that in vogue with us during the reign of Francis the First. The Palm-Trees, which surround them, and the Vessels, which line the Banks of the River, add to the Beauty of their Situation.

It is thus, by uniting Agriculture with Commerce, that all the Cities of Egypt continually invite, encourage, and profit by the Industry which encircles them ; but the Advantages which Cairo enjoys are not confined to the Interests of Egypt ; its Commerce embraces both the Hemispheres, and its Streets are continually crowded with Camels, which bring the Merchandises of Europe and the Indies, and piled with Bales of Goods from Madras

dras and Marfeilles, fo that Cairo appears to be the centre of the World.

This City, called by the Arabs Miffir, is fituated on the right fide of the Nile, about half a league from the River. It is adjoining to the Mountains of Arabia: at the western Angle of thefe Mountains the Caſtle of Cairo is built.—Boolac and Old Cairo form the Suburbs; and if, when added to the City, we ſhall find aſſembled here not leſs than ſeven hundred thouſand perſons, we have then another Proof of the great number of Inhabitants in Egypt (*t*).

Cairo contains ſeveral Squares, ſufficiently ſpacious to invite and deſerve decoration; ſuch as the Square of Luſbequia, that of Romelia, and that of the Great Moſque, named Sultan Haſſan; but all the Streets are narrow, ill-contrived, and

(*t*) The Head Officer of the Cuſtoms in Egypt, who may be conſidered as Comptroller General of the Kingdom, aſſured me that the City of Cairo, alone, contained more than ſeven hundred thouſand Inhabitants, and I have only taken Boolac and Old Cairo into the account, in order to avoid exaggeration.

badly paved; the Palaces themselves, which contain such great Wealth, have nothing in their exterior Appearance suitable to the Opulence of this City.

Enriched and occupied with the Commerce of Egypt by the Nile, of Europe by the Mediterranean, and of Yemen and the Indies by the Red Sea, this Capital swallows up, besides, all the Revenues of **the Great**. Its Subsistence, which appertains also to its Commerce, augments its Riches, and the Luxury which follows thence is encreased to such a degree that Gold is esteemed common; nor can the richest Manufactures of India give satisfaction.

Whatever, in another State, could only be the Effects of an Administration well informed, and constantly guided by the most salutary Principles, arises in Egypt from the nature of the Soil. The Riches of its Productions satisfy the Avidity of its Tyrants, and defend the Cultivators from their Tyranny. The Surplus of its Corn, become absolutely necessary for Arabia-Felix, by furnishing its Commerce with

with new and certain Exchanges, affords its Activity the most solid and independent Basis. The principal Ports of Egypt are Suez and Alexandria; but it is not in these that we can judge of the importance of its Commerce. Where there are no political Regulations, there cannot exist either individual Companies, exclusive Privileges, or subaltern Monopoly; Commerce naturally finds its level; it is seized on by Credit, the Cultivator is its Associate, and its Agents receive Wages.

The Poverty of the Cities I have just mentioned may, without doubt, be referred to this Principle; they are only the hired Agents of Commerce. Suez, especially, is remarkable for the Penury of its Inhabitants. The Arabs have usurped the Right of becoming the Carriers of Commerce, without renouncing that of plundering the Merchants, as often as Anarchy promises them Impunity.

Besides the Corn Egypt exchanges with Yemen, for the Coffee with which Europe, but particularly Turkey, is supplied,

Rice, Flax, Salt of Natron, employed in the Tanneries, Sal-ammoniac, useful for Tin-work, Senna and Saffranum for dying, and the most valuable Gums and Drugs, are Objects of Commerce equally important.

Sugar is the only article in which the Industry of the Egyptians is confined to what is necessary for home Consumption; and the little Powder-sugar, which is exported to Constantinople, gives no great idea of the goodness of that Commodity, brought from the higher Egypt, and refined at Cairo.

Delta, likewise, produces a great quantity of sugar-canes; but they are only cultivated for the Pleasure of the Inhabitants, who use them in their Repasts.

A more useful Branch of Industry is that of the Linen Manufacture, it is under no Regulations, and extends as far as the Cataracts; as does the Culture of Indigo. In this burning Climate, where no clothing is worn but a linen Shirt, or Frock, which is always dyed blue, the Surplus of this Manufacture affords another

ther Article for Exportation. The Coasts of Syria, and the whole inland Country, quite up to Damascus, are supplied with Salt from the Pits of the lower Egypt.

It is worthy Observation that foreign Plants, brought into Egypt, degenerate to such a degree as to be incapable of Reproduction. This is the Case with Indigo; and, what is not less remarkable is that, the Fields of Indigo, which are every Year sown with fresh Seed, brought from Syria, furnish the Egyptians with a very fine Dye, though this same Plant is of much inferior Quality in its original Soil.

It is plain, from this Remark, that the Indigo of Syria should be transplanted, but that the richness of the Soil, and heat of the Sun, in Egypt, make that Country a kind of Hot-house, which damages the Quality of the Seed.

To this fertility, and richness of the Productions of Egypt, must be added a most salubrious Air. We shall be more particularly struck with this Advantage, when we consider that Rosetta, Damietta, and Mansoorah, which are encompassed with

Rice-grounds, are much celebrated for the healthiness of their Neighbourhood; and that Egypt is, perhaps, the only Country in the World where this kind of Culture, which requires stagnant Waters, is not unwholesome. Riches are not there destructive to the Lives of Men.

The Researches I have carefully made, concerning the Plague, which I once believed to originate in Egypt, have convinced me, that it would not be so much as known there, were not the Seeds of it conveyed thither by the commercial Intercourse between Constantinople and Alexandria. It is in this last City that it always begins to appear; it but rarely reaches Cairo, though no Precaution is taken to prevent it; and when it does, it is presently extirpated by the Heats, and prevented from arriving as far as the Saide. It is likewise well known that the penetrating Dews, which fall in Egypt about Midsummer, destroy, even in Alexandria, all remains of this Distemper.

It is only upon the Shores of the Mediterranean, to the Distance of ten Leagues, within

within Land, that Rain is known in Egypt; very rarely does it extend farther. At Cairo they have hardly two hours gentle Rain in a whole Year. The noise of Thunder is never heard, and Storms, nowhere frequent in Egypt, always discharge their Fury on the Deserts of Lybia and Arabia, where there is nothing to destroy. Thus, every thing concurs to confer on Egypt the most precious Gifts of Nature. Birds, of every kind, and of the most rare Species, seem to hasten thither in Flocks, to enjoy the Beauties of the Country, and add their various Melody to the Gaiety of its Inhabitants.

The Nile offers a most interesting Picture of this kind. The Banks of this River, as well as those of all the Canals, are crowded with vast numbers of Peasants, continually employed in watering the Country, either by their own Labour or the management of those Animals which relieve it. An infinite number of Draw-wells, worked with a Wheel, are contrived for this purpose; the Waters, which are

raised, are poured into a Channel, and distributed among the Grounds, at a distance from the River, by various Canals, which the Industry and Activity of the Cultivator prepare, with Intelligence and Oeconomy. Women, occupied with the care of their Families, are seen carrying home Water, in Jars upon their heads; others wash their Linen, bleach that which is newly made, spread it out, and give themselves up to that Chearfulness and Gaiety so natural to them, on every occasion; making the Air resound, with their shrill voices, *the ululatus of the Romans*. The Barges, which pass from one City to another, the Boats employed in the Conveyance of Commodities, and the Navigation which Commerce maintains, add to the variety and motion of the Scene.

This Navigation is principally remarkable for the agility of the Watermen, and the manner in which they convey the Pottery-ware, made in the higher Egypt. It will be necessary, before this is explained, to

to observe that the earthen Pans, made to preserve Water, ought to be the bigger, the farther those for whose use they are intended dwell from the River; and, as the Inhabitants of the lower Egypt reside at the greater distance, the Potters, who dwell in the higher, contrive, accordingly, the Raft by which they convey their Wares. The largest Jars, fastened by their Handles, form the first Row of the Raft; the middle sized are placed next, and the least uppermost; the Proprietor contrives for himself a convenient Station, and, furnished with a long Pole, commits himself to the Course of the Waters, without fearing running aground on a soft Clay, which can do no damage. Thus he arrives at Delta, and soon gets rid of his Pile of Pottery, by the successive sale of all the Materials of which it is composed.

The Egyptians, naturally mild and timid, are also sprightly and intemperate. All their Actions partake of this Character; they are terrified by the least Accident, and familiarized by the smallest Encou-

Encouragement. The taste of this People, for Dancing, has introduced into Egypt female Dancers, who have neither Modesty nor Reserve, and only please by the contrary Extravagance.

The Egyptians, were it not for the brownness of their tanned Skins, would certainly have a fine Complexion. Their Persons are genteel and well shaped. Both the Men and Women swim like Fish. Their Clothing is only a blue Shirt, which but indifferently conceals the Pudency of the Women; the Men gird it round them, for convenience, while they labour; the Children always go naked; and I have seen Girls, eighteen years old, still Children, in that respect.

Mahometanism is the principal Religion of the Egyptians; but they have added to it an infinity of Ceremonies, derived more from their own love of Shew than the Precepts of the Prophet. Fraternities of Penitents, nocturnal Processions with Wax-candles, Vestments proper for that kind of Devotion, chantings and mournings at Interments, and the *Epulum fere-*
rak,

rale (u), are so many Practices which belong more to the Superstition of their Ancestors, than the new Law they have received.

The Egyptians, notwithstanding, have less Ferocity in their Prejudices than the Turks, who have less Superstition; the reason of which is that these latter are proud, while the Egyptians are only weak. We may perceive that the Pomp, which attends their Ceremonies, is more regarded by them than the Thing signified; and that their Gaiety and Licentiousness have more part in the Pilgrimages, they undertake, than the Saint to whose honour they assemble.

The most revered of these are the Iman Chafi, at Cairo, and the Iman of Tinta; a City situated in the center of Delta. This last Saint is called Sayd, Achmet, and Be-

(u) The Festival for the Dead, practised by the Greeks and Romans, but rejected by the Mahometans. This Custom is still preserved in Egypt, where the Khalif Omar, no doubt, thought proper to yield to Superstition, in order more certainly to govern the Superstitious.

douit. In the month of July, more than two hundred thousand Persons, from the higher and lower Egypt, throng to this Tomb. Commerce, which turns every thing to its Advantage, has established near it a considerable Fair, where Dancers and Mountebanks are found, in plenty, during the time it lasts. Tinta then contains every thing which can contribute to the Amusement of the Pilgrims; and the Shek of the Mosque of Sayd, Achmet, and Bedouit, gathers an ample Harvest, by, at once, making his advantage of the Devotion of some, and the love of Pleasure of a great many others.

Each City of Egypt has, likewise, its Saint, its Processions, and its Diversions, which are frequented by those of the Environs, and authorized by the Government. It will be perceived that the Saint of the Capital enjoys his Privileges as a Metropolitan, and that his Tomb is never without Custom. But the Devotion of the Women, more fervent in every Country than that of the Men, is not confined, in Egypt, to the Invocation of the Dead;
and

and as Knaves are always encouraged by Dupes, there are to be found, at Cairo, many Saints in perfect health, to whom they prefer paying their Addresses.

These predestinated Persons take their station at the Door, or in the Court of the Mosques; where, extended on a ragged Mat, they seem lost in Ecstasy, and in possession of the Joys of Paradise, while this appearance of Beatitude inspires Veneration. Others, to give themselves more Importance, walk, gravely, through the Street, only covered with a long white woollen Tunic. They preach up a Contempt for Riches, of which they insolently demand a share, and prophesy continually the end of the World.

One of these Egyptian Saints afforded a proof that the habit of deceiving others may, at last, lead us to deceive ourselves. This Impostor had worked himself up to such a pitch of Enthusiasm as to declare, to the People, that, on such a certain day, and hour, he would cross the Nile, standing upright on his Mat, only by pronouncing the name of God. Great numbers

bers assembled on the Banks of the River. The Saint presently sunk to the Bottom, and his Foolish followers, for fear of interrupting him in working his Miracle, suffered him to be drowned without any Assistance.

Humanity, though degraded, in Egypt, by these pious Absurdities, is, at the same time, honoured by an unlimited Foundation in favour of the Blind; and it is on so enlarged a Plan that all the Blind in Egypt are assembled at Cairo. This has given birth to the Opinion that this Climate occasions Blindness.

They reckon about four thousand, maintained by the Mosque of Sultan Hassan; and perhaps this number does not exceed that of other Countries, in proportion to the number of the Inhabitants. It must, however, be allowed that, in Egypt, the class of Individuals who are accustomed to lie in the Streets, or on the Terraces of Houses, are particularly subject to this Misfortune. A cold Dew, which falls during the Night, makes the Eye-lids tender, and disposes them to ulcerate with
the

the heat of the Day. But the Sight of those who lie under cover does not suffer so much as it would by intemperance in other Climates.

After having considered the Monuments of Egypt, the Serenity of its Sky, its Population, the Industry of its Inhabitants, and the Riches of its Productions, nothing remains but to cast an Eye of Contempt on its Government.

Georgian Children, brought and sold in Egypt, replace those who die out of ten or twelve thousand Mamalukes. This small number furnishes the Beys, their Tyrants, the subaltern Officers, more cruel than their Masters, and the Troops, who execute and aggravate their barbarous Orders.

From an Examination of the Canons, or Code, of Sultan Selim, it may be presumed that Prince rather capitulated with the Mamalukes than obtained a complete Conquest of Egypt. It is plain that he left the Government of the Kingdom to the four-and-twenty Beys, and only endeavoured to balance their Authority by
that

that of a Pacha, whom he appointed Governor-General and President of the Council. This Power subsisted as long as the Porte could afford assistance to its Officers ; but the decay of its Strength soon obliged it to endeavour, by dividing the Beys, to maintain itself against their Encroachments. Thus, by always taking part with the weakest side, the Turks have continually created themselves new Enemies ; and these frequent Errors have reduced the word Pacha to a mere Title, to which the Mamalukes sometimes pay homage, but always keep him, by whom it is possessed, in close Confinement.

The celebrated Ali-Bey contributed most to this Anarchy. He had conceived the Design of rendering himself Independent : for which Purpose, as soon as he arrived at sufficient Power, he had driven away, or caused to be assassinated, all the Beys whom he thought capable of opposition ; and forced the Pacha to confer the vacant Dignities on his own Slaves. He imagined, likewise, it would be difficult to govern Egypt peaceably, except by
establish-

establishing Shek-Taher over Syria, Damascus, and all the Country as far as Gaza, which he reserved for himself.

He was desirous, at the same time, to procure Independence for the *Druses* and the *Mutualis*, in order to make them his Allies ; and, after having raised this impenetrable Wall against the Ottoman Power, he supposed he should be able to place the Crown of Egypt on his own head.

Nevertheless, one of his Slaves, whom he had advanced to the Dignity of Bey, dared to believe himself his Equal ; and assuming the Mask of Fidelity, of which, however, the Porte was not the Dupe, Mahamout Bey attacked his Master, and was successful. But he, less intelligent, though desirous of following his Predecessor's steps, hastened to subdue Shek-Taher, in order to re-unite Syria to Egypt (H).

His Ingratitude had escaped unpunished, but not so his political Error. He lost his life at the Siege of Acre ; and Murad Bey, who endeavoured to succeed him, was only the Tyrant of a Moment,

whom the last Revolution destroyed, to leave Ismael Bey a Government, which has already been opposed, and has not yet taken any settled Form.

The Quarrels, in which the Mamalukes so frequently arm, resemble more the Tumult of an Assassination than a declared War. The dissension of the Tyrants only affords Amusement to the common People; they are unconcerned Spectators, indifferent as to the Success of either Party, and, equally without Regret and without Hope, interrupt none of their Operations.

If the indifference of the People to these Events, which happen so frequently, be surprising, when we consider with how much Ease they might rid themselves of their Tyrants, the tranquillity of the latter is no less so; for they have no real Power with which to master the Multitude: the Mamalukes seem to dispute the Possession of Egypt like so many Banditti, at variance about the Division of a Booty.

Each Bey is the Governor of a Province, and appoints, for each District, a Kiacheff, or kind of Sub-Governor.

These

These subaltern Oppressors, invested with a Dignity which paves the way for their becoming Beys, attach to themselves the Mamalukes that are out of Employment; and all the Cities or Villages of Egypt, reserved for the Beys, or distributed by them to their Creatures, are subject to a territorial Tribute. The Cultivator holds them at the will of the Master, imposed on them by the ruling Party. All these Mamalukes, scattered through Egypt, are drawn to the Capital, on every Revolution; yet such Diffensions, by restoring Liberty to the Inhabitants, have never inspired them with the idea of preserving it: nor has it ever entered the Imagination of their Tyrants, that while they are quarrelling at the Gate it might easily be shut against them.

All the Beys reside in Cairo, and their Slaves compose their whole Force; there they make preparation, by their Intrigues, for the projected Revolutions. When their Schemes are ripe for execution, the Kiacheffs, their Creatures, hasten, with

the Mamalukes, to join their Masters, or betray them, by going over to the opposite Party, if more to their Advantage. What can be expected from the union of these Forces, without Discipline, or concern for Public-good? The desire of Gain, which brought them together, disperses them the moment their Interest points a contrary way.

The Castle of Cairo, which scarcely deserves such a name, is commonly the place where these Disputes commence; and it is to procure the possession of it that both Parties endeavour to gain over the Mamalukes, who command in it, to their side. The conquest of the City is the principal, or rather the sole Object. That of the whole lower Egypt must necessarily follow, because no one disputes it; and the situation of Cairo, on the Nile, governs the Commerce of Provisions, the only concern of the Cultivator. But this City depends, in its turn, on Delta, and the higher Egypt, from whence it derives its Subsistence. The Saide is, therefore, the
only

only Resource of the Fugitives, whither they retire, to interrupt the Navigation of the River, and starve the Capital.

Troops, detached by the victorious Party, pursue, thither, the conquered Beys, who only obtain Pardon, by reducing their Attendants to two or three Mamelukes, and residing at a great Distance, while their Partisans successfully negotiate their return to Cairo, to rejoin the ruling Party.

During this War against the Fugitives, the Shek-Amman, who commands the Arabs in the higher Egypt, becomes a Person of importance; his assistance is courted by both Parties; but the Arabs of Lybia and Arabia Petrea, less useful, less accommodating, and less solicited, pillage all Parties. Delta, alone, surrounded by the River, is preserved from their Rapine, and the fugitive Mamelukes escape from them with difficulty; the Disorder is general, till a new distribution of Governments, Districts, and Villages, by re-establishing the old Forms, subjects Egypt to new Tyrants.

An account of the Revolution of which I was a Witness will confirm the Idea I have given of the Mamulukes. After the death of Mahamout Bey, of whom I have spoken above, the Beys of Egypt divided into two Parties, prepared, in silence, the means of each others Destruction. Murad, inspired by the same Ambition which had possessed his old Master, had formed a conjunction with Ibrahim, Shek-Elbelet, and some Beys of less Consequence. These exercised their Tyranny undisturbed, while Ismael, Jussuf, and some other Beys, watched their opportunity to seize on the Government.

Ismael-Aga, a man of abilities, crafty, dissimulating, and perfidious, seemingly attached to Murad Bey, governed in his name, and was guilty of a variety of Oppressions and Extortions, of which many Turkish and Coptic Merchants were the Victims. Murad, on his return from the Sharkia, where he had been to harass the Arabs, learnt that one of his Domestics had been bastinadoed by Soliman-Kiacheff, a Dependent of Jussuf Bey. He therefore
sent

sent for this Kiacheff, and caused the correction to be repaid with Usury. Jussuf so well dissembled his Anger, at this Affront, that Murad believed he might do as he pleased with Impunity. He had even been received, on his return to Cairo, with a kind of Triumph; and both he and Ibrahim imagined themselves in complete security, when, on the 18th of July, Ismael, Jussuf, and all the Beys of their Party, with their Mamalukes, sallied out of the City, to gain the command of the Nile, by seizing on old Cairo, and, at the same time, summoned the Shek-Elbelet and Murad to submit voluntarily, threatening otherwise to oblige them to it by Famine, or force of Arms.

So sudden an Insurrection did not give time to the opposite Party to assemble their Mamalukes; the only Resource left was to possess themselves of the Castle of Cairo, the Officers of which are always at the disposal of the ruling Party. Murad and Ibrahim, being insulted daily, and shut up in the Castle, by the Troops from without, tried, in vain, the power

of the Firmans (*x*) of the Pacha, whom they kept Prisoner, but who, probably, did not desire to extricate them from their Embarrassment.

What most distressed Murad was that Ismael-Aga, who was his right-hand, and whom we have before mentioned, instead of coming to the Castle, to join his Master, went over to the opposite Party, with more than eight hundred thousand Sequins, with which he was entrusted. This Treachery presently obliged Murad and Ibrahim to fly into the upper Egypt with but few Attendants.

They took possession of Minies. The Traitor, Ismael, was advanced to the Dignity of Bey, as was Soliman-Kiacheff, and the house of Murad bestowed on the latter, as an indemnification for the Bastinado he had received a Fortnight before. Peace was proclaimed, at the same time; and Jussuf Bey, too much blinded by his Pride to perceive that he had only been

(*x*) An Order, in form of an Edict, which the Pachas of three Tails, stiled Vifirs of the Bench, issue in the name of the Grand Seignior.

made use of as a Tool to bring about this Revolution, discovered, too soon, his intentions to raise himself above his Companions. The two Ismaels were not long before they punished him, for having so much under-rated their Abilities: they assassinated him in his own house; his Partisans underwent the same fate; and the new Bey, Soliman, was deprived of his Dignity. But these Events did not promise a durable Peace; and it was to be presumed that the Tyrants would not remain long united, after the Destruction of the Fugitives.

I shall not take my leave of Egypt, without presenting Historians and Geographers with an observation, without which the *Sieur de Joinville's* Relation of the landing of St. Louis, at Damietta, will be unintelligible.

This Eye-witness informs us that the Fleet of that King, having sailed from Cyprus, was soon after dispersed, but assembled again at Damietta, where Louis landed on an Island, which communicated with the City by a Bridge.

It

It is plain, from this Description, that the Nile, falling, then into the Sea, in a line at right Angles with the Coast, had a small Arm, which, stretching towards the East, formed an Island, opposite Damietta. But this Branch having since become the Bed of the River, and the old Channel being filled up with Earth, and united to Delta, Geographers, now, only find a projection of Land, intervening between the Sea and the City.

The Historian will likewise perceive that, if this Alteration had preceded the Arrival of the Crusades, their Situation would have been less embarrassing. The Island of Delta would have plentifully supplied them with Provisions, and afforded them a Position impenetrable to the Cavalry of the Mamalukes, with every Advantage to reduce them. Whereas, it was on the opposite Shore that Louis exposed his Army to the want of Subsistence, by affording the Sultan an Opportunity to unite against him all his Forces.

The Sieur de Joinville speaks of the Tanis, one of the Canals of the Sharkia,

as an Arm of the Nile, and seems not to know the projection of the Island of Delta which separates them.

I shall likewise observe, for the Natural Philosopher, that Fort St. Louis, built at the point of the projection of Land which formerly was the Island where he disembarked, is still washed by the Waters of the Sea. If we consider that the Time when it was built must, necessarily, correspond with the Existence of the Port of Frejus, where the King embarked, when he set out on his Expedition to Egypt, we must conclude, that Sea-Sand, driven thither, could alone have filled up this Harbour, and thrown back its situation to the distance it is at present from the Water; since Fort St. Louis proves the Level of the Sea to have undergone no sensible alteration since that Time.

After having re-embarked at Alexandria, our Frigate coasted along Egypt, avoiding the rocky Shore which renders it inaccessible, as far as Damietta, the Road of which we crossed, and continued our
course

course to Jaff, where there is a Harbour scarcely sufficient to shelter a few small Vessels. We anchored in the Road, about two Leagues from the Shore.

From Jaff I was to proceed to Rames; and I journeyed, on Horseback, to this City of Palestine, whither the Agent of the Holy Land came from Jerusalem to meet me. This Recollect Friar had, for his Attendants and Escort, the four Arabian Chiefs of the Mountain. So great had been the influence of his Money that, on the arrival of my Courier, he had caused those Princes, who had been long at variance, to conclude a Truce, merely that he might come to see me more conveniently.

The Governor of Jerusalem, who had been the chief Instrument in this Pacification, wished me to take advantage of it, and pay him a Visit. The regard shewn me by the Agent seemed too well established to be increased, and the Relicts with which I had been presented, by the sacred Directory, left me nothing farther to wish on that head.

The

The space between the Sea and Jerusalem is a flat Country, about six Leagues in breadth, extremely fertile. The Fig-Tree of India (*y*) supplies it with Hedges, and furnishes impenetrable Barriers, which secure the Fields of the different Proprietors. Cotton is here the principal Branch of Commerce, and the Industry of the Inhabitants employs itself in spinning. This part of the Holy Land is very remarkable for the remains of the Crusades, with which it is covered.

Mahometanism, while it destroyed these Monuments, has found a way to profit by the pious Enthusiasm which erected them; and the Policy of the Turks, by admitting both the Greeks and Latins into the Holy Land, in order to profit by their disputes, has depended more on their Pride than their Devotion. A scheme so well contrived surpassed all their Hopes in its Effects: the Quarrels of the two Religious Sects are never to be appeased; and, thanks to the Money of Spain, the Government of Jerusalem

(*y*) This Plant is also called Racket.

ought to be considered as one of the best Benefices of Oppression. That which the Greeks had just suffered, on my arrival at Rames, had crowned the Catholics with Glory; and the Escort of the Agent was the consequence of this Triumph. He was desirous to conduct me to Jaff, and I was really charmed to see the Frock and the Friar mounted astride on a beautiful Arabian, richly caparisoned.

I was shewn, as I approached the Coast, the horrible Pyramid erected by Mehemet Bey. That Barbarian had formed it of fifteen hundred Heads, which he had caused to be cut off after taking the City.

Jaff constitutes a separate Government, which is an Appenage to a Sultana, who receives its customs; but the depopulation of this City must necessarily diminish its Commerce: it only consists of Linen and Rice, sent from Damietta for the consumption of Napooloose, Rames, Jerusalem, and numerous Hordes of Arabs, who encamp in the Plains of Gaza.

Damietta receives, in Exchange, the coarse Glass-ware fabricated at Ebrom, raw
Cottons,

Cottons, Cummin, and, especially, Soap of Jaff. This Article has enjoyed, from Time immemorial, the Privilege of only paying, in Egypt, half the usual Duties.

After having visited, with the Agent, the Hospitium of his Order, and obliged him in what he thought necessary to his Views, this Monk, who was not a Priest, determined to pay me the greatest Respect, by giving me his Benediction in the face of Israel; notwithstanding which, the Multitude, who followed us to the Shore, were very near seeing me drowned by the Breakers of the Bar, which the rashness of the Sailors had dared to encounter, though they had scarcely the Skill to extricate themselves from the Danger.

On our return to the Frigate, we set sail for St. John d'Acre, where we anchored the next day. Dgezar, the Pacha of Saide, was then there, and, on my landing, caused it to be signified to me, that he was desirous I should pay him a Visit; but I did not chuse to have any communication with him: the Cruelties for which he was remarkable, and the
Oppres-

Oppressions which had made him dreaded, were so many Motives with me to mortify his Pride.

I could easily discover, by the Language of the Officer he had sent to compliment me, that my Credit with the Porte was the principal Reason for his Affiduities ; and I did not neglect this Opportunity to add to the Uneasiness he had long felt, through Fear of the Resentment of the Grand Seignior. I returned him for answer that, as we were both Travellers, our becoming acquainted was useless.

The Officer did not imagine this Reply would prevent my visiting his Master, at his principal place of Residence ; but the Pacha felt the bitterness of the Sarcasm ; and the word Traveller, which, in its literal sense, could not be applied to him, while in his Government, he perceived must be used in the figurative signification of Death, given to it by the Turks (I). He could not indeed deny that, if the feebleness of the Ottoman Power had not prevented it from punishing Disorders, the horrible Tyranny he
had

had exercised would long since have been punished with the loss of his Head.

To such a height he carried it that it was even his Pride; and this Monster had taken the name of Dgezar (Butcher) as an illustrious addition to his Title. It was, no doubt, well deserved; for he had immured alive a great number of Greek Christians, when he rebuilt the Walls of Barut, to defend it from the Invasion of the Russians. The heads of these miserable Victims, which the Butcher had left out, in order to enjoy their Tortures, are still to be seen.

By such barbarous Principles was the Conduct of Dgezar governed. His own security obliged him to keep in pay a number of Banditti; he manned with them a small Fleet to cruize upon the Coast, and a Troop of Horse came by Land to meet him at the place where he disembarked. Dgezar Pacha was at Acre, in this Situation, and, perceiving he could obtain nothing from me, was desirous, at least, of receiving the salute of the Frigate; but, no less ignorant than proud,

he thought it sufficient to shew himself on the Beach, with a brilliant Cavalcade, to receive a Compliment which he had no right to expect, except by appearing on the Water.

He made no doubt but the silence of the Frigate was in consequence of the dislike he had experienced from me before, and, to revenge the Affront, dispatched Orders to Saide not to salute the Frigate when she arrived: he even pleased himself with informing me of what he had done; but this paltry Mark of Resentment had no more success than his former pretended Civility. I replied, I thanked him for having anticipated my Design, it being my Intention to abolish those Presents, likewise, which an absurd Custom used to consider as necessary.

Acre is situated in a very spacious Bay, and defended from the South Winds by Mount Carmel (z). The Walls of the Church,

(z) The Catholic Monks, who attend at the Grotto of the Prophet Elias, to receive the Pilgrims who visit it, instead of Relicts, which they have not, present

Church, which the Knights Hospitallers built there, are still to be seen. They dedicated it to St. John their Patron; and this name, added to that of the City, has made it known under the Denomination of St. John d'Acre. The Speculations of Commerce could never be extended to this City till a long time after the Crusades; the enthusiastic Crusaders no more favoured Improvements than the Turks, who, in order to govern Syria, have been its Destroyers.

