

THE
SPIRIT OF THE EAST,

ILLUSTRATED IN A
JOURNAL OF TRAVELS
THROUGH ROUMELI
DURING AN EVENTFUL PERIOD.

BY
D. URQUHART, Esq.

AUTHOR OF
"TURKEY AND ITS RESOURCES," "ENGLAND, FRANCE, RUSSIA,
AND TURKEY," &c.

"Men are not influenced by Facts, but by Opinions respecting Facts."—EPICTETUS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
HENRY COLBURN, PUBLISHER,
GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.

1838.

DR
427
48
V.1



DEDICATED

TO

The Memory

OF

WILLIAM THE FOURTH.

1860

1861

1862

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

	Page
Introduction.....	xi

CHAPTER I.

Objects of the Journey — Departure from Argos — Hardships and Enjoyments of Eastern Travel	1
--	---

CHAPTER II.

State of the Greek Peasantry in 1830 — Military and Political Importance of the Gulf of Corinth — Incident in the War of Independence — Naval Action in the Bay of Salona	15
---	----

CHAPTER III.

Patrass — Turkish and Greek Flags	32
---	----

CHAPTER IV.

Western Greece — Greek Opinions of the Duke of Wellington — Missolonghi — The Horn of Plenty — Battle of Lepanto	41
--	----

CHAPTER V.

Anatolico — Trigardon — Marsh of Lezini — Swimming to a Monastery — Depression of the Coasts of Acarnania and Epirus — European Politics, and Turkish Policy — Comparison of Turkish and Roman Conquest — Administration introduced by the Turks.....	62
---	----

CHAPTER VI.

Refugees in the Lake of Vrachori—Antiquarian Researches and Mishaps—Effect of Gunpowder on Governments and People—Refinement and Ruins of Alyzea—A Picturesque Scene.....	96
---	----

CHAPTER VII.

Change in the Palicars—The Vlachi Soldier-Shepherds—Pouqueville's Blunders—Fetes in the Makronoros—Boar Hunt—Arrival in Albania.....	119
--	-----

CHAPTER VIII.

The Protocol	144
--------------------	-----

CHAPTER IX.

The Three Commissioners—Departure from Prevesa—Prospects of Convulsion in Albania—The Plain of Arta	150
---	-----

CHAPTER X.

Political, Social, and Diplomatic Disquisitions with a Governor, a Noble, and a Judge.	160
---	-----

CHAPTER XI.

State of Parties, Dispositions for Opening the Campaign..	177
---	-----

CHAPTER XII.

Town of Arta—Departure for, and Arrival at, Janina—State of the Country—Female Costume and Beauty—Domestic Industry—Distribution of the Troops—Sudden Panic, and Preparations for an Expedition.	193
---	-----

CHAPTER XIII.

Skipetar Expedition to the Pindus	222
---	-----

CHAPTER XIV.

Meeting of the Camps — Conference between the Chiefs — Fresh Alarms.....	242
---	-----

CHAPTER XV.

Impressions produced by the Skipetar Camp — Past State and Future Prospects of Albania — Comparison of the Characters of Insurrection in Turkey and in Europe ..	265
--	-----

CHAPTER XVI.

Departure from the Camp — Adventure on the Pindus — Hoisted into a Monastery — The Meteora — Discovery of Strange Intrigues — Radical Governor of Triccala — Arrival at Larissa	277
--	-----

CHAPTER XVII.

Thessaly	298
----------------	-----

CHAPTER XVIII.

Reception of the Albanian Beys at Monastir	307
--	-----

CHAPTER XIX.

A Retrospect — Mahommed IV. and his Times — Diplo- matic Intercourse — International Wrongs — Drago- mans in the East — Commercial Restrictions in the West	341
--	-----

CHAPTER XX.

Social Intercourse with the Turks	361
---	-----

CHAPTER XXI.

Characters of an Eastern and an Ancient Room — Pre- sentation of a European in Eastern Society.....	371
--	-----

CHAPTER XXII.

Rambles in Olympus, and Ascent to its Summit 398

CHAPTER XXIII.

Judicial Administration and Foreign Relations of a Mountain Pirate-King — Organic Remains of the War of Troy 439

Plan of an Ancient and an Eastern Room to face p. 374, Vol. I.

INTRODUCTION.

No traveller offers a work to the public without supposing that he has some new facts or ideas to communicate, or some erroneous statements or opinions in the works of his predecessors to correct. If this is true with reference to countries that are at our doors, and with the language, institutions, and customs of which we are perfectly familiar, it must be far more applicable to countries at a distance, with manners and institutions dissimilar to our own; with whose language we never are acquainted; of whose literature we know nothing; with whose society we never mingle; between whose inhabitants and the natives of our own country, friendship seldom or never exists. The casual wanderers in such a land, must, in the impossibility of correctly observing, receive a multitude of loose impressions, and these impressions on their return home are poured forth with

the same facility and diversity as those with which they were received. It is not, therefore, with the idea that there is much to be corrected in the opinions which have resulted from such statements respecting the countries of which these volumes treat, but with the conviction that there is nothing known—that I offer these volumes to my countrymen. It is with the manners of a people as with their language: no part can be correctly described, no passage accurately applied, unless the mind of the one, as the grammar of the other, has been laboriously studied, and is perfectly understood.

The claims which I can offer as the grounds of my own confidence, or of the confidence of others, in my opinions, are—ten years unremittingly employed in the acquisition of the necessary information for judging of the countries which are here in part described. During this period, unoccupied with any other pursuit, my time has been entirely devoted to investigation in detail, or to general studies collaterally bearing on the laws, history, commerce, political and diplomatic position of the East, and more particularly of Turkey. So that, although these inquiries have been extended over fields wide and diversified, they have been systematically directed to the elucidation of one question, and of that question which most nearly

touches the interests, and, perhaps, the political existence, of Great Britain.

During my early travels, and engaged as I originally was in the war between Greece and Turkey, I was led to form the most unfavourable conclusions respecting the character of Eastern countries, and of the Turkish government and people in particular. It was after three years of diligent statistical inquiries, that I began to perceive that there were institutions connected with the East. From the moment that I did perceive the existence of peculiar, though still indistinct, principles, an intense interest was awakened in my mind; and I commenced a collection of financial details, with a view to understanding the rules upon which they were based. Three more years, I may say, were spent in this uncertainty, and I collected and noted down the administration of two hundred and fifty towns and villages, before I was struck with the common principles that guided their administration.

It was also only after one half of the time which I spent in the East had passed by, that I began to perceive that there were certain rules and principles of social manners and customs which it was necessary to study in themselves, and the

acquisition of which was a condition to useful social intercourse.

Having gone through this laborious process, it is but natural for me to suppose that a knowledge of the East involves long and assiduous labour, which cannot be undertaken except by one who has no other occupation or pursuits; who is gifted with energy and perseverance; and is prepared to make an entire sacrifice of all the comforts, luxuries, and enjoyments of life, to which he had been accustomed.

A work on the East is a task which no man who correctly feels, can lightly or willingly undertake. It is exactly in proportion to the progress made, that the difficulties of such a study will be apparent, and, consequently, that the diffidence of the inquirer will increase.

If a botanist, accustomed to a region containing a limited number of species, who has founded his theory of botany on such generalisations as this limited number of facts allowed him to draw, or enabled him to apply, suddenly comes into another region, where he finds his principles inapplicable, or insufficient, he must immediately revise the whole science of which he is a professor. So, in the consideration of nations, if you come to

ideas which, when correctly understood, cannot be accurately rendered by the symbols of your own language, you must immediately revert to first principles—you come back to the reconsideration of human nature.

In this lies the difficulty of the East—the real cause of that embarrassment which seems to increase in proportion as information accumulates. The man who sees the East for a day can sketch external objects by the words which exist in European language; but to be able to convey thoughts, he must feel as they do, and describe those feelings in a language which is not theirs; and this is an overwhelming task. Language is the conventional representation of impressions; but when impressions are not identical, they cannot be conveyed by common sounds; and, therefore, where there is difference of impressions, there is no possibility of obtaining a common language.

In this difficulty of intercommunication, it is but natural to suppose that each party has suffered in the eyes of the other: we have been deprived of the means of appreciating that which is good; we have exaggerated that which is bad, and interpreted unfavourably that which is indifferent. The original deficiency of language has been the cause, subsequently, of justifiable hostility; and, in this

reaction of cause and effect, a reciprocal contempt of the one for the other has finally resulted. This misintelligence which has taken root amongst the Europeans who have settled in the East, excludes travellers, by the existing hostility, from intercourse with the natives of the country. They have not the key to intercourse, and are dependent for the first impressions by which their whole subsequent career is necessarily guided, on the residents in the East, who speak the same language as themselves.

It is to be supposed that those who turn their faces towards the rising sun, are impelled by a generous ardour for the pursuit of knowledge; that their imagination is warmed by the poetry of Eastern existence, and by the splendour of Eastern scenery; that men, whose early education has been formed upon the Bible, and whose boyish aspirations have been fired by the Oriental breath of the "Arabian Nights," should look with sympathy and interest upon those institutions, those habits, and those effects, which live alone in the "clime of the East." Nevertheless, it is unfortunately but too true, that, whilst European visitors have neglected the political and moral interest and character which that land affords, they have also neglected even those external and physical features, which

come within the scope of the sciences which absorb the still available faculties of observation and comparison of the present age. The botany, the geology, the mineralogy of European and Asiatic Turkey, have been scarcely extended since the days of Tournefort. We owe our recent geographical knowledge respecting the regions of Upper Asia to a translation made at Paris from a Chinese geographer, whose work was published fifteen hundred years ago! Until the survey of Lieutenant Burnes, the only information we possessed respecting the course of the Indus,—the channel of Indian commerce, and the frontier of the British dominions,—was derived from the historians of Alexander! We need not, therefore, be surprised that we should be ignorant of the character of the Eastern mind — of the limits of Eastern knowledge — of the tide and current of Eastern opinion.