It likewise was not till under the peaceable Reign of Shek-Taer that their abundant Crops multiplied our Establishments; and since the tragical End of that Prince Commerce has begun to decline. It principally consists in Cotton, the quality of which was superior, before the Cultivator neglected the care of separating the Seeds himself, to what it is at present.

I departed from Acre to proceed to Saide, where the French Consul General resides,

sent their Guests with Geodes of various shapes, which they there find in plenty, and pretend to be petrified Fruits.

This City is, in some measure, the Chief Seat of our Commerce in Syria. We anchored there, by the side of a Ship of War of the Grand Seignior's, the Captain of which did not seem inclined to be very polite. I have already said that the Fortrefs had received Orders, from the Pacha, not to salute us; but he could not foresee that we should find here the very Caravella of which I had superintended the Construction, cast the Artillery, and procured the Appointment of the Captain.

This was likewise the first Vessel which displayed the Green-Flag I had persuaded the Porte to adopt; and its Commander had no sooner learned I was on board the Frigate than he came to pay me his Respects. I thought proper to shew him that the independent Conduct of the Pacha of Saide ought to induce him to pay more respect to the French Flag; as that of the Grand Seignior was less regarded in Syria than any where else. He replied to this Remonstrance by a salute of nine Pieces of Cannon, which we returned. He afterwards came to see me at the Consul's,

ful's, to excuse his negligence, and invite me to visit him on board, on which Occasion I was saluted both coming and going.

These salutes were further Mortifications to the Pacha, and he determined to enter the Harbour by Night, to avoid any new affront: but the Baron de Durfort, at Sun-rising, saluted his little Fleet; and this Politeness, quite unexpected to Dgezar, made him imagine I should treat him better at Saide than at Acre. He again invited me to visit him; and I was given to understand that he intended me a Present of a rich Pelisse; but I abided by my first Resolution, well convinced, I should acquire more Respect by despising Dgezar than by accepting from him any frivolous Mark of Distinction.

I thought it necessary to describe the Character of this Pacha, and relate my Conduct towards him, as it particularly promotes the purpose I had in view in writing these Memoirs. A Description of this Monster, let loose upon Mankind, who tyrannized over his Province, and kept back, with impunity, two Years

Revenues, due to his Master, who yet suffered his Pride to be humbled by a Stranger, and his Resentment to be restrained, through Fear of a single Frigate, of which he knew not the Orders, by shewing at once the weakness of the Despot, and the cowardice of the distant Subalterns who impose upon him, presents a complete Picture of the Ottoman Empire.

The City of Saide, the ancient Sidon, is situated towards the middle of the Coast of Syria, at the feet of the Mountains Libanus and Anti-Libanus. The Mutualis on the South Side, and the Druses on the North, inhabit the Mountains which extend along the Shores; and, notwithstanding all the attempts of the Porte to subject them more completely, still preserve a sort of Independence. It is certain that the Druses are not very exact in paying their stipulated Tribute. The Pacha of Saide is even obliged, for the security of his Territories, to farm them out to the Chiefs of the Mountain; but this method of avoiding their Ravages does not always insure the payment of the Revenues; and the
agency

agency, to which he is compelled to have recourse, produces frequent Quarrels.

The Mutualis, who inhabit Anti-Libanus, from Saide to Acre, are less numerous than the Druses; but the Castles they possess render them equally ready to rebel, and no less difficult to subdue. The Summit of every Mountain is a Fortress, and every Landholder a powerful Vassal; and this People, enthusiastically addicted to the Precepts of Ali, hold in utter Abhorrence the Sonnite Mahometans, and murder them, without remorse, whenever they find an Opportunity.

The Mutualis have agreed to pay the annual Tribute of two hundred Purfes, for the quiet enjoyment of their Mountains and Manors, but are far more careful to preserve the Estate than to discharge the Rent; and both the Druses and Mutualis, equally difficult to reduce by Force, having confined the Authority of the Pacha within narrow Limits, have rendered its oppressive Weight much more sensible to the Inhabitants of Saide.

Between this City and that of Acre is still to be seen the City of Sur, the famous Tyre; it is under the Dominion of the Chief of the Mutualis, and this Mother of Navigation still possesses the advantage of having the best Harbour in Syria; but Tobacco and Corn are the only Articles of Commercial Intercourse between Sur and Saide, except Spun Silk, which is furnished by the Inhabitants of the adjacent Country, and to deal in which is the exclusive Privilege of the French (*a*) (K).

(*a*) This Circumstance is a true picture of the Turkish Government, which knows not how either to give or withhold with discernment. One of the French Merchants of Saide presides over the public Market; the Janissaries appointed for the French Nation, superintend the Police; the Overseers of our Commerce set a price upon the Silk; the People of the Country are forbidden to purchase it, and Strangers are under still greater Restrictions. Monopoly cannot be more manifest; but it is so well established, by Prejudice, that the People themselves would not permit the Government to destroy it; and those who bring the Silk would prefer the Certainty of a prompt Sale, to the uncertain Advantage of a higher Price, for which they must wait.

If

That our Traders have not been exempt from the Oppressions of the Pacha is because they have not had firmness enough to withstand him; for the Governor cannot but know he must be exposed to great Danger, if, by any ill-judged Proceedings, he should force the French Merchants to forsake that part of the Country.

On our leaving Saide, we sailed along the Coast, and anchored under cover of some Rocks at the bottom of the Road of Barut. This City is built on the Isthmus of a Peninsula, the higher ground of which is ornamented by a Plantation of Pine-Trees.

The Beauty and Variety of the Gardens, round the Town, and the Purity of the Air, had brought thither a great number of Inhabitants; and so long as the Porte left the Territory of Barut under the Jurisdiction of the Emir of the Druses, who inhabits the neighbouring Mountains, the mildness of the Government, and especially the Spirit of Toleration, which made no distinction between the Druse, the Mahometan, and the Christian, induced a
great

great number of Merchants to settle there ; but since Dgezar has seized on the City, in order to destroy its Trade, and force it to Saide, the Merchants of Barut have left it, and retired to the Mountain, to wait for the Destruction of the Tyrant.

His View was to increase the Revenue of the Customs, at Saide, which he farms of the Porte ; but his Ignorance hindered him from perceiving that such Speculations would give a mortal blow to Industry, and therefore could never be founded on the true Principles of Commerce.

The Mountains of Castervan extend along the Sea, from Barut, six leagues to the North ; they join to those of Mount Libanus, or Lebanon, form their Base, and are inhabited by Catholics, who live in perfect Amity with the Druses, their Neighbours ; of whom I shall presently speak more particularly.

Tripoli of Syria, whither we proceeded, after having left Barut, is situated at a small distance from its Road, and the number of Gardens about it would render it

it very pleasant, if the Air were not so unwholesome in Summer. The Grounds belonging to it, extend as far as Mount Lebanon (*b*); they abound in Vineyards. Each Hill produces a different Wine; but the golden Wine is most admired.

Silk, which is cultivated in great abundance around Lebanon, and brought to Tripoli, is the principal Object of Commerce. Seven or eight hundred Quintals are annually exported to France, of which the greater part is sent from other Ports, where the Merchants have Bills, which they wish to pay away, and the Bills of Exchange, sent from Constantinople for that purpose, are always negociated with the Pacha.

He who then had the command was the Son of the Pacha of Damascus. I wanted his Assistance to procure the means of going, by Land, to Aleppo; he was absent

(*b*) On that part of the Mountain nearest Tripoli, are still to be seen the famous Cedars, so much vaunted; the most remarkable thing about which was their Antiquity, as I was informed; but I forbore to pay them my Respects.

from

from Tripoli, and I was very glad to find I could meet with him at Lattaka; but as the Frigate could not anchor in the Harbour, because the negligence of the Turks had suffered it to be choaked up by the Ballast, thrown out of the Vessels, she laid to, till the return of her Boat, which carried me to Lattaka.

Its entrance is defended by a Castle, in so ruinous a Condition that, had it not been for the report of the Artillery, which saluted me, I should have passed it without perceiving any Fortification. The Officer of the Customs received me, at my landing, with great Respect, and his complaisance made me entertain a favourable Opinion of the Character of his Master (c).

After

(c) The Influence of the Master's Temper, on all his Servants and Dependents, is one of the most remarkable Particulars in the Manners of the Turks. Despotism seems as if it would be incomplete were it not also to enslave the Sentiments of the Mind. The Servants of the Turks carefully observe the reception any one meets with from their Patron, in order to treat him

After resting awhile in a Kiosk, where I took some Refreshment, I proceeded to Lattaka. This City, the ancient Laodi-

him in like manner, the moment he quits his presence. They interpret the Usage he has received, and if the Master bestows a kick he can expect no Quarter. A Pacha had honoured a European Merchant with his intimate Friendship; he delighted in his Company, and all about him paid their court to the Stranger. It happened that he was subject to the Gout. The Pacha, who had unfortunately studied a little Physic, was desirous to cure his Friend, and, when he was in one of his fits, directed two of his Domestics to give him fifty Blows on the Soles of his Feet. The Servants, who were not so learned as their Master, astonished he should be treated in a manner which had so little the appearance of Friendship, imagined the Infidel must have given some Affront, and executed their Orders with a Severity of which they made their boast. What, said he, Rascals, have you dared to treat the man who is my Friend with Disrespect? The fifty Blows were intended as a Remedy, but the Insults you have added must not go unpunished. He immediately ordered that each should receive a hundred Blows for their Presumption; and went and apologized to the Merchant for the Insolence of his Domestics, who had dared to render his Remedy more violent. The European, though he would willingly have dispensed with the administration of the Medicine, found it deserving praise, for it soon effected a perfect Cure.

cea, is built on an Eminence which overlooks the Harbour: Some Remains of its ancient Splendour are yet to be seen, and it still contains several very handsome Houses. I soon received the Compliments of the Pacha of Tripoli on my arrival, and an Assurance that he wished to see and serve me. He furnished me even with more than I wanted, for my Journey to Aleppo, and insisted on doing me Honour, as well as supplying me with Necessaries. Nay, he appeared to fear Reprehension from the Porte, if, by his neglecting to procure me Respect, I should be exposed to any Insults among the Mountains over which I was to pass. On my return from my Visit his first Equerry brought me a Horse, sent by his Master, with an Assurance that he had himself proved the sureness of his footing, among the steepest Rocks.

As I had procured Tents and the necessary Utensils at Tripoli, every thing was soon ready for our Departure. We began our Journey with the Guards, whom the Pacha had appointed to attend me, and
encamped,

encamped, for the first time, on the Banks of a River at the foot of Mount Lebanon.

I had scarcely alighted before a Druse of the Mountain came to present a Remonstrance against a French Merchant, his Debtor, of whom I had already heard several Complaints. While the necessary Writings were making out, for the verification and acquittance of this Debt, I took that Opportunity to discourse with a man in whom I had admired the honest haughtiness with which he had demanded Justice, and had time enough to procure an account of the Manners and Customs of the Druses, which I shall subjoin, adding to it what other Information I could procure (L).

These people are divided into several Sects, who mutually detest each other, though they are all comprized under the same Denomination. Yet they always unite in defence of their common Liberty, and all entertain the same Prejudices against the Mahometans. This, however, they carefully conceal; and, when their

Business

Business leads them into any of the Turkish Cities, always frequent the Mosques; though they prefer our Churches, when they can go there without danger. Yet they appear as far removed from the Doctrines of the Gospel as the Precepts of the Koran. It is plain from the information which has been collected, concerning the Religion of the greater part of the Druses, that these Mountaineers are the Followers of Hakem-Bamr-Illah (*d*), Khalif of Egypt, of the Family of the Fatimites. They have canonized him by the name of Hakem-Bamri (*e*), but have, themselves, received their name from that of his Apostle Dourfi. This Etymology, taken from their sacred Books, is sufficient to destroy that given by M. Pujet de Saint-Pierre, who makes them to be descended from the Comte de Dreux: but this is too absurd to merit any discussion.

The Khalif Hakem, and his Apostle, seem to have refined on the Contempt with

(*d*) Arabic words, which signify Governor of the order of God.

(*e*) Governor of his order.

which

which all Sectaries have treated Mankind. They have divided their Followers into three Classes; the Priests, the Initiated, and the common People. These last, who scarcely know a few moral Precepts necessary to Society, and without which men cannot sleep in safety, rely for their Salvation on the two former; yet on this Foundation the Druses believe themselves the elect of God, and despise every other Sect.

Hakem has promised them they shall be the Heirs of the Turks, of whom the Christians shall be the Destroyers; and, on the breaking out of the Russian War, they believed, no doubt, the accomplishment of this Prophecy was drawing nigh. This Opinion has produced the preference with which they honour the Christians; but, it is probable, their Prophet has falsely calculated the Order of Succession.

The Ceremonies of this Sect are never exposed to the Eyes of the Profane; their Books (*f*) are kept concealed with

(*f*) The Druses are prohibited from eating with any Person in Authority, for fear of participating in Wealth unjustly acquired.

care, especially that of the Priests, (emphatically called the Book,) of which it seems impossible to procure a Copy. Yet is it generally believed that the Druses worship a kind of Idol, which they keep in a subterranean Cavern, where only the Initiated are permitted to enter.

Some of their Women, converted to the Christian Faith, have also discovered others of their Practices no less absurd; but as they were not admitted to the secrets of their Sect, the indubitable Veracity I have prescribed to myself, in all my Relations, will not allow me to repeat their Information.

Different Sects of the Druses inhabit those parts of the Mountains which I crossed. The Turks call them Nuferis, or Anferis, but they reject both these Denominations for that of Druses. Without pretending to penetrate inscrutable Mysteries, we may discover that the greater part of them pay a particular Adoration to the Sun: at his rising they perform three Genuflexions, and seem to attempt to seize his earliest Rays with their hands, to rub

rub their bodies with them as a Purification.

It is believed, their Veneration only lasts till Evening, and that they indulge themselves during the Night, and compensate for the Abstinence of the Day. Another Sect, it is said, pay divine Honours to the Moon, and reserve the Day for their Pleasures.

There are, likewise, in these Mountains, those who may be called Gynæcolists (*g*), whose Worship, less mysterious than that which the Chinese pay to the Lingam, appears to be of the same Kind. The Druses, who are Worshippers of the Sun, have a more immediate relation to the ancient Inhabitants of Palmyra. At a small distance from that City, and within sight of the Ruins of the famous Temple of the Sun, the Adorers of that Luminary are still to be found. Lebanon receives

(*g*) This word signifies Adorers of Women; but as such a name, taken in a gallant sense, cannot be properly applied to the Druses, the Author has used this Greek compound out of Respect to the Ladies.

his first Rays, and there should his Worship be still protected and preserved.

Two Days were spent in crossing these Mountains: we observed three Chains of them; of which, the two lateral are, in some manner, the Base which supports that of the Center. They alternately present the most profound Abysses and the most dangerous Defiles; Situations astonishingly picturesque and Valleys delightfully beautiful. There are likewise Plantations of Mulberry Trees, kept in great order. These Trees, the Leaves of which are Food for the Silk-worms, are planted in quincunx, with an exactness which is the more surprising because it is not only useless but wholly unknown, in the Levant, except among the Druses. Their Villages appear to me tolerably well-built; they are always supported by the bases of the over-hanging Rocks which shelter them; and the summits of the surrounding Mountains, crowned with Pine-Trees, furnish a Scene truly Magnificent.

We arrived, after a difficult Journey of three Days, at the small Town of
Tchookoor,

Tchookoor, on the Banks of the Orontes. The Pilgrims of Constantinople and Asia, assembled to proceed to Damascus, which is the general Rendezvous of the Caravan of Mecca, had got before us to Tchookoor, and we found their Camp already formed by the side of the River. I pitched mine at a small distance, and their Chief (for every Society chuses itself a Master, or the resemblance of one) soon sent me a Present of Fruit, and Compliments on my Arrival.

Notwithstanding this Civility, the Commander of the City judged I was not in the most perfect Security, while in the Neighbourhood of so large a Body who were to depart the next Day, and every one of whom was already sure of his Pardon. He therefore strengthened my Escort by a Company of Infantry, who were disposed in a Line of Circumvallation; but I knew enough of the Turks to have a better Opinion of the Pilgrims, and not enough of my new Guard to be without my Fears. My greatest Inconvenience, however, was a continual Discharge of

H 3

their

their Fire-Arms, during the whole Night ; which they assured me was the only way to keep the Robbers at a Distance, though certainly it was, likewise, the way to murder very honest People, had they happened to approach. Yet I was obliged to pay these Poltroons for having prevented my sleeping.

Rhia, where we lay the next Night, is situated at the Entrance of the Plains of Syria ; its Ruins are still to be seen, but present no Object of Importance, though they appear to be of the highest Antiquity. The richest Cultivation surrounds this small City, and extends quite as far as Aleppo. We were two Days and a half in crossing this Plain ; the Labour bestowed on which has been most remarkable. Every Furrow seems drawn with a Line, and is perfectly straight for more than a quarter of a League. The Produce of the Land is Corn, Cotton, and a Kind of Grain, of which the Inhabitants make Oil. Industry seems to throw a Veil over the Devastations which these Plains have suffered ; a Proof of them is still to be found

found in several ancient Fragments. I have seen, near a Fountain, a Cistern of white Marble, of a single Block, seven feet long by three high, and four broad, ornamented with the Representation of Sacrifices of Rams, and Garlands of most elegant Sculpture, in an exquisite Taste. It was used to water the Cattle, and cannot be supposed to have been brought either from Palmyra or Balbec, but must be the Relict of some less distant City, which is now more compleatly destroyed even than these.

I was still in Danger of a public Entry, which determined me to stop at Kantooman, designed for a resting Place for Travellers, and which lies three Leagues from Aleppo, on the skirts of the Desert which encompasses that City. I arrived there at night, after having crossed some very rugged Grounds, and breathed an Air absolutely phosphoric. The Precautions I had taken, to shun the Honour intended me, served only to render it dismal; the Flambeaux, which waited for me at the Gate of the City, and lighted

me to the Consul's, gave my Entry the appearance of a funeral Ceremony.

Aleppo, celebrated for the Number of its Inhabitants (*b*), the Beauty of its Edifices, the Extent of its Commerce, and the Riches which that produces, is situated in a hollow Valley, close to a small River. This Water, which supplies the Inhabitants of Aleppo, appears as extraordinary, in the Country through which it runs, as the City itself, in the Defart in which it stands.

The marks of Devastation, which are seen all around, can alone furnish the Solution of this political Problem; but the reasons of its Preservation, Increase, and Opulence, are easily to be seen, in the necessity that Commerce should possess a Repository between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulph; and it was requisite its situation should be near some running

(*b*) Aleppo is supposed to contain one hundred and fifty thousand Inhabitants, mostly Mahometans. Some Jews and many Armenians are to be found there; but the Franks, whom Commerce invites thither, are too few to be mentioned.

Stream,

Stream, not far from its Source. The Soil of these Plains is so dry that this River loses itself in the Earth, a few Leagues below the City, though it rises not far from it; and seems only to shew itself amidst these thirsty Lands that the small Valley it waters might be inhabited.

Aleppo is surrounded with Gardens, or rather small Woods of Pistachios, with leaves of a lively green. Their rose-coloured Fruits are very agreeable to the Eye, and yield the Inhabitants a branch of Commerce at once certain and advantageous.

A tolerably large Castle defends this City from the Depredations of the neighbouring Arabs. This Fortrefs, placed in the center of the circular Space which the City occupies, is built on an Eminence, which appears to be the Labour of human Industry, and still seems to be encircled by Layers of Stone. The Fort, which is built there on the Principles of the ancient military Art, contains at present some Pieces of Artillery, which command the Summits of all the neighbouring Hills, without being obstructed by the Houses,

Houses, which are all built with Terraces, and so equal in height that there are seldom any Steps to ascend or descend in going from one House to another; while several large vaulted Streets increase the facility of communication, by affording a Passage to every part of the City free from the Embarrassment of the open Streets. They are carefully paved, have Gutters and a foot Pavement on each side, and the middle of the Street is laid with Brick, the small end upwards, for the convenience of the Horses.

I must not forget to remark that, in Aleppo, we find a Cleanliness unknown to the other Cities of Turkey, even to the Capital itself. This Regulation is not attended with the trouble of our Scavengers; there are Afs-Drivers, who go about the City, and take up the Rubbish and Dust which each Inhabitant is obliged to sweep together; and though the Heat of the Climate renders this Labour more easy, the same Heat obliges them to greater Cleanliness to preserve the Salubrity of the Air, especially in the vaulted
Streets

Streets I have just mentioned. These are particularly appropriated to Merchants; they contain the most precious effects, and it is there that Commerce displays all its Activity. (M)

The granting of Guards to the different Caravans, and Escorts to Travellers, furnish the Pacha and his Officers with the Means of oppressing both Trade and Individuals. Excepting this, Aleppo enjoys more Tranquillity than other Mahometan Cities; the Europeans have never experienced any Extortion capable of deterring them from their Speculations; and we may judge of the Success of Industry, among the Inhabitants of Aleppo, from its being paid some respect to even by Despotism itself.

It is arrived to such Perfection as to enter into Competition with the Indies. I have carefully examined the fabrication of the Cloth they make, which the French call *Herbages* (i), the Importation

(i) Or Herbal: Thread of all Kinds, got from the vegetable Kingdom is so called by the French, though it here means a Kind of Silk and Cotton Manufacture. T.

of which into France has been forbidden, though our Imitation of it is not good enough to warrant the Prohibition, neither will our mode of Spinning, nor the Impediments thrown in the way of the Manufacture, ever admit of its being brought to Perfection. Our Failure is indeed much less in the method of weaving, for theirs is exactly according to our manner of making wrought Stuffs, than in the Dexterity of the Spinner. This is their great excellence, and renders the Silk of Libanus superior to the thrown Silks of Italy; and though, from the Cotton of Aleppo, we scarcely can make the Bourres of Rouen (*k*), in Syria it is employed as the Warp of their Herbages; but the Spindle requires Patience, and Patience overcomes every Difficulty (*l*).

When

(*k*) *Bourre* signifies, in the French Language, the Refuse or Shavings of Wool, Cotton, Silk, &c. and is manufactured into Mats, of a Quality equal to the Kind of *Bourre*. It is likewise worked into Silk-Shag, made at *Marfeilles* and other Towns. T.

(*l*) The manner of spinning at Aleppo certainly cannot succeed in Manufactories where the Work

is

When I arrived at Aleppo Ised-Achmet Pacha, who had before governed that City, had lately been superseded, and ordered to go and overlook the Repairs of the Temple of Mecca. The Inhabitants regretted this Appointment, which, of an able Statesman, had made a bad Architect. He set off for the Place of his Destination the same day that I did for Alexandretta, where I was to re-imbark.

The new Governor had appointed me an Escort of a hundred Horse; to which he added an Alay-Tchaoche, and a Kettle-Drummer; and accompanied this honourable Distinction, which only belongs to the Pachas, with two of his led Horses. I accepted this Kindness the more wil-

is paid for according to the Quantity. Neither is an Assembly of Spinners, in a Workshop, what a wise Administration ought to permit; in which the first great Care should be the Preservation of Health and Morals. A mode was proposed to Government of increasing and bringing the Art of spinning to perfection, yet to have the Work done at home, which in time would have banished Poverty: Permission was asked, but the Progress of Good-sense is slow, and requires Time and Patience.

lingly

lingly as it was a proof that the suppression of Presents, which I had begun, and which was followed by the Consuls of other Powers, would not so much diminish the Respect shewn to Europeans as had been imagined.

This suppression had deprived Ised-Achmet Pacha of the Customary Present, which he would have received on his Departure. I was to encamp by the side of him at Kantooman: it was supposed he would think himself released from every Obligation of Politeness towards me; for which, though I entertained great personal esteem for him, I should have cared but little. Yet scarcely were my Tents pitched before he sent to pay me his Compliments, and beg I would make him amends, by a Visit, for not having seen me at Aleppo.

I immediately repaired to his Tent, where, contrary to the usual Custom, he rose to receive me. I remained two Hours in Conversation with him, during which I could not but perceive good Sense and Understanding sufficient to have prevented

prevented that kind of exile to which he had been condemned. After having communicated this Observation to him, we parted, to take some Repose, and set out the next Day by different Routes.

Our small Company lodged the following Evening at Martavan. The singular Manners of the Inhabitants of this Village are so remarkable that I cannot refrain mentioning the celebrity which it has acquired in Syria. I have been assured that another, near it, is governed on the same Principles, but has not the advantage of being on the Road, and its Name is hardly known.

These two Villages belong to a rich Individual of Aleppo, who receives their Quit-rent, and possesses the Right of nominating a Magistrate to their civil Jurisdiction. There is no appearance, at Martavan, of any Religion whatever. The Men are wholly employed in Agriculture, and the Women, who are generally handsome, seem only intended to welcome Travellers. The Day when any arrive is with them a Festival, as it is with the Pe-
seving-

seving-Bachi, whose Office is that of Bailiff; but his Business is more complaisant, though it cannot be explained. He is to take Orders from the new Guests, to supply each with *what* he prefers, and to reckon with his Villagers concerning the Profits. These casual Profits, and the right to receive them, I have been assured have been sold for ten Purfes.

It is very difficult to discover the Origin of a Society founded on such extraordinary Principles; in the midst of the rigorous Laws of Jealousy, Martavan preserves a legal Licentiousness, so reduced to constant Practice that it seems the only Prejudice of this small Community. The Head-dress of the Women of Martavan is peculiar to themselves; it is a kind of Silver Helmet, engraved and ornamented with small pendant Pieces of Gold. This Cap resembles that of the Cauchoises (*m*).

The Bailiff of Martavan was not so immediately successful in assembling my Escort as he had been in distributing them commodiously; we did not set out

(*m*) *A part of Normandy near Rouen. T.*

so early in the Morning as I could have desired. The following Day's Journey brought us to another Village, near which we encamped, at the foot of some Mountains, whence we set off, before Day, to ford a small River, in order to shun the Iron-bridge, which, we were told, had been seized on by the Turcomen.

These People, who, during the Winter, reside in the center of Asia, and, in Summer wander, with their Arms and Baggage, as far as Syria, to find Pasture for their Flocks, are commonly esteemed Nomades; but are no more so than the Spanish Shepherds, who, for eight months together, follow their Sheep among the Mountains of Andalusia. They are only assembled in a more numerous Body, in order to seize on, if they are opposed, the Pastures they find proper for their purpose (N).

They never attempt to attack, nor make War without being provoked; but my Escort had reason to fear their Resentment; the Troops of Aleppo had just had a Skirmish with them, in which a small number of Turcomen, who had impru-

dently separated from their main Body, had been roughly handled by the Cavalry of the Pacha. In order therefore to shun them, the Detachment which accompanied me took a circuit by the Mountains as far as Antioch; where we encamped on the Banks of the Orontes, after having passed over the Ruins of that celebrated City.

Its ancient Boundary is still to be distinctly perceived; it forms a Parallelogram, and stands on a rough Declivity, extending to the top, to prevent its being attacked from above. The Walls, which run along the Orontes, present a complete piece of Workmanship, still in high Preservation. Towers, the only mode of Defence in those remote Times, are remaining, which have been built with vast Care. On the side of the Mountain are, likewise to be found, the Ruins of Edifices, which these Walls once enclosed; but none of them appeared to me very remarkable.

My Escort, perpetually possessed with Fears of the Turcomen, and anxious to avoid

avoid them, obliged me still to continue my Journey along the Mountains, beyond Antioch, in order to go round the Lake of the same name, by which we should be separated from these formidable Enemies. We journeyed on, very quietly, and our brave Cavaliers performed their Evolutions, when, on a sudden, I perceived them turn, and ride towards us. The Commander of the Detachment then shewed me the Tents of the Turcomen, pitched on the Banks of the Lake, near which we were to pass. He appeared uncertain what measures to take, but what was proper for me to do did not seem in the least doubtful: I must continue my Journey. I persuaded my Escort they had nothing to fear in my Company, provided they offered no wanton Insult to the Turcomen. I was quite certain, when I gave this Advice, that my Guards were not very likely to neglect it; but it was no easy Task to keep my Company in good spirits, within sight of six or seven thousand Asiatics, whose peaceable Intentions were at least doubtful.

I took care to cover my Escort with my small Troop of Europeans; and we continued to march on, in this order, which had no very hostile Appearance, when we perceived a motion in the Enemy's Camp, from which several of the Turcomen advanced to meet us; and I soon had the Musicians, of the different Hordes, playing and dancing before me, all the time we were passing by the side of their Camp. I took leave of them, by presenting them with that Reward the hope of which had brought them to attend us, and with which they were very civil to go away contented.

We lodged, the same Evening, at Mahamout-Kan, a kind of Castle at the entrance of the narrow Passes of Baylan (*n*). We crossed the Mountains the next day. The Turkish Government, in favour of Commerce and Travellers, has appointed Escorts for their security; who, to render themselves more necessary, take care

(*n*) A continuation of Mount Lebanon: these Mountains, inhabited by the Curds (*O*), join to those of Caramania.

to pillage those who refuse to employ them; but, as the manner in which I travelled prevented this, they endeavoured to recommend themselves by their great Attention.

I found a Body of them on the summit of the Mountains, who were very desirous, on my approach, of taking upon them the defence of my Person, without regard to the Detachment of Cavalry, by whom I had been, till then, so well protected; but I positively assured the Commander of this Infantry that, with thirty Europeans, I was more able to guard him than he was to defend me; and he gave up his pretensions. I could not, however, refuse him the Permission, he positively requested, of accompanying me to some distance; nor was I sorry to have the Society of a Native, capable of answering the Questions I might wish to ask, as I travelled: he, accordingly, followed only by two of his Soldiers, walked on foot, by my Horse's side.

He informed me that the Curds, his Countrymen, often revolted, and were

never under subjection ; that their love of Pillage rendered his Situation very troublesome, and that I ought to recommend to the French, whom he had a greater regard for than any other Infidels, always to apply to him, and use him well. I, in my turn, endeavoured to persuade him he would certainly be hanged, if any Misfortune happened to our Merchants ; but I fancy neither of us regarded what the other said.