The admission, as a general proposition, of difficulty in the study of the East, of ignorance of facts, of erroneousness of conclusions, may remain a truism inoperative and unfruitful; it is, therefore, necessary to shew how the use of certain terms applicable to our state becomes the source of error, while the observer cannot, by any possibility, suspect, that the error lies in the use of the language with which alone he is familiar. I will,

therefore, give a few instances, which may serve to illustrate the stumbling-blocks which preconceived and European notions cast in the path of Oriental inquiry.

When we look back to the history of Great Britain not many years ago, we find a population degraded, miserable, insulated. We see the progress of the arts, of agriculture, and, above all, the construction of roads, producing a concomitant improvement in the condition of men; and we naturally infer that good roads, mechanical skill, &c., are conditions of well-being, and, where these are not, that every thing must be degradation and misery. When, therefore, we hear of countries where the roads are in as bad a condition as they were fifty years ago in England, we conclude that the social condition of these countries is such as it was in England, or as we suppose it (for the dogmatic character of the day is ever prone to revile the past) to have been in England at a former period. But in England, and in countries lying in the same latitude, the enjoyments of the people are derived from a distant zone; have to be transported from afar; and the superabundance of home produce has to be exported before it can be exchanged to obtain these luxuries. A population so situated, if without the easy means of transport,

must remain destitute of all those enjoyments which result from interchange, and which beget industry. To them, therefore, roads become of vital importance; but roads are by no means a question of equal importance to countries where every village has within its reach the comforts and the luxuries which Northern populations have to obtain from a distance.

In the same way, the population of Great Britain, before the introduction of green crops, was restricted, during the long inclement months of winter, to provisions of the worst description. Salt bacon, and, at an earlier period, eels, were the only addition which the peasant could expect to his rye or barley during six months of the year; and we naturally, therefore, esteem the improvements of modern agriculture as necessary to a good and wholesome diet, and necessary to the well-being of every agricultural population. But in countries where the winter is not of the same duration, and where the character of the produce is more varied, the progress of the science of agriculture is not in the same degree requisite for the well-being of the community. "The backward state of agriculture" is, therefore, a form of words which does not convey the same idea when applied to countries in different latitudes.

Again, in our constitutional combinations, the point of departure, to which we look back, is feudalism; the mass of the population was then mere property; and every step which has been made in the acquisition of social rights, in the establishment of equality, in the elevation of the power and the character of a central judicature, having been an improvement upon the original constitution of the state, we consider "progress," synonymous with improvement. In the East, the point of departure is—the free right of property of every man, and equality of all men before the law:—every departure from that original constitution has been in violation of its principles, and in violation of national rights. Eastern populations, therefore, appeal to stability as the sanction of popular rights; the European, who understands the advancement of popular rights to lie in the word "progress," does not comprehend the Eastern, who looks on that which is stationary as that which is excellent: and while his preconceptions deprive him of the faculty of perceiving a train of thought so important and so valuable, he establishes erroneous data as the foundation of all his conclusions.

Again, the word "Feudalism" is productive of similar confusion. Feudalism, in its true and

real sense, has existed throughout the East from all times, and exists now; and yet, in reducing to its simplest expression the difference existing between the East and the West, I have been obliged to have recourse, as defining that difference, to drawing a line between those nations that have passed through feudalism, and those nations that have not passed through feudalism; by the former meaning the inhabitants of the West of Europe, with the exception of some fragments of races—the Basque Provinces, for instance, the islands Guernsey, Jersey, &c.

Although feudalism was brought from the East to the West, it underwent in our Western regions modifications and changes which completely altered its nature. The primitive character was that of a local military organisation for the defence of the soil, for which a regular contribution was given, the remuneration amounting to one-tenth of the produce of the soil so protected. The tenure of those feoffs was dependent upon the will of the sovereign, and generally, in the earlier periods, they were yearly appointments. In the West, the feudal lords became the proprietors of the soil which they had been charged to protect, and thus entirely overthrew the principles, and vitiated the object, of that system. Feudalism in the East

leaves to the cultivator the right of property; feudalism in the West has deprived him of that right—has conferred the land on the holder of the feoff, and converted the cultivator into a serf. The system is completely different:—but the word is the same. The European comes to a fact, which he designates feudalism,—he instantly, therefore, makes the application of his views of Western feudalism to a state of society where nothing of the kind was ever known: hence our misconception of the rights of property of our Hindoo subjects, and a fundamental source of misconception of every principle of Eastern government, law, property, and legislation.

The government of Turkey, as of other Eastern nations, it has been the habit to designate as “despotism;” and this designation has not been confined to books of travels, but is used by writers of a scientific character, and in the classification of countries. Now it is a singular thing, that our idea of despotism is unknown to the Eastern mind; that, to explain the word to a native of the East, it is necessary to describe to him a state of society where men disagree regarding the principles of law and justice. The idea of despotism, or the falsification of right, through the violence of power, can coexist only with two standards of right and wrong;

so that a fluctuating and accidental majority imposes its will as the rule of justice and of law. Such a state of things has given birth to, and developed, feelings of deep animosity between man and man; there has, consequently, been an exasperation of expression, in all ideas associated with politics. But, in countries where the principles of the government have never been in opposition to the opinions of any class of the people, the abuse of power is "tyranny," but not "despotism;" men may suffer from the violence of power, but they are not exasperated by the conversion into laws of opinions which they repudiate.

In addition to the sources of fallacy common to all Europeans, there are those which flow from the sectional and party views of travellers. Every Englishman belongs to one or other of the political parties that divide his native country. Unable to take an impartial view of his own country, how can he be the judge of another? His language is itself inapplicable to the subject-matter; and these terms call forth the antipathies of his party bias. The Liberal, calling Turkey a "despotic" government, reprobates it by that term alone, and inquires no further; the Tory sees in it popular principles, and looks no further; the Radical sees there principles which he considers

aristocratic ; and the favourer of aristocracy despises it because there is no hereditary aristocracy ; the Constitutionalist deems a country without a parliament scarce worth a thought ; the Legitimist takes umbrage at the limitations there placed to regal power ; the Political Economist is met by a system of taxation which he terms inquisitorial ; and the advocate of “ protection of industry ” can see no well-being, no civilisation, without a custom-house. Thus, the member of every party, and the professor of each class of opinions, finds in the terms which he is forced to use that which shocks his principles and overthrows his theory.

The next obstacles that present themselves are of a social character. Fallacies of a metaphysical, logical, and political character mislead our reason ; fallacies touching manners irritate our feelings. We are treated in the East as outcasts and as reprobates. We do not inquire into the cause ; we do not gain the knowledge by which our position can be changed ; we are, consequently, disposed to conclude unfavourably when that is possible, and are either excluded from their society, or labour under unceasing irritation of mind when admitted to it.

The next and last source of fallacy which I shall touch upon is religion. In contradiction of

the liturgy of the English Church, we look on the Mussulmans as “infidels;” and, in the spirit of our age and country, no less fanatic in religion than in infidelity, no less intolerant in faith than in politics, we treat as enemies of our religion those who admit the Gospels as their creed, and suppose in them the same intolerance towards us, that we are guilty of towards them.

In undertaking this Work, one of my principal objects was the exposition of the characters, both in dogma and in practice, of Islam; but circumstances, into which it would be irrelevant to enter, have deprived me of the leisure necessary for treating this question as it ought to be treated. I must, therefore, dismiss it for the present, with this single remark, that as a Presbyterian and a Calvinist, I consider Islam nearer in dogma to the true Church* than many sects of so-termed Christians; since the Mussulman admits justification by faith, and not by works, and recognises the Gospels as inspired writings, and the rule of faith; since he looks on Christ as the Spirit of God, as without original sin, and as being destined in the fulness of time to bring all men into one fold.

* Such was the opinion of Churchmen at the time of the Reformation.

But the social and political influence of Islamism has been entirely misunderstood; and I therefore beg to offer a few observations on the exclusively worldly and temporal characters of Islamism, with a view of exposing another source of error in our estimation of the East.

In the East, the word religion does not convey the same meaning as in Europe; it is with us faith and dogma, wholly distinct from measures of policy and forms of government. At the period of the rise of Islamism, the struggle of religions represented, though with nobler and more useful characters, the struggle of opinions in the West at the present day. Our struggle of opinions has reference to *forms* of government; their struggle of religions had reference to *measures* of government. The Greek (faith and system) maintained heavy taxation, monopolies, and privileges. The Mussulman (Arabs and followers of Mahommed) denounced monopolies and privileges, and recognised but a single property-tax. Tulleihah, a rival prophet, won over several tribes, by expunging the law against interest, and by a change in sundry civil precepts. Mosseylemah, the great rival of Mahommed, had formed a code differing so little from that of his successful competitor, that local and personal accidents alone influenced "the struggle

which was to decide whether the tenets of Mahommed, or the code of Mosseylemah, should give laws to the Eastern world." He had merely copied the principles of cheap government, equal law, and free trade, which the genius of Mahommed had seized, as the levers by which the existing order of things could be overthrown, and a new order introduced; and which he combined with religious dogmas in deference to the ideas of his age and country, improving on that which did exist, and forming that whole which has endured as a religion without losing its political features, and triumphed as a political system, without casting off its devotional character.

After long and anxious consideration, during which I have relied more on living impressions than on the cold records of the past, and having had the advantage of looking into the causes and effects of the recent adoption of Islamism by Christian, as by Pagan populations, I have come to the following estimate of the political character of Islam.

As a religion, it teaches no new dogmas; establishes no new revelation, no new precepts; has no priesthood, and no church government. It gives a code to the people, and a constitution to the state, enforced by the sanction of religion.

In its religious character it is devotional, not dogmatic.

In its civil character it is so simple, comprehensive, and concise, that law is supported by moral obligation.

In its political character it limited taxation; it made men equal in the eye of the law; it consecrated the principles of self-government,* and the local control of accounts. It established a control over sovereign power, by rendering the executive authority subordinate to that of the law,† based on religious sanction and on moral obligations.

The excellence and effectiveness of each of these principles (each capable of immortalising its founder) gave value to the rest; and the three combined endowed the system which they formed, with a force and energy exceeding those of any other political system. Within the lifetime of a man, though in the hands of a population wild, ignorant, and insignificant, it spread over a greater extent

* As in America.

† Thus the provision for the poor, although a fixed sum, being $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on the income of every man of competent means, was left to his own distribution. Hence the fundamental stone of the Mussulman character; hence hospitality and good-will between neighbours and men.

than the dominions of Rome. While it retained its primitive character, it was irresistible, and its expansive power was arrested only when a lie* was recorded in its annals.

A faith, a code, and a constitution, were thus combined in one comprehensive plan, where the service of the altar, the administration of the village, the collection of taxes, were services of honour, and not of profit; and where no class or body had a place with interests at variance with those of the community. The sublimity of its devotion, the simplicity of the code, the excellence of the financial system, the freedom of its political doctrines, seemed to endow Islamism with the means at once of firing imagination and of subduing reason, of sufficing for all exigencies, realising every object for which society is constituted, and exhausting every mode of influencing men.

Having dwelt so much on the difficulties that stand in the way of a correct estimate of the East, I must observe, that these difficulties *reside solely in a European's preconceived opinions*. Let a European of a powerful or a simple mind go to the East, and the key of knowledge is at once within his reach. As proof of this assertion, it is sufficient

* About the year 30 of the Hejira.

to refer to Lady Mary Wortley Montague, whose residence in Turkey did not exceed fourteen months, and who has accurately observed, and faithfully painted, almost every feature of society in that country; and while she has been the only European who has justly estimated it, she is also the only one who has ever acquired there influence and consideration. The cause of this extraordinary phenomenon, I take to be her residence in a Turkish establishment, from the first hour of her entrance into the country; which at once carried her beyond the noxious influence of Frank residents and interpreters; while, being a woman, she was not versed in the fallacies of political life, nor committed to the errors of politicians.

I cannot omit here mentioning Mr. Lane's work on Egypt—the only delineation in a European language of Eastern manners. This work I conceive to be eminently calculated to improve our position in the East, because it is now impossible for a traveller to proceed thither without knowing that there exists there a distinct code of manners and politeness, which he must study if he pretends to know the people or to judge them.

With regard to these volumes I have now to say, that I think they will promote investigation and discussion, if they do no more. The ground-

work is a trip in European Turkey of five months; they have, from scanty notes made at the time, been extended, whilst living amongst Turks, and on the banks of the Bosphorus. They were however, written as a distraction, rather than as an occupation, whilst suffering severely, bodily and mentally, and under impressions the most painful—those of seeing the best interests of my country sacrificed, and the conservative principles of the Turkish government and society undermined, less by foreign and hostile influence, than by a fatal imitation of Western manners, prejudices, and principles.



JOURNAL,

ſc. ſc.

CHAPTER I.

OBJECTS OF THE JOURNEY—DEPARTURE FROM ARGOS—HARDSHIPS AND ENJOYMENTS OF EASTERN TRAVEL.

IN the early part of 1830 I was at Argos, returning to England from Constantinople, after having spent nearly three years in Greece and Turkey. Just as I was on the point of embarking, and of bidding adieu to a land in the destinies of which I had been deeply interested, but which now was stripped of its dramatic attributes and attractions, and was placed, in honour and repose, under the protecting wings of the three greatest powers in the world—just at that moment—a vessel, a King's ship, touched its shores, and landed a Protocol; which, with a power only to be compared to magic, set, instantler, every body by the ears. To tell how the people went and came, and harangued and gesticulated—how the fustanels* flounced about, how the mus-

* The Albanian kilt, which is white, longer than the Scotch kilt, and very full.

tachoes were twirled up—would be a task indeed. This was at Argos; but elsewhere the effect of this recent importation was no less marvellous. Day by day news reached us from province after province, from city after city: every where as at Argos, all other thoughts and occupations were laid aside; and the people pouring out of their shops and dwellings, but having no *agora* in which to take counsel together, assembled in the various *caffenés*,* or coffee-shops, and there established arenas of hot debate, and schools of energetic eloquence.

All this, as may be imagined, was a great treat for travellers; but it was very puzzling, how a piece of paper with three autographs was to set a whole country in a state of fermentation. What increased the difficulty we experienced in accounting for the strange scenes passing before our eyes, was, that this very document concluded by mutual and reciprocal congratulation from the signers to themselves — because of their joint conception of the actual Protocol; which was to lead in for Greece a new and lucid order of things; the din of arms and the voice of faction were alike to be hushed, and the Greeks henceforth and for ever-

* The principal coffee-house at Napoli had, in consequence of the favourable effect of a previous protocol, been designated "*Lcs Trois Puissances*." On the arrival of the protocol of the 3d of February, 1830, it was immediately designated "*Café des Trois Potences*."

more were to attune their hearts and harps to the praise and honour of the triple Alliance.

But it was clear all this would not end in words : we could arrive at no satisfactory conclusions, because men of equal ability, and possessed of equal means of information, entertained opinions the reverse of each other. At all events, all parties were agreed in this, that the self-gratulations of the protocol were premature ; and this point was constantly insisted on as revealing the degree of ignorance of the Conference of London ; an ignorance which they averred could only proceed from wilful misrepresentations made from Greece.

While these subjects were under debate at Argos, news arrived that the Suliotes in Albania were again in arms ; then, that the Albanians were in arms. Some said that they, too, had resolved to resist the infliction of the Protocol ; others, that they were preparing for a general irruption into Greece ; but the generally prevailing opinion was, that a grand federation of Albanian Christians and Mussulmans, headed by the formidable Pasha of Scodra, was preparing to carry war into Macedonia and Thrace, and to plant, in imitation of Mustafa Bairactar, the Illyrian banner on the heights that command the imperial city.

The coincidence, therefore, of this Protocol, which launched Greece again on a sea of troubles, with the movements of Albania threatening the very existence of the Porte, and menacing, in that

event, to pull down the existing fabric of European power; induced me to postpone my return to England, in order to make myself, in as far as a knowledge of the points in dispute could make me, master of the question. I determined on visiting Continental Greece and the disputed boundary; and feeling that my interest in Greece, as well as any knowledge I possessed of that country, arose from having taken a share in her struggle, I resolved on endeavouring to make myself acquainted with Albania in the same manner; and to join the first camp and leader that chance should throw in my way.

On the 7th of May, 1830, I set out from Argos in company with Mr. Ross of Bladensburg; but, in consequence of the prevailing alarm, we were under the necessity of concealing our ultimate destination. Our friends would have looked on us as madmen, had they suspected us of an intention of visiting the wild Arnaouts: that might matter little; but we certainly should not have got servants to accompany us.

I suppose things are altered now — much for the better, of course; but at the time of which I am writing, when Greece still was light-hearted and young, it was a hard thing for a man to keep his own counsel. At every turn of a passage, every angle of a street, every furlong along the road, you were stopped at all times to have a long string

of questions put to you. "Whence do you come?" "Whither are you going?" "What is your business?" "How is your health?" "Where is to be seen your venerable paternal mansion?" "Which of the great allies has the honour of claiming you?" "*What news?*"*—and this, be it observed, between perfect strangers; but when friends or acquaintances meet, and especially should one or both be women, then, with the redoubled sigmas of Greek interrogatories, commences a sibilation which one might take for a dialogue of boa-constrictors. Your state, health, humour, are all separately asked for; similar inquiries are then instituted respecting all and each of your known relatives, horses, and dogs. You must, in reply, present the appropriate compliments of the individual thus distinguished—thus: "How is the venerable Archon, your Father?" "He salutes you."—"How is the valuable Citizen, your Brother?" "He kisses your eyes."—"How is the hopeful stripling, your Son?" "He kisses your hand." And a dozen persons will each exercise his right of calling you separately to account, and each will repeat the identical questions which he has heard put and answered.

During my previous ramblings in Greece, I

* This question is, for greater precision, often repeated in triplicate; one expression derived from the Italian, one from the Turks, and one Hellenic, viz. "*Ti mandata—ti chaberi—ti nea?*"

had become nervously irritable under this persecution, which is the more annoying after leaving Turkey, where all personal questions, when indicating any thing like curiosity, are perfectly repugnant to feelings and custom. At length, I hit upon a plan that stifled curiosity, and that was by telling the people that I came from Constantinople, and was going to Janina,—so strange an announcement putting an end to all further parley. But now that in reality I was going from Constantinople to Janina, I had to renounce the benefits of the avowal, and submit to the cross-examination with the patience that years bring, and travel hastens.

Bent, as we were, on a pilgrimage to the towers and tombs (long undisturbed by the footsteps of hyperborean wanderers) of the heroes who assembled from far and near on the shore of Aulis and swore fealty to the “King of Men,” we could not more appropriately commence that pilgrimage than by paying our vows at the tomb of the great Agamemnon, and by perambulating with reverent footstep the grey ruins of Troy’s rival, Mycene. These ruins are distant a few miles from Argos; and there did we resolve on resting for the first night. Our tent, which, I have some pride in saying, was entirely of domestic manufacture, had, with the servants and baggage horses, been sent forward in the morning. It was, therefore, after the evening shades had commenced to lengthen

out along the plain, that we cleared the straggling lanes of Argos, and bade adieu to its hospitable inhabitants. We passed under the abrupt and singular rock, on the summit of which stands the old fortress called Larissa, and then, wading through the scanty stream of "Father Inachus," entered on the magnificent plain which still bears the name of the city of Agamemnon.

Even after the lapse of more than seven years, it is a real enjoyment to recall the feelings with which I commenced this journey; and, although it may not be easy to describe that which can only be understood when felt, still do I conceive it incumbent on me to endeavour now, before we start, to give the reader who is to accompany me some insight into the manner of our future march.

Throughout European, and a great portion of Asiatic Turkey, as also in Persia and Central Asia, people travel on horseback. With the same horses, the average rate may be 20 to 25 miles a day. With post horses, changing at stages varying from 10 to 48 miles, 60 miles a-day may easily be accomplished; 100 is fast travelling; 150 the fastest; 600 miles in four days and a half, and 1200 in ten, are, indeed, feats, but not very uncommon ones.