While we were thus talking, I perceived, at a distance, a dismal rugged Mountain, which seemed likely to be the Retreat of wild Beasts. Have you, said I, any Tigers in these parts ? Tigers ! answered he, lowering his Voice ; if you would wish to find some, do but alight, and I will shew you several, not thirty Paces from us. He expressed himself in the same tone a Gamekeeper would inform Sportsmen of a Covey of Partridges : but, as this kind of Sport was not much to my liking, I dismissed my Companion, after giving him a few Crowns for the trouble he had taken.

This

This day's Journey, employed in passing Defiles and Rocks, brought us to the Village of Baylan, three Leagues from the Sea. We encamped on the narrow steep, on which it is situated, and were in sight of the Road where the Frigate lay, in which we were to re-embark. There was sufficient Day-light for us to reach the City of Alexandretta, situated on the Sea-shore; but the Air is so pestilential I was persuaded not to sleep there.

Baylan is, for that reason, a place of Refuge, for those Factors whom Commerce brings to Alexandretta. Yet, notwithstanding the care they take to continue in that unwholesome Atmosphere as short a time as possible, and return to Baylan, to breathe in one more healthy, they seldom resist, long, the pernicious Effects of this mephitic Air. This is certainly owing to the neighbouring Marshes; but the destructive quality of these Vapours is to be derived from Causes more remote. Indeed, it is evident that, the Mountains round Alexandretta, being too high to suffer them to escape, by uniting

and condensing them, in this burning Climate, are the real Cause of the noxious Air of that City; nor have I ever observed an unhealthy Air, without discovering its Cause, in a Situation every way similar (*o*).

Alexandretta was the termination of our daily Encampments, of which, I began to grow tired. We arrived there time enough to conclude the business I had to transact before Night; and, after having satisfied the Avidity of my Escort, I went, in the Evening, on board the Atalanta, and, the Wind being favourable, we weighed anchor immediately, and had still time enough left to double Cape St. Andrew.

To the southward of this Head-land, the most easterly of the Isle of Cyprus, towards which we were directing our course, is situated the City of Famagooſta, ſo famous for its reſiſtance againſt the Turks, when they took it from the Vene-

(*o*) The Vapours, from the Rice-grounds of Egypt, meet with no Obſtacle to impede their Paſſage; they paſs off freely, and therefore never corrupt.

tians, and for their treachery towards the Commander who surrendered this City.

We found ourselves, the next Morning, opposite the Cape called the Greek-Girls Cape; and anchored, before Noon, in the Road of Arnaca, where the French Merchants and Consul reside. The Town, which for its commercial convenience is preferred to Nicosia (*p*), is situated a quarter of a League from the Sea. The Houses of the different Consuls, those of the Merchants, and the Affluence which Commerce always procures to the Inhabitants of the place in which it is established, give this little Town a very agreeable appearance.

The Revenues of the Isle of Cyprus are appropriated to a Sultana; and this Kingdom, dismembered from the Venetian Territories, is, at present, governed by a Musselim, who, as well as the Greek Metropolitan, resides at Nicosia. The Administration of these two Chiefs, the one in Temporal and the other in Spiri-

(*p*) The Capital of the Isle of Cyprus.

tual Matters, has produced its Effects so rapidly that the Advantages and Productions of the Climate have not been able to stand against them ; and this beautiful Country only presents a Picture of Desolation and Misery. Amorous-Fountain, Amathon, and Paphos, only contain a few wretched Inhabitants, covered with Rags.

The Taxes, with which the Cyprians are loaded, were, originally, imposed when the Island was much more populous, but must still be supported by a far less number of Inhabitants ; and this, forcing them to emigrate, increases every Year the Misery of those who cannot escape such horrible Tyranny. But the Means they are forced to employ to satisfy overgrown Imposition, by exhausting the only real Source of Riches, will soon avenge them of their Tyrants, and oblige them to participate in the Wretchedness of their Slaves. The Wines of Cyprus, that depend for their Sale on their Quality, which they can only acquire by Age, and being properly drained when first made, have already lost
their

their Value, by the exportation of old Casks, from remaining in which they acquired a particular flavour, and which formerly were not to be bought, but which Poverty has long since obliged them to sell. The Venetians have obtained the most ancient; but private Interest, when it gave way to this Speculation, did not foresee that, by inverting its mode, it must injure itself; and that a measure which takes from the Cultivator the power of cultivating to the greatest Advantage, by rooting up the Vine, must render the Cask useless (*q*).

The abundance and variety of Productions, which spontaneously cover the Isle of Cyprus, make us regret that Tournefort, the celebrated Botanist, should have neglected to visit this Island. The Researches, which might there easily be made, would not need to be extended over the

(*q*) The Wines of Cyprus generally have a strong taste of Pitch, which they derive from the Skins in which they are put, pure from the Wine-press, till they are poured into the Casks. These Wines lose that taste when they grow old; and have the good Property, if they are genuine, of never becoming sour.

Coast

Coast of Caramania, where it would be more dangerous to herborize. The proximity and similitude of the Soil of Cyprus, to that of the Continent of Asia, leave no doubt but their vegetable Productions are perfectly alike ; and I was sorry the Season was not proper for the Enquiries of a Young Naturalist, whom M. Poissonnier had placed on board the Frigate as principal Surgeon.

We left Cyprus, coasting the Island quite to its westerly point ; whence the Frigate took its departure for Rhodes, and anchored opposite that famous Tower where the Valour of the European Nobility, disputing the Laurel with the great Soliman, yielded nothing but the Field of Battle.

Several Armories, of the Knights Hospitallers, are still to be seen in the City of Rhodes ; and this Island, originally the Terror of the Turks, is still formidable to all the Archipelago, by the maintenance of two Gallies, intended to defend it from the Maltese Corsairs, but which only serve to give disturbance to the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Islands. The Govern-

Government of Rhodes is given to a Pacha of two Tails, who is frequently absent. The Nafir (*r*) is, next to him, the most dangerous Person; and the Abuse of his Authority falls more particularly on the Europeans. He who possessed this Office, when I arrived at Rhodes, had rendered himself dreaded by his Extortions; but, covetous with one hand and liberal with the other, he always purchased Impunity with the Produce of his Oppressions.

Such is the System which governs the Ottoman Empire: It connives at the Profits made by the Ministers of the Porte, and the Grand Seignior finds this the Fountain which fills his private Treasure. In no case can any thing, once seized, return to the Oppressed, from whom it has been extorted; and the Raya, who knows well that Complaints can only cause a Division of the Cake, and at the same time excite fresh Appetite, is wise enough to keep silence.

I shall not speak of the particular Customs of the Inhabitants of Rhodes; nor

(*r*) Superintendant of the Customs.

of

of what is most remarkable in this Island. These have been described by the Count de Choiseul-Gouffier; and, as his Voyage contains an account of the rest of Greece, which remained for me to visit, I shall confine myself to an Examination of the Turkish Government, at a distance from their Capital. (P) I ought, however, in order to accomplish the Purpose I proposed in writing these Memoirs, to bear Testimony to the Accuracy of the Count de Choiseul. He has neglected nothing of Importance, and certainly deserves great Praise for having described Ancient Greece, without ever confounding it with those Peculiarities which characterize the Modern.

The bad Weather concurred with the Discharge of my Duty to make me pass a part of the Winter at Smyrna; we left Rhodes, and coasted along Asia (*s*) on our way to that Port. (Q) This Passage, which at any other time would have afforded us the most charming Prospects, was ex-

(*s*) It is in these Latitudes that the finest Sponges are found.

tremely

tremely disagreeable ; especially opposite the Gulph of Stanchio. We there met with a very violent Storm, and, after having beat about near the Cape, all night, we bore away the next day for the Rocks of the Pacha.

A short time after we had gained this Shelter, we saw a Venetian Vessel arrive, which came to anchor near us. The Captain informed us that, as soon as the Gale came on, not knowing where to direct their Course, nor able to take an Observation, they had fastened to the Prow an Image of the Virgin Mary, to which they had committed the Guidance of their Vessel. In this manner these very fortunate Mariners had traversed a Sea replete with Rocks ; but it is terrible to reflect that nothing more is necessary than such a successful Accident to insure their Destruction the next time they were in Danger.

As we passed between the Spalmadore Islands and the Port of Tchetsmai, I had an opportunity of seeing the Stage on which Ignorance had played its most capital Part. There were Persons still employed

ployed to weigh up the remainder of the Brass-cannon, sunk in this Gulph ; and those to whom this Business was entrusted applied to their own profit as many Fragments as they could convey away, to sell to the best Bidder (*t*).

At a small distance from Tcheshmai, we doubled Cape Cara Boornoo, which forms a spacious and deep Harbour, at the bottom of which the City of Smyrna is situated. This Port is the emporium of Asia ; and may be considered as the principal seat of Commerce, in the Levant, both for Exports and Imports. The riches of some Persons of large Property, maintain in the Environs of Smyrna a System of Independence, the Progress of which increases every day. They rely

(*t*) Such methods of making Advantage, at the expence of the Grand Seignior, have been so impudently practised that a Pacha, of the Morea, has been known to saw off the Muzzles of the Cannon, at Coron, to sell the Metal : this ingenious mode of robbing the Artillery, without diminishing the number of Pieces, may have been blamed, but it certainly was never punished.

prin-

principally on the Power of Money, and this Power is irresistible.

It is likewise to be remarked that the Efforts made by the Porte, for some years, to destroy one of these Agas (*u*), have less terrified the rest than shewn the weakness of the Despot. It even increased their Pride to see the Capitan-Pacha ordered to go, in person, and invest the house of their Companion; and the Cruelties which that great Admiral exercised, after his Victory, on People without Defence, whom he massacred in a most merciless manner, can have no other effect but to produce a more obstinate Resistance in any other case of the like nature. (R)

From these Agas Commerce procures its Returns; receives Cotton, and brings back other Commodities, balancing its Accounts in Specie. Sometimes, indeed, it is subjected to some little Extortions; but the interest of Trade always prescribes Law to both Parties, and the Mischief is seldom so great as to disunite them.

(*u*) This is the Title given to all Rich Men without employ; and especially to wealthy Landholders.

The Commerce of Smyrna extends its Branches over the whole of Asia Minor ; by the means of Caravans, they carry our Languedoc Cloths, which the Merchants of the Country buy wholesale, to supply the interior Parts of those extensive Provinces.

Nothing now remained to complete my Tour, but to Coast the European side of the Archipelago, which I therefore crossed, to Salonica, one of the great Pachaliks of Turkey in Europe.

At the entrance of the Gulph, which leads thither, we see the famous Mount Athos, at present called Monte-Santo, and only inhabited by Greek Monks. Some Narratives have pretended they possess a Collection of valuable Manuscripts ; but it is much more certain they do not read them. It is equally true that the Books of the ancient Thessalonica, as well as those of Constantinople, have been, since the Conquest of those places, locked up ; and that the Barbarians have poured melted Lead into the Locks, so that the Remains of Grecian Literature, delivered
into

into the hands of Superstition and Ignorance, are so carefully concealed, by those Enemies of Learning, that we can scarcely flatter ourselves we shall ever be able to recover any Fragments of it from their Tyranny.

The nature of the Turkish Government is well displayed at Salonica, by the Opposition which Despotism there experiences from the Soldiery. The turbulent Spirit of the Military Force, which always increases, when opposed by feeble Measures, and seizes, itself, all the authority of which it can deprive the Sovereign Power, has usurped the Government of Salonica. Many Pachas have successively been its Victims ; but this Opposition to Despotism, far from destroying its Effects, only serves to increase its Tyranny ; and the Janissary Aga, the Officers who command under him, and every private Janissary, are so many Tyrants, whom the Porte opposes with Caution, the Pacha fears, and who are the Terror of the whole Country.

The Practice usual with the Turks, of keeping permanent Garrisons, added to the want of Discipline among the Troops, give them, in some sort, the Property of the Place at which they are stationed ; they there exercise Rights consecrated by Custom, which they unite to maintain, though entirely opposite to the good Order of the State.

It is on this Principle that the Galiondgis monopolize the Sale of Lambs, at Constantinople, and force People to buy them. The Turkish Soldiers, in every City, enjoy Privileges of the same nature ; and their Union gives fresh force to the spirit of Fraud which attacks the Treasury. This Knavery prevails over all the Coasts of the Archipelago ; where the exportation of Corn is the principal Article of Clandestine Commerce.

The Prohibitions of the Grand Seignior, so much the more severe as he is himself the Monopolizer of this Commodity, are of no effect ; and the Commanders of the Gallies, employed to prevent the Exportation, are the first to promote

mote it, for a proper Consideration paid them in advance. They then fix the Station of the Galliot, and that where the Ship shall take in its illicit Loading, with the time which shall be allowed for that Purpose. The Country Boats bring the Corn from the Coast, and Grecian and Turkish Vessels are employed in the same Service; nothing of which is noticed by the Galliot; and Covetousness, taking advantage of Negligence, gives itself up to every kind of Fraud.

The cutting of Wood, upon the Coast, is equally an Object of Pillage. The most powerful Individual of the Country assumes the Right of disposing of this Property; and the Navigator, who buys fraudulently, and endeavours to better his Bargain, necessarily encourages this Spirit of Rapine, which annihilates all good Order, and causes the State, which furnishes him with Sailors, to suffer inconceivable Losses.

On leaving Salonica, I paid a visit to the Islands of St. George of Squire, Paros, Naxia, and Sira. These Islands, as

well as those which fill the Archipelago, are either given as a Revenue to some Individuals, who dispose of them as they please, or are under the immediate Government of the Capitan-Pacha ; but the Inhabitants, whose common interest it is to keep all Turkish Officers at a distance, always solicit the farming of their own Islands. Despotism, also, has its Views, and must ever have some head to cut off, or some wretched Criminal to hang ; the Republican Form of Government, which is always that of little Societies, cannot therefore accord with these views. It must have a Head, a subaltern Despot ; and the Greek, who obtains this Dignity, seldom deceives its Hopes.

On our Departure from Sira, we set sail for Naples of Romania. This City stands at the bottom of the Gulph which bears its name, and which, with that of Lepanto, forms the Peninsula of the Morea. (S) It was then the Residence of the Pacha who governs this part of Turkey in Europe. He had been obliged to take refuge there, to secure himself from the
Tu-

Tumults which laid waste the Morea ; and which were owing to the Albanians having been employed, to defend it against the Invasion of the Russians.

These Troops the Porte was desirous to get rid of ; but they refused to depart without the payment of their Arrears, which they alledged were due and kept back. The Grand Seignior required implicit Obedience ; the Albanians demanded to be paid ; and their Demands continually increased with their Insolence. The Pacha, charged with the Negociation, had neither Money nor Forces to conduct it properly ; his Orders from Constantinople, nevertheless, pressed him to finish it ; and some rigorous Proceedings, always misplaced when they cannot be supported, only served to unite the Revolted, whose first Exploit was to seize upon Tripolitza, the Capital of this Kingdom.

The Retirement of the Pacha had been dictated by his immediate Fears ; but he had his Fears of the Porte, as well as of the Albanians. His Situation was embarrassing. I had known him at Constanti-

nople, while he possessed the Office of first Equerry, and I found him busy in making Preparations for the Siege of Tripolitza.

This Turk, accustomed to see me employed and entrusted by the Grand Seignior in all military Operations, made no doubt but I should exert myself in the Reduction of the Rebels of the Morea. The Army he had collected, the Command of which he designed for me, was only composed of Volunteers; his domestics were of the number, and this Body appeared more animated with the expectation of Plunder than the love of Glory.

I observed, likewise, that the Pacha, very certain of both, if he succeeded, made use of his Authority to prevent exposing his Person. I amused myself for some time with his Embarrassments and Importunities, and, at length, concluded, by telling him, I neither ought, nor was able, to take upon me a Commission so foreign to that with which I was entrusted. He thought this only proceeded from my Ill-will towards him; and I had no more success when I endeavoured to persuade him

him he himself was the only Person proper to conduct this Enterprize, in which his Presence could have more effect than that of the military Force under his Command.

His Determination to remain at Naples of Romania was not to be shaken. I left him a Prey to the disorder of his Ideas, and the absurdity of his Projects (*x*), and departed for Tunis, where I was to finish my Inspection.

After having touched at Malta, and put into Lampadoose, we doubled Cape Bon, and anchored opposite the new Castle of the Gooletta, whence I sailed to Tunis.

This City, situated on the Border of a Lake, or rather a Shallow, which has the form of a Lake, and communicates with the Gulph by a narrow Channel, is tolerably large, well built, and passably defended, by the Fort on the Sea-side, and by some smaller ones on the Heights which

(*x*) I was, however, obliged to shew the Commander of the Artillery the use of Grenade Mortars, and the manner of preparing their Fuzees; but it was long before the Porte could quell the Disturbances in the Morea.

surround

surround it. This Situation, probably first chosen by some Fishermen, to whom that of almost all the maritime Cities is to be ascribed, appeared to the Tunifians to be preferable to that of Carthage ; as soon as, enriched by Rapine, they dared openly to attack the Trade of every Nation.

It might well be expected that their Piracies would invite them to secure themselves from a Bombardment. The Eminence on which the Ruins of Carthage, that ancient Rival of Rome, are still to be seen, advances into the middle of the Gulph, and, on that account, would have exposed the Tunifians to be taken by Surprise, the only kind of Attack which they have to dread, so long as the Policy of Europe, with its Telescope in its Hand, to assist its Observations on distant Countries, shall not be able to discover what is really to its Advantage.

The Aqueducts of Carthage are still to be seen, near Tunis ; and about six Leagues within the Land is the great Reservoir for Water, certainly the only Monument of those Times which pre-
serves

serves any appearance of Magnificence. The Ruins, heaped up on the Eminence, undoubtedly have none; and it is only by diligent search that any Traces of it can be discovered in the golden Medals, which Time has been unable to destroy, and of which I have seen a Collection, at Tunis, that appeared to me very valuable.

The Dignity of Bey is hereditary; his Authority is absolute, and extends into Africa, over a vast Tract of Country, of which he receives the Tribute, with a small Army, which marches out annually for that purpose.

This Revenue is added to the Tenths, the Capitation, the Share of Prizes, and the Customs, which the Sovereign receives. But the Trade and Industry of the Tunisi-ans are the real Basis of their Riches, and produce a sort of Affability, which distinguishes them from other Nations on that Coast.

The Bey resides at some distance from the City. His Residence is named the Barda; and this Palace, encompassed with
Walls,

Walls, and flanked with Towers, presents us, within, with a Magnificence not promised by its exterior Appearance. What I thought the most remarkable was a very spacious Court, surrounded with Buildings, raised on a Colonnade of white Marble. There are likewise Apartments, very elegantly fitted up for such a Country; but those who have formed their Judgment of the Barda only from the Hall of the Divan, in which the Bey receives Strangers in form, will conceive no very high Idea of its Grandeur.

It was, perhaps, in order to add to mine, that the first Minister appointed me a private Audience in the Hall of the Treasury. I know not whether the Coffer, which served us for a Seat, was full of Gold, as well as the rest with which that Hall was filled. I only saw a Wardrobe, or, rather, the Back-shop of an old Clothes-man, where the Commodities he deals in are heaped up; but I was not the less delighted with the Good-humour, Understanding, and Penetration of
of

of this Barbarian, with whom I was to transact my Business.

I had also a particular Audience of the Son of the Bey, then reigning, and who has lately succeeded his Father. I had been previously informed of the Timidity of this young Prince, and took great care to inspire him with Confidence.

I have seen, at Barda, a great number of Slaves of all Nations; but the sight never oppressed me with those dismal Ideas usually entertained, with respect to their Condition. I saw them well clothed, well fed, and well treated; and I doubt whether numbers of them, even those who are Home sick, would have any great reason to rejoice in a Ransom. It is possible, indeed, that the Slaves sold in the interior part of the Country, or to some private Persons, who only purchase them on Speculation, may not be so fortunate as those who serve the Sovereign, or great Men. It is, however, to be presumed that the Avarice of their Master militates in their Favour; and, after all, it must be confessed, the Europeans, alone,
ill-

ill-treat their Slaves. The Cause of this, no doubt, is that in the East they amass Wealth to buy them; but here they buy them to amass Wealth. In the East they are the enjoyment of Avarice; in Europe its Instrument. Let us carry into a neutral Country a Negro from our Colonies, and a European Slave from Tunis. It is before such a Tribunal I would wish the Question to be heard.

The Character of the Tunisiens, their Passions, and every thing which constitutes their Manners, partake of the Influence of the burning Climate of Africa. Though the Imagination of the Rich among these People, as well as among the Turks, is necessarily satiated by a Plurality of Wives, yet the Constitution of the Africans, who cannot indulge in the same, impels them to greater Errors; nothing stops their Ardour; it hurries them even beyond the intended Limits of Nature.

Those who imagine the neglect of Cleanliness to be the principal Cause of
the

the unhealthiness of Cities will be astonished that the Inhabitants of Tunis can exist, in the infected Atmosphere they breathe. It is occasioned by the putrid Emanations of a Channel, which conveys all the Filth of this City to a neighbouring Lake; which Lake, likewise, produces Exhalations that appear no less dangerous; and the salubrity of the Air of Tunis can only be attributed to the depth of the Valley, which comes down to the Gulph, and which, by attracting the Vapours of the Channel, and the Lake, does not allow them time to acquire that degree of Corruption which would render them hurtful to the Constitution of the Inhabitants.

On leaving Tunis, I had an opportunity of observing the remains of the Fort which Charles V. of Spain caused to be built there. The Sands, cast up by the Tides, have placed some small Distance between it and the Sea; which is, no doubt, the reason why the Tunifians have substituted that of Gooletta in its stead.

We

We left this Road to proceed to Toulon; and here I shall conclude these Memoirs, which I never should have written, had I not believed they might prove useful.

Strictures

Strictures and Remarks

ON THE PRECEDING

M E M O I R S;

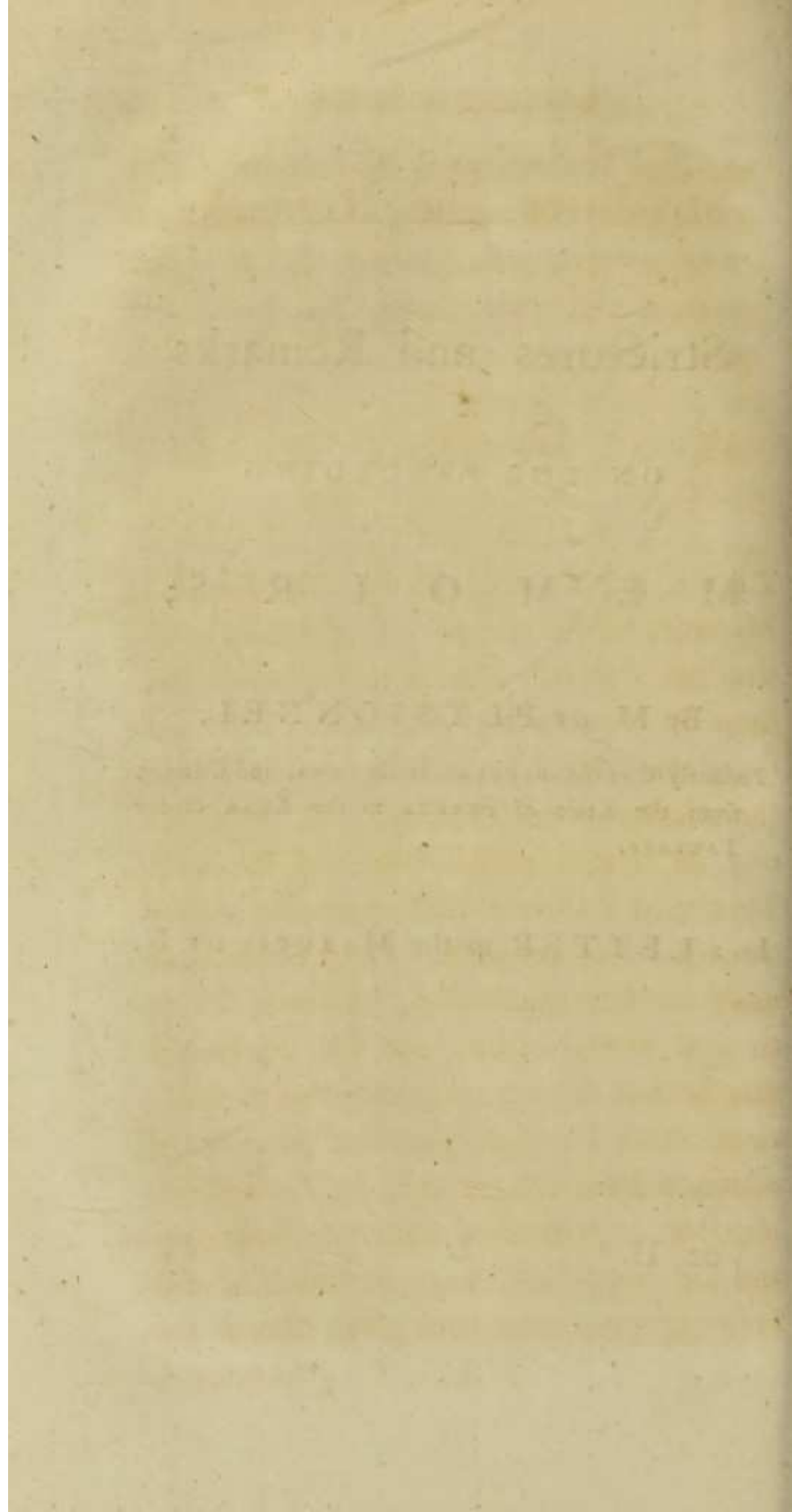
By M. DE PEYSSONNEL,

Formerly CONSUL-GENERAL at SMYRNA, and CONSUL
from the KING of FRANCE to the KHAN of the
TARTARS.

In a LETTER to the MARQUIS DE N.

VOL. II.

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Strictures and Remarks

ON THE PRECEDING

M E M O I R S.

ACCEPT my thanks, Sir, for the Memoirs which you were so obliging as to send me. I read them with eagerness the moment I received them. On a first and hasty perusal, I perceived and admired the elegant wit, vivacity, and multiplicity of talents possessed by the Baron de Tott, and followed that agreeable writer through a flowery path. On a second and more careful examination, however, I discovered several errors, and was convinced that he had not communicated with sufficient exactness that profound knowledge which a long continuance in Turkey, an accurate acquaintance with the language, and the important affairs in which he has been engaged, must have given him of the

government, laws, manners, customs, and characters of the Turks. He appears, indeed, to have treated in too cursory a manner a subject of which we might have expected, from him, a more extensive investigation: I, besides, cannot but believe the Ottoman nation may be seen in a more advantageous point of view, than that in which it is exhibited in these Memoirs.

You have requested from me a critical examination of this Work. But this is already to be found in the *Mercure* of Dec. 25, 1784, No. 52; and I am well convinced that any thing I might produce would be far from equal to the Criticism of M. Mallet du Pan. In fact, I do not believe it possible, without particular and local knowledge, to form a more accurate general idea of the Ottoman Empire than is there to be found. Those who wish to be informed of the true present state of the Turks, may with propriety be referred to this short essay. M. du Pan, though probably he has never been in Turkey, has made, in his closet, observations on that nation with the discernment of a Montequieu.

quieu. It is certainly such as he has conceived, nor do I know any thing which is written with more judgment than his remarks.

In compliance with your request, however, I shall do myself the honour to lay before you some observations on the principal errors I have noticed, and point out to you some imperfections (*pulchro in opere nœvos*) in a work of acknowledged merit and beauty. Indeed I cannot but believe the Memoirs mutilated, and not such as they would have been published by Baron de Tott: I find in them mistakes which could not have been made by a man of his abilities and understanding, so long and so well acquainted with the Turks, and so perfectly versed in their language. I am rather inclined to suppose he must have suffered by the too common misfortune of a surreptitious and premature edition of his Work.

I shall now proceed to some critical observations on the Memoirs, to contribute, as much as in my power, to the perfection of that elegant Work. You are not,

however, to consider me as a Critic, for I have no intention to deserve the name; but merely as one who writes remarks in the margin of a book he takes a pleasure in perusing, and wishes to render still more perfect.

(A*. page 15. P. D.) The Author of these Memoirs writes more like Lady Montague than he imagines. His Book is equally agreeable and interesting to those who know not the Turks, must give them infinite pleasure and engage them to peruse it with avidity; but people who, by long residence among them, are well informed of their manners, customs, laws, government and language, and who have been engaged in transacting a variety of public business with that nation, will be convinced he is not exact in every particular.

(B. page 16. P. D.) This is a passage very injurious to the memory of, perhaps, the greatest Emperor the Turks have ever had since the great Soliman. Sultan Mahmoud, who ascended the Throne in 1730,

* These Notes are referred to by Capitals in the text. P. D. signifies Preliminary Discourse.

and

and died, much regretted, in 1754, certainly shed much blood, but never exercised, against those who rebelled, any other rigor than what his own safety rendered necessary. He was present, it is true, at the just Punishment of his two favorites, but, no doubt, with a view to render the example more conspicuous, and give a more extensive and compleat satisfaction to his People, over whom these three Monsters had so cruelly tyrannised. This Prince was mild, affable, the Friend of Strangers, and more superior to the prejudices of Mahometanism than any Ottoman Prince had ever been. He possessed great abilities and extensive knowledge; patronizing, and even cultivating with some success, the liberal and mechanic arts. In opposition to this insinuation of his Inhumanity, permit me to relate an anecdote, much more proper to exemplify his character, both as a Man and a Sovereign.