This mode of travelling, even when not going at such a pace as that just mentioned, involves hardship, exposure, and fatigue. It is not a recreation suited to all men, and is trying even to those

who are vigorous and indifferent to luxuries and comforts ; but there is none of that languor and feverishness that so generally result from travelling on wheels. The very hardships bring enjoyment with them, in invigorated health, braced nerves, and elevated spirits. You are in immediate contact with nature, every circumstance of scenery and climate becomes of interest and value, and the minutest incident of country, or of local habits, cannot escape observation. A burning sun may sometimes exhaust, or a summer storm may drench you ; but what can be more exhilarating than the sight of the lengthened troop of variegated and gay costumes dashing at full speed along, to the crack of the Tartar whip, and the wild whoop of the *surrigée* ? what more picturesque than to watch their reckless career over upland or dale, or along the waving line of the landscape,—bursting away on a dewy morn, or racing “home” on a rosy eve ?

You are constantly in the full enjoyment of the open air of a heavenly climate,—the lightness of the atmosphere passes to the spirits,—the serenity of the clime sinks into the mind ; you are prepared to enjoy all things and all states ; you are ready for work—you are glad of rest ; you are, above all things, ready for your food, which is always savoury when it can be got, and never unseasonable when forthcoming. Still I must in candour avow, that no small portion of the pleasures of Eastern travel arises from sheer hardship and privation, which

afford to the few unhappy beings who have not to labour for their daily bread, a transient insight into the real happiness enjoyed three times a-day by the whole mass of mankind who labour for their bread, and hunger for their meals.

To travel in the East with comfort or advantage, it is necessary to do so according to the rule and custom of the country. This it is easy to lay down as a rule, but very difficult to put in practice, because it supposes long experience and perfect acquaintance with a subject, when you enter only on its threshold. But, supposing that this can be effected, you will proceed on your rambles accompanied by attendants who perform the various functions of your establishment as they would do in a fixed abode; you carry also along with you every requisite and every comfort, and feel yourself almost entirely independent of circumstance or assistance; and thus, in the desert, as in the peopled city, the associations of home pursue you, and practically inform you of those feelings of locomotive independence, and of that combination of family ties and nomade existence, which are the basis of Eastern character. How do these inquiries, which appear, at a distance, so abstruse, become homely and simple when you surround yourself with the atmosphere of custom! You can at once lay your hand on motives; you spring at once to conclusions without the trouble of reflexion, or the risks which so unfortunately

attend the parturitions of logic. Placed among a strange people, if you inquire, you must use language not applicable to their ideas ; if you argue, you deal with your impressions, not theirs ; but when you put yourself in a position similar to theirs, you can feel as they do, and that is the final result of useful investigation. Burke, in his essay on the “ Beautiful and Sublime,” mentions an ancient philosopher who, when he wished to understand the character of a man, used to imitate him in every thing, endeavoured to catch the tone of his voice, and even tried to look like him : never was a better rule laid down for a traveller.

Thus drawn within the pale of Eastern existence, what interesting trains of thought, — what contrasts arise at every turn, and what importance and value trivial circumstances, not merely those of the East, but those of Europe also, assume ! How are you struck with relationships, unobserved before, between daily habits and the national character of centuries ; between domestic manners and historic events ! The smoke rising from your hearth, before the door of your tent, pitched only ten minutes before, brings at once to your mind, through your feelings, the difference between Gothic and Eastern colonisation and patriotism. You pitch, perhaps, by the ruins of a fane of Hellenic mythology ; an attendant brings in herbs for supper, collected on the field of a battle that has stirred your school-boy soul, and calls

them by the names that Hippocrates or Galen would have used; while your groom pickets your horse according to the practice of the Altai Mountains.

But the thirst of the European traveller for novelty will not be gratified, unless he turn his mind to what I would call the novelty of antiquity. The finer and minuter portions of the existence of former ages, not being recordable by words, are lost to our times and in our portion of the globe. In the East, those habits of ancient days still live and breathe. There may you dine as people dined at Athens; there may you enjoy the greatest, the lost luxury of antiquity, and bathe as they bathed at Rome; and while there you may look upon, in real flesh and blood, the Homeric visions of three thousand years—may you also behold the living counterpart of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, as described by Bede, and assist at *gemots* in each parish, as convened by Alfred.

If I might recall one hour from this simple and nomade state of existence more delicious than the rest, it would be that of the evening bivouac, when you choose your ground and pitch your tent wherever fancy or caprice may decide,—on a mountain brow, in a secluded vale, by a running brook, or in a sombre forest; and where, become familiar with mother earth, you lay yourself down on her naked bosom. There you may establish sudden community with her other child-

ren — the forester, the lowland ploughman, or the mountain shepherd; or call in, to share your evening repast, some weary traveller, whose name, race, and land of birth, may be equally unknown, and who may, in the pleasing uncertainty, but certain instruction of such intercourse, wile the evening hour away with tales of the Desert, or stories of the Capital, and may have visited, in this land of pilgrims, the streams of Cachmere, or the parched Sahara.

But, though never can you better enjoy, still no where can you more easily dispense with man's society, than in your tent, after a long day's fatigue. It is a pleasure, which words cannot tell, to watch that portable home—every where the same—spreading around its magic circle, and rearing on high its gilded ball; as cord by cord is picketed down, it assumes its wonted forms, and then spreads wide its festooned porch, displaying within, mosaic carpets and piled cushions. There the traveller reclines, after the labour of the day and the toil of the road, his ablutions first performed at the running stream, and his *namaz* recited,—to gaze away the last gleam of twilight, in that absorbed repose which is not reflexion, which is not vacancy, but a calm communing with nature, and a silent observation of men and things. Thus that pensive mood is fostered, and that soberness of mind acquired, which, though not profound, is never trivial. Thus at home in the

wilds should the Mussulman be seen—picturesque in his attire, sculpturesque in his attitude, with dignity on his forehead, welcome on his lips, and poetry in all around. With such a picture before him, the ever-busy Western may guess at the frame of mind of those to whom such existence is habitual, and who, thence, carry into the business of life the calm we can only find in solitude, when, escaping from our self-created world of circumstance, we can visit and dwell for a moment with the universe, and converse with it in a language without words.

Nor are these, the shadows of which I have endeavoured to catch, the whole enjoyments of Eastern travel. The great source of its interest to a stranger is—man; the character of the people, and their political circumstances; facts new and varied; action dramatic, simple, and personal. With us, the national circumstances which demand the inquirer's attention are of so analytical and scientific a character, that they are unapproachable, save by those who have devoted a lifetime of labour to each particular branch. He who has done so becomes absorbed in an exclusive study; he who has not, has no right to opine, and shrinks from examining. But, in the East, by the simplicity of system in public combinations, and by the clear perception of moral right and wrong in personal character,—all subjects worthy of engaging our attention are placed within the reach of the un-

scientific, and reduced to the level of ordinary capacity. But the stranger must commence with laying previous opinions aside, as the first step towards becoming acquainted with feelings different from those implanted by the education of his national habits, and by the experience of his native land.

CHAPTER II.

STATE OF THE GREEK PEASANTRY IN 1830 — MILITARY AND
POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE GULF OF CORINTH — INCI-
DENT IN THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE — NAVAL ACTION IN
THE BAY OF SALONA.

AFTER spending the first night of our journey, as already stated, at the ruins of Mycene, we proceeded next morning to Corinth. Passing through the Dervenaki, celebrated for the check which the Pasha of Drama here received, we observed, not without interest, the tambouris (breast-works) which then had been thrown up, and listened to various versions of the gathering and success of the Greeks. A few miles further on, I was delighted to look again on the little plain of Nemæa, consecrated by its scene-like ruins; but I had to regret that a whole year had neither added to its cultivation nor improved the condition of the wandering vlachi (shepherds). The same month found them again churning their butter under the same tree, suspending their simple implements by the same column; without one burden diminished, — I wish I could add, without one prospect overcast.

The present state of the country is far from

realising the anticipations I had been led to form from the progress I had observed while travelling over the same ground the year before. All proposals for the cultivation of national lands, for the formation of agricultural and other establishments, for the construction of roads, had been discouraged or rejected by the Government, which arrested every enterprise, even by intimidation and threats; and made a mystery of its ultimate measures and intentions. The very fact of the existence of a government had, during the previous year, spread life and activity through the whole country, and the effect was perfectly miraculous. But those energies were repressed when the system which the Government chose to adopt came into operation; and, now, not an additional hut had been raised, nor a tree planted, nor a field enclosed, nor a bridge rebuilt, nor a road restored. But this was not all.

From the public lands, which include the richest and plain lands, the Government exacted three tenths of the produce. The peasants, for the most part, employed money borrowed at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per month, or received the seed for which they bound themselves to return one-half of the net proceeds. At sowing time, the price of grain was very high, owing to the blockade of the Dardanelles, while the seed-grain bore a still higher price, owing to the universal prejudice, that no seed will give a good crop save that which is grown in the country,

the quantity of which was very small. At harvest-time, the blockade having been raised, prices fell one-half—a remarkable indication of the influence of the Dardanelles over the surrounding countries.

The expense of cultivation in Greece is greater than in England. The modes and implements are rude and cumbersome; every transport is made on the back of mules; the land must be ploughed three times before sowing; their plough displaces the soil without turning or breaking the clods; no manure is laid on the land, which generally bears but two crops in three years, and a great deal more seed than necessary is sown. With all these expenses and disadvantages, one-third of the crop (besides 12 per cent custom on all produce and goods shipped or unshipped) goes to Government, one-half of the remainder to the provider of cattle and seed; so that the peasant receives $3\frac{1}{2}$ -tenths of the *net* proceeds to discharge the interest on his advances, to cover the expenses of cultivation, to maintain his family, and fulfil the expectations he had entertained of entering on a new and happier state of existence.

The labouring population is yet far better off than the landed proprietors. Many of these had, through all the vicissitudes of the revolution, saved something as a last resource, and they eagerly seized the moment of their being put in peaceable possession of their properties to dispose of whatever valuables they still retained, and applied the

proceeds, together with any advance they could obtain, to the restoration of their lands. But their resources were generally inadequate, and their expectations always exaggerated. After building houses and farm-offices, buying cattle, breaking up and clearing land, proprietors have been left without the means of buying seed.

The olive, and especially the mulberry-trees, which give their crops without outlay or care, and are the surest resources of an unsettled country, had been in a great measure cut down for firewood during the war: the vineyards and currant-vines could only be restored with considerable expense and the loss of several seasons.

Thus, within a short year, panic had succeeded to speculation. The establishment, and subsequently the opening of the blockade of the Dardanelles, produced a ruinous fluctuation of price, which, joined to the scarcity of foreign capital (owing to the policy of Capodistrias), has now reduced the landed proprietors to a state of bankruptcy and exasperation, which does not augur much for the future tranquillity of the country. Their irritation is also to be attributed to the introduction of laws questionable in their utility, and decidedly objectionable from their unpopularity; to say nothing of what the people consider the loss of the rights and advantages which, under the old administration, would have enabled them to profit by the tranquillity which existed, or to bear up against the

temporary evils arising from accidents of the seasons and fluctuations of commerce.

The distance from Argos to Corinth is only eight hours ; so, on the forenoon of the second day of our journey, we perceived our tent (which had been sent forward the day before) shining in the sun amid the ruins of the Seraï of Kiamil Bey, at Corinth.

The rock and ruins having sufficiently occupied the pen and pencil of poets, topographers, and painters, I need not carry my reader to enjoy the sunset and sunrise with us from the immortal summit. What I have to say respecting the isthmus, and the canal which has been commenced across it, awaits in an Appendix the perusal of the curious geologist and antiquary ; as, also, observations on the intermittent fever which afflicts the shores of the Gulf.

From Corinth we directed our course to Patrass along the beautiful border of the Gulf of Corinth. The road generally runs close to the beach, with the lake-like Gulf on the right. A narrow border of the most productive land on the face of the earth, bearing the currant-bush, is interposed between the shore and low hills, of a flesh-coloured clay, stretching in long parallel ledges, and studded with dark green shrubs. Mountains, chiefly of conglomerate rock, rise behind, with rectangular outlines, perpendicular sides, and parallel ridges, fringed

with pines ; their sombre hues and imposing forms rendered more gloomy and severe by the lively colours and fantastic sweeps of the foreground. I first beheld these mountain groups from the centre of the Gulf, in the dim haze of morning ; they looked like gigantic fortresses most scientifically and elaborately traced out ; the hand of nature had formed them to shelter the children of her soil. Only the year before, the bones of Tartar hosts lay whitening in the surf, along the shores of Acrata : not a vestige of them could I now discover.

The Gulf, closed at its narrow entrance by the fortresses termed the “ Little Dardanelles,” since the invention of gunpowder, has been, and ever must be, essential to the military occupation of Greece. Its importance was no less sensible to the Osmanli in peace than to other nations it would have been in war, owing to the diplomatic nature of the ties that connect their dominion, and to the separate and often hostile action which that empire of balance can endure without disruption. Points of local strength or weakness, mountain barriers, lowland morasses, often measure the terms which one party can exact, or fix the privileges on which a community can take its stand. These circumstances are, therefore, every-day considerations ; and reasons of state and combinations of strategy, which in Europe are confined to the cabinet of an empire, or to the staff of an army,

are gravely debated in village vestries. Turkey, in her European provinces, has long used, dreaded, and punished the lords of the mountains, the Arnaouts. The Gulf of Lepanto bars them the road to the fertile valleys of Greece: they have on three occasions been transported thither to suppress insurrection; each time have they been guilty of the wildest excesses, and their only restraint was, the knowledge that retreat was impracticable without the consent of the Porte, as Turks held the castles, and a Greek militia the Isthmus of Corinth.* Therefore is every child familiar with the political importance of the possession of the Gulf.

It is only necessary to cast a glance on the map of Greece, to appreciate the value of this arm of the sea. The region to the north, from Lepanto to the borders of Attica, is so intersected with mountains, and indented by bays, that it is impracticable for an army, and difficult of access for a traveller. Whoever holds the castles of the Little Dardanelles, commands all communication by land as well as by sea, between Western Greece, Arta, Albania, and the Morea.

No wonder, then, that this barrier was considered by the Osmanli as the setting by which

* The celebrated Hassan Pasha extirpated a body of them after the insurrection of 1780, by intercepting their retreat at the isthmus, and at the "Little Dardanelles."

they held the fairest gem of the European turban.* The bristling batteries of the double castles closed its portals to the infidel. For a long century their battlements had never blazed in wrath,† the waters of the Gulf had never felt a stranger keel, or reflected from its tranquil mirror other pennant save that of the “ blood-red flag.”

During the first six years of the war of independence, the communication between Continental and Peninsular Greece was maintained by the superiority of the Greeks at sea. During that long period, the Gulf remained in the possession of the Turks, severing the parts of a country necessary to their mutual support; and, consequently, the western parts of Continental Greece, if not completely subdued, were deprived of the power of further resistance.

In the autumn of 1827, when the last sands of the destinies of Hellas seemed to mark her approaching dissolution, the news of the treaty of July inspired her with fresh hopes, and called forth the renewed energy of her sons. The intelligence, spreading to the north, aroused Acarnania from her lethargy; the Armatoles of Valtos and Xeromeros urged the return of their brothers

* Two turbans were formerly carried before the Sultan; one to represent Asia, the other Europe.

† Even in the two previous revolutions of Greece, the guns of these fortresses had never once been used.

serving in the Morea, and invoked the assistance of the Peloponnesians in expelling again the Albanians, and in regaining the former, and the necessary frontier of the Macronoros.

But the attempt seemed hopeless ; all the lines of communication with Continental Greece were in the hands of the enemy : Albanians held Macronoros and the level districts and forts of Acarnania ; Turks occupied Lepanto and the castles of the Gulf ; Egyptians held Patrass, and the whole of Elis and Achaia ; the Egyptian and Turkish fleets crowded the Ionian Sea, and Missolonghi was theirs. The Greeks were assembled in some force in Argolis, and on the east of the Peloponnesus ; but, even if the Turks could not oppose them, when once arrived in Western Greece, how make their way thither ? If they could have penetrated through the continental highlands, the Turks would have arrested them at Rachova and at Thermopyle. The Egyptians would have met them, if they attempted to cross the Morea ; and the combined Mussulman fleets anchored on its shores at Navarino, Patrass, or Missolonghi, put all idea of transport by sea out of the question ; and between these horns of an inextricable dilemma stretched the waters of the Gulf of Lepanto, in possession of a Turkish squadron.

Still, what availed the treaty of July, unless Continental Greece were recovered ?

From the dispositions of the two English chiefs

of the Greek army and navy, it soon became evident that some enterprise had been determined on, in which the whole resources of both were to be combined ; and though all felt the urgent necessity of arousing the Continental Greeks, yet they no less sensibly felt the difficulty, if not the impracticability, of sending troops from Argos to Acarnania. The Greek fleet, though it might make its passage from place to place, could neither afford support to the army, nor receive assistance from it. Still it was evident that a descent on Western Greece was in contemplation.

Corinth had been assigned as a rendezvous by General Church ; but little hope was excited by this unexplained gathering, and the captains of the Palicari did not flock to his standard with any zeal. Those who followed him, accustomed to exercise the liberty, alike, of free discussion and free will, had no heart for an enterprise in which neither was allowed ; and they asked, if the Archi-Stratigos intended to transport them to Acarnania in walnut-shells ? However, a considerable body had at length assembled ; and on the 22d of September, 1827, as they were scattered over the grand amphitheatre that commands the Gulf, from the summit of the Acropolis of Corinth to the shore,—a square-rigged vessel was descried full before the Gulf wind, and standing straight for the Isthmus. Turkish men-of-war never approached this coast, and what other vessel could have ventured through the straits ?

A thousand hopes, and surmises, arose and spread through the anxious throng; the few glasses which the camp and the citadel could afford, were appealed to in vain; the swelling topsails concealed her colours. The vessel presently hauled her wind for Loutraki, a port at the northernmost angle of the Isthmus: her broad ensign then blew out and displayed the silver cross on its azure field! A shout of welcome arose from the expectant host, and the merry peals of the whole artillery of the citadel proclaimed, after two thousand years of subjection, the inauguration of the emblem of Greece on the waters of Lepanto.

It was now ascertained that Lord Cochrane, having assembled a squadron, had proceeded to await the army without the straits, to transport it to Western Greece. But he had anxiously looked, and looked in vain, for the preconcerted signal-fires on the mountain; he had, therefore, determined on forcing a passage to embark the troops within the Gulf. But, on his communicating his intentions to the captains, they declared they would not expose their vessels to such danger, and he was forced to abandon his design. The squadron was anchored off Missolonghi; the Admiral made signal to two vessels, also manned by Greeks, though officered by Englishmen. They instantly weighed and stood for the Gulf. These vessels were the steamer *Perseverance*, and the brig *Sauveur*: the latter vessel alone passed the batteries, and entered

the Gulf. This is a romantic incident in the circumstances that led to the establishment of Greek independence, and I may be excused for continuing the narration of the event that immediately led to the battle of Navarino.

Proceeding up the Gulf, scarcely injured by the passage, the brig sailed for, and entered, a deep bight within Galaxidi, on the northern shore of the Gulf, opposite to Vostizza. The windings of the channel opened to the eyes of the Greeks a Turkish squadron huddled close together in equal security and confusion,—their sails drying, their men on shore, and, as it proved, without ammunition on board. But the dreams of bloodless victory were soon overcast; and, on the evening of the same day, the *Sauveur* just managed to effect her escape, and run for Corinth. Her flag it was that caused the rock of Corinth to ring with artillery and acclamations.

The effect of the appearance of this vessel in the Gulf was miraculous; the talisman of Turkish supremacy was broken, and the passage to Western Greece opened. The Palicari now flocked round General Church, urging him to lead them forwards. The camp broke up from Corinth; and the *Sauveur*, now joined by the steamer, made sail for the westward.

It was determined that the two vessels, the steamer and brig, should attack the squadron at Salona, before the entrance of which they arrived

on the morning of the 28th. The Turks were busily occupied in making dispositions for defence ; landing guns, erecting batteries on the shore, and collecting from 1500 to 2000 men from the surrounding posts.