He was one day crossing the strait, incognito, accompanied only by the Bostandgi Bachi, when he happened to meet the Jew Zonana, *Bazirghian Bachi of the Odjak,*

i. e. Contractor for the Corps of the Janissaries. The Bostandgi Bachi, who was an irreconcilable enemy to Zonana, took care to make his Sovereign observe the insolent pride of the Israelite ; who, on the stern of his boat, with four rowers, reclining, in voluptuous indolence, on a Silkta of Cotton, covered with Satin, and, leaning on two cushions of the same Stuff, embroidered with gold, was smoaking his pipe, in which two of his Domestics, on their knees before him, from time to time, renewed the aloes. You are a fool, replied the Sultan. Can you not perceive the splendor in which this Jew lives encreases my glory ; and that the most noble panegyric I can receive, from History, will be to have it said that, during my reign, the Jews themselves, the refuse of all nations, enjoyed, in the greatest security, both opulence and liberty ? Such an answer would not have been unworthy Alexander, Julius Cæsar, or Louis XIV.

(C. page 23. P. D.) The Author has here omitted the most remarkable circumstance in the marriages of the Mahometans,
which

which is that the Wife brings no portion to the Husband, but the Husband, on the contrary, assigns a dowry to his Wife. This marriage-portion cannot be registered in the Nikiah, or Contract of Marriage, because it is only stipulated, and is not payable, except in case of the death of the Husband, or a Divorce. In this it differs from the Kapin, which becomes due at the expiration of the term prescribed by the contract. This is so true that, when a woman demands a separation from her husband, on account of ill-treatment, or for want of a proper maintenance, she must give up her portion in the presence of the Judge, and pronounce the following form of words, usual when such a divorce is obtained: *Nikiabum khalal, bachum azad; i. e.* My portion resigned, my person free.

It might have been expected that the Author, when treating of Marriage, would have said something concerning Repudiation and Divorce, but these have not been mentioned. A Divorce, to effect an absolute Separation, must be pronounced three several times, or three times together. As soon as
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the Husband has said to his Wife, *Benden utche talak boche ol*; i. e. be freed from me by three repudiations, the Divorce is held compleat. The Woman demands back what was her own, her portion, and restores the contract; after which the husband cannot receive her again without submitting to the humiliating ceremony of the Hulla. Some other man, the choice of whom the Law leaves to the husband, must first have a *tete â tete* with the divorced Spouse, and the husband must certify himself that the precept has been fully accomplished. The person employed in effecting this strange and ridiculous reunion is called Hulla.

(D. page 24. P. D.) It is the Law of *Mabrem*, and not of *Namabrem*, which forbids the sight of maids and married women to any man but the husband or relations within a certain degree. The word Harem is Arabic, and signifies a prohibited place, being derived from the root *haram*, which signifies to forbid. *Namaharem*, on the contrary, is composed of the word *mabrem*,

mahrem, forbidden, and the Persian negative preposition *na*, and signifies the permission given by the Law to persons within a certain degree of Kindred to enter the Harem, and visit the wife. This permission is confined within very narrow limits, and only extends, as far as I remember, to the Father, Uncle, and Brothers of the married lady. The Husband, however, has authority to give it greater extent, and on this account the persons to whom this liberty is permitted are stiled *Namahrem*s.

The Turks have a pleasant story of a man who, as is usually the case, not having seen his wife till after his marriage, and finding her far from handsome, when, two or three days after their nuptials, she desired him to name the persons who were to have the privilege of *Namahrem*, that she might not endeavour to conceal herself from them, returned her for answer, I give you free permission, my dear, to shew yourself to all the men in the world, except to myself.

The

The term *Namahrem* is sometimes used to signify persons who have admission to any particular house at all times: if, for example, a person means to say he is allowed to visit some great man whenever he pleases; he says, in familiar discourse, that he is *Namahrem* at the house of that great man.

(E. page 28. P. D.) The Author ought not to have neglected informing the Public that the *Circassians* alone have the honor of being admitted to the bed of the Sultan. The Turks have an anecdote, universally believed among them, though I am far from warranting its truth, concerning the origin of this Prerogative. They assure us that one of the Ottoman Emperors, of the last Century, having passed a part of the night with a Georgian Slave, asked her, towards morning, if it was almost day? She replied, with vulgar Simplicity, she believed it was, because she felt a certain pressing necessity which she usually experienced about break of day. The Emperor was disgusted and dismissed her. A few days

days after, he put the same question, out of curiosity, to a Circassian, who supplied the place of the disgraced Georgian. She answered, she perceived the approach of Aurora, for already the morning Zephyr wantoned in her hair.

The Prince, delighted with the delicacy of her reply, declared with an oath, no Georgian should, from that time, be admitted to the bed of himself or his Successors.

(F. page 29. P. D.) Georgia is divided into two parts, one of which, bounded by the Black Sea, and containing the Kingdom of Imireta, and the two Principalities Mingrelia and Gouriél, was subject to the Ottoman Emperors: the other, which extends to the Caspian Sea, and comprehends the two Kingdoms of Carduel and Caket, was under the Dominion of Persia. Prince Solomon, Sovereign of the one of these Principalities, and Prince Heraclius, Governor of the other, threw off, the first, the yoke of the Turks, the second that of the Persians. The latter has become the Vassal of Russia: the former still preserves
his

his independence. Such is the past and present State of these two Principalities. It cannot be supposed the Baron was ignorant of what is so universally known.

(G. page 29. P. D.) I may here, with reason, exclaim, *quæque ipse miserrima vidi*; for I was myself an eye-witness of this expedition, which, in 1758, was occasioned by the extortions practised by the Officers of the Porte, on account of the Ichetirah, or regulations with regard to the Corn. The two Hordes of the Noguais of Boodjeak and Jedfan revolted, and Krim Guerai took advantage of the Disturbance to seize the throne of the Crimea. Alim Guerai, the Khan then reigning, with whom I at that time was, in quality of Consul from the King of France, marched against his Competitor, with an Army of an hundred and twenty thousand men; and, though I was then appointed Consul general of Candia, I, as well as M. Fornetti, who had been sent to succeed me, could not avoid accompanying him in that Campaign. We followed the Khan as far as the plains between

tween Prekop and Okzakow, where he received the news of his Deposition. His army dispersed in a moment, and M. Fornetti and I resolved to go over to Krim Guerai, who had obliged the Porte to nominate him in his place. We found the new Khan at Kichela, with a part of his troops loaded with the spoils of Moldavia, which he had laid waste. It is scarcely possible to form any idea of a pillage so sudden and rapid ; and it is difficult to conceive how an army of eighty thousand men could in seven days overrun a great Province, and carry off forty thousand slaves and all the flocks, herds, and tents in which they were kept, besides an enormous quantity of other plunder. We saw the plain of Kichela covered, as far as the eye could reach, with male and female Slaves of every age, oxen, camels, horses, sheep, and utensils of every kind piled up at different distances.

Krim Guerai, after having given the Ottoman Government a proof of his power, was willing also to give as striking an example of his Justice. He sent back all the Slaves,
who

who did not amount to above twenty thousand, because many were dead, and others had fled out of the Country. He restored all the flocks, herds, camels, and horses, which he could recover from the rapacity and devouring appetite of the Tartars, and returned to the proprietors all the effects which were found and claimed.

(H. page 33. P. D.) This article of the Memoirs would have been much more interesting if some account had been given of the procureffes, the men of Gallantry, and the *Maanes*, or enigmatical declarations.

The Intrigues of the Women are not commonly carried on by slaves, they seldom contribute more towards them than their secrecy. Affairs of this nature are generally conducted by the Tellal Kari, or dealers in female ornaments, who, whether Turks, Christians, or Jews, have free admission into the Harems, and who frequently lend their Houses for places of rendezvous.

The man of gallantry is a character not strange to the Turks: I have known there
intri-

intriguing young fellows and petits maitres, called, in Turkish, *Zenpara Tchelebis*, who have kept a list of all the women celebrated for their beauty, and employed themselves perpetually in devising schemes to obtain their acquaintance, lavishing all their fortune to procure interviews, and even making their boast that they had succeeded.

Reciprocal Declarations of passion are commonly made by Maanes. This word is derived from the Arabic, and signifies meaning, or allegory. It is employed, in the language of gallantry, to denote any thing the name of which may suggest some motto, or expression which rhymes with it. As, for example: perhaps a pistachio nut, called in Turkish *fistik*, is sent; the rhyme to which it alludes is *ikimuxa bir iastik*, Let us both have the same pillow. The word for a grape is *Uzum*, and its rhyme is *Senum itchun iändum*, I am enflamed with love for you. A thread of Silk, in Turkish *Ipek*, has a reference to the rhyming expression *Seni severum pek*, I love you with rapture. These devices are very

numerous, and I have often seen manuscripts of considerable size, containing nothing else.

(I. page 8. Part I.) The Author attributes the profound ignorance with which he reproaches the Turks to the extreme difficulty of learning to read their own language, because, their writing consists only of consonants, to which the signs that supply the place of vowels are scarcely ever added. If the natives of the Country, who understand perfectly the language, find so much difficulty in reading it, on account of the multiplicity of characters, and the want of vowels, what must be the labor of Strangers, who, having no primitive knowledge of the tongue, endeavor to learn to read and write, and understand books which have relation to the abstract sciences? Yet, surely, the Author contradicts himself, when, at page 9, he informs us that, with the assistance of a Persian master, who was continually drunk with Opium and Brandy, he was soon capable of conversing without an Interpreter. We may therefore conclude,

clude, if he made so rapid a progress; if we have seen so many learned men, such as the late MM. de Fienne, Armin, Cardonne, Deval; MM. le Grand, Sielve, Fonton, Ruffin, Venture; M. Mouradjea, first Interpreter to the King of Sweden; M. Testa, Interpreter to the Emperor; M. Rali, first Interpreter to the Republic of Venice, still living, and many others, who were not inferior to the most learned Mahometans, in their knowledge of Turkish, Persian, and Arabic, in the purity of their style in those languages, or extensive acquaintance with their literature; we may conclude, I say, that the Natives, who know already the words, and by consequence meet not with so many obstacles, may easily attain to read and understand the most abstract writings.

(K. page 9. Part I.) The Turkish language is originally the same with the Tartarian, or language of Zagathai, in which many books have been written. Several manuscripts in this language are to be found in the King of France's Library, and

perhaps elsewhere. By the adoption of the Arabic and Persian, it has become one of the finest in the world. All copious languages have been formed in the same manner. The Arabic, which is an Ocean, derives its origin from the Hebrew, in itself confined and barren. The English have rendered their's extremely rich and beautiful, by borrowing, from every other, the words wanting in their own : in like manner, the Turks, while enriching their primitive Idiom, by the adoption of the Arabic and Persian, have not given it any particular and exclusive difficulty ; and a Stranger would find no more trouble, in learning Turkish, than in acquiring German, English, or any other language equally cultivated and copious.

The different characters are by no means left entirely to the choice of the writer, but are appropriated by custom to particular species of Composition. The *Neski*, used in printing, is employed in works of Science ; the *Tealik* in Poetry ; the *Divani* in the Firmans, or Edicts of Government, and epistolary correspondence ; the

Sulus

Sulus for Mottos, and public Inscriptions, &c. He who is unable to write all these different characters writes as well as he can; but if he intends to publish a book, present a Memoir to a Minister, a petition to a great man, or a poem to his Patron, he will take care to have them copied, by some professed Writer, in the character assigned by custom to these several uses; in the same manner as, with us, a person unable to write the law, or other hands, will hire somebody to copy his writings in the customary character.

(L. page 9. Part I.) This passage is a very extravagant misrepresentation of the truth, and can never have been written by a man so well informed as Baron de Tott. Can he deny the Turks are a nation possessed of great Wit, because, among them, as well as many others, we find some who are fond of playing on words, Acrostics and Puns? Can it be believed that he, who made so many accurate observations on the Turks, for three-and-twenty years together, should never once have entered a *Medressa*,

or College ; nor ever noticed in what manner they teach the *Sarf*, or Arabic Grammar, Rhetoric, Profody, Logic, Metaphysics, Morals, Natural Philosophy, Religion, Law and Mathematics, even Conic Sections and Fluxions? Is he to be informed that the Turks are in possession of the Elements of Euclid, all the Philosophy of Aristotle, and the entire works of Plato, whose surname of Divine they preserve, and whom they stile *Filatoun el Lillabi*? That they have likewise among them a multitude of Turkish, Persian, and Arabic Books on Grammar, Logic, Metaphysics, Morality, History, Astronomy, Astrology, and the Cabala ; on Geography, Physics, Chemistry, Alchemy and Medicine ; on Law, Theology, and Controversy ; with an infinity of Poems, Fables, Moral Tales, and Romances? Can he deny that, among their works of Entertainment, the Fables of Lockman, the Tales of Nafraddin Khodjea, the Romances of *Leila ve Medjenoun*, of *Jousouf ve Zeuleikha* ; their *Medjemouas*, or Collections of fugitive pieces, and their *Bostans* (Gardens), or Miscellanies of light Ana-

Anacreontic Poems have some merit ? Understanding so perfectly the Turkish Language, can he avoid confessing the Turks surpass every other people in the elegance, good sense, and ingenuity of their proverbs, which are always the surest test of the intellectual abilities of any nation ? To conclude, has he never passed the Evening in a Turkish Circle of polite Company, and heard the discourse of their *Musahibs*, or professional Speakers, who, in order to make their court to the Great, undertake to carry on the conversation, and amuse the company ? Acquainted as he is with all the delicacies of the language, he must acknowledge that none are any where to be met with, who can relate an amusing tale with more grace and elegance. All this, I confess, is not sufficient to justify the Turks for having made no greater progress in the Arts and Sciences; or for having so much neglected Tactics, Navigation, and military Discipline ; or not correcting the errors too evident in many parts of their Government, notwithstanding the frequent opportunities they have had for improvement. Indeed, the

more I consider their Genius and Aptitude, for all the Sciences, the more I blame them for remaining so much inferior to the Europeans, whom they are at least two Centuries behind; but the Author of the Memoirs has endeavoured to make them appear less enlightened than the Savages of America.

(M. page 29. Part I.) This is a very extraordinary anachronism. It was not Sultan Osman, but Sultan Mahmoud, who was still living when Racub Pacha was recalled from Cairo, after having escaped the danger here mentioned. That Prince appointed him successively to the two Governments of Aidin and Aleppo, where he continued several years before he was raised to the Vifiriat by Sultan Osman, Successor to his brother Mahmoud. The following facts are a sufficient proof of what I advance:

When my Father, Secretary to the Embassy at Constantinople, was sent to the Ottoman Camp, together with the late M. de Laria, First Interpreter, to negotiate the preliminaries of the peace of Belgrade, his
tent

tent was stationed near that of Racub, who then held the post of Mektoobschi Effendi, or Head of the Office for foreign affairs. The business they had to transact obliged them to see each other frequently, and these repeated interviews laid the foundation of as close a friendship as can be supposed to take place between a Turk and a Christian; insomuch that when Racub was recalled from Cairo, and sent to Aidin, he turned out of his road, and encamped in the plain of Hadjilaar, only to see my Father, then Consul General at Smyrna. Racub gave him, and all the French who were settled there, an invitation to his Camp, where he prepared a very sumptuous entertainment, at which I myself was present. The Pacha embraced my Father with much affection, saying, *Dostum Coadjeaduk*; My Friend, we are grown old; and, shewing him his beard, which had prematurely become white, See, added he, how the beards look of those who return from Cairo!

(N. page 46. Part I.) I was well acquainted with Moorad Mollach; he was
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the most agreeable debauchee I ever knew among the Turks, but I cannot perceive either his style or his manner in this Dialogue. I am well persuaded this Conversation passed between him and the Author in terms equivalent to those he has employed. He undoubtedly possessed sufficient understanding to give birth to these Ideas, but he would certainly have expressed himself less abstractedly, and in a different manner. I shall, perhaps, be told, a Turk is here made to speak French. I allow it; but to describe the Character of any one by translating his discourse, we ought not to depart too far from his own expressions. To give a just idea of the Turks, we ought not to begin by dressing them after the French fashion; it would be better even to leave them in their original nakedness.

(O. page 56. Part I.) This dialogue between the Baron and the Bostandji, Commander of the Castle of Asia, is more in the style and manner of the nation, and also more conformable to the intention of the Author.

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(P. page 64. Part I.) I can never be brought to believe that this passage can have been written by Baron de Tott. To assert so positively the Word Sultan never conveys any idea of Sovereign authority, one would suppose, which is impossible, that he had never read the legend on the Coin of the Turkish emperors, which begins with these words, “*Soultan el Berein*, Sovereign of “the earth, *ve Hakkan el babrein*, and “lord of the sea.”

(Q. page 64. Part I.) The word *Cham* does not exist. The Baron ought not to have adopted it, but corrected the error of the French writers, who, I know not for what reason, write it with an *m*. The true orthography is *Khan*. It is not a title exclusively assumed by the Sovereign of the Tartars, since the Turkish Emperors take it likewise. Of this the Ottoman money is a sufficient proof, the legend on which is, *Soultan ibn el Soultan Abdulhamid*, *Khan damé mulkhow*; i. e. Sultan, son of Sultan Abdulhamid, Khan, whose reign be everlasting. The title of Khan
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is certainly equivalent in signification to that of Shah, which means King; yet is it very surprising that the most absolute Persian Monarchs, who have never assumed any other title than that of Shah, should always have permitted the Governors of provinces, in their Empire, to take that of Khan, which is its equivalent, and which they have ever affected. Even in our time, the Governors of the Provinces of Guendja, Guilan, Mazanderan, &c. who have no more authority in Persia than the Pachas in Turkey, take the title of Khan. For this, I confess, I am unable to assign any reason.

(R. page 65. Part I.) How surprising is it that a man so exact, as Baron de Tott, should fall into such errors! Sultan Mahmoud, who reigned twenty-four years, from 1730 to 1754, and Sultan Osman his brother, were not the sons of Sultan Achmed, but Sultan Mustapha II. his eldest brother and predecessor. Sultan Mustapha III. who succeeded Osman, was the son of Sultan Achmed, and cousin german, and
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not brother, to Mahmoud and Osman. The five sons of Sultan Achmed were Sultan Mehemmed, the eldest, poisoned by Osman, Sultan Mustapha III. Successor to Osman, Sultan Bajazet, and Sultan Ourkhan, who died in the Seraglio, and Sultan Abdulhamid, at present on the throne.

(S. page 81. Part I.) This account is not accurate. The Greek Clergy had been irritated, and the disturbances here spoken of excited by a Bull, issued by the Pope, nearly about this time, in which he forbade the Catholics to communicate *in sacris* with the Schismatics. The Patriarch Ciril, in Greek *Kirilo*, and not *Kirilo*, a man of a violent spirit, and such as he is described in these Memoirs, caused a small tract, against the Baptism of the Latins, to be printed at Venice. This work, immediately following the Bull of the Pope, which had already caused much discontent, and the Anathema pronounced against the head of the Roman Church, and all the Catholic Princes, greatly increased the animosity of the two parties, and drew on the Greeks,

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of the Latin Communion, a violent persecution, in which the Patriarch Païfios, who is not mentioned in the Memoirs, acted a principal part. The Synod decreed that no Roman Catholic should be admitted to the Greek Communion, without first receiving Baptism by Immersion; but the Congregation of the Greek Patriarch was not re-baptised, because no other Baptism is practised in the Greek church, except that by Immersion. The Greeks, attached to the Latin Ritual, suffered Persecution, adhered to the Baptism of the Roman Church, and would not consent to be re-baptised.

(T. page 112. Part I.) This account of the Death of Sultan Osman is really that of Sultan Mahmoud, his brother and predecessor, who, as is well known, ended his life in the manner here described; whereas Sultan Osman died in his Bed.

(U. page 131. Part I.) The debasing of the Coin, here mentioned, was already known in Turkey, and had been practised long before by Sultan Mahmoud, who was obliged

obliged to adopt it from a different motive. The anecdote is very remarkable, and deserves a place here. A French Merchant, named M. Delabat, a native of Lyons, and settled at Constantinople, an industrious, active man, and possessed of real abilities in his Profession, perceived the Ottoman silver money was at such a standard that the remittance of it to Europe would be more advantageous than any other article of exportation from the Levant. Having satisfied himself, by an assay, of the justness of this Speculation, he converted the produce of all the merchandize he had sold into piastres and izelottes, which he melted down, and, remitting the silver to France, found the Profits fully justify his expectations. His Success encouraged him to continue this practice; and he might have made an immense fortune, had he not divulged his Secret; but he could not resist the vanity of boasting of his invention: others, therefore, taking the hint, presently imitated him. Their example was soon followed by all the French and foreign merchants, not only at Constantinople,

tinople, but, in all the Sea Ports of the Levant; and this destruction of the silver money, so eagerly practised by the Europeans who traded in Turkey, diminished the current coin to so great a degree that the Porte perceived it, and discovered the cause. The Ottoman Ministers then resolved to reduce the coin to so low a standard that no person was, afterwards, tempted either to melt it down or send it abroad.

(X. page 145. Part I.) According to this account, there must be three sorts of Monks in Turkey, instead of two, which were first mentioned; but in reality there are but two, and the Author of the Memoirs does not well understand the distinction between them.

All the Turkish Monks are divided into two orders, the *Mevlevis* and the *Bektachis*. The *Mevlevis* are cloistered, and live together in *Tekas*, or Convents, though they have liberty to go out during their hours of recreation.

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Those who turn round and howl belong to the order of the Mevlevis, though they have different rules : just as our Capuchins, Recollets, and Cordeliers, are all of the Order of St. Francis, though they differ from each other in their regulations and habits. The Bektachis have no Convents, or fixed habitations ; they wander about, and are very properly and perfectly described in the Memoirs. They often attach themselves to the Great. I have known several Pachas who have taken them with them when they travelled, and kept them constantly in their houses. The famous Sopa Salan Ahmed Pacha, whom I knew in Candia, had, for a long time, always one of these Dervises with him, who was exceedingly acute, active, subtle, and possessed of considerable wit and information. The Pacha reposed implicit confidence in him, and he had great influence in the management of affairs. I often found it necessary to use his interest with his Master ; and I had never any reason to repent having so done.

Many of these Dervises Bektachis usually follow the Army, when it takes the field; and no *Orta*, or Regiment of Janissaries, makes the least motion to change the place of Garrison, open the Campaign, or perform any Ceremony, but one of these begins the march. On such occasions they commonly have their feet, legs, and a part of the Body, naked; they throw crosswise over their shoulders the skin of a tiger, lion, or some other wild beast; and carry in their hand a pike, halberd, or battle-ax; and, as they march, sing verses in praise of the *Orta*, and offer up prayers for the glory of Religion, and the Prosperity of the Empire. These two orders of Monks have various subdivisions, the names of which I do not, at present, recollect.

(Y. page 151. Part I.) This passage contains several errors. To build a Mosque is not a custom followed indifferently by all the Turkish Emperors, since all have not a Right; that being only to be acquired by Conquest. The Sultan, before he can build a Temple, within the walls of Constantinople,

stantinople, must have gained some victory over the enemies of the Empire, or have extended the Ottoman possessions, and thereby merited the Surname of *Gazi*, or Conqueror. Sultan Mahmoud, who had legally acquired this right, by gaining the battle of Grosca, against the Germans, and taking Belgrade, never thought of building a Mosque at Scutari, but erected a very beautiful one within the Capital, below that of the Valida, and very near the Khan of the Drapers. When he had resolved on raising this Edifice, he procured from Italy, France, and England, the most elegant designs and models to be found in Europe, proper for his undertaking. From these that Prince, who possessed great abilities and taste, formed, himself, the plan of his Mosque, which he shewed to the Ulemas. They, however, objected, it more resembled a Christian Church than a Mosque, and advised their Master to give it a form more agreeable to the Mahometan taste, that it might not offend the common people. Sultan Mahmoud, obliged to give way to the insinuations of the heads of the Law, pro-

duced a monstrous mixture of the European and Turkish Style, though still magnificent and elegant. He ornamented the Court of this Mosque with a superb Colonnade, the idea of which was furnished by the Church of St. Peter at Rome, which he executed in miniature. He employed in this work the rich columns that had formed the Peristyle of the ancient Palace of the Kings of Pergamus, which had escaped the ravages of time, but were now taken down, and removed to Constantinople. Sultan Mahmoud died before this Building was finished; and Sultan Osman, his brother and Successor, consulted the professors of the Law, to know whether he might compleat it, and give it his name. The Mufti delivered a *Fetfa*, or Sentence, in which he declared this building, not being finished, or dedicated to religious worship, could only be looked on as an edifice the property of which incontestably vested in Sultan Osman, by right of Inheritance, as heir to his late brother, Sultan Mahmoud; and by consequence he might take possession of and compleat the unfinished building,

building, consecrate it by the prayers of the faithful, and give it his own name. In virtue of this decree, the Mosque, though built by Sultan Mahmoud, was called *Nour Osmani*, the Splendor of Osman: by which name the Mosques erected by different Emperors are usually distinguished.

Sultan Mustapha III. ascended the throne in the time of profound Peace. Desirous to signalize himself by a work of piety, and not having yet any right to add a new Mosque to the public edifices of his Capital, he caused one to be built at Scutari, near the Sea. Several years after, when the Khan of the Tartars, Krim Gueraï, in the first Campaign of the last War with Russia, had laid waste New Servia, and annihilated the Establishments that Empire had there formed, the heads of the Law were eager to honour Sultan Mustapha with the Sur-name of *Gazi*, or Conqueror, and the Mufti bestowed it on him by his *Fetfa*. In consequence of this Decree, that Prince built, in Constantinople, in the *Lalelu Mahalla*, or quarter of Tulips, the Mosque which bears

his name, and is denominated *Nour Mustapha*, though the common people usually call it *Lalelu Djami*, the Mosque of tulips, from the name of the quarter in which it is built.

(Z. page 154. Part I.) What are here styled schools are in reality regular Colleges, called *Medressas*. The Baron ought not certainly to have been ignorant that there are different ones, appropriated to all the Sciences, according to the enumeration I have made above; and that they contain Scholars of all ages, from those who are so young as to have made but little progress to the *Sohtas*, or Students, who are arrived at years of maturity. He ought to have known that the Schools for children are called *Mektebs*, and are establishments entirely distinct, in which are taught reading, writing, and the *Birgbilu risala*, a sort of Catechism, or short treatise on the precepts of Religion, and their customary prayers; and that, on leaving these Schools, those who wish to prosecute their Studies, and become *Sohtas*, enter into the *Medressas*.

Neither

Neither should the Baron have omitted an account of the Sohtas, and the usual progress of advancement among those who attach themselves to the Study of their Laws.

The Sohtas are a class of Literati, who, in the Medressas, devote themselves to the study of Grammar, the Arabic Language, Rhetoric, Philosophy, their Religious Ceremonies, and Jurisprudence. Some of them arrive at the first dignities, while others remain in the subaltern places of *Imans*, or Vicars; *Mutevellis*, or Administrators of the Revenue of the Mosques; *Naibs*, or first Clerks to the *Mollahs*, or Judges; or *Mebkema Kiatibis*, Clerks to the Tribunals. Some depend upon their pen, and obtain employments in the public offices; while others, less favoured by fortune, unable to arrive at any preferment, maintain themselves by becoming *Khodjas*, or Teachers of Reading, Writing, and the Sciences; or by copying books, when they can write a hand sufficiently fair to succeed in that occupation.

According to the strict rule, the Professors of the Law cannot be advanced to places of importance, unless they have first been Sohtas, have gone through a course of Study in the Medressas, and been advanced to the dignity of *Muderris*, or principal of the College, which is to be granted them by *Berat*, or Imperial Diploma. They are then to become Naibs, or first Clerks to some *Kadi*, or Judge; then *Kadis*; and next Mollahs, or superior Judges; with different Salaries, up to that of five hundred aspers, which is the highest. After having been advanced to the *Kadiliks*, or great Judicatures, which devolve to the Mollahs of five hundred aspers, and lead to the highest degrees of preferment, as those of Damascus, Jerusalem, Andrinople, and others, they are advanced to the dignity of *Kiaba Mollahsi*, or Judge of Mecca; afterwards to that of *Istambol Effendissi*, or Lieutenant of the Police at Constantinople; and, lastly, to that of *Kadiasker*, or supreme military Judge of Europe, or of Asia.

These are the different degrees through which every one ought to pass, before he
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can legally arrive at the Pontificate, or place of Grand Mufti, stiled *Cheikh el Islam*. These degrees are called *Rutbas*; and frequently, by way of Eulogium on any professor of the Law, who has arrived at eminent dignities by his merit and services, they say, *Sobtadan gbelme ve rutbesini dourdourmiche adem*, i. e. He is one who has passed through every degree from that of *Soh-ta*. But the near relations of illustrious families, as those of the *Durri zada*, the *Piri zada*, or the *Damad zada*, to whom the Pontificate and other high dignities are a kind of inheritance or patrimony, are frequently dispensed by the Sovereign from passing through all these degrees. The Monarch can grant them Writs, by which they are immediately advanced; but the usual forms must always be so far complied with that the person, thus raised, must be furnished with the diplomas of all the degrees through which he ought successively to have passed. Nevertheless, these dispensations frequently occasion great murmurs among the Ulemas; as they often oblige men of merit, who deserve a
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more rapid advancement, to remain all their lives in subaltern Stations.

They relate an anecdote of one of these Students of the law, who, having remained long in the inferior stations, while his Juniors were advanced above him, at length arrived at the Pontificate, when he was above eighty years of age. Soon after his promotion, he went with his Treasurer into the treasury, and, very gravely bending on his hams, left the refuse of nature on a heap of bags filled with sequins. What are you doing, my Lord? said the Treasurer. *Dostum seksenden sonra gbelmiche devletun ufluna fitcharum*: i. e. Treating Fortune as she deserves, friend, replied the Mufti; who has come to visit me now I am too old to enjoy her.

It will be easy to perceive, from what has been said, that the Medressas, or Colleges, usually founded with the Mosques, are totally different from Schools, where little children are taught to repeat their Prayers; since these Seminaries, according to Law, ought to supply all those who aspire to Offices of importance, either in Judicature,
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the Pontificate, or other eminent Dignities.

(A. page 154. Part I.) Piety, and not Superstition, has multiplied the *Namas gials*, and the fountains have been constructed by Humanity and Charity. Those who founded the latter, very justly, esteemed it a highly meritorious action to relieve the thirsty passenger in the streets, or the parched traveller on the road; and to supply them with the means of making those ablutions which must, indispensably, precede their prayers. Many have even carried their Benevolence so far as to assign sums of money for furnishing snow, during the summer, that those who drink, at these fountains, may render the water more cool and refreshing.