During the night the sounds of preparation on board the steamer floated on the still breast of the Gulf ; and the watches of the two vessels, from time to time, enlivened their labours with answering cheers. The morrow was to be an eventful day for Greece : on its issue depended the mastery of the Gulf, and all the advantages contingent on its possession ; but, above all was it to decide the highland chiefs, now wavering between Turks and Greeks. But still more important and unforeseen results were in store.

The contemplated attack was bold, if not desperate. The memory of the recent failure did not tend to diminish the apprehensions which the disproportion of numbers, and disadvantage of position, might suggest ; and prepared, as the Turks now would be, it was evident that there was no alternative between destruction and success.

The morning broke in loveliness on the beautiful and classic scene ; the sun rose in splendour, there was not a cloud in the sky nor a breath on the waters ; at length, a volume of dense smoke, from the funnel of the steamer, shot upwards like the irruption of a volcano. To the Turks this steamer, the first they had ever beheld, was an object

of wonder and of horror. Scarcely did they deem it the work of mortal hands; so strange in its form and movements, peopled with beings that seemed fresh from the infernal regions; and so dreadful the effects of the projectiles it seemed to have received hot from below.*

The ensuing scene, although myself a sharer in its dangers and its triumph, I will relate as described to me by one of the officers attached to General Church. The Greek army was marching along the southern coast, watching the movements of the vessels. It halted at Vostizza, which was immediately opposite the Gulf of Salona, and disposed themselves to witness the attack with the excitement of an army in repose assembled to await the decision of its fate by the skill or fortune of a single combat.

The two vessels had to enter a narrow land-

* Shells, eight inches in diameter, fired from horizontal guns, and sometimes used red-hot; they were, in fact, hollow shot, which, from their comparative lightness, skimmed the surface of the water in innumerable ricochets. It was thus, with a smooth sea, almost impossible to miss; and this mass of red-hot iron, or shell, or hollow ball, pouring out inextinguishable fire, according to the projectile used, was a guest, in a structure of wood, canvass, pitch, and gunpowder, which might have appalled abler navigators than the Turks. This new combination of the science of gunnery will, no doubt, greatly modify future maritime war and naval architecture; and this first experiment of its power in face of an enemy, gives additional interest to the event which I am narrating.

locked bay, which could be entered only with a leading wind that would prevent retreat, there to attack vessels mounting four times their number of guns, made fast to the shore, presenting their broadsides like steady batteries, with batteries erected on the beach, and a couple of thousand soldiers lining the shore; and that in a warfare where no quarter was expected on either side.

It was a curious sight to see the black cloud from the funnel of a steamer driven by the breeze from Achaia towards the Delphic heights and Parnassus. It was strange to hear the patter of paddle-wheels sounding far and wide on the Corinthian wave. The Greek vessels, as they rounded the point, came suddenly in view of the Turks, drawn up in line at the bottom of the bay, and dressed as for a gala scene in broad and bloody flags and long streaming pennants. The shore, also, displayed flags of defiance where fresh earth batteries had been cast up; a goodly show of green tents and the glittering of arms enlivened the hills around, forming altogether a sight less enticing than picturesque. "It was only," said my informant, "when we saw them turn the point that we really felt that the attempt was in earnest; it was only then that we felt all the danger of the enterprise, or the consequences of a failure. With what anxiety did we watch the white sails and the black smoke, as they disappeared beyond the low point! Of what intense suspense was that half

hour that elapsed between that moment and the first distant peal of cannon that boomed along the water, and the mist of gray smoke that slowly rolled up from the hollow of the bay along the side of Parnassus! After a quarter of an hour's incessant cannonade, a black volume of smoke suddenly shot to the sky! Was it friend or foe that had 'gone to heaven or to hell?' Our suspense was not of long duration; a second volume followed, blacker, higher than the first. 'They are lost, they are lost!' burst from the compressed lips of the astounded Greeks; when a third explosion proved that it was the enemy's ships that were burning. Then arose the wild notes of that unearthly war-cry; imagination and lungs were exhausted in metaphors and shrieks."

Notwithstanding an event which appeared decisive of the day, an irregular cannonade was heard, with little interruption, until sunset. The wind had sunk, and a canopy of smoke overhung the spot on which their attention was fixed; and when the sun went down, and the dark mantle of night was spread around, the flame of eleven burning vessels shone brightly forth from its cloudy pall, and glassed itself in the

"Waves that saw Lepanto's fight."

That was a memorable day for Greece—for Europe too. Ibrahim Pasha sailed to the Gulf of Lepanto from Navarin, to punish the affront, after

having pledged his word not to quit that harbour. He was compelled by Admiral Codrington to return. The allied squadrons, which had dispersed for the winter, were recalled to Navarin; and what followed need not be retold.

CHAPTER III.

PATRASS—TURKISH AND GREEK FLAGS.

WE journeyed leisurely. There is no menzil or post in Greece. I have found it more convenient to travel in that country with my own horses: provender is always to be procured; a tent is always clean; and one is entirely independent of the caprices of muleteers, the want of cattle, and, indeed, of almost every casualty that, in these countries, falls to the traveller's lot. We were three days passing along the Gulf; and would willingly have devoted a longer period to this portion of our journey, which presented every where the appearance of a newly settled country; but our ulterior objects barred all delay. Occasions were not wanting to fill us with indignation at the introduction of the police system, with all its demoralising effects. I cannot express the alarm with which I now commenced to look to the future fate of this country. We afterwards learnt that all our steps had been watched, and our words and acts reported, at an expense to

the eleemosynary Government, of several hundred pounds.

The third evening we slept at a Khan close to the ancient port (now a marsh) of Panormo, where the single Athenian galley was consecrated as a record of the defeat of the Lacedæmonians, rather than of their triumph.

A band of eleven robbers, who, the day before, had stopped all passengers, pillaged and bound them to trees, had left the Khan the same morning. They had destroyed whatever they could not consume or carry away; so we had but indifferent fare. One man they had broiled on the hot embers to extort from him a discovery of some supposed treasure. The peasants were in a state of the greatest alarm, and of the deepest indignation. "Such a thing had never happened," they said, "during the anarchy of the revolution." The supplies of the soldiery have always been exacted as of right, "but to touch the belt of a Greek, to undo a female zone, were crimes unheard of; and now that we have a regular Government, that we pay every tax, and obey every order—now that our arms are taken from us—must we endure what was unknown even in our troubled days?"

Next morning, we made ourselves very gay, to appear becomingly before the *beau monde* at Patrass. From the Khan to the Castle of Morea

there is blue clay, over which the water from the hills spreads, so as to form a deep morass. To avoid this, we kept along the shore ; but a Charybdis awaited us. Though we were keeping within the ripple of the Gulf to avoid the morass, suddenly our horses began to sink, and before we could extricate ourselves we were wallowing in the mire and mud, and escaped only by getting into the sea, and dragging our horses into the deep water. A fine exhibition we made at Patrass on a sunny day, covered with mud from head to foot !

Patrass is remarkable as having been the point of the earliest recorded meeting of the followers of Mahomet and the Slavonic races. The latter, in the eighth century, had overrun the Morea ; the Saracens swept the seas : both united in the siege and plunder of Patrass.

The roughness of the weather, and the want at the castles of a boat sufficiently large to transport our horses, detained us six days ; which we spent very pleasantly between the castle and Patrass, with Colonel Rayko, the only Russian who had been a Philhellene. He used his utmost endeavours to dissuade us from prosecuting further our fool-hardy project of visiting Acarnania and the frontier line. But little did he suspect our ulterior project of attempting Albania : I am convinced that if he had, he would amicably have put us under arrest. We had, therefore, to conceal

it carefully from our friends, lest we should be laughed at or forcibly detained; and from our servants, lest they should leave us.

As we crossed the narrow strait between the two castles, the scene was forcibly recalled to my memory which I had observed from that spot on a former occasion, when I passed these batteries in a hostile bark, under the fire of every mouth on either battlement. That was a moment of beauty on the shore, with its rich and thronging costumes, glittering arms, and canopies of smoke. The proud excitement, the taunting gesture, the insulting scoff that characterised a warfare where system, undeviating discipline, and unfathomable counsels, had not rendered men machines—gave to that struggle all the play of the passions, and, to individual character, the developement which rendered the wars of antiquity so poetic, and has caused the age, whose wars are described with greatest truth, to be called heroic. How different was the aspect of these battlements now—cold, pale-faced, eyeless, voiceless—they gave no signs of life to watch, of malice to fear, of hatred to excite, of danger to repel! A breath of air skimmed and ruffled the glassy Gulf, and my eye instinctively sought the flag-staff, to contemplate the now triumphant standard of Greece flouting the air in the proud station so long occupied by the emblem of Arabia! There the Greek now beholds another flag—*his* flag, the flag of freed and so-

vereign Greece ! But, on the young standard, the contrasted colours of the nine alternate bars* portend a different harmony from that of the muses. Compare this pale and chequered standard with the gorgeous colours of the Ottoman ; bold, rich, and simple—the day star of fortune, and the crescent of power, emblazoned on a purple cloud. Most poetic among standards ! Most spirit-stirring among national emblems ! And how much of the enthusiasm that stirs the spirit, and neryes the arm, may not depend on the poetry of an emblem ? Could a nation—could even a faction—exist without the rhetoric of colour ? What, then, must not be the effect of clothing the personification of nationality with beauty, and of inspiring its martial genius by associating with its glory the sublimest works of nature ? All these are united in the standard of the Ottomans, and are combined in no other. This, too, is the historic standard, which has flown, with the swiftness of a thunder-cloud, over Asia, Europe, and Africa, from the palaces of Delhi to the foot of Atlas ; from the wastes of Abyssinia to the marshes of the Don ; which has proved its power on the plains of Tours and Roncesvalles, before the walls of Vienna, on the Indus

* The flag of Greece is nine horizontal stripes of blue and white, with a white cross in the corner, on a blue ground, in memory of the silver cross seen in the sky by Constantine, during the battle with Maxentius : whence the *labarum* of the Greeks.

and the Oxus. Thirty years after its birth, it had humbled the two greatest empires of that day; and, in eighty years, boasted more tributary lands than Rome had subdued in eight centuries. That flag had now disappeared from the castles, where I saw it so lately, reddened at once with anger and with shame; and, as the Scythians of old rehearsed before the departed, the history of their lives, so now did I dwell on the features and the story of that personification of Mussulman greatness which had sunk before my eyes, while I marvelled at the means by which it had been overthrown.