(B. page 187. Part I.) It is the office of the *Bostandgi Bachi*, to give the torture, to those unfortunate persons from whom they endeavour, by this cruel expedient, to force a confession of something suspected to be concealed. The place in which it is inflicted

flicted is called *Bostandgi Bachi Fourouni*; or the Oven of the Bostandgi Bachi: which name is given it from its situation. Immediately on entering the walls of the *Se-raglio*, by the gate on the side of the *Yali Kiosk*, and close to the *Has Bagtcha*, or garden of reserve, we meet with the barracks of the Bostandgis, near which is an Oven, used by the Bakers to bake bread and biscuits for their use. On one side of this Oven is the Prison, in which those unhappy persons, who are to undergo the torture, are confined. After the prayer *Yatsou*, which is repeated at two in the morning, when the Bostandgis are retired to rest in the barracks, the prisoners are conducted to a place at some distance, to avoid the intercession of the Bostandgis, who are sometimes moved with Pity at their sufferings; and there the Bostandgi Bachi inflicts, on these unfortunate wretches, several different kinds of Torture. When any one, therefore, is delivered into the hands of this terrible Officer, the common people say, he is in the Oven of the Bostandgi Bachi.

(C. page 188. Part I.) There is, perhaps, no Monarch in the world more accessible than the Emperor of Turkey. All his subjects, indiscriminately, Mahometans, Christians, and Jews, may, every Friday, when he goes publicly to Mosque, present him a petition. The form usual on such occasions is singular, and merits being described. Those who imagine themselves aggrieved, and resolve to prefer a complaint immediately to the Sovereign, range themselves in a line, in the square, before the great gate of the Seraglio. Each carries on his head a kind of match, or wick, lighted and smoaking, which is considered as the allegorical emblem of the fire that consumes his soul. When the Emperor passes, and perceives the smoak, he stops, and gives orders to some of his attendants to collect the Petitions, which he receives and places in his bosom. Mustapha III. who was very attentive to public business, never failed to read these Petitions, and has, frequently, in consequence of them, performed some very exemplary acts of Justice, and such as do honour to his memory.

mory. In their Courts of Judicature, there have sometimes been found bold and resolute Pleaders, who, perceiving or suspecting some prevarication on the part of the Judge, have had sufficient courage to threaten him with the expression, *Hassir yakarum*: I will light up the match.

(D. page 188. Part I.) The Memoirs say not another word of this written Code, revered by the Public, nor so much as tell us how it is named. The Author, instead of reciting the Laws, only relates how they are abused. If he had taken the trouble to turn over the *Multeka*, which is the written Code here meant, and contains all the precepts of religious worship, and the whole of their Jurisprudence, both civil and criminal; if he had consulted the *Durer* and *Halebi*, its two principal Commentaries; if he had examined the Collections of the *Fetfas*, or sentences of the most celebrated Muftis, and, especially, those of *Ali-Effendi*, the most famous of them all, he would have found a multitude of wise and well digested Laws; and decisions no less equitable

equitable than ingenious. He would have published these, and with reason de-claimed and thundered against the Tyrants and unjust Judges, who had rendered them of no effect. Far be it from me to merit the Apostrophe he addresses to those who have dared to prefer the Justice of Turkey, to that of Europe. Far be it from me to have the rashness to attack, or even suspect, the integrity of Christian Magistrates. But if any one should weigh in the balance of Equity the inconveniences of the two systems of Judicature ; if, without speaking of the Corruption, Favor, Cabal, Intrigue, Solicitations, and Influence, of men in power, without having recourse to those views which, among all Nations, degrade and dishonor humanity ; were he only to put in the other scale, in opposition to the defects of Mahometan Justice, the ceaseless Litigations, which, in the courts of Europe, frequently last from generation to generation ; the Hydra of Forms ; the Labyrinth of Rights and Customs ; the privileges of Nobles, Cities, and Corporations ; and the enormous expences of Justice, which

which have often amounted to ten times the value of the property in dispute, I sincerely believe he would find it difficult to decide which scale outweighed the other.

(E. page 189. Part I.) The Author seems not to have perceived that, in this passage, he destroys that compleat and dreadful Despotism against which he so violently declaims. As soon as there exists, between the Despot and the People, an intermediary Body, whose authority is equal, though its interests are different; if this Body be the Depositary, the Interpreter of the Law, to which the Sovereign is obliged to submit, no less than the meanest of his Subjects; and if this Body and the Despot are obliged, by the Constitution, to fear and respect each other, Despotism, in the strict sense of the word, can no longer exist. And, though it is true, as is asserted in the next page, that the Monarch may, with a single word, banish, or even put to death, the Mufti, and all those of his Body who displease him, it is equally true that the professors of the Law may, in an instant,

stant by seditious discourse, or affixing *yaf-tas* or papers, as is practised, to the Mosques, or in other public places, raise the people, and dethrone or assassinate the Sovereign. Several Muftis, who have been banished, have been the occasion of greatly alarming the Monarch. The famous Mufti, Effad Effendi, was in banishment, when, from his country house on the Bosphorus, he excited those riots against Sultan Mahmoud which effected the destruction of the Kislar Aga, Seuleiman Aga, and the Armenian: nor would the Emperor himself have escaped had he not instantly determined to sacrifice those Favorites.

(F. page 192. Part I.) It is certain the Custom-duties in Turkey are much more moderate than in any other commercial country; and M. de Tott is the first who ever questioned this Assertion. The Francs pay in the proportion of three per cent, from which the Tarif is to be deducted, though it has not been mentioned by the Baron. All Merchandize is estimated much inferior to its real value, which, per-

haps, reduces this Tax to two per cent. It is to be observed, besides, that, this duty once paid, every European Merchant, provided with a *Taskara*, or quittance from the Officer, may convey his Goods to any part of the Empire, without paying any thing more. No extortions are practised in the Customs, on account of the Tarif, and disputes with the Officers are extremely rare. The French Merchants will never forget the kindness and generosity of Isak Aga, head Officer of the Customs at Constantinople; who, at the time the plague made most dreadful ravages in the Capital, and when his own offices were infected with it, shewed so much respect to the request of the Count des Alleurs, Ambassador from the King of France, and so much confidence in the probity of the French nation, as to suffer their Merchandize to be immediately conveyed to their magazines, without undergoing any examination, accepting the customs according to their own declarations. Is it not humiliating, to be obliged to oppose to this honorable generosity, the mean behavior

havior of some of the French; who, notwithstanding the menaces of their Ambassador, against those who could have the baseness to impose on such unlimited confidence, dared to give in unjust accounts to that worthy Officer, who, though he had too much sense not to discover the fraud, disdained to make any complaint? The same Commissioner of the Customs indulged, with the like privilege, several French Merchants, who, in the reign of Sultan Mahmoud, carried on an extensive trade in jewelry and trinkets, and submitted, with the same patience, to like returns of Deceitfulness and Ingratitude.

The Natives pay a duty of five per cent, and not seven and ten per cent, as the Author of the Memoirs pretends. The Law does not authorize the Officers to exact the Duty in kind, when they please, but allows the Merchant to pay in this manner, if he think it most to his interest. This is not a lenity of which the Officer may make a merit, but a privilege to which the Trader is legally entitled, if he imagines the value of his Goods overrated.

Indeed, I do not see with what propriety the Baron can adduce the case of Fish, as a proof of the truth of what he asserts; the tax on these has no relation to the Customs, but is received by the Balutkchi Bachi, or Head of the Fishmongers, who purchases the *Malikiana*, or Farms the Fishery. The Baron is too well acquainted with the customs of Turkey not to know the truth of these Observations, and too equitable not to have made the same. He should certainly have mentioned the lenity with which the Law treats those who deal in contraband commodities. When any such goods are seized, and carried to the Custom-House, the Proprietor may claim and receive them again, on paying double Duty. The Author, I imagine, had no great inclination to compare this mildness, of the Turkish Laws, with the severity with which those of Europe treat this offence, often punished with death, and almost always with the loss of Liberty.

(G. page 192. Part I.) From this passage the Reader naturally expects an abridgment

ment of the *Canoun Seuleimani*, or Ordinances of Soliman the Great, which extend to every part of the civil, feudal, and military Jurisdiction, as well as to the expenditure of the Revenue: he will imagine the Author intends to enable him to form a determinate and accurate idea of the extent of the power of the Despot, of the bounds prescribed him by the Laws, and that portion of his authority which he delegates to the Visirs, Agas, and other subaltern Officers in the Provinces, whose power is circumscribed by the Law within various limits. The Reader, I say, expects a succinct account of the Turkish Jurisprudence, both civil and criminal, sufficient to give him some idea of the Law in its purity, and enable him to distinguish it from those violations committed by the Officers charged with its execution, and those abuses by which it is degraded. Instead of which the Author contents himself with asserting that the Visirs and Pachas, sent by the Despot to be Governors and Farmers of the Provinces, as also those they appoint under them in every district and government, are

so many rascals, who derive from each other the power of oppressing and arbitrarily plundering the people, and that the fruits of these numerous extortions and villainies all flow into the reservoir of the Despot, which swallows up the entire wealth and substance of the Subject. He loudly declaims against the proof by witness, by which causes are decided by all the Turkish Tribunals ; against the number of false witnesses, which are too easily procured for money ; and against four or five other points of the Turkish Law, without considering that the testimony of witnesses is the basis of all criminal proceedings in every country, and that false witnesses are unhappily every where but too numerous, while the truth or falsity of assertions can only be discovered by the sagacity of the Judge. In the course of this very short discussion, of so extensive a subject, the Author cites several instances, not very honorable to Ottoman Justice. But would it be equitable, in order to give an idea of the justice exercised in the higher Courts of France, to instance, as examples, the proceedings

ceedings against Sorcerers, the case of Father Girard and la Cadiere, of Urbain Grandier, and the Nuns of Loudun, the condemnation and unjust punishment of Mareschal de Marillac, of Calas, and many others? Ought not a Writer on such subjects to distinguish between the nature of the Law itself and the abuses of it, which proceed from Ignorance, Error, Prevarication, or Tyranny? The Turks have, no doubt, like other nations, their moments of relaxation and insanity, in which the Laws lose their Force, the People their Understanding, and the Government its Authority; in which there is no counterpoise to the Tyranny of the Monarch, the Avidity of those in Office, or the Rapacity of the Subalterns, in which all good institutions are neglected, and every thing is plunged in Confusion and Anarchy; the nation is then no longer itself, nor can stand the test of comparison with others. But would an Author be thought to give us a just idea of the French Monarchy who should select the Reigns of Charles VI. Charles VII. and Louis XI. or who should

only describe the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, or the Commotions of the League, or the Fronde? Baron de Tott certainly did not wish to degrade, in the eyes of the surrounding kingdoms, a nation which has been so glorious during so many ages; which has made the most extensive conquests, and produced so long a list of Monarchs and great men. A Nation which, in the last Century, carried its victorious arms to the very walls of Vienna, and, even in our time, in the year 1739, triumphed over the united efforts of the Germans and Russians, and concluded, after a brilliant victory, the glorious peace of Belgrade. How unjust to represent such a Nation as a swarm of lawless Barbarians, without order, justice, manners, or character, ignorant of the first principles of every Science, and enervated by the humiliating and enfeebling weight of the most absolute Despotism! Such a charge ought to be much better founded. It requires an immense work to give a just and precise idea of the laws, manners, and customs of the Turks; I shall not engage in such an attempt,

tempt, because I have been indirectly informed such a work is already written, and well written, by a person more capable than any other of such an undertaking.

(H. page 224. Part I.) There is a reason assigned by their laws, though not mentioned in the Memoirs, why the Ramazan should not last the compleat interval between one moon and another, which may amount to thirty-one days. This season of abstinence may contain no more than twenty-eight days, but must never exceed thirty, because, were its duration longer, it would too much resemble the Lent of the Christians. I shall not say, as the Baron has said at the end of the first part, "These reflections may, no doubt, be of use to correct our Ideas," but shall content myself with submitting them to his consideration.

I find but few remarks to make on the second part, which treats only of the Tartars, and appears to me the best and most interesting. I resided five years in Tartary, having been sent thither on an Embassy

Embassy fimilar to that of the Baron. Like him, I made a winter campaign with the Tartarian Army, and like him was honored with the Friendship of Krim Guerai Khan, to whom I paid my respects at Kichela, after his Expedition into Moldavia. From that time he continued to shew me the utmost kindness during his exile at Rhodes and Scio, when I was Consul General at Smyrna, and again repeated his former favors after his second advancement to the Throne of the Crimea. When I returned from Tartary to Constantinople, by land, I followed the Route of the Baron, and traversed the countries of Moldavia and Wallachia ; I may therefore be allowed to confirm the truth of what this second part of the Memoirs contains, relative to those two Provinces, of which I have given a succinct account, in a Work entitled, *Observations Historiques et Geographiques sur les Peuples Barbares qui ont habité les Bords du Danube et du Pont Euxin*, printed at Paris, in 1765. The Baron's narrative of the manners and customs of the Tartars is accurate and judicious. This Part, I have no doubt,

doubt, is entirely written by Baron de Tott himself, except a few faults which it is impossible to attribute to him. What it contains is entirely conformable to the account I published myself thirty years before ; and I am extremely happy to find what I had written corroborated by so celebrated a man.

In the year 1755 I transmitted to Court a Memoir on the civil, political, and military State of Little Tartary, and in which I had treated those subjects with as much method and exactness as was in my power. I had the honor to present, at the same time, a Copy of my work to Count de Vergennes, then Ambassador at Constantinople. In 1759, on my arrival in that Capital, I had also the honor to lay before him a Relation of the Revolution which had placed Krim Guerai Khan on the Throne of the Crimea, and of which I had been myself a Witness. That Minister recommended it to the Notice of the Duke de Choiseul, who deigned to honor it with his acceptance. The late M. Bignon, and the Abbé des Aulnais, having
read,

read, some years back, these two manuscripts, were pleased to express a high opinion of their value; and, when I was last in Paris, did me the honor to request them, and some others, of me, to deposit in the Library of the King, where they are still to be found.

(I. page 4. Part II.) This note must have been added by the Editor, who certainly is no Geographer. The River here mentioned, is that which the Turks call Turla. It was anciently denominated the Tyras, and, afterwards, the Danastris, which is the Etymology of the name *Dniester*, given it at present by the Poles and Russians. The *Dnieper* is a different river, and is the Boristhenes of the Antients, and in more modern times was called the Danapris, from which the Poles and Russians have formed the name *Dnieper*, by which it is known at present.

(K. page 75. Part II.) This privilege was exclusively granted to the Russians, who came to buy salt at the salt-pits of Precop,
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and not indiscriminately to all purchasers. Neither the number of horses nor size of the carriage was limited. The Russian might make his vehicle as large as he thought proper, and employ as many horses or oxen as were necessary to draw it: if it broke down before it had passed the bridge on the road to Precop, or had passed the Isthmus, no Confiscation was incurred, and the fine was the double of the stipulated price. This whose passage is inaccurate. A more circumstantial and precise account of the commerce carried on in salt, in the Crimea, will be found in a Work which I shall soon lay before the Public.

(L. page 79. Part II.) During the four years I resided at Bagtcheserai, I eat extremely good bread, which was all made by a Tartar Baker. This Bread was in cakes near an ell long, very thin, very light, and perfectly well tasted. I drank also an excellent white wine, of the growth of the Country; great quantities of which are bought every year by the Cossacks of the Ukrain, and the Russians. It may be
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compared to our *Vin de Chabli*. I found there in great abundance, and extremely cheap, Turkeys, Fowls, Pullets, Geese, and all sorts of Poultry, which I fattened in my court yard, and were of an excellent flavor. I cannot conceive what were become, (at the time the Author of the Memoirs was in this Country,) of the hares, partridges, wild ducks, bustards, wood pigeons, plover, lapwings, snipes, quails, and thrushes, with which we were so surfeited as frequently to prefer butchers meat, and even salt provisions, to these dainties; nor where were the fresh Cod and Oysters, with which Caffa so frequently and so abundantly furnishes Bagtcheseraï; the fish of Baliklava, the trout of the river Katchi, and the fine lobsters of the brook Boulganak; the melons and water melons, finer and better than those of Provence, the excellent and enormous cucumbers, as large as our long gourds, the artichocks, or the asparagus, the largest and sweetest in the world, of which I sent a great quantity to the Count de Vergennes, at Constantinople, to transplant into the garden of the Palais de
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de France, and which have been so much praised by the Baron himself, at page 106; the wanuts and filberts, which he himself says are so remarkable for their size; or the Peas and Beans, which he mentions in the same page. The man who is dissatisfied in the midst of such plenty ought only to accuse his own abstinence, or want of care. His reproaching the Tartars with not being able to make butter is the more unjust because butter is one of the principal articles of their Commerce. The Crimea produces, annually, about three or four thousand Turkish quintals of this commodity, which are equal to five thousand of our quintals. Nearly as much is made by the Noguais of *Djamboilook*, and the same quantity by those of *Cooban*. The best sort, called *Tchitchek iaghi*, or the flower of butter, is that with which the Grand Seignior's kitchen is supplied; and a man must be no less unfortunate to want butter, in the Crimea, than to be unable to procure wine in Burgundy, or oil in Provence.

(M. page 93. Part II.) The *Oloo Kani*, (not *Oloo Kanai*) is not Governess of the Crimea. This Title, the literal translation of which is great Queen, simply denotes a dignity, in the Harem, which the Khan usually confers on one of his sisters, or, if he has none, on one of his daughters or relations. To this dignity are attached the revenues arising from several villages, and other rights.

(N. page 110. Part II.) I have spoken, in my *Observations sur les Peuples barbares, &c.* of these caverns, which are to be found in the Crimea, both at Tepekirman, half a league from Bagtcheferai, and the whole length of the northern side of the Valley of Katchi. What I have said of them may be seen at page 106. My opinion of their use is extremely different. I am persuaded they are the work of very remote antiquity. The prodigious height at which they have been cut, in these rocks, and their regular and artificial appearance, resembling the *Columbaria* of the Antients, on a larger scale, induce me to believe they
were

were the burying places of the ancient inhabitants of the *Chersonesus Taurica*. It must have been very difficult for the Genoese to lodge their flocks every night in these asylums ; which are hollowed so high in the rock that it is impossible to conceive how they could have been accessible, to their Cattle ; since no avenue, or path, leading to them, can be discovered.

(O. page 114. Part II.) No person, certainly, can doubt, but the Tartar nation has a most ancient origin ; nor can it be denied but the Family of Ginghiz Khan is one of the most ancient and illustrious among the Sovereigns of the World, and that whose Empire has been the most extensive ; since the princes, who have arisen from that common stock, have extended their dominions from the Sea of Japan to the frontiers of Poland ; and I cannot but believe, notwithstanding what is asserted in the Memoirs, that we possess more than mere probabilities concerning the Tartarian History, since the History of the Huns, that immortal work of M. de Guine, gives us

clear, consistent, and well-supported information, and contains the annals, certainly not imaginary, of all the Tartar Hordes which have formed the divisions and subdivisions of that immense people.

(P. page 115. Part II.) To criticise these conjectures of the Baron, on the ancient Atlantis, seems properly to belong to Rüdbeckius, Father Pezron, M. Bailly, or the Author of the *Histoire des Hommes*; I shall only observe that the Goths, Ostro-Goths, and Vifi-Goths, whose emigrations followed those of the Vandals, were, like these latter, Celtic and Teutonic nations, and had neither the same origin, nor came from the same countries as the Tartars; and that the Tartars, known by the name of Huns, did not overrun the western part of the continent till long after the Goths, and even the Sclavi. Both these were, indeed, very distinct, and different from the Tartars, both in their languages, and the countries from whence they inundated Europe. The Language of the Vandals, Goths, Ostro-Goths, and Vifi-Goths, was the Celtic, or Teutonic,
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the mother of the German : that of the Sclavi, the Venni, Vendi, or Venetes, whom we must carefully avoid confounding with the Vandals, is the mother of the Sclavonian, Russian, and Polish ; and the Tartar Language, from which the Turkish is derived, has not the least similitude to, nor analogy with, the two others, nor have they any to each other. The Goths came from the North, and originally inhabited those Countries which lay between the Northern Ocean and the Baltic Sea. The Huns, under which general name are comprized all the Tartar tribes who have extended themselves towards the West, came from the East, and that flat high land, mentioned by the Author in this latter passage, and in which he imagines he has discovered the situation of the island of the Atlantes. It would too much swell these Remarks to quote here what Pelloutier and several other writers have said on the origin and progress of these different nations, or what I have written myself, in my Dissertation on the origin of the Sclavonian Language, and my Observations on the Barbarians who

have inhabited the banks of the Danube, and the borders of the Euxine Sea.

(Q. page 118. Part II.) In the Diets, called Kingheches, which are the extraordinary Assemblies of the Nobility, or in any other Convocations which the affairs of the State may render necessary, the Bey of the Chirins, though the first of the Beys, never represents the other Beys; he only represents his own Family; and of the Beys of other Families, who compose the higher Nobility, and are equally summoned to the Diet, each represents his own.

(R. page 128. Part II.) The Author of the Memoirs ought to have named the family which possesses this valuable Manuscript of Tartar Annals, and the Continuer of this Journal, in order that new endeavors may be made to procure it for the French King's Library. I never heard of this Chronicle during my stay at Bagtcherai; but a learned Tartar, named Hadji Gaffar Effendi, who resided at Carasou, one of the principal Cities of the Crimea, has composed,

composed, in Turkish verse, a short history of all the Khans of Little Tartary, who have succeeded each other since the time of Ginghiz Khan. In 1757, he, with the utmost politeness, presented me with a copy, gratis. I caused it to be transcribed at Constantinople, by a very fine writer, bound it magnificently, ornamenting it with fillets and vignettes, painted and gilt in the Turkish taste, and had the honor to send it from Canna to the Duke de Praslin, Minister for the Marine Department.

We have now, Sir, seen the Baron return to Constantinople, where the order of events will open a wider field for his zeal, activity, and abilities. The third Volume contains the highly interesting and amusing details of his operations in the Capital, on the Strait of the Dardanelles, and that of the Black Sea. But I still discover, in many particulars relative to the Turkish Nation, several errors which I shall point out; for I shall continue to employ that knowledge of the manners of the Turks, which I have had so good an op-

portunity to acquire, in endeavouring to plead the cause of a nation that has been at all times the friend and ally of France, and with which we maintain a commerce that excites the envy and despair of all our rivals; a Nation whose glory, till the last war, remained so undiminished as justly to merit the esteem and regard of all other powers.

Let us now resume our observations, and attempt to obviate the complaints of those who, though, like yourself and me, they acknowledge the great ingenuity of the Memoirs, cannot but lament that the Author, having so many things to relate, should have omitted a great number, and not always treated the rest with sufficient accuracy; such, Sir, was the very expression, as I have been informed, of a person of considerable judgment, with whom you are acquainted.

(S. page 8. Part III.) Baron de Tott would certainly never have said the First Physician of the Grand Seignior was an Italian; he too well knows this distinguished place can never be occupied by a
Christian,

Christian, of whatever nation, but is always bestowed on a Mahometan, who is chosen, like the other Ulemas, from the Medreffas and the order of the Muderris, and may, like them, arrive at the highest dignities. Sultan Abdulhamid has lately advanced his first Physician, Arif Effendi, to the post of Kaziasker. The First Physician is honoured with the Title Hekim Bachi Effendi, and wears the large round Turban, called *Eurf*, the badge of the professors of the Law of the first class. No Physician, whether Native or Foreigner, can exercise that Profession without his consent, nor open a shop without his licence. The Reader may, perhaps, be surprised to hear of a Physician's opening a shop; but such is the established custom at Constantinople, and throughout all Turkey. It is the practice of all the Physicians who are Greeks or Jews, and even many Europeans, who are almost all Apothecaries likewise. The Italian Doctor, mentioned in the Memoirs, was a Neapolitan, called *il Dottor Caro*; I was very intimate with him. He was an extremely

personable man, possessed of Wit, Enterprise, Elocution, and great Address. He, for a long time, enjoyed the favor and confidence of Sultan Mustapha, and made a very large fortune; but several great men at the Porte, being jealous of his influence, and knowing no other means of removing him, contrived to employ him in some political commissions to the European Courts, and took advantage of his absence to ruin him in the opinion of the Emperor. At his return to Constantinople, he perceived how much he had been injured, by the insinuations of his Enemies, and made several attempts to recover the favor of his Sovereign; but, not succeeding, determined to return into his own country, where he died not long after.

The Grand Seignior, in his indispositions, frequently consults European Physicians, who, when they are sufficiently fortunate to obtain his confidence, often acquire an influence in matters foreign to their profession; but they are not allowed to administer any remedy to the Sultan without the consent, and even the presence, of the
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the Hekim Bachi, to whom the care of the Sovereign's health by right belongs. M. Cobis, a German Physician, at present possesses, and deservedly, the confidence and favor of Sultan Abdulhamid, the reigning Emperor. He has given several proofs, on different occasions, of his interest with that Monarch.

(T. page 26. Part III.) The text of the Baron must here have been prodigiously disfigured by the Editor, or Hassan Pacha had particular reasons for relating this action in a manner widely different from the account he gave me, three days after the engagement, when he came to Smyrna, where I was then Consul General.

The Memoirs mention nothing of the two ships boarding each other, the succeeding event, the long and bloody combat by which it was preceded, or the wounds of Hassan Pacha. We are only told that the Russian, after having poured in his broadside, closed with the Turk, in order to throw some combustibles on board him, but blew up in the attempt. If this were

a true

a true account, Admiral Spiritoff, who commanded on board the Russian ship, must have been blown up with it. Yet every body knows that brave officer saved himself, with four-and-twenty others, in his boat, and is still alive, at Petersbourg, loaded with the favors, he has so well deserved, of his Sovereign. We should naturally infer, likewise, from what we are told of Hassan Pacha, that he threw himself, unhurt, into the Sea, as soon as he saw his ship had taken fire. Yet is it incontestable that he arrived at Smyrna, with his body full of wounds. The Relation given by the Count de Choiseul Gouffier is much more conformable to truth and probability, and more agreeable to the account I received from Hassan Pacha's own mouth. I shall here quote what the Count has said concerning this engagement, in chap. 5, page 94, of his *Voyage pittoresque de la Grece*.

“ Admiral Spiritow left the line singly
“ to attack Hassan's ship, which led the
“ van of the Turks. They fought with
“ great fury, and, closing with each other,
“ fastened

“ fastened themselves together with their
“ grappling irons. The Russians then
“ threw some combustibles on board the
“ Enemy, which took effect, but too sud-
“ denly, for, before they could disengage
“ themselves, they both blew up together.
“ Only four-and-twenty Russians were
“ saved, among which were the Admiral,
“ his Son, and Count Theodore Orlow.
“ This superb first rate carried ninety brass
“ cannon, and had on board a chest, con-
“ taining five hundred thousand rubles.”

I believe the Count de Choiseul will be far from displeased if I add, to what he has written, several particulars, which were communicated to me by Hassan Pacha himself, immediately after the engagement.—

The news of the total destruction of the Ottoman Fleet was known at Smyrna, by four in the morning, on Sunday, the eighth of July, 1770. That calamitous event was before but too much feared, because repeated advices from Tchesmai, the scene of this terrible destruction, had given reason to expect some dreadful disaster; besides, the explosion of the ships, as they blew
up,

up, and the report of the great guns, as the fire reached them, had been very plainly heard, and the column of smoke, which arose from each vessel as her powder took fire, very distinctly seen rising in the air, on the other side of the district of Karaboornoo. But no sooner was this event certainly known than the Mahometan inhabitants of that City, so incredulous before, were seized with Consternation and Despair. The Populace, rendered furious by this reverse of Fortune, and, inflamed by the seditious discourse of Ibrahim Aga, Commissioner of the Customs at Smyrna, a man wicked, cruel, and fanatic in the extreme, determined to give a loose to their rage, and revenge themselves on the Christians, principally the Greeks. Ibrahim Aga set them the example; and the same day, at five in the morning, began, by causing all the Greeks, who had any kind of employment in the Custom-house, to be murdered within the walls of that Building; though, as an Edifice belonging to the Emperor, it ought to have commanded his respect; and his duty required he should protect

protect all who might take refuge there as an Asylum. Immediately a general massacre commenced in all the markets, squares, and streets of the City, and in less than four hours, about fifteen hundred Greeks were murdered; two Europeans, the Sieur Gargani, a Florentine Merchant, and the Sieur Gallo, the Dutch Interpreter, fell victims to the fury of the enraged populace. They certainly would not have spared the Franks of any nation, had it been a working day, and business had brought them into the streets and markets. This Butchery lasted from five in the morning till nine in the evening, when the Officers of the Janissaries, with some chosen men of their body, stationing themselves in different detachments in every quarter of the City, at length put a stop to these disorders. The slaughter ceased, but the tumult was not entirely appeased. The Government, terrified, dared no longer exert its power, or repress the insolence of the rioters. All the Europeans took refuge on board the ships of their respective nations; the Consuls, alone, remaining in
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the City, to protect, as much as in their power, the persons and property of their Countrymen. These Commotions continued more than a month, of which every day was rendered remarkable by the dread of some new outrage.

It was in this critical moment Hassan Pacha, then called Hassan Bey, having escaped from so many dangers, was brought wounded to Smyrna, to seek the assistance of which he stood so much in need. He was very ill received, because it was imagined he had been the occasion of the Destruction of the Fleet; for it was not then known that Jaffer Bey, seized with terror at what had happened to the two Admirals, had fled for safety to the road of Tcheshmai, and induced the rest of the Ships to follow his pernicious example.