When I first landed on the shores of Greece, more interested in the nature of the rocks than in the sanguinary contest which was there proceeding, I was soon filled with hatred and aversion for the Turkish name; and, with the enthusiasm of youthful feeling, I became a partisan. But the Ottoman, who had aroused this animosity by the violence of triumph, dispelled it when he appeared in defeat and captivity,—a personification of stoical firmness and of dignified resignation. The sympathy which is the tribute of misfortune, I now transferred to the vanquished; but that sympathy was combined with admiration for a fortitude and respect for a character, the energy and durability of which I never could have known but for the trial to which I had seen it subjected. Thus, one who had so lately looked upon the red flag as the symbol of bloodshed and devastation, now recalled,

with interest and with awe, the fasts of its glory, the dates and limits of its sway.

I do not mean to say that the present Mussulman flag, the silver star and crescent on a field of red, was the very flag that waved at Bagdad, or was carried into Spain, nor even that which was originally planted at Constantinople, and thence directed, with conquering course, to the Ukraine, Vienna, and the Alps. The Mussulman colours are green, not red, though other colours have been adopted at various periods and in different countries. Mahomet's flag was yellow; the Saracens first appeared under a black eagle; to this succeeded the party colours, white and black, of the rival families pretending to the califate. The sacred green* was the first colour displayed by the Ottomans in Europe; but it is associated with so many national and religious feelings, that, however it might tend to inspire the enthusiasm of a charge or an assault, the loss of so highly praised an emblem was calculated to depress the spirits of

* Tokoli displayed his green flag of Independent Hungary before the Turkish army, to warm in his favour Mussulman enthusiasm. The present Hungarian flag is green, white, and red. At a very recent period, the Circassians, in adopting a national flag, selected green, not more to have a national emblem by which they were distinguished from their enemies, than to indicate to their coreligionists to the south, that the existence of all they held dear depended on the maintenance of the standard unfurled on the Caucasus.

an army. In 1595, the first Turkish flag was taken by Sigismond, Prince of Transylvania, and sent to Pope Clement VII. The colour was then changed from green to red; the star and crescent were Byzantine emblems, borrowed, with many other things, from the Greeks. This change by the Turks of their national colours, indicates great sensitiveness to national honour. The Romans concealed the real name which they had given to their city, that a foreign army might not evoke the Penates before their walls. Venice concealed so effectually the stolen bones of St. Mark, that no trace of their existence has been found. Both nations dreaded that the bond of their political existence would be dissolved, if the symbols of worship and nationality passed into other hands.

I said, I looked for the flag of Greece, waving over these battlements that guard the Gulf of Lepanto, in the place of the Ottoman standard, but it was not there. I looked for one flag-staff, and I saw three, side by side, like the three crosses on a Catholic Calvary. One bore a white sheet *sans tache* and *sans* meaning or expression. One mingled angles of red, white, and blue, with more geometry than poetry in its folds, however inspiring may be the ten centuries of its manhood, or the wide-spreading zones that own its sway. The third displayed cross-bars of blue on a field of white, like an upset hour-glass, and representing icebergs and snow. England, France, and Russia,

the powers under whose joint command are placed above 290,000,000 of men, had united to displace the Turkish flag ; occupying its territory as friends ; burning its vessels as allies ; blockading its ports as neutrals ; protocolising Greece as wellwishers —strange enigmas for an age not gifted with an Œdipus !

CHAPTER IV.

WESTERN GREECE—GREEK OPINIONS ON THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON—MISSOLONGHI—THE HORN OF PLENTY—BATTLE OF LEPANTO.

WE were received at Lepanto by the Commandant, Colonel Pieri, a Corfiote, who was chief of the artillery, and who entertained us, almost as much as himself, with the relation of his various gallant exploits. We had here our first conversation with some Suliotes on the protocol. They strongly expressed their grief and their alarms, but said that the fear of appearing to oppose the inclination of the cabinets, and of being thought by them turbulent and fickle, prevented the nation from making any public demonstration of their feelings. Indeed, they said, but for this, the government of Capodistrias would not be endured a day.

There are 500 Greek families remaining out of 1000. 6000 stremmata* belong to the Greeks, and 25,000 to the Turks, which are now national; but so inferior are the Greek to the Turkish lands, that, although the latter are taxed two-thirds more, the Greeks abandon their own to cultivate them.

* A stremma is nearly a third of an acre.

20th May. — We left Lepanto at daybreak, and passed through a little fertile plain, that extends in a semicircle from the base of Rizina, on the extremity of which stands Lepanto, to the lower mamelons of Mount Corax, which descends to the Castle of Roumelie. The roots of olive-trees are thickly scattered over it; it is marshy towards the sea, but the marsh might easily be drained. The low hills, above the castle, through which we passed, are formed from an aluminous and earthy stratum, easily carried off by the water; it is thus cut out into little detached masses, with abrupt sides, the intervals and summits flat, and proper for cultivation; while the precipitous sides might bear every variety of tree, and render the scenery enchanting. We saw nothing of the warm and sulphureous springs in the vicinity of Kakascula, which gave the epithet of “stinking” to this portion of the Locrians. The pass is of the greatest natural strength, the path winding over the face of the mountain, which drops nearly a-peak into the sea. After crossing a lower ridge, we reached the beautiful little valley of Cavouro Limné, where Miletius places the ancient Molycria. Here, under the shade of some lofty platani, a fire was soon made; we hung up our arms on the branches; turned out our horses to graze on yellow, white, and purple clover, wild oats, and corn. Our carpets were spread, and soon appeared the coffee-tray and refreshing pipes.

This little but enchanting valley afforded a prospect seldom to be met with in the Morea. It is surrounded by irregular, but not lofty, hills of soft sandstone, varying in form and character, sometimes bare, sometimes wooded. It is traversed by two streamlets with deep beds, whence spring rows of spreading and beautiful Oriental plane-trees. It is after having been deprived for some time of the sight of trees, that one really enjoys the beauty of their foliage and forms, and the freshness of their shade—that one feels their loveliness or learns their value. The prospect of the hills that now surrounded me was no less a relief, wearied as my eyes had been with the monotony of the calcareous mountain chains of the Morea, devoid alike of picturesque and geological interest, rendered fatiguing by the abominable paths which lead across them, and by the absence of fountains and of shade.

I was also delighted to find myself again in Western Greece; a country studded with extensive ruins of the most remote antiquity, which, though laid low, even at the epoch of Grecian splendour, served then for the models of Grecian military architecture.* It was inhabited by men, who, bringing with them the refinement and science of Greece, and the activity of her race,

* *Νυν μὲν τεταπεινωμένοι τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν πρότχημα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἦν ταῦτα τὰ κτίσματα.*—STRABO, lib. i. c. ii. p. 3.

sought and found, on a richer soil, refuge from the persecutions, and repose from the endless and blood-stained dissensions, that distracted the Peloponnesus.

This country has been peculiarly the field of mythological and poetic fiction. Its military strength, so important to the conservation of the new state, is illustrated by the events of the wars of Philip, of the Romans, the Goths, the Gauls, and of the late revolution. If it was the happiest and only peaceable portion of Greece during the days of her ancient splendour, the reverse has been its lot from that period up to the present,—from its depopulation, under Augustus, for the peopling of Nicopolis, to its depopulation by the late protocol, for no purpose whatever.

An hour and a half* from the river of Cavouro Limné, we beheld the Evenus through a belt of majestic platani and tall willows, which formed a sort of drop-scene to a little woodland theatre. The river wandered over its large and stony bed, in rapid but limpid streams, and glittered through the curtain of deep green foliage. A bank on the other side rose steep and broken, and matted with shrubs. It required no great effort of the fancy to restore to this Thespian scene the fabled groups of Meleager and the Boar, Dejanira and the Centaur.

* It is scarcely necessary to observe, that distances are calculated by hours; hour, in the East, as the *stund* of Germany, may be translated league.

Keeping the river to the right, we wound round the base of Mount Chalcis, and sought in vain for vestiges we could have called by the names of Makynia and Chalcis, and, on the other side of the river, of Tophiasson and Caledon. The difficulty, generally, is to find names for the multiplicity of vestiges; we were now embarrassed with an abundance of names, without a cornice or a broken column to fix them on. But, after crossing the river, on ascending a slight eminence to the right of the road, which immediately overlooks Hypochorion, we found ourselves, unexpectedly, in the midst of most extensive Hellenic ruins, which, with Strabo in hand, we imagined might be identified, most satisfactorily, with old Plevrona. It is much to be regretted that Strabo had not visited these countries himself, and that the only connected account that has been preserved of Western Greece should be so meagre in general description, and, when it descends to details, sometimes so confused. Miletius is here worse than nothing; but, at all events, better than Pouqueville. Polybius is, indeed, the only companion for Acarnania and Etolia; and from Thucydides must be borrowed the only glimmering light which can be thrown on the disputed positions connected with the Amphilocian Argos.

But to return to Plevrona. "The Evenus," says Strabo, "after running by Calydon and Chalcis, directs its course, westward, to the plain of the

old Plevrona, and then turns towards its mouth and the south." Now, it is at the bend of the river thus described, that rises the hill crowned by these ruins, which are, in extent and style, of a first-rate order. Some of the stones were nine feet long: the wall is generally nine feet thick; at one part, which seemed to join the two Acropolids, it was barely five feet, with buttresses of $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet square, strengthening it on the inside, and on which, probably, planks were laid, to form the *banquette*. The walls surround two summits, on each of which seemed placed an Acropolis; that towards the north partly Cyclopean. The elevated plateau, enclosed within the contour, may have a circumference of 3000 paces; the lower area is at least as extensive. A few bricks and tiles, harder than the stones, were the only relics I could see. Greek faction has made for itself a record, in the total subversion of such walls and such a city.