As soon as I was informed of the arrival of Hassan Bey at Smyrna, I paid him a visit at the custom-house, where he had taken up his residence. I was accompanied by M. Fonton, Interpreter's Secretary to the French King, and first Dragoman to the Consulship; M. D'Amirat, third Dragoman,

goman, as also by Messieurs Perretié and Marragon, French Merchants, who were desirous to go with me. We found him seated on a Sopha, with his face very much burnt by Gunpowder, leaning his head on a pillow, his arms and legs supported by four pillows, and obliged, by his wounds, to remain in an excessively uneasy posture. After many civilities on both sides, I made him an offer of the Attendance of M. Michel, Physician to the French hospital at Smyrna, which he accepted with great pleasure. Our discourse on the wounds he had received naturally led to a relation of the engagement, when he gave me the account I am now going to repeat.

The Captain Pacha, after having made those dispositions as ill imagined on his part as they are well described in the Memoirs, after having anchored his fifteen Ships of the line, and his Frigates between the main land of Asia and the Spalmadore islands, waited, in his galley, for the appearance of the Russian Fleet, according to the custom of the Ottoman Admirals, who, during a battle, are always on board some vessel

vessel with oars, that they may be more easily conveyed to give their orders, wherever their presence may be necessary. As soon as the frigates made the signal for seeing the enemies fleet, Hassan Bey, Captain of the flag ship of the Captain Pacha, sent to him, several times, for permission to get under sail, but could not obtain leave. Admiral Spiritow attacked the Turkish Admiral's Ship the moment he found himself sufficiently near, and the engagement was long and obstinate. Hassan Bey, at anchor, and unable to stir, received, for four hours, the fire of the Russian Ship, which, immediately after having discharged one broadside, passed him, and tacked about to pour in the other, no part of which he could avoid, as it was not in his power to move; he answered it therefore as well as he could, till a fortunate accident seemed to incline the scale in his favor.

The Turkish Ships of the line have all, in their upper tire, four or six guns of an enormous calibre, which carry stone balls of several hundred weight. One of these balls

balls carried away the rudder of the Russian Ship, which, being no longer under command of the Pilot, drove down upon the Turk. Hassan Bey, fearing the Russian should be carried so far as to frustrate the project he had formed of boarding him, made the only motion in his power, without disobeying the command of the Pacha to remain at anchor, and swung himself on his cable, keeping always in a line with his enemy, in order to receive him, if possible, on his broadside. This Manœuvre succeeded; the two Ships presently met, and were fastened together by their grappling irons. Hassan Bey attempted to board, and received several wounds, notwithstanding which, he was on the point of making himself master of his enemy's Ship, when the Russians, seeing no other means of escaping, after the loss of their rudder, even though they should be able to throw off the grappling irons, adopted the dangerous expedient of throwing an artificial firework into the Turkish Ship, which immediately set it in flames. Hassan Bey was therefore obliged to give over all at-

tempts to board, in order to extinguish the fire; but the flames, catching the Russian Ship at the same time, they both burnt together with great fury. Admiral Spiritow seeing it impossible to preserve his Ship, saved himself and twenty-four other persons in his boat. Hassan Bey, also, made some fruitless efforts to prevent the destruction of his ship; but, deserted by his crew, who had thrown themselves into the Sea, he was obliged to follow their example, and was fortunate enough to escape from the dreadful explosion of the two ships, which blew up a moment after, at a small distance from each other; he had also sufficient resolution and strength, notwithstanding his wounds, and the fatigues he had undergone, to reach the land, by the aid of a broken plank, and the assistance of a faithful friend, whose generous behaviour ought not to be passed over in silence.

Achmed Aga, a rich Merchant of the Morea, who had long maintained the most intimate friendship with Hassan Bey, having learned the latter was appointed Captain

tain of the flag ship, to the Captain Pacha, and was to command the Admiral ship, left his own country, to repair to his friend at Constantinople, and accompany him, in quality of volunteer. He accordingly embarked in the same ship, with Hassan Bey, fought by his side with the utmost bravery, gave him every assistance in his power, nor forsook the ship till he prepared to do the same; and when Hassan was obliged to save himself by swimming, threw himself first into the sea, assisted him to seize a part of the wreck, and brought him to shore, sometimes supporting him, and sometimes, as it were, towing him along. He, at length, though not without great difficulty, conducted him safe to Smyrna. Such an instance, of friendship and fidelity, does honor at once to the Ottoman nation and to humanity, and well deserved a place in the Memoirs.

The day after my visit to Hassan Bey, Achmed Aga came to see me, and confirmed all these circumstances, which I had before heard from the Vice Admiral himself.

M. Michel, the French physician at Smyrna, attended Hassan Bey, for a month or five weeks, and effected a perfect cure of his wounds; I also obtained permission, from our resident at that place, to defray the expence, at the charge of the King of France; and, in consequence, gave an order to M. Marin, then first Deputy for the French nation, at Smyrna, who reimbursed M. Michel, and placed the money to the account of the public expences, at that Port. The accounts of these expences, may be examined at the *Bureau de Marine* and will prove the truth of what I have here related, should it be doubted.

Hassan Bey left Smyrna, soon after he was cured, but remained in a kind of obscurity and disgrace, because Jaffer Bey, having found means to conceal from the Ministry, by specious pretences, his own despicable conduct, and depreciate the gallant behavior of his Colleague, had been advanced to the dignity of Captain Pacha; but the Truth soon became manifest. The conduct of Hassan Bey was justified and applauded, Jaffer Bey exiled to Rhodes, and

and Haſſan promoted to his place, in which his faithful ſervices have continued to merit the entire confidence of Sultan Muſtapha and Sultan Abdulhamid, his ſucceſſor.

(U. p. 78. Part III.) The Author, who has not rendered ſufficient juſtice to the brave Haſſan, in his relation of the above action, ſhould not have refuſed him that glory at Lemnos, which, perhaps, the Annals of Hiſtory cannot exceed, and which equals the moſt renowned exploits of Greece or Rome.

It was fortunate for the Ottoman Empire that Haſſan Pacha attacked the Ruſſians with more ſucceſs than Baron de Tott had combated, in the preſence of the Miniſters, his plan for the expedition. That gallant commander ſhewed himſelf much better acquainted with the bravery of thoſe he had choſen, to accompany him in this enterpriſe, than he had appeared to be with the mechanic powers at the Dardanelles. The ſucceſs of this bold undertaking was certainly not very probable, and the means propoſed apparently inſufficient; but this only ſerves to render his victory ſtill more illuſtrious.

It was, indeed, more extraordinary than the Memoirs represent, since Hassan Pacha had with him only fifteen hundred men, instead of four thousand, as is there said.

Having embarked this inconsiderable force in some very small boats, without either artillery or provisions, he left the Dardanelles, and taking advantage of the darkness of the night, landed the next day in an uninhabited creek of the Island of Lemnos. As soon as his little detachment had got on shore, he spurned the boat adrift, in which he came, commanding all who were with him to do the like: the boats being thus driven out to sea, he made this short harangue to his followers. “Comrades, our
“flight is now rendered impossible; we
“must conquer or die; we are fasting, and
“have no provisions; but we shall procure
“plenty from our enemies when we have
“vanquished them, till when we must
“not expect to eat. Follow me; I lead
“you to victory.” He immediately sets out by forced marches, drives the Russians from the city of Lemnos and Port St. Anthony; forces them to take refuge on
board

board their ships with the most shameful precipitation, raises the siege of the Fort, which had been carried on, without effect, during four months, dislodges the enemy from a post highly advantageous and proper for favoring all their operations, makes himself master of their Artillery and Baggage, beholds them set sail, and then returns in triumph to the Dardanelles. Hafsan Pacha was fortunate, no doubt; but might good fortune alone perform all this? What a mind must that General possess, who only could conceive such a project! What fortitude to undertake, and what prudence to conduct it so successfully! What honor is not due to his courageous Associates! And what can we think of the Visir, who could call those brave men *rascals*, and wish they might no longer burthen their country! The three hundred Greeks who died at Thermopylæ might be stiled rascals with equal justice.

I cannot conclude this paragraph without mentioning the valor and firmness of Disdar, the Governor of the little Fortress of Lemnos, who, with a garrison of six

hundred men, very few provisions, and still less ammunition, resisted, during four months, all the sea and land forces the Russians had brought into the Archipelago. I saw him at Smyrna a short time after the Siege was raised; he related to me all the circumstances of it with the Modesty, Simplicity, and Magnanimity constantly attendant on true Heroism. A nation which produces such men cannot be totally despicable. I shall here subjoin a Character of Hassan Pacha, which, I believe, will be allowed, by those who know him, to resemble the original much more than that given in the Memoirs.

This Admiral is about seventy years of age, of a middling stature, and stoutly made. He has received from nature an extremely strong constitution, which he has rendered still stronger by the fatigues of war, and his hardy manner of living. His complexion is dark, and embrowned by the sun and air; his countenance, though not handsome, is sufficiently regular, and commands respect by a beard and white mustachios. There is, in his look and manner,

ner, an air of courage and firmness which displays the elevation of his mind, and which might at first be mistaken for ferocity. He is sober from natural inclination, austere from principle, religious from conviction, severe from love of order, firm and implacable from disposition, and, unfortunately, sometimes cruel and sanguinary from necessity. He was born with those seeds of Genius which would have rendered him a truly astonishing man, if the neglect of all study, till too advanced an age, and the want of even the first principles of science had not prevented their coming to perfection. His valor, his intrepidity, his activity, his love of his country, which exalt him to an equality with the greatest heroes recorded in any history, either ancient or modern, would have been much more brilliant and useful to the State, if they had been guided by more extensive Knowledge. He has, however, rendered the Empire the most distinguished services both in the cabinet and the field. We have already seen what he performed by sea. By land, continually victorious, he
saw

saw an enemy infinitely superior in numbers fly before him at Lemnos, without once putting it in their power to retaliate. He re-established the Ottoman Marine, which had been entirely destroyed at Tcheshmai. He introduced great improvements into the building and rigging of ships, lowered their decks, rendered their sterns less lofty, and more elegant and commodious; raised their masts, and provided them with better tackling, and a more regular artillery. He chastised the most formidable rebels in the Empire, delivered the Morea from the Invasion of the Albanians, who, under the pretence of defending that fine province from a second attack of the Russians, had committed the greatest devastations. He preserved the Greeks, when it was deliberated in the Council to exterminate them entirely, as a punishment for their defection, and to prevent their future rebellion: he obtained for them a general amnesty, which he took care should be faithfully observed; and this, added to the ill-treatment with which the Russians rewarded the Greeks for all
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the favors they received from them, has brought back a great number of emigrants, and prevented the total desertion of that numerous class of subjects, which an unseasonable rigor would have occasioned, and which must have depopulated the provinces, rendered a great part of the country uncultivated, and deprived the fleet of a nursery of sailors. He has constantly maintained the government, good order, and tranquillity of the Capital, and prevented, or quelled, every insurrection. Nature, assisted by Study and Art, would have made Hassan Pacha a prodigious, Nature alone has only made him a great, man.

While I reprehend the Author of the Memoirs for the unjust and disadvantageous colours in which he has painted Hassan Pacha, I cannot sufficiently extol the portraits he has drawn of the three Ministers * who governed the Empire, at the time when Baron de Tott commenced his operations. Nothing can be more exact. I was acquainted with all the three. I saw the

* Part III. page 30.

Pachas, Melek and Izzet, at Smyrna, after their Viziriat.—The first exhibited in his elegant figure the marks of that mildness and goodness of disposition he so eminently possessed, and nothing more. To the same qualities, in the other, were added real abilities, both natural and acquired. Ismael Bei was in exile and sick, at Scio, when I touched there, on my return to France, in the month of August, 1778. As soon as he was informed of my arrival at the Island, he sent one of the principal officers of his household, to request me to come and see him. This invitation was conveyed in terms highly expressive of that avidity with which all exiled Ministers enquire after news, and seek an opportunity of discoursing on the great affairs in which they have been engaged. I found him in that kind of lethargy that opium, which he took immoderately, produces. I perceived he was of the class of persons called *Tberiakis*, who are described in the Memoirs in so just and lively a manner. I despaired of being able to enter into any reasonable discourse with him, when, hav-

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ing a little dispersed the fumes of the opium, he made me the customary compliments, and addressed me in the most civil and obliging terms. The conversation became insensibly more animated; he sometimes sunk into his first stupidity, but requested me to continue my discourse; lost not a word of what I said, and, again collecting himself, answered me with a precision and propriety extremely surprising. About eleven o'clock dinner was served, during which he was particularly lively and agreeable. He eat but little, and several remarks escaped him, of the same nature with the circumstance of the two canary birds, mentioned in the Memoirs. Indeed, the Theriakis are remarkable for their temperance in other respects, and addicted to a thousand little childish fancies. A flower, a fruit, a bird, or a toy, are amusements as highly valued by them as we can possibly prize what we esteem our most delicious pleasures. At noon, Ismael Bei washed and repeated his prayers, after which we again resumed our Conversation. It principally turned on what had passed during

during the war, and since the peace. Through the whole of this conference that Minister discovered an agreeable and lively disposition, a sound judgment, enlarged views, great elegance of language, and a very extensive knowledge of the interests of the principal powers of Europe. About four o'clock water was brought him for the necessary ablutions before the prayer called *Ikindi*; I then took my leave, and he assured me nothing could give him a greater pleasure than to see me again, if accident should ever bring us together.

Ismael Bei was restored to favor; a short time after Sultan Abdulhamid honoured him with three tails, and appointed him Pacha of Cairo, whence he has been removed to other less turbulent Governments.

The Character of the Emperor Sultan Mustapha, whose confidence was first enjoyed by Baron de Tott, deserves to be described, since the Memoirs only afford a few scattered features, which must be collected, in order to form a whole. That Prince possessed a sound judgment, an upright
right

right heart, and an austerity of manners. His understanding did not surpass mediocrity. He spoke with ease and precision, and wrote a finer hand than is usual for a Sovereign. His health, greatly injured by the poison of Sultan Osman, to which he saw his eldest brother, Sultan Mehemed, fall a victim, did not permit him to indulge himself much in pleasure, to which he was naturally little inclined. Entirely devoted to business, and perpetually buried among his papers, he laboured without remission; and when his favourites represented to him that such continued attention was injurious to his health, he answered, My application is necessary, since none of you understand how to conduct Business. He has given many eminent examples of his justice, and, if in some instances he has been charged with cruelty, it has arisen less from his natural disposition, than religious and national prejudices. He has been unjustly accused of avarice, since he has exhausted his treasures in endeavouring to re-establish a declining Empire. It would be equally unjust to ascribe to him great talents, or

to deny him zeal and good intentions ; and it is not to be doubted but, had his reign been less disturbed, and more fortunate, his sincere desire of reforming abuses would have had the most beneficial effects : for, when a Sovereign is determinedly intent on doing good, his ministers are always competent to the execution of his will.

(Y. page 114. Part III.) The Turks have no iron cannon, and either know not how, or disdain to make it. All their Artillery is of brass, nor have they any other on board their ships ; for though we find pieces of iron ordnance in some of their fortified places, or on board their merchant ships, these have all been taken in war, or purchased from the Swedes, Danes, or other Europeans. It is, indeed, very surprising that their founderies should have no furnaces proper for melting iron, since that at Tophana sends every day to Constantinople a prodigious number of brass pieces, some of them of an enormous calibre, excellent, beautiful, and long since brought

brought to perfection, according to the proportions and models of the European artillery. They are continually to be seen, ranged along the shore at Tophana, frequently in double and triple rows; nor can we, without great injustice, accuse the Turks of total ignorance in the art of casting artillery. It is in fact difficult to conceive how they can produce one so beautiful without furnaces proper for casting the small field-pieces, of which they are in want, and which Baron de Tott undertook to fabricate. This is a problem, the solution of which I shall leave to those who are more conversant in matters of this nature.

(Z. page 118. Part III.) This passage would lead us to imagine the Turks have neither architects nor workmen. To confute such an opinion, we may appeal to the august Manes of the Emperors Selim, Soliman, Bajazet, Achmed, and Mahmoud, who have left behind them such superb Mosques, Khans, Beseftins, and many other monuments of their grandeur and magnificence. Those illustrious Monarchs did

not certainly send for any European Artists to erect these majestic edifices ; they were all built by architects and workmen who were natives. They are the Admiration of foreign Connoisseurs ; and the Author of the Memoirs himself, in his first Volume, has not denied them some praise. Sultan Selim employed an Armenian Architect in building his two superb Mosques, one of which is at Constantinople, and the other at Andrinople : and, after they were finished, asked him which was the most beautiful. I have expended most money, replied the Artist, in that of Andrinople, but most science in that of the Metropolis. Another Armenian, named Echeke Simeon, who is, perhaps, still living, or has certainly not been long dead, without being able either to write or read, or even to draw, has, in our time, executed, in a truly masterly manner, the magnificent Mosque of Sultan Mahmoud, of which I have already spoken, and which Sultan Osman caused to be finished, in order to give it his own name. The stupidity and ignorance of this Armenian in every thing but
Architecture

Architecture was so great, that it procured him the name of *Echek Simeon*, or Simeon the Afs.

I think I have now said enough to justify the Turks from this accusation brought against them by the Author, who seems willing to insinuate they have neither architects, masons, nor smiths; for, since all these different workmen must concur to the completion of a grand Edifice, the Founders of the superb Buildings, I have mentioned, must have obtained, and might still obtain, all the Artists necessary to such undertakings at home, because they have not been obliged to procure them elsewhere,

(A. page 134. Part III.) The enrolled Janissaries are, in fact, so numerous that the number, if it could be ascertained, would amount to several millions. Both Baron de Tott and myself have contributed to augment it; I having, like him, been admitted into this Corps at Precop, in 1758. They are, however, only estimated at forty thousand; on which account they are called *Kirk Bin Koul*, or the forty thou-

sand slaves ; and, though there may be four hundred thousand on the pay-list, it is certain, the treasury does not issue pay for more than forty thousand, that being only received by the Janissaries of the *Odas*, or Barracks, at Constantinople, and those who in the Garrisons have followed their *Kettle*. All those who are not with the standard are called *Yamaks*, and receive no emolument.

All other Corps, which compose the military force of the Turks, are in like manner very numerous : the reason of which is that the People are divided into two Classes, the *Askeris*, or military, and the *Beledis*, or peasants. Every Mahometan, who does not belong to some military corps, is obliged by the Law to pay, like the *Rayas*, a capitation tax, and is assessed for his share of the imposts levied on the cities, towns, and villages, and which are called *Tekialif urfia* ; and though this Law be not rigorously put in execution, it nevertheless causes many to enter their names on the lists.

(B. page 136. Part III.) The sixteen millions and a half, appropriated by Sultan Soliman to these purposes, are the grants of the Fiefs called *Timars* and *Ziamets*, and which so far answer the expectation of the founder, with respect to the Cavalry, that this feudal Cavalry is often so numerous as to become more prejudicial than useful, and occasion confusion and scarcity in the Army, as the Author himself has remarked in another passage of the Memoirs.

Baron de Tott, both as a military man, and a man of extensive knowledge and long experience in the manners of the people he describes, was certainly better qualified than any other person to give us a perfectly satisfactory account of the Turkish military; it is therefore with the utmost regret, we perceive he has thrown but little light on a subject he was so well able to illustrate. He has spoken frequently of the Corps of the Janissaries, without saying of how many companies it consists, and without making mention of its division into *Ortas*, *Buluks*, and *Seymens*, forming

in all one hundred and ninety-six Companies, that is to say, one hundred and one Ortas, sixty-one Buluks, and thirty-four Seymens. He says nothing of the Subdivision of these Companies into *Tournadjis*, Guards of the Cranes; *Zagardjis*, Guards of the Hounds; *Samsfouudjis*, Guards of the Mastiffs, and several other privileged companies, still a part, however, of the one hundred and ninety-six which form the Corps, and the Chiefs of which arrive, like those of the others, at the highest Stations. He makes no mention of the *Yerlis*, or provincial militia of the Janissaries, commanded by a *Serdar*, in the cities which are not considered as places of strength, and where there is no Janissary Aga; of the *Yamaks*, or garrisoned Invalids; of the *Otouraks*, or Invalids exempted from service; of the division of them which takes place both in garrison and in the field into *Sag Kol* and *Sol Kol*, or right wing and left wing, each of which have their separate standards, and their respective Agas, one of whom is stiled *Sag Kol Agassi*, and the other *Sol Kol Agassi*; of the *Bairaks*
Serden-

Serdenghetchedis, or Companies of Volunteers, which the Officers of that body raise, in time of war, take to the army, and maintain at their own expence. He has given a particular account of the subalterns of the Companies, but has said nothing of the higher officers, consisting of the *Janissary Aga*, the *Seymen Bachi*, the *Koul Kiaiaffi*, the *Jenitcheri Effendi*, the *Muhzur Aga*, the *Bache Tchaouche*, and the *Orta Tchaouche*; he has said very little of the *Toptchis*, or Gunners, and not even mentioned the *Coombaradjis*, or Bombardiers, nor the School established for the latter by the late Comte de Bonneval, Ahmed Pacha. He passes over in silence the *Azaps*, or Pioneers, the *Lagamdjis*, or Miners, and several other military corps, who are each distinct in their establishment and regulation. He takes not the slightest notice of the Canons of Sultan Soliman, which regulate the government and discipline of every military corps in the Empire.

(C. page 140. Part III.) The word *Irz*, in Turkish, has the same signification as

Honor, in French ; and this is so true that, when a Turk has been obliged to submit to some inconvenience rather than forfeit his honor, he consoles himself by saying *Irz belaffi*, it is a misfortune which honor entails. To exaggerate our accusations in this manner is almost to justify the accused.

(D. page 188. Part III.) The happy success which has since crowned this Emperor's endeavors to perpetuate his august Family, at the same time that it has delivered the Turks from the fear of a failure in the Ottoman line, has demonstrated the perfect recovery of a Monarch who is dear to them, and done honor to the physicians, of each sex, who had undertaken his cure.

(E. page 188. Part III.) This same Caimakan, who is here spoken of by the name of Hassan Pacha, and the surname Kooyoodgi, is, as often as he is mentioned afterwards, constantly called Mustapha Pacha. This, no doubt, is a mistake of the Printer,

ter, but that is no apology for the Error of the Author. This Pacha was neither named Mustapha, nor Hassan; his name was Seuleiman Pacha Kooyoodgi. I observe, also, that the Author, at page 199, has given the name of *Umer* to the High Treasurer, whom the same Kooyoodgi Seuleiman Pacha raised by open force to the dignity of Pacha with three tails, which he was so unwilling to accept. This High Treasurer was named Osman Effendi, his Surname was Jenichehirlu, because the town of Jenichehir was the place of his birth. He has since been known under the name of Osman Pacha.

(F. page 198. Part III.) It is universally known that the Surra Emini is never the Conductor of the Pilgrims to Mecca. This Office has always belonged to the Pacha of Damascus alone, who, on that account, receives the title of *Emir Hadje*, or Commander of the Pilgrims. Two Caravans set out every year for Mecca, one from Damascus, and the other from Cairo. The first

first is conducted by the Pacha of Damascus, and the other by one of the four-and-twenty Beys who govern Egypt. The first is met at Damascus by all the Pilgrims from the northern, eastern, and western parts of the Ottoman Empire. The second, which sets out later, is formed at Cairo, of the Stragglers, the Pilgrims of Egypt, the Barbary States, the Empire of Morocco, and those who arrive from Tartary; as it is more commodious and less expensive for the latter to go by sea, from the Crimea, and the other provinces of Little Tartary, to Constantinople, and thence again by Sea, and down the Nile, to Cairo, than to make a long journey by land to Damascus. The first Caravan waits for the other at a certain distance from Mecca, where they join and enter the City together, under the command of the Emir Hadje.

The Office of *Surra Emini*, or Intendant of the Alms, is to bear to Mecca the money arising from the legacies bequeathed by Individuals, and also the two coverings which the Emperor sends, one to Mecca,

Mecca, and the other to Medina, together with the other royal offerings to those holy places. The first covering is designed for the *Beith Oullab*, or house of God at Mecca, which is the grand object of the pilgrimage, and is commonly called the *Kiaba*, or Cube, because its form is a perfect cube. This covering is a black woollen stuff without any ornament. The *Surra Emini*, who carries the new one, brings back the old, and presents it to the Emperor, who distributes the pieces of it to the Grandees and his Favorites. These pieces are held in the highest veneration, and those who obtain them give orders that, at their burial, their heads shall be covered with them in the coffin; and care is taken to let these precious fragments appear on the outside, over the rich stuff which covers the bier, in the Funerals of the Great. The second covering is of silk and gold, and is not carried by the *Surra-Emini* to Mecca, as is said in the *Memoirs*, but to Medina, where the Tomb is, which it is designed to envelop.

It is difficult to reconcile the conclusion of this volume and the reproaches with which the Author has loaded the Ottoman Nation through the whole course of his Work. The Relations, contained in this third part of the Memoirs, of all the Labors of the Baron; the success of his operations, in constructing Batteries at the Dardanelles, and Fortresses at the mouth of the Strait of the Black Sea; in casting Artillery, constructing Bridges, and forming a new military Corps to serve the field pieces, and mortars; in exercising the Infantry, and instructing them in the management of the bayonet; in establishing an uniform, changing the military punishments, and founding a School for the Mathematics and the Science of Fortification: all these particulars, I say, prove that Baron de Tott found, in the Monarch, a real desire to correct prejudicial abuses, and not to spare his treasures when they could be useful in founding beneficial Establishments; in the Ministers, a desire, either feigned or real, of seconding the will of their Sovereign, and in the Professors
of

of the Law a surprising liberality, and greater readiness than could have been expected, to make their religion give way to the exigencies of the State, since the Mufti, and the Body of the Ulemas permitted the Mussulmen to put up prayers for the success of the undertakings of a Christian, and the Head of the Law himself bestowed his benediction on the bayonet, to authorize its use. Is it not plain, also, that he found in the people a flexibility and understanding, which ought to make him acknowledge they are equally susceptible of the most exact discipline, and every kind of improvement? And does not the affecting Description he has given at the end of this Volume, of the Parting between himself and his pupils, when he set sail for France, sufficiently prove the gratitude of the Nation towards those who have endeavoured their Instruction?

After this recapitulation of the splendid labors of Baron de Tott, if I hint at all at my own, it will only be in Justification of the Turkish nation; and, because, under similar circumstances, I have experienced,
from

from that People, the same sentiments and dispositions. After the battle at Tchefmai, the Porte, fearing, not without reason, the Russians would make an attempt on Smyrna, on account of its important situation for Commerce, or that, should they despair to keep possession of it, they might at least plunder, or lay it under an enormous contribution, I was charged by the Count de St. Priest, at the request of the Ottoman Ministry, with a Commission of the same nature with the Baron's, and was furnished with an Order from the Grand Seignior, requiring the Officers of Government, at Smyrna, to follow my advice, and lend every assistance, in their power, to execute my plans for securing the City from an attack.

With the Assistance of an Italian Officer, Count Morelli, and the Sieur David, French Builder at that Port, I carried on, at Smyrna, works, in miniature, for its defence, nearly of the same nature with those which Baron de Tott executed on a larger scale at the Dardanelles and Constantinople, for the defence of the Empire. I
found

found all the great Officers extremely ready to assist me in my operations ; and, without testifying the least displeasure at an order far from flattering to themselves, or their abilities, they furnished me with all the workmen and materials necessary for my undertaking, and attended, in person, with the utmost willingness, wherever their presence could be of service. When the object of my Commission was finished, all who had any authority in the City assembled at the house of the Mollah, and drew up and transmitted to the Porte an *Ilam*, or verbal Process, in which, giving an account of all that had been done, they spoke in the most flattering terms of the zeal I had shewn on this occasion, and the services I had performed. The Mollah, when he sent to thank me, in the name of the City, remitted me also a Copy of this Instrument, which I sent to the Count de St. Priest, to prove I had executed his orders, and those of the Porte, to the general Satisfaction.

We

We are now arrived at the fourth and last Part of these Memoirs, which contains a relation of a Tour through the sea-ports of the Levant, performed by Baron de Tott, on board the Frigate Atlanta, in quality of Inspector of Commerce. It were to be wished that, without too much laying open the mysteries of his Inspection, he had, in his last Volume, thrown some new light on this important part of his mission; but, unfortunately, the Inspector of Commerce is almost always concealed behind the Traveller; and the more the ingenious observations, and judicious conjectures of the Traveller, on geography, topography, natural history, antiquities, and the history of the various countries he has visited, are interesting and satisfactory to the Learned and the Curious, the more is the silence of the Inspector to be lamented by the Politician and the Merchant.

(G. page 8. Part IV.) Corn is not scarce in Candia; the plains of Messara, and several other parts of the Island, furnish
it

it in great Abundance, and the annual harvests are quite sufficient for the maintenance of the inhabitants; but, as the Corn of Messara is incomparably fine, the Agas export a great quantity; European, Turkish, and Greek Vessels are perpetually engaged in this illicit commerce at Yerapetra and Mirabelle, from whence they send the Corn to France, Italy, Constantinople, Alexandria, Bengaza, Derna, Tripoli, and even Tunis, on which account Candia is frequently obliged to depend on the Morea for subsistence. Oil and soap compose indeed the two principal branches of commerce in this Kingdom, but it likewise produces an infinity of articles of importance, as very fine silk, wax, honey, sufficient cotton for the consumption of the country, and cheeses, which a contraband trade exports to Egypt, the coast of Barbary, Italy, and Provence. It also produces black raisins and *barroubs*, for which Egypt furnishes the principal market.

(H. page 81. Part IV.) Sheik Taher was not subdued by Muhammed Bei. The
VOL. II. S famous

famous Hassan Pacha, at present Admiral of Turkey, was sent, a short time after the Peace of Kainardjik, with a part of the Ottoman fleet, to attack and punish this Rebel, and brought to Constantinople both his head and his treasures.

(l. page 96. Part IV.) This menace was unhappily never realised. Baron de Tott was in Syria, in 1776. Nine years are now elapsed since that time, and Dgezar Pacha still lives and still holds the same Government, to the great regret of the unfortunate inhabitants of Syria, over whom he exercises the most cruel Tyranny.

(K. page 104. Part IV.) The Author, when mentioning the prerogatives enjoyed by the French nation at Seide, should not, I think, have omitted an interesting circumstance, which is, that the French Consul at this sea-port, who is Consul General of Syria, formerly possessed the privilege of being *Emir Hadje* of the Christians, or Commander of the Pilgrimage to Jerusalem. All the Pilgrims of the three rituals,
Greek,

Greek, Armenian, and Latin, as well subjects of the Grand Seignior as foreigners, met and formed a Caravan, which was conducted, by the Consul, to the Holy Land. The pilgrims paid a certain sum to the Consul Emir Hadje, who, in consequence of this dignity, was attended, like the Pachas with three tails, by *Chatirs*, or footmen, who wear a long vest, or *Dolama*, of scarlet, the flaps of which, turned back, discover a large edging of yellow fatten, which they have underneath; above this vest they wear a girdle of silver gilt, to which is fastened a poniard, the handle and sheath of which are of the same metal, and precede the Pacha in boots of yellow Morocco. A long time after the French Consuls General had ceased to be Conductors of the Christian Caravan, several of them still kept their Chatirs; but their Successors soon grew tired of supporting a useless and burthensome prerogative, as unprofitable as expensive.

This privilege has not been refused by the Turks, or renounced by the Consuls; but the pilgrims themselves have insensibly

laid aside forming a general Caravan, which diminished their liberty, while it augmented their expence. They now prefer going alone, or in small bodies, which, not requiring so much preparation and ceremony, exposes them less to the rapacity of the Arabs, and costs them less money.

(L. page 111. Part IV.) The Editor of the Memoirs, who has here engaged Baron de Tott in conversation with a Druse, in order to procure from him, in haste, and while some writings were making out, an account of that nation, was certainly ignorant the Inspector had with him, in quality of Dragoman to the Inspection, M. Venture de Paradis, Interpreter to the King, a truly learned man, who, after having many years studied the Druses, had obtained sufficient knowledge of them and their language to draw up a Catechism of their Religion, and write an abstract of their History, which either already are, or very soon will be, laid before the Public. Baron de Tott would, no doubt, have preferred consulting him with respect to the
manners

manners and customs of the Druses, as he might have done it much more at his ease, and with far more advantage.

(M. page 123. Part IV.) The Author, in his physical remarks on the City of Aleppo, has omitted a remarkable thing that deserves to be mentioned: I mean a disorder to which all the inhabitants, who are natives, and even strangers who have resided there several years, are subject. This disorder is a large pimple, or boil, which breaks out, though but once, on some part of the body. It is neither painful nor dangerous, and its eruption is preceded by a fever of four-and-twenty hours continuance. Care should be taken not to irritate it, or drive the collected matter inwards, by injudicious treatment; the best method is, to let it suppurate, as it purges the body of its humors, and is very conducive to health. This boil, which continues a year, produces no ill effects, except the disagreeable scar it sometimes leaves, when it happens to break out in

the face, a circumstance equally impossible to be foreseen or avoided.

(N. page 129. Part IV.) The Author, in the second part, page 47, had already refused the Noguais Tartars the title of Nomades; he has here denied it to the Turcomen, whose manners and way of life are nearly the same. I know not his reasons, but the Dictionary of the Academy, which is the best authority for the different acceptations of words in the French language, explains the term thus, “*Nomad*, “one who has no fixed habitation;” and adds, “the Tartars are Nomades.” Indeed, there are no people to whom the appellation of Nomades better agrees than the Noguais Tartars and the Turcomen. They have neither Towns nor Villages, but live continually in Tents; they sow their corn, and feed their cattle, sometimes in one district, and sometimes in another. The Turcomen, like the Noguais, are divided into different Hordes, governed by their respective Chiefs, or Princes, who, like the Noguais, receive the Title of Beys, and

and whose Authority is hereditary. Both these nations are extremely hospitable to Strangers. In my travels, in the year 1765, to Magnesia, Thiatyra, and Sardis, of which I have published an account, I was received in the most friendly manner by the Horde of Djura Bey, which usually was encamped in the plains of Sardis and Allahcheir, the ancient Philadelphia. Djura Bey had been beheaded, some years before, by order of the Porte, for rebellion. At Jaiakeui I met with Ali Bey, his son and successor, who was then with the celebrated Cara Osman Oglou, who, having learned I was to pass by Sardis, testified the greatest regret that it was not in his power to receive me in his camp, and gave me a letter to his mother, whom I visited the next day with this recommendation. I found an aged woman, of a noble figure, and commanding presence, who received me with a profusion of civilities, and entertained me with a dinner and a supper, which seemed prepared by one of the ancient Patriarchs. In the evening, she ordered a tent to be set up for me, in which

I found an excellent bed, and the next day, when I went to take my leave, obliged me to accept three carpets, which she had sent early in the morning, ready packed up, to my tent. The Turcomen, like the Noguais, are naturally warlike and courageous, and, whatever the Memoirs may pretend, attack and defend themselves with equal valor. They take up arms very willingly, even without being provoked; for, in the last War against the Russians, a numerous Bairak of Turcomen, the same I have just mentioned, left the plains of Sardis, under the command of their Chief, Ali Bey, to join the Ottoman Army beyond the Danube, where they behaved honorably.

(O. page 132. Part IV.) The Curds are a warlike people, addicted to robbery and rapine. They inhabit the mountains of Caramania, and are generally supposed to be Mahometans, but pay little regard to any religion. They are so despised by the Turks, that they compare them to the Bohemians, and their name is become proverbial. When the Turks speak of two persons

persons equally contemptible, they commonly say, *Tchibingbana tchalar Curd oinar*: i. e. The Bohemian plays the fiddle, and the Curd dances.

(P. page 142. Part IV.) Baron de Tott could not do better than refer his reader, for whatever relates to the Greeks, either ancient or modern, to the immortal work of the Count de Choiseul; a Work equally valuable for its interesting matter, the beauty of its style, the profundity of its erudition, the truth of the designs, the perfection of the engravings, and the richness and elegance of the vignettes; a Work which is at once an honor to the French nation, and the present Age, and affords a useful lesson to the Great, of the manner in which they should employ their riches and their talents.

(Q. page 142. Part IV.) This Fishery is carried on by the male and female Inhabitants of the Isle of Sima, at present Simio; which Island, situated to the North-west of Rhodes, near the entrance of the gulph of Macri,

Macri, is inhabited by the most expert divers in the World. Among these Islanders the young men and women are not permitted to marry till they have collected a certain number of Sponges, amounting to many thousands.

These Divers are able to remain under water above an hour, without taking breath. Anatomists affirm they derive this extraordinary power from the care which is taken to keep open, in their infants, the Foramen ovale *; by which the lungs are played in the Fœtus, and which closes immediately after the birth. As I am not competent to decide whether this be really the case, I shall not take upon me to determine. For a further account of the Inhabitants of Sima, the Reader may consult the Count de Choiseul Gouffier, in his *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grece*, Chap. VII.

* It seems strange to us that means can be found to keep the Foramen Ovale open, or that Anatomists should have made such an assertion. T.

(R. page 145. Part IV.) I cannot pass over this passage without vindicating the character of Haffan Pacha from this unjust accusation of Cruelty.

The Aga here alluded to was Ayvas Aga, Commander of the little district of Booroonabad, near Smyrna. This man, by uniting together a number of Timars, had rendered himself very formidable; he had been guilty of numerous offences, and incurred the anger of the Porte by repeated outrages. He had the boldness to advance with his troops to Smyrna, to surprise and block up in his Palace Cara Osman Oglou, whom the Emperor had appointed Governor of the City, to re-establish good order after the Rebellion in 1770, which I have mentioned before. He had obliged him to capitulate, and committed every kind of extravagance. He had seized, by open violence, in the Castle of Smyrna, a woman who had taken refuge there from his cruelty, and put her to death a few days after. He had carried his temerity so far as to insult, in the grossest manner, the *Koul Kiayassi*, or General

neral Officer of the Janissaries, whom the Porte had sent to Smyrna, to discover and punish those who had been concerned in the Rebellion. As he was extremely offended at my intimacy with the Koul Kia-yaffi, and my ancient and hereditary friendship with Cara Osman Oglou, which his Situation, my own, and other circumstances obliged me to maintain, he made an assault on my house, and several musquets were fired. The Chevalier de Porcellet, and M. de Barentin, two Sea-officers, who had done me the honor to dine with me that day, were near being killed at the window, and a bullet, which crossed the court-yard, narrowly missed M. Fonton and his Son, who were walking there. The warm Remonstrances which the Count de St. Priest made to the Porte on this occasion, added to so many other complaints, determined the Emperor to send orders to the Capitan Pacha to punish the Rebel. That gallant Admiral, therefore, brought his fleet to Smyrna for that purpose. He commanded Cara Osman Oglou to come to his Assistance with a powerful body of troops,

troops, and, having selected some brave men from his Ships, marched against Ayvas Aga, who suffered himself to be surprized, and had but just time to make his escape, alone, and conceal himself in a Valley, where he was soon discovered, and brought to the Pacha, who condemned both him and his Kiaya, the accomplice of all his crimes, to lose their heads. The Admiral was guilty of no cruelty, nor did he massacre any person, but only employed the Authority with which he was entrusted for the punishment of an offender, who had merited the utmost Severity by a thousand crimes.

(S. page 150. Part IV.) This passage contains a geographical error. It is not the Gulph of Naples of Romania which forms the Peninsula of the Morea, but that of Engia, anciently called Sinus Saronicus, and that of Lepanto, which, by approaching each other, form the Isthmus of Corinth, and render the Morea a Peninsula. The Gulph of Naples of Romania is situated much more to the South than that
of

of Engia, and lies in a south-west direction from it.

I shall conclude my Letter with one more observation relative to Lady Montague. The Reader will pardon with difficulty the Baron de Tott, for having attacked the memory of an illustrious woman, who wrote numerous truths concerning the Turks, saw them as they were, expressed herself with elegance, and infused that sensibility into her work which characterises her sex, the glory of which she has contributed to augment. She will, therefore, readily be pardoned those trifling errors which have escaped her.

I have now, Sir, compleated the task you were pleased to impose; but, notwithstanding the errors I have remarked in the Memoirs, I must confess I have read them again and again, with the utmost pleasure, since they are highly entertaining, and contain particulars of every kind which are extremely interesting: I could, indeed, have wished that the Baron de Tott had
not

not so hastily despaired of the Turks ; for, whatever we may think of the present generation, several circumstances, of which he cannot be ignorant, ought to incline us to hope better things from their posterity. He may, perhaps, himself live to see those clouds dissipated by which the glory of the Ottoman nation has been obscured. To conclude, I must again declare that I cannot believe the Memoirs to be wholly such as Baron de Tott would himself have published, but that they must have been printed without his knowledge, since we find in them several errors which it is impossible to attribute to him.

We may, no doubt, reasonably expect another edition, more copious and correct. Should the Baron, however, avow that which has appeared, I shall neither retract the deserved commendations I have bestowed on the Author, nor the critical observations I have made on the Work.

T H E E N D.



I N D E X.

P. D. signify Preliminary Discourse, the small Numerals denote the Part, and the Figures refer to the Page.

A.

ABDI-Pacha, called the Pit-digger for his Cruelty, puts to death thirty thousand men, iii. 113. Promoted to be Cai-makan, terrifies the Superintendent of the Foundry by threatening to cut off his head, iii. 189. B. de Tott's resolute behaviour on that occasion, iii. 192. His Deposition, iii. 200.

Abdul-Hamid succeeds to the Throne, iii. 182. Reviews B. de Tott's Corps of Gunners, iii. 183. Imagines a Tartar Centinel on duty to be suffering Punishment, iii. 184. Revolution in the Ministry on his Accession, iii. 188.

Accession of Mustapha the III. i. 112.

Achetchi-Bachi, Kitchen Furniture-dress of, i. 119.

Achmedchid, ii. 111.

Acre, St. John d', described, iv. 98.

Actors, personal Mimicry and Licentiousness of the Turkish, i. 175.

Adgibektache, who, iii. 143.

Adjemka, critical situation of the Tartar Army there, ii. 180. Its Inhabitants driven from among the ricks of Corn by fire, ii. 183. Dreadful description of the fire, ii. 184.

VOL. II.

Admiral Ship run away with by the Slaves, i. 127.

Admiral's Flag, a Description of, i. 130. Its fanatic Value among the Turks, *ibid.*

Aga, Explanation of the Title, iv. 145.

Air, purity of, in the Crimea, ii. 105.

Ala-Bey, what, ii. 126.

Alay, ridiculous Ceremony of, iii. 1.

Albanians, Revolt of, iv. 151.

Aleppo described, iv. 120. Its Streets; covered; cleanly; paved with brick, iv. 122.

Alexandretta, Account of, iv. 135. Its pestilential Air, and the causes of it, iv. 136.

Alexandria, Account of, and Observations concerning, iv. 35.

Ali-Aga, Conductor to B. de Tott, ii. 10. His comic Dialogue with the Baron concerning beating the Moldavians, ii. 15.

Ali-Bey, some Account of him, iv. 80.

Ambassador, French, House of assaulted, iii. 16.

Antioch, remarks on the remains of that city, iv. 130.

Anxiety of B. de Tott's Turkish Friend at seeing Madame de Tott among men, i. 13.

Aool, what, ii. 123.

T

Aque-

I N D E X.

Aqueducts, Greek and Turkish, Observations on, i. 226.
 Architects, perilous situation of two, iii. 145.
 Architecture, Tartarian, ii. 81.
 Archons, that Title still assumed by the wealthy Greeks, i. 90.
 Army, Tartar, assembled, ii. 151. Departure of, to invade New Servia, ii. 155. Reviewed, ii. 165. Division of, and Subdivision, ii. 171. Method of marching, ii. 174. Number that perished, in one day, of Cold, ii. 176.
 Army, Turkish, an undisciplined Multitude, iii. 10, 112. Twice destroyed, yet more numerous, iii. 23. Destroyed a third time, iii. 24.
 Arnaoots, amusing Story concerning their hypocrisy, ii. 159.
 Aroosia, an Egyptian Festival, iv. 19.
 Artillery, the Turks reproach the Russians for using it, iii. 10.
 Asma, Sultana, Account of the Visit made to her by Madame de Tott and her Mother, i. 71.
 Asper, Value of, iii. 134.
 Assassinations publicly threatened and committed in Turkey, considered as heroic actions, i. 215.
 Assault made on B. de Tott's Attendants, iii. 128.
 Assequis, what, iii. 124.
 Astrology, superstitious regard paid to it by the Turks, iii. 151.
 Athos, Mount, iv. 146.
 Audience, days and manner of granting by the Grand Seig-

nior to Ambassadors, i. 23.
 Account of that given to M. de Vergennes, *ibid.*
 Auvergnats, who, iii. 155.

B.

Babagdag, iii. 112, 195.
 Bache-Kadun, Explanation of that Title, i. 69.
 Bachria, Arabs of, iv. 26.
 Baetcheferay, Arrival of B. de Tott at, ii. 75. His Habitation there, ii. 76.
 Bagdad, Pacha of, defies the Porte, sends back the Messenger's head, i. 182.
 Balkan, ii. 223, 225.
 Balta, ii. 158.
 Baluklava, ii. 110.
 Baron de Pontecoulant, Pretence of the, iii. 48.
 Baron de Tott sent to by the Sultan, iii. 6. Corresponds with the Sultan, iii. 8. Security of the Capital committed to him, iii. 29. Confers with Ismael-Bey by night, iii. 31. Gives the Labourers at the Batteries Bread and Melons, iii. 60. Turkish Ministers jealous of, iii. 79. Takes the dress of a Dragoman, iii. 80. How preserved from the Plague, iii. 60, & iii. 83. Improves the High Treasurer, iii. 92. Accidentally hits a mark, iii. 96. Appointed to make Pontoons, iii. 98. Sprains his Leg, iii. 105. Undertakes to cast Cannon, iii. 115. Succeeds, iii. 119. Fear for the Multitude during the Proof of Ricochet Bombs, iii. 124. Danger at night near home, iii. 129. Fortifies the Straits of the Bosphorus, iii. 154. How honored, iii. 155.
 Reply

- Reply of the Visir to, concerning the death of nine Turks, iii. 159. Manner of treating Abdi-Pacha, the Pit-digger, iii. 193. Goes as Inspector of the French Commerce, iv. 1. Visits the Pyramids, iv. 15. Stopped on the Nile, iv. 18. Expected to aid the Pacha of Naples, iv. 152. Refuses, iv. 153.
- Barda, or the Palace of the Bey of Tunis, Remarks on, iv. 156.
- Barge, Description of those of the Grand Seignior, his Son, his Ministers, and his Haram, i. 235.
- Barut, Account of, iv. 105.
- Bafon, large one full of human bones, found by B. de Tott in Tartary, ii. 110.
- Baths, description of in Turkey, i. 158.
- Batn-el-Bacara, where, iv. 22.
- Batteries erected by B. de Tott at the Dardanelles, iii. 35. Proof of them to encourage the Turks to serve them, iii. 74.
- Baylan, the residence of Factors to escape the contagion of Alexandretta, iv. 135.
- Bayonet introduced among the Turks by B. de Tott, iii. 137. It receives the public Benediction of the Musti, iii. 138.
- Bayram, some Account of that Festival, i. 225.
- Beards of the Sultans, not suffered to grow till their Accession, i. 116, & ii. 229.
- Bed of Justice, ii. 217.
- Beds, Turkish, i. 95. Tartarian, ii. 217.
- Beggar, a Christian, executed for wearing yellow slippers, i. 125.
- Bekers, where, iv. 34.
- Bender, ii. 205.
- Beseftines, an Account of them, i. 22.
- Bessarabia, Serasker of, ii. 43.
- Bey of Tunis, power and revenues of the, iv. 155.
- Beys, method of obtaining their Pacha's Consent, iv. 14.
- Beys, three assassinated, iv. 17.
- Birds, aquatic, ii. 107.
- Blind Persons, Foundation for them at Cairo, iv. 78. Observations on their number in Egypt, *ibid.*
- Boats, Bridge of, at Bender, ii. 205.
- Bombs, a Turk attempts to fire them without Fuzees, iii. 52.
- Bombs, Ricochet, B. de Tott teaches the Turks the method of firing them, iii. 120. The respect shewn him when that Exhibition was finished, iii. 127.
- Bonneval, M. de, Anecdote of, iii. 128. Another, iii. 141.
- Boolac, where, iv. 11.
- Bostandgi-Bachi, Account of his Office, P. D. 34. i. 43. Visits Murad Mollach when intoxicated, *ibid.* Alarms the company at the Dragoman's, i. 101. Strips two clandestine Lovers of their Money and Jewels, i. 102.
- Bostandgis, curious Dialogue between one and the Baron de Tott, i. 56.
- Bottochan, B. de Tott's danger there, ii. 138. Persuades the Inhabitants of that town to return to their habitations, ii. 142. Adventures there, ii. 141.
- Bourre,

Bourre, what, iv. 124.
 Boy, Riot concerning one, iii. 130.
 Boyards, ii. 37.
 Bread distributed sword in hand, i. 35.
 Bread and Salt, Ceremony of the, i. 214.
 Bribery, Case of, five hundred unexpected Witnesses produced, i. 194.
 Bruce, a Traveller, controverted, iv. 21.
 Buffaloes, Chariots drawn by, i. 97.
 Burials, extreme haste of, i. 113.
 A Turk buried alive, *ibid.*
 Butche, title of the, assumed by a cruel Pacha, iv. 97.
 Byzantium, Antient, the Walls of it now the Boundaries of the Seraglio, i. 4. Description of the View it presents, *ibid.*

C.

Cafa, ii. 110.
 Cairo, Account of, iv. 64.
 Calculation of the Numbers of the Tartars, ii. 113.
 Calga, what, ii. 124. Brother of Dewlet-Gueray, ii. 224.
 Camp, dangerous situation of the Tartars on Ice, ii. 169.
 Canal of Communication between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, Account of, iv. 57.
 Canals of Fayoom and Alexandria, iv. 26.
 Canary-birds, two that could pipe the same air, wanted for a Visir, iii. 32.
 Candy, the ancient Crete, Description of it, and its produce, iv. 2.
 Cannon, prodigious one at

Constantinople, carries a marble ball of eleven hundred weight, iii. 66. Fired for the first time by B. de Tott, iii. 68. B. de Tott casts twenty pieces himself, iii. 119.
 Cannon, the Muzzles sawed off and sold by a Pacha, iv. 144.
 Capin, Marriages by, P. D. 23. iv. 6.
 Caravan of Pilgrims, cut off by the Arabs, i. 127.
 Caravan of Mecca, B. de Tott encamps in its neighbourhood, and has a guard assigned him to protect him from the Pilgrims, iv. 117.
 Carthage, Aqueducts of, still to be seen, iv. 154.
 Castles, two new ones built near the Straits of the Black Sea, by the Turks, their absurd construction, iii. 144. Demolished, and others built by B. de Tott, iii. 150.
 Catacombs, Account of, and Remarks concerning, iv. 42.
 Catapulta, one still existing in the Armory of the Seraglio, i. 173. Note (a).
 Cats, diverting manner in which the Turkish Liver-sellers collect them, i. 212.
 Caviar, what, ii. 162.
 Centinel, the Emperor's and Turks surprize at seeing one on Duty, iii. 184.
 Ceremonies customary on the delivery of a Sultana, i. 165.
 Cham of the Tartars, Mack-food, B. de Tott has his first Audience from him, ii. 79. Remarkable instance of his justice on a Mahometan Murderer, ii. 95.
 Cham-Yely, the name of a Wind, Account of it, and an In-

I N D E X.

- Investigation of its Causes, i. 55.
- Charab Emini, office of, i. 220.
- Charity of Turks to Animals, mistakes of Travellers concerning it corrected, i. 208.
- Cinnamon, the Turks fond of, ii. 22.
- Circassian Mirzas, their application to B. de Tott to be electrified, ii. 87.
- Cistern (marble) remarkable ancient, near Rhia, iv. 119.
- Climate, Remarks on, P. D. 4.
- Clouds, how impelled over Egypt, iv. 8. iv. 29. & iv. 30.
- Coin, Adulteration of, at Constantinople, i. 131, iii. 169.
- Cold, violence of, in Tartary, ii. 174, 176.
- Colleague of B. de Tott in danger of drowning, ii. 140.
- Comedians of the Cham, ii. 133.
- Commerce, illicit, how carried on in the Archipelago, iv. 148.
- Commissions sold in Turkey, iii. 21.
- Constantinople, excellence of its Situation, i. 4. Description of the Prospect it presents, i. 6.
- Consternation of the Turks, and wherefore, iii. 29, 35.
- Cookery, B. de Tott's preferred by Krim Gueray, ii. 130, 132.
- Coppersmiths, Embarrassment of, iii. 107.
- Corn, monopolized by the Grand Seignior, Regulations concerning it, i. 32.
- Coronation of the Grand Seignior, Description of that ceremony, i. 116.
- Correspondence, written one, between B. de Tott and the Grand Seignior, iii. 8.
- Corvée, what, ii. 123.
- Cossac, bold Exploit of one, who dived under the Ice, ii. 173.
- Coustillier, M. Secretary to B. de Tott, ii. 77.
- Cowardly Expedient of the Turkish Government, iii. 13.
- Criers of Mosques, i. 232. of the Nile, iv. 19, 25.
- Crimea, Account of its Climate, Soil, and Productions, ii. 105.
- Crimea, the, might be made impenetrable by Land, ii. 73.
- Crimea, formerly a Town, at present a Village, ii. 46. Note (p).
- Cruelty of the Turks in making War instanced in presenting the heads of their Enemies to their General, ii. 177. Other Examples, ii. 188, 234. iii. 4.
- Culverin, a single iron one the only Piece to defend the Strait of the Dardanelles, iii. 41.
- Curds, Account of them, iv. 133. Conversation between B. de Tott and one of them, *ibid.*
- Currents, violent, at the Dardanelles, iii. 44.
- Cyprus, Isle of, Account of it and its Wines, iv. 137.

D.

- Damietta, iv. 89, 94.
- Dancing, Ambassadors, i. 11.
- Dankowtza, ii. 137.
- Dardanelles, the Fortification of them committed to B. de Tott, iii. 35. Their defenceless condition, iii. 37. Ac-

I N D E X.

- count of an Attack made on them by the Russians, iii. 42. Works planned for their defence by B. de Tott, iii. 45. Other ridiculous ones erected by Moldovandgi-Pacha, iii. 47. An odd circumstance alarms the Grand Seignior with a supposition that they were forced, iii. 51.
- Dead-waters, a River, ii. 163.
- Dead, supposed in a suffering State till buried, i. 113.
- Death, extraordinary Relation of the Submission of a Noguais to, ii. 193.
- Debility of Abdul-Hamid, iii. 187.
- Deception, visual, iv. 53.
- Delta, Remarks on its Situation, iv. 32.
- Dervises, their extravagant ceremonies, i. 143.
- Despoti, that title assumed by the Greek Bishops, i. 82.
- Devastation of Moldavia and Walachia, ii. 147. of New Servia, ii. 176.
- Dewlet-Gueray, the new Cham, ii. 229.
- Dganum Cogda, Anecdote of, iii. 35.
- Dgezar-Pacha mortified by B. de Tott, iv. 95. His Cruelty, *ibid.*
- Dialogues, i. 46. i. 56. ii. 15. ii. 20. ii. 196. ii. 201. ii. 215. iii. 86. iii. 88.
- Dies, new ones made for the Grand Seignior's Coinage by B. de Tott, iii. 169. Pleasant accusation of him for his treasonable Method of hardening them, *ibid.*
- Diodorus Siculus quoted, iv. 59.
- Discipline, a new one introduced among the Turks, by B. de Tott, iii. 140.
- Dobrodgan, a Turkish Province, ii. 223.
- Dogs, their starved state at Constantinople, i. 208. Behavior of B. de Tott's on being sent for by the Cham of Tartary, ii. 92.
- Draco, his House burnt down by a wicked female Slave, and himself hung, i. 196.
- Dragoman, B. de Tott pays him a Visit, i. 93. Account of his Family, *ibid.* His Accommodations at his House, i. 95. A Sight of his Daughter procured for her Suitor by B. de Tott, i. 103.
- Dromedaries, Herds of, ii. 41. Some white, *ibid.*
- Drunkard, a dangerous Orator, ii. 146.
- Drunkenness, frequent at Constantinople, i. 220.
- Druses, Account of them, iv. 103. Religion of, iv. 111.

E.

- Egypt, Government of, iv. 9. Revolutions, preface of, iv. 14. Pacha of, Imbecility, iv. 14. Rebellion in, iv. 17. Situation of, iv. 21. Mountains, iv. 22. Inundation, iv. 23. Laws given it by Sultan Selim, iv. 25. Canals of, iv. 26, *passim.* Mud of, iv. 30. Chronology of its Kings how to be found, iv. 49. Monuments, iv. 44, *passim.* Towns and Villages, how numerous, iv. 63. Articles of Commerce, iv. 67. Salubrious Air, iv. 69. Plague not native there, iv. 70. Chearfulness

fulness of its Inhabitants, iv.
 72. Quarrels and Oppres-
 sions of its Beys, iv. 82.
 Egyptians, dread the Mama-
 lukes, iv. 20. Honors they
 pay the Nile, and love of its
 Waters, iv. 24. Mild, gay,
 timid, and temperate, iv. 73.
 Go almost naked, iv. 74.
 Addicted to Shew and Super-
 stition, iv. 74.
 Electricity, astonishes the Tar-
 tar Court, ii. 86. B. de Tott
 suspected of Magic, *ibid.*
 Elias, Grotto of, iv. 98.
 Elizabeth, Fort Saint-, ii. 170.
 ii. 179. ii. 180.
 Embargo laid on the Fleet to
 conceal the weakness of the
 Turks, iii. 56.
 Embassy of B. de Tott to the
 Polish Confederates, ii. 137.
 Emin-Pacha, Grand Visir, once,
 a shopman, ii. 150. An Ene-
 my to Krim-Gueray, ii. 207.
 Beheaded for mismanagement
 in the Army, iii. 9.
 Emir, Vaunts and Punishment
 of an, ii. 187.
 Entertainment, Account of
 what passed at one given by
 M. de Vergennes, i. 10. An-
 other intended by the Comte
 de Saint Priest, prevented
 by the arrival of bad News,
 iii. 23.
 Entry, degrading one of B. de
 Tott, ii. 149.
 Envoy, Polish, ii. 136.
 Essamai, *vide* Pay.
 Eunuchs, account of those in
 Turkey, i. 77.
 Executions, Manner of the
 legal ones in Turkey, i
 217. Considered as honora-
 ble to the Friends of the Suf-
 ferer, i. 219.

F.

Famagoosta, iv. 136.
 Families, principal, in Tartary,
 ii. 117.
 Famine, Riot occasioned by
 one at Constantinople, i. 35.
 Fanal, what, i. 89.
 Fear, extreme, of a Nasir, iii.
 189.
 Fires, their frequency at Con-
 stantinople, i. 15. Descrip-
 tion of a Dreadful one,
 Laws concerning them, i.
 17. 20. Watchman appoint-
 ed to give notice of them, i.
 21. Method employed by
 Incendiaries to cause them,
 i. 133.
 Fireship, Infatuation of the
 Commander of one at the
 Dardanelles, iii. 57.
 Fire-ships, two burn the whole
 Turkish Fleet, iii. 27.
 Fireworks, Account of some,
 i. 177. and ii. 85.
 Firing, quick, iii. 142.
 Fleet, wretched condition of
 the Turkish, iii. 20.
 Flocks frozen to death, ii. 175.
 Forlorn-hope, Turkish Troops
 how named, ii. 172.
 Foundery for Cannon, new one
 established in Turkey, by B.
 de Tott, iii. 114.
 Fresh Waters, name of a Ri-
 ver, i. 5. A pretended Imita-
 tion of Marli made there
 by Sultan Achmet, *ibid.*
 Note.
 Friendship, Ceremony among
 the Turks to signify it shall
 never be violated, i. 214.

G.

Gabians, a kind of sea Gull, i.
 51.
 Genoese began to work the

- Gold Mines of Tchadir-Dague, ii. 104. Expelled the Crimea, ii. 109. Their Habitations, how contrived, ib. Germans rescued from Slavery by B. de Tott, ii. 71. Geodes, iv. 99. Geography, Ignorance of the Turks concerning, iii. 14. Georgian Slaves, account of the, P. D. 28. Geuzlevai, ii. 111. Girls of eighteen naked, iv. 74. Gold Medals found in Egypt, iv. 57. Gold Mines in Tartary, probable Reason why they are not worked, ii. 104. Gout, a Pacha's Method of curing it, iv. 109. Government, feudal, of the Tartars, ii. 118. ii. 121. ————Turkish, compared to an Army encamped, iii. 20. Governor of Yaffi, how treated by Ali-Aga, ii. 33. Grand Seignior, Sons of his Daughters and Sisters smothered as soon as born, i. 67. Necessity of his public Appearance, i. 110. Gratitude, striking Instance of, in a Shipwrecked Turk, iii. 160. Gratuity, strangely demanded, iii. 165. Grecian Church, Account of some of its Ceremonies, i. 80. Greeks, treated with the utmost Contempt by the Turks, i. 55. Unjust Sentence of some accused of being Russian Spies, iii. 64. Grotto of St. Margaret, iv. 4. Guele-Pruth, extreme Danger to which B. de Tott's Attendants were exposed in passing that River, ii. 138. Gueray, Origin of that Surname among the Tartars, ii. 232. Gunner, Turkish, attempts to fire Bombs without Fuzees, iii. 52. Corps of Gunners instituted by B. de Tott, iii. 132. Gynæcolists, what, iv. 115.
- H.
- Haidout Mustapha, Glee with which he relates his Crimes, i. 49. Hakem, Apostle of the Druses, iv. 112. Prediction of, ib. Hanum, explanation of, i. 67. Hanum Sultana, Favorite with Sultan Osman, i. 63. Haram, proper signification of the word, P. D. 22. Harvests, three a year, in the Island of Delta, iv. 32. Hassan, his Invention to prevent boarding a Ship, iii. 22. Employs five hundred Men in vain to move a Cannon, iii. 70. Forces, by a rash expedition, the Russians to abandon the Siege of Lemnos, iii. 77. Hattu Humayon, what, iii. 137. Head, Human, presented to M. Coustillier, ii. 178. Healths drank by the Greeks, and how, i. 99. Herbages, what, iv. 123. High Treasurer, shameful Levity of, iii. 92. Called the Blazer, iii. 114. Hillocks, Conjectures concerning some found in Tartary, ii. 56. Honest Men, Scarcity of them in Turkey, iii. 99.
- Horse-

- Horse-flesh, Flitches of, ii. 162.
 Horses, Method of catching among the Tartars, ii. 61. Noguais beg a dying one of B. de Tott as a delicious Feast, ii. 163. Prodigious number of them in the Tartar Army, ii. 167.
 ——— Circassian, leanness of, ii. 152. Thirty thousand perish in one day, ii. 176. Hardiness, ii. 167.
 Howitzes, iii. 10. 42.
 Hypochondriac Affections of Krim Gueray, ii. 157. 207.

I.

 Jaff, iv. 92, 94.
 Janissaries, much neglected at present, iii. 139. Story of a drunken one and Sultan Osman, i. 107. Dextrous Feat of one, ii. 39. B. de Tott enrolls his name in their Company, ii. 70. Their riotous Disputes with the Troops on board the Fleet about a Boy at a Tavern, iii. 130. Pleasantry of the Visir on that occasion, iii. 131. Some Account of the Pay received by that Corps, iii. 133.
 ——— a whole Regiment of, burnt, i. 17. Their Uniform, what, i. 117.
 Ice, Tartarian manner of crossing, ii. 206.
 Icicles of blood, ii. 174.
 Jew, Obstinacy of a, i. 152. Punished for Covetousness, ii. 7.
 Jews paid for being beaten, i. 179.
 Inat-Cossacs, who, ii. 165.
 Indifference of Ismael-Bey to his country's Misfortunes, iii. 167.
 Interludes, Obscenity and Licentiousness of some performed in Turkey, i. 137.
 Intrepidity of an Inat-Cossac, ii. 173.
 Joinville (Sieur de) Remarks on the account of the landing of St. Louis at Damietta, given by, iv. 89.
 Journeymen Bakers, have their Ears nailed to the Shop, are beaten and sometimes hanged by Proxy for their Masters, i. 205.
 Ised Achmet, Pacha of Aleppo, iv. 125. Politeness of, iv. 126.
 Ised-Bey, his Character, iii. 30. Superintendant of the Coin, ibid. Degraded to be Sheir-Emini, promoted to be Visir, iii. 200. B. de Tott waits on him in his new Post, iii. 201. Made Pacha of Cairo, and gives Audience to B. de Tott, iv. 12.
 Ismael Aga, Account of the Revolution he effected, iv. 86.
 Ismael-Bey, Character of, iii. 30, 32, & 167.
 Ismahel, where, ii. 219.
 Judges more dangerous than Thieves, i. 201.
 Justice, how administered in Tartary, ii. 127.

K.

 Kadilesker, the word explained, i. 42. note (m). Curious Dialogue between one and the Baron, ii. 201.
 Kadilesker, a lascivious, ii. 201.
 Kalinico

I N D E X.

Kalinico, Archbishop of Amasia promoted to the Patriarchate, i. 82. His Cowardice, i. 85.
 Kamchiksooy, (the River) where, ii. 223.
 Kantooman, where, iv. 119.
 Kaoochan, the general rendezvous of the Tartar Army, ii. 129.
 Kara Agatcha, where, iii. 183.
 Katty-Cherif, what, i. 83. iii. 4.
 Kettle of the Janissaries, iii. 106.
 Kiacheff, iv. 83.
 Kiathana, a River, iii. 104.
 ——— Etymology of, iii. 104.
 Kiaya-Cadun, that Title explained, i. 72.
 Kilboornoo, where, ii. 63.
 Kirk-Kilissia, ii. 226.
 Kirlo, the Patriarch, his Insolence, i. 81. Deposed, i. 84.
 Kishela, Winter-quarters, ii. 43.
 Kotchim, Fortrefs of, ii. 8.
 ——— a place of refuge for the Polish Chiefs, ii. 137.
 Krim Gueray, Cham of the Tartars, Description of his Person, ii. 130. Remarkable Story of his young Son, ii. 131. His public Entry into Kaoochan, ii. 132. Remarks on the Comedies of Moliere, ii. 135. Talents, Understanding, and Philosophical Conversation, ii. 157. Reviews his Troops, accompanied by B. de Tott, ii. 164. His Pleasantry on that Occasion, ii. 167. His humane Answer respecting a

Polish Soldier, ii. 169. Regrets he is not Pope, ii. 175. Remarks on the Cruelty of the Turks, ii. 177. B. de Tott hears in his stead the Complaint of a Noguais who had lost one Horse and stolen another, ii. 182. Punishes the cowardly Boasting of a Turk, ii. 186. Extraordinary Dialogue concerning some male Slaves, ii. 196. His Death by poison administered by a Physician, ii. 207.

L.

Labourers carried off by the Plague, iii. 59.
 Lake Mareotis, iv. 33.
 Landed Property unknown to the Noguais, ii. 122.
 Language, Turkish, Causes of its Difficulty, i. 8.
 Las, where, iii. 12.
 Lattaka, Account of the Harbor, iv. 108.
 Law, forbids to extinguish Fires till the arrival of the proper Officer, i. 19.
 Lawsuits, none without false Witnesses in Turkey, i. 192.
 Lebanon, Remarks on the Mountain of, iv. 116.
 Legal Proceedings, some Account of, among the Turks, i. 192. Anecdotes of some extraordinary Cases, i. 194, 196, 199, 202.
 Lemnos besieged by the Russians, iii. 72.
 Lesguis, who, ii. 156.
 Leventis, what, iii. 162.
 Light-houses, the Light hid to procure Shipwrecks, i. 34.
 Locusts, their Multitudes in Tartary, ii. 58.

M.

M.

- Maadia, barrenness of, iv. 10.
Macedonians, their Character, P. D. 12. Resolute Behaviour of one and his Comrades, iii. 157.
Machine for masting Ships constructed by B. de Tott, iii. 179.
Mackfood Gueray, Cham of the Tartars, B. de Tott's first Audience of, ii. 79. Is deposed, ii. 129. vide Cham.
Mahamout, Sultan, forced to put to death his three Favorites, P. D. 16.
Maiden's Tower, i. 166.
Malefactors uncommon in Tartary, ii. 97.
Maltese Captain, Stupidity of one in Slavery, iii. 34.
Mamelukes, Account of, iv. 79.
Manoly Serdar, Account of him, i. 90. Some remarkable Customs of that Greek, i. 92. His Protestations of Fidelity and immediate Apostacy, i. 106. Afterwards made Prince of Walachia, i. 107.
Manusia, Province of, a Garden, iv. 28.
Manuscript, Historical, B. de Tott offers in vain five thousand Crowns for a curious one in Tartary, ii. 128.
Marine Improvements suggested by B. de Tott, rejected by the Turks, and why, iii. 178.
Marriage, two kinds of among the Turks, P. D. 23.
Martavan, singularity of the Customs of that Village, iv. 127.
Mathematics, gross Ignorance of the Turks in those Sciences, iii. 172. New School for them founded by Sultan Mustapha, iii. 176.
Mecktoobtchy, what, i. 29.
Medals, precious Collection of, at Tunis, iv. 156.
Mekter, how treated for his Insolence to B. de Tott, iii. 192.
Mellek Pacha, the disagreeable Favor with which he was honored, i. 180. Character of, iii. 31.
Melon-feed used as Manure, ii. 106.
Ministry, Characters of the Turkish at the Commencement of the Russian War, iii. 29.
Mistake of a Turk at seeing an Ambassador dance, i. 11.
Mœris, Remarks on that Lake, iv. 62.
Moldavia, beautiful Appearance of, ii. 27. Present wretchedness, ii. 28.
Moldavians, their Cunning and Obstinacy, Dialogue of B. de Tott with one, ii. 20.
Moldovandgi-Pacha eats bread and salt with B. de Tott, i. 214. Made Visir, iii. 9. Ordered to obey B. de Tott, iii. 36. Recommends a Muczzin to be Engineer, iii. 52.
Mollach of Mecca, Explanation of that Title, i. 42.
Monastery, 1200 People burnt in a, ii. 176.
Montague (Lady), Remarks on the Letters of, P. D. 15, 17, 31, 34.
Morea, Disputes between the Pacha of that Province and the Albanians, iv. 151.
Mosque, a new one built by every

I N D E X.

every Emperor, i. 150. Account of that built by Sultan Mustapha, *ibid.* Remarkable Anecdote of the Solimany, i. 152.

Mosque of Sancta Sophia, Observations on its Architecture, i. 227.

Mountains, interesting Observations on those in Tartary, ii. 99.

Mountains, course of, ii. 99.

Mourning not in use among the Turks, i. 112.

Mutzzins, their Office, i. 232.

Murad Bey, Insurrection raised against, iv. 86.

Murad Mollach, B. de Tott intimate with him, i. 15. His Power and large Property, i. 42. His reception of the Bostandgi-Bachi when drunk, i. 43. B. de Tott enters the Apartment of his Women, i. 45. Does not know his own Child, i. 46. Dialogue between him and B. de Tott, *ibid.* Description of an Entertainment given by him, i. 135.

Murder expiated by Fine, i. 199, 217, & ii. 97.

Murders committed by the Turks in Inebriety, i. 14.

Music, Account of the Turkish, i. 139. Krim Gueray wishes to die gaily to the sound of Music, ii. 210.

Mustapha, Sultan, His Accession, i. 112. Preserved from Poison, i. 114. Description of his Person, i. 115. Inhuman enforcement of the Sumptuary Laws concerning Dress, i. 125. Debases the Coin, i. 131. His Covetousness, i. 182. and Wealth, *ib.*

Activity of, iii. 11. Treasury of, nearly exhausted, iii. 136. Establishes the Suratchis, iii. 137. Insists on B. de Tott's inspecting the newly erected Castles, iii. 144. Anger at his Minister's negligence, iii. 149. His Death, iii. 182.

Mutualis, Account of that People, iv. 103.

N.

Namas Giacks, what, i. 154.

Namakrem (the Law), what, P. D. 24.

Naples of Romania, where, iv. 151.

Necropolis, Account of it, iv. 42. The Dead ranged along its Streets, iv. 43.

Newsmonger, Turkish, ii. 235.

Nile, Remarks on the Sources of, iv. 21. Its Inundations, iv. 22.

Nilometer, Description of, iv. 24.

Noguai, fortitude and resignation of a, ii. 193.

Noguais, love of their barren Plains, ii. 47. Method of seeking for their Cattle, ii. 48. Their modest Curiosity, ii. 54. Abstemious, yet carnivorous, ii. 66. Industry and Covetousness, ii. 67. B. de Tott's Supper among them, ii. 51. Their astonishing Voracity, ii. 66.

Nooradin, what, ii. 125.

O

Obas, or Tartar Tents, described, ii. 50.

Obscenity of Turkish Shews and Entertainments, i. 137, 171.

Ocmeidan,

- Ocmeidan, the Plain of Arrows, iii. 120.
- Oczacow, ii. 63.
- Officer of the Spahis, strange Behaviour of one, ii. 190.
- Old Woman, Insurrection raised by one at Constantinople, i. 36.
- Olmar, first military Supper there, ii. 161.
- Oloo-Kana, what, ii. 126.
- Olympus, Mount, its effect on the Air of Constantinople, i. 61. Different Mountains of that Name, iv. 3.
- Opium, Account of the Market for, i. 141. Ridiculous Contortions of the Turks addicted to it, *ibid.* Taken by the Turks in extravagant Doses, ii. 227.
- Or-Bey, what, ii. 125.
- Orcapi, its Fortifications, ii. 72. And Saltworks, ii. 74.
- Orman Kaibab, a favourite Turkish dish, ii. 70.
- Ortas of the Janissaries, Account of, i. 108.
- Osman, Sultan, his Character, i. 26. His Adventure with a Janissary, i. 108. Manner of going disguised about the City, i. 23. Obligated to shew himself in public, and dies, i. 110.
- Ottoman Line, Danger of its extinction, i. 65. The probable Consequences, i. 66.
- P.
- Palace of the Cham in the Chinese style, ii. 98.
- Parricide, Manner in which one escaped Punishment who had murdered his Father, i. 199.
- Parroquet, Adventure of, iii. 18.
- Parting between B. de Tott and his Turkish Pupils, iii. 204.
- Passévans, Watchmen to give notice of Fires, i. 21.
- Pastoral Exhortation strangely concluded, i. 88.
- Patriotism of a Turk, iii. 61.
- Patroles, Turkish, their manner of tripping up Offenders by throwing their Bludgeons after them, i. 216. Note (*b*).
- Pay, insolent stipulations concerning, iii. 12. Shameful abuse of, iii. 133.
- Peace concluded, iii. 202.
- Peasants under the wheels of B. de Tott's Carriage, ii. 14.
- Pelades, what, ii. 67.
- Pelisse given B. de Tott, by Krim Gueray, ii. 152. Another by Sultan Mustapha, iii. 127. A third by Sultan Abdul-Hamid, iii. 203. Offered by Dgezar-Pacha, iv. 101.
- Pharos, Isle of, how formed, iv. 36.
- Philosophical Conjecture, remarkable one of a Tartar, ii. 103.
- Physician poisons Krim-Gueray, ii. 208.
- Pic, a Turkish Measure, its length, iii. 152. Its great Authority and Privileges, iii. 153.
- Pigs Bristles, Fanatic Prejudices of the Turks against their use, iii. 84. Dialogue of B. de Tott with the High Treasurer and a Painter on the Subject, iii. 86.
- Plague succeeds a Famine at Constantinople, i. 37. Cause of its continuance at Constantinople, *ibid.* Not brought from Egypt, *ibid.* What number

- number of the Dead occasions putting up publick Prayers, i. 38. Villages to which Europeans retire from its Fury, i. 40.
- Plain of Mummies, Conjecture concerning, iv. 56.
- Plains, extraordinary Flatness and Extent of, in Tartary, ii. 46, 56.
- Poland, respect paid its Inhabitants by Krim Gueray, ii. 189.
- Pompey's Pillar, Description of, Conjectures concerning, iv. 37.
- Pontoons, Bridge of, iii. 107.
- Pontoons constructed by B. de Tott, iii. 98. The Grand Seignior visits them, iii. 108.
- Portions, Tartarian and Turkish, ii. 213.
- Potters, Manner of their Navigation down the Nile, iv. 72.
- Present, B. de Tott alarmed at a strange one from an old Tartarian Princess, ii. 93. Troublesome Insolence of the Turkish Domestics to obtain them, iii. 165.
- Presents, childish, for the Temple at Mecca, iii. 199.
- Primate, Moldavian, pretends to understand neither Greek nor Turkish, ii. 20. Recovers the Use of his Tongue when beaten, ii. 25.
- Prince, romantic History of a Zinguisian, ii. 232.
- Princes of Moldavia and Wallachia deposed at the Grand Seignior's pleasure, ii. 28.
- Printing, that Art introduced among the Turks without Success, i. 147. Why neglected, *ibid*.
- Promotion, a strange Method of, in Turkey, iii. 200.
- Providence, its interference absurdly and unjustly supposed by a Cadi in the murder of a Christian, i. 202.
- Provisions, the Price, how regulated at Constantinople, i. 203.
- Pruth, dangerous method of conveying B. de Tott over that River, ii. 12.
- Punctuality, selfish, of the Turkish Ministers, iii. 98.
- Punctures and Figures, how made on the Arms and Legs, i. 157.
- Punning in great request among the Turks, i. 9, 147.
- Pupils, Greybearded, iii. 176.
- Purse, value of the Turkish, i. 139.
- Pyramid of Human Heads, erected by Mehemet Bey, iv. 94.
- Pyramids, Observations on them, iv. 44.
- Q.
- Quails, Peregrinations of, ii. 108.
- Quarrels of the Christians in Egypt, iv. 93.
- R.
- Racub Pacha advanced to the Office of Visir, i. 29. cunning and cruel Character. *ib*. unconcerned manner of ordering nine Heads to be cut off, i. 31. Pretended Project of cutting a Canal thro' Asia Minor, i. 128. Builds a Public Library, i. 146. Pleasant Examination of a German Refugee, i. 148. Torments inflicted on the Persons

- Persons entrusted with his Affairs after his Death, i. 186.
- Raft, of Ali-Aga, ii. 12. of Egyptian Pottery, iv. 72.
- Ramazán, Account of that Fast, i. 221. Eagerness of the Turks for its conclusion, i. 222.
- Rames, where, iv. 92.
- Rammers, ridiculous Incident of the, iii. 85.
- Red-hot Balls, iii. 43.
- Rejoicings at Constantinople for the Birth of a Princess, i. 167.
- Religion of Women, ii. 200.
- Remarks, philosophic, on the Crimea, ii. 105.
- Revenues of the Grand Seignior, iii. 135.
- Revenues of the Cham, ii. 127.
- Rewards distributed among the Scholars of the Mathematical School, iii. 180.
- Rhia, where, iv. 118.
- Rhodes, how governed, iv. 141.
- Robber, Turkish Governor's son a, ii. 221.
- Robbers, their great Privileges in Turkey, i. 50. To be punished must be taken in the fact, i. 200.
- Romelia, ii. 228.
- Rossetta, iv. 10.
- Ruffin, M. Secretary-Interpreter to B. de Tott, ii. 77.
- Russian Minister sent to the Seven Towers, ii. 129.
- S.
- Sabre, Ceremony of the, i. 116.
- Sacrifice, barbarous one, when the Nile was at its height, iv. 27.
- Saïde, the Ancient Sidon, Account of, iv. 102.
- Saïde, a place of refuge, iv. 84.
- Saint, Enthusiasm of an Egyptian, iv. 77.
- Saint Lewis', Remarks on Joinville's Account of his landing at Damietta, iv. 89.
- Salonica, iv. 146. Military despotism of, iv. 147.
- Sandjak chief, what, iii. 3.
- Savran, ii. 195.
- Sayd Achmet and Bedouit, prodigious Concourse of Pilgrims to his Tomb, iv. 75.
- Sedition of the Beys, iv. 14.
- Seliçta, what, i. 73.
- Seliçtar-Pacha, beheaded by order of Sultan Osman, i. 26.
- Selim Gueray, Magnanimity of, ii. 231.
- Sequin, value of, iii. 110.
- Sequins, new, insisted on by the Grand Seignior for the appointment of Kallinico, i. 83.
- Seraglio, an Account of the Grand Seignior's, i. 70.
- Serasker, Signification of the word, ii. 43.
- Seray, where, ii. 228.
- Serdenguetchety, what, ii. 172.
- Shagreen, Manufactories of it at Ismahel, ii. 220.
- Shalloon, English, how employed, iii. 97.
- Sharkia, Province of, where, iv. 27.
- Shawls, i. 111. ii. 175.
- Sheir-Emini, what, iii. 122.
- Shek, B. de Tott's Retort on one who wished him to turn Turk, iii. 175.
- Shek-Amman, when important, iv. 85.
- Shek-Elbelet, anxious to be visited, iv. 12.
- Sherbet

- Sherbet and Musk for Visits of Ceremony, ii. 35. all drank by B. de Tott's Lackey, ii. 36.
- Ships, Turkish, ill constructed, iii. 21. One overset, iii. 160.
- Sibiloff, ii. 188.
- Simois, the celebrated River, a mean brook, iii. 65.
- Siropolo, poisons Krim Gueray, ii. 208.
- Smyrna, its Inhabitants and Commerce, iv. 144.
- Society of the Cham Mackfood-Gueray, ii. 84.
- Solacks, left-handed Archers, i. 122.
- Spahis, their strange Amours, ii. 148. Ravages and want of Discipline, ii. 159. Distresses of, ii. 164. Perish beneath the Ice, ii. 172. and with Cold, ii. 174. Cowardice of, ii. 172, 185. Cruelty of, ii. 188. Behaviour of their Colonel, ii. 190.
- Sphinx, Egyptian described, iv. 52.
- Standard of Mahomet not to be looked on by Infidels, iii. 3. Cruelties exercised on the Christians when it was brought out of the Selaglio, *ibid.*
- Stork, B. de Tott preceded by one on his Entrance into Tartary, ii. 42.
- Succession, Order of, among the Tartars, ii. 119.
- Succession, Order of the Ottoman, i. 65.
- Sulima, what, i. 158.
- Sultan, Explanation of that Title, i. 64.
- Sultana, Explanation of that Title, i. 68. Error of the Europeans concerning it corrected, i. 63.
- Supper, Ali-Aga's method of procuring a good, ii. 25.
- Suppers of Mackfood-Gueray, ii. 85.
- Sur, the ancient Tyre, its Commerce, iv. 104.
- Suratchis, the name given to the new Corps of Gunners, iii. 136.
- Surma, Description of it, and the manner in which it is used, i. 155.
- Swinging, a Diversion for long-bearded Gentlemen, i. 100.
- T.
- Tacta Tepen, order of Turkish Monks, i. 144.
- Tartar, uncommonly sagacious Reply of one, ii. 103.
- Tartarian Architecture, Observations on, ii. 81.
- Tartars, confine their care to merely providing necessaries, ii. 44. The luxury of glass windows only found among them in the Prince's apartments, *ibid.* Their piercing sight, ii. 47. Their avarice and concealment of their Treasures, ii. 67. B. de Tott exhibits Fireworks among them, ii. 85. and Electrical Experiments, ii. 86. B. de Tott procures the pardon of one, ii. 134. Observations on their History, ii. 114. Ranks of Nobility among them, Government, &c. ii. 117. Their Education, ii. 128. Activity in preserving and watching their booty, ii. 181. Number of, ii. 113. Forces, ii. 114. History of uncertain, ii. 114. Abstinence of, ii.

I N D E X.

- ii. 49, and ii. 166. Avidity,
 ii. 189. Furniture, ii. 217.
 Hospitality, ii. 212.
 Tartary, Violence of the Cold
 there, ii. 174, 176.
 Tartary, Little, Boundaries and
 Extent of, ii. 112.
 Taverns, numerous at Con-
 stantinople, i. 220. Pretend-
 ed only to be shut during their
 solemn Festivals, *ibid.*
 Taxes always collected by Pa-
 chas and Governors, i. 190.
 Oppressive and destructive,
ibid.
 Tchadir-Dague, a Mountain,
 ii. 99.
 Tchesmai, Account of the Bat-
 tle near, and Destruction of
 the Turkish Fleet in that
 Port, iii. 25.
 Tchiragan, Tulips, Feast of,
 an Account of it, i. 78.
 Tchoban the Shepherd saves a
 young Prince from the gene-
 ral Massacre, ii. 232. Re-
 stores him to the Throne, ii.
 233. Refuses all Reward,
ibid.
 Tchookoor, where, iv. 117.
 Tents of the Tartars, Descrip-
 tion of them, ii. 153.
 Theatrical Entertainments a-
 mong the Turks, i. 137.
 Theriaka, who, ii. 228.
 Thieves at Fires thrown into
 the Flames, i. 20.
 Timariots, what, ii. 159.
 Tott, Baron de, becomes his
 own Carpenter, Turner, and
 Whitesmith, ii. 82. Taylor
 and Sadler, ii. 89.
 Tower of Ovid, i. 166.
 Treasurer, his dispute with B.
 de Tott about Pig's Bristles,
 Vol. II.
- iii. 85. Fires a cannon at a
 mark, iii. 94.
 Treasury, its arbitrary oppres-
 sion of the Tradesmen who
 serve the Turkish Govern-
 ment, iii. 102.
 Trees, Love of the Turks for,
 i. 62.
 ——— rooted up to prevent Am-
 buscades by the Noguais, ii.
 66.
 Tribunals, Observations on the
 Administration of Justice in
 those of Turkey, i. 188.
 Trinity, oddly typified, i. 87.
 Tripoly of Syria, Account of,
 iv. 106.
 Tulips, Feast of, an Account
 of it, i. 78.
 Tultcha, Fortrefs of, ii. 220.
 Tumultuous behaviour in the
 Greek Church; the people
 strangely reprov'd by their
 Patriarch, i. 88.
 Tunis, Description of that Ci-
 ty and its Government, iv.
 154. B. de Tott receives an
 audience of the Bey, iv. 157.
 Observations on Slavery
 there, iv. 158.
 Tunisiens, Remarks on their
 character and manners, iv.
 159.
 Turbans of the Grand Seig-
 nior, respect paid to them,
 i. 120.
 Turcomen, Account of them,
 iv. 129. B. de Tott's com-
 pany visited by their Musici-
 ans, iv. 132.
 Turk, a rascally one, ii. 11.
 Turks plead their own Causes,
 i. 195. Foolish boast of some,
 iii. 79. Their fondness of
Liqueurs, drink *Lavender*
 Water,

I N D E X.

- Water, i. 2, 10. Their extreme haste to bury their dead, i. 113. Their childish Manners, i. 171. and Note (x). Strange Buffooneries allowed among them during their public Rejoicings, i. 175, 179. Disinterested and uncommon behaviour of one, iii. 60.
- Turtle Doves, discount to suffer them to eat corn unmolested, i. 208.
- Tygers among the Mountains of Baylan, iv. 134.
- U.
- Vegetables, scarcity of, in Tartary, ii. 79.
- Venetian Captain, Superstition of one in a storm, iv. 143.
- Venetians, degrading Practice of, iii. 198.
- Village, Hospitality experienced by B. de Tott, at one in Bessarabia, ii. 212. His Dialogue with the old Man who entertained him, ii. 215.
- Villages of the Noguais, extreme length of, ii. 113.
- Villages and Towns, multiplicity of, in Egypt, iv. 63.
- Vines, ill cultivated in Tartary, ii. 107.
- Visir, Discourse of B. de Tott with one on the Extortions of persons in Office in Turkey, iii. 100. His request not complied with by Baron de Tott's new raised Gunners, iii. 143. Questions B. de Tott concerning the number of the Ottoman Army, iii. 181.
- Ulemats, strange Privilege of that Body, i. 28.
- Uniform of the Suratchis, iii. 137.
- Volunteers, Insolence of those at Constantinople, iii. 12. Attack the French Ambassador's Palace, iii. 16. Ridiculous Adventure of some of them, occasioned by a Parroquet, iii. 18.
- W.
- Wall, Men immured alive in, with their heads left out, by Dgezar-Pacha, that he might enjoy their torments, iv. 97.
- War, Turkish mode of declaring it, iii. 1.
- Watches and Clocks in great request at the end of the Ramazan, i. 222.
- Weights and Scales how regulated in Constantinople, i. 204.
- Wife of Mellek-Pacha, beautiful, beloved, and sacrificed to a Sultana, i. 181.
- Wives, Observations on the Plurality of, P. D. 25, 32.
- Women, Education of the Turkish, P. D. 27. B. de Tott enters by surprize the apartment of those of Murad Mollach, i. 45. Sum allowed for the dress of those of the Grand Seignior, i. 131. Dreadful Consequences of their violent passions, i. 162. Their dead bodies found, i. 163.
- Wool, ii. 67.
- Wortley Montague, Observations and Doubts on some assertions

I N D E X.

assertions of that Lady, i.
161.

Y.

Yacoub-Aga, Anecdote of, ii.
94.
Yaffi, ii. 29. Boggy foil, ii. 31.
Yatagan, what, i. 108.
Yedefan, Noguaisdefart, ii. 184.
Youth, of eighteen, naked, and
cloathed by a Tartar woman,
ii. 60.

Yffakchai, ii. 225.

Yffar, Janissaries strangled at
the Fortrefs of, iii. 12.

Z.

Zaporovian Plains, ii. 168. Cos-
facs, ii. 170.
Zingis Chan, ii. 116.
Zinguifian Princes, Privileges
of, ii. 230.
Zinguifian Prince, Story of, ii.
232.