While passing through the *ἐγκαρπὸς κάμπος* of Plevrona, we overtook several people with mules, laden with all their worldly gear. They told us that they had escaped from the vicinity of Janina, with the intention of going to settle in Greece, but that they were stopped at the Castle of Roumelia, and 12 per cent, *ad valorem*, demanded for their mules and baggage. Not being able to pay the money demanded, and exasperated at being flung back on the vengeance they had aroused, they were returning to the country they had abandoned.

“Thousands,” they said, “are preparing to fly from Albania; but we shall tell them what ελευθερία (liberty) means.”

I know not whether the impolicy or the inhumanity of this measure is most to be reprobated. On arriving at Missolonghi, we mentioned the circumstance to the district Governor, who declared the demand was entirely without the sanction of Government, and that he should instantly have a stop put to it.*

Three hours after sunset we arrived at the gate of Missolonghi. We knocked, and sent for permission to enter, which was denied; we asked for food, and could obtain none;—commencements of civilisation worthy to be recorded! And such regulations are literally considered as successful imitations of Europe. Our servants and tent had preceded us while we were examining the ruins of Plevrona (from which we did not get away till it was quite dark), with orders if they found that we could not be admitted after sunset, to pitch without the walls. We could neither see nor hear any thing of them; but one of our horses very sagaciously broke loose; and, in pursuing him, we stumbled over the cords of the tent, to which he had led us.

At Missolonghi, we spent three days almost constantly listening to, or engaging in, discussions

* It is superfluous to say, that no stop was put to the exactions complained of.

on the Protocol and the limits; the circumstances, means, and prospects of Acarnania; and the portions of Etolia excluded from the new state. A great number of the Greek chiefs and old Armatotes were here assembled, Vernachiotes, the Grivas, and others who considered themselves half Tacticoes, that is, who were enrolled on the list of irregular regulars; while others were wholly untamed, and termed themselves rebels, *ξεμπέλλοι*, in contradistinction to the regular troops.*

The insufficiency, in a military point of view, of the new limits, was so apparent, that ridicule was mingled with exasperation. I must say I was no less surprised than confused by the shrewdness of some of their remarks, — “The Duke of Wellington,” said they, “is the first military man in Europe; we, of course, rejoiced that such a man was to decide on the question of our limits. He has commanded in Spain, where the mode of warfare resembles our own; and mountains, woods, and rocks, defy discipline and science; but what are we to think of this Protocol that pretends to make peace by taking from us the very positions for which the war is made, and the only defences by which peace is at this hour maintained?” I remarked, that the Duke of Wellington was deceived by

* These regular irregulars are in a state of transition from the former hordes to disciplined troops, being subject to a regular succession of subordinate grades, but not being disciplined.

faulty maps ; “ Then,” retorted they, “ he should have looked at events. It is not this war alone that has proved that Greece has two gates, and that you need not shut the one if the other be left open ; and, besides, the positions we have been able to occupy, and by occupying which (without the assistance of a Protocol) *we have maintained peace for the last twelve months, must be the military boundaries* : if it were even possible to find better, these ought to be sanctioned.”

If the possession of the excluded district could at all advantage the Turks, it would be by establishing strong colonies to cut off all communication between Albania and Greece. But this, of course, is entirely out of the question. With Greece *independent*, the Porte dare not foster the system of Greek Armatoles as formerly. No Turkish population could be induced to settle between the Albanians and the Greeks no longer dependent on the support of the Turks for protection against the Albanians ; so that this district, thus torn from Greece, and laying it bare to the ravages of the Arnaouts, instead of being of advantage to Turkey, will only serve to maintain, by the attractions of plunder, the turbulence of the Albanians ; to maintain incessant quarrels between the Porte and the Greek state, and to perpetuate a feeling of hostility by an interchange of recrimination and wrong. If the alliance acted with the avowed object of convulsing the East, it

would deserve praise and admiration for its intelligence and ingenuity. Such were the observations of Makri and Grivas.

The English bear all the odium of the measure. The surrender of the Greeks of Parga to their Albanian foe disgraced the name of England, which before had been looked up to with awe and respect. Subsequently, the policy that ejected from the Ionian Islands the families of those who were denominated Clefti by Ali Pasha (see Hobhouse), assisted in throwing this province into Ali Pasha's hands. The people now imagine that the present measure is a continuation of the same policy. No doubt, these past events would never have recurred to them, or the impression thence derived would not have been deep or general, but for the activity of the Government authorities and agents in spreading these reports.

We were exceedingly gratified with the manners, style, and appearance of the majority of the Roumeliote chiefs. They are, certainly, a fine race of men; their vices arise immediately from the slippery circumstances in which they have been placed; but, whence comes their urbanity, their knowledge of the world, facility of expression, acuteness of observation, that ardent desire for acquiring information, and facility of applying it?

Missolonghi is a place of which it would be very difficult to give an idea to one who has not seen Turkish and Greek warfare. A pigmy imita-

tion of a bastion and curtain does exist on both sides of the gate, but the contour of the place is nothing more than an enclosure of wicker-work supporting earth; round this runs a narrow ditch with three feet water. This enclosure and ditch sweep round in a semicircle from shore to shore, looking to the north. There is, however, a display of engineering which I must not omit to mention,—a lunette to which you might leap from the top of the wicker-work with a slight indication of counterscarp and glacis. The whole height of the enclosure, from the bottom of the ditch, could nowhere, except at the gates, exceed twelve feet. I speak from recollection, but I think I am rather over than under the mark.

The Turks drew three parallels round the town, the nearest within four or five yards of the ditch with numerous zig-zags; these with the breaching batteries and the lines thrown up at a greater distance, for the protection of their various camps, have cut up the whole plain in the most extraordinary manner. The fact of its being ultimately reduced by famine, notwithstanding the prosecution of the siege in so regular a manner, the slightness of its defences, and the multitudes of its assailants, excuses, if it does not justify, the vanity of its gallant defenders.

The ground is all worked into holes, and torn up by the bursting of the shells and the plunging of shot. The soil is a mixture of earth and iron;

broken shells and shot being mingled with it as stones; and within and without the circumference are scattered the now whitened bones and skulls of men and horses.

They had just been collecting the skulls of the Greeks, which were distinguished from those of the Turks by the positions in which they lay. They paid peculiar veneration to those which strewed the line by which the remnant of the garrison made their last and desperate sally; and a few of whom only succeeded in cutting their way through. I picked from out the heap one beautifully formed skull, which bore the traces of four wounds. It was grazed across the forehead by a pistol-ball; behind, on the right side, two back-hand sabre strokes had ploughed, but not penetrated the bone, and a deep cleft gaped over the left brow, — of course, wounds received in cutting through an enemy. This skull was long a very cumbersome companion.

The garrison lived in holes dug in the earth close under the walls, but were sadly galled by the Turkish fire crossing from every point. Every vestige of building had disappeared from what once had been the town, except the ruins of some stone houses near the beach. From the extent of circumference, the shells fell chiefly in the centre, and were thrown so high by the Turks, that they sank into the earth to a great depth, and, bursting under ground, did little injury.

Two hundred houses had been now rapidly run up or restored; a little bazaar was beginning to look gay, and coffee-houses to be thronged with idlers playing billiards and eating ices. We assisted at the shaving of the bridegroom, and at the toilet of the bride, of the first marriage since the destruction and restoration of their town.

We had a long chat with the father of the bride, who had saved her alone of a numerous family. Their past sufferings seemed lost in the happy present; and the exultation of feeling that pervaded all classes, was perfectly beyond my power of description, and was a repetition of what a year before I had witnessed in the Morea; no starvation, no alarms, no hurried flights, or trembling suspense, no emaciated countenances and squalid looks, ruined hearths and tattered clothing; but, in their stead, flesh and health; peace, plenty, and contentment; gaudy dresses and festive sounds. But, among these revellers, must not be numbered the remnants of the populations affected by the Protocol.

We quitted Missolonghi with regret, and were escorted to the gate by part of the family of Makri, an old chief who had for years maintained a lawless independence in the Echinades, as legitimate successor of the king who mustered thirty ships for the siege of Troy. He was one of the chief defenders of Missolonghi, and his wife and daughters had headed the fatigue parties

of the women during the night in working at the fortifications ; eastern decorum constrained the women not to work by day. When we got into the plain, we were stopped continually by the ditches, zig-zags, and entrenchments, filled with water and mud ; nor was it without some danger and damage, and a couple of hours of laborious toil, that we reached the base of the hill on which stand the ruins called Kyria-irene, between two and three miles from Missolonghi. These ruins, we imagined, from their style, extent, and position, to be the new Plevrona : the hill on which they stand, a portion of Zygos, is a prolongation of Callidromos. From its summit, we had a beautiful and extensive view of the plain of Missolonghi immediately below us, of the coast from the magnificent Mount Chalcis to the Echinades, the Lagunes, and the Vivaria (fish preserves), shut from the sea, and intersected by long straight lines. Round to the right, the Venetian Anatolico lay floating like a lotus on its little gulf. The plain rolled out below, is rich alluvium from the Achilous and the Evenus, but offers little now to redeem the honour of Plenty's choice, although a fatter pollution than the Centaur's blood has fertilised the Caledonian fields ; and the Achelous, with his "fat waters," has gone on assembling new islands. The Vivaria, Strabo tells us, were farmed by Romans of Patras, but their extent and value must now be much greater than formerly, and they are

so amazingly stocked, as to seem quite alive. I heard applied to them an expression I remember used by the Hungarians in speaking of their Theisse, "they smell of fish." Thus, the fertility of the earth has been replaced by the productiveness of the sea; Neptune is enticed over the land to form reservoirs for the finny tribe, instead of being excluded, as elsewhere, to make room for the ears of Ceres; and the Amalthean horn, to typify the wealth of its favoured plain, must now exchange its golden sheaf and ruby fruits for kegs of salted fish and strings of smoky rows.

But the scene beneath, extending from the Curzolero rocks, or Echinades, to the opposite coast of the Morea, possesses an interest of another kind: here was fought one of the greatest of naval actions, and one which has exercised a more lasting influence on the state of Europe than any other sea-fight, from the battle of Actium to that of Trafalgar. On the 7th of October, 1571, close upon the shore now reposing in silence at our feet, and on the waters now tranquil as a lake and undotted by a single sail, were engaged in deadly combat, five hundred gallies; the waters, for the space of ten miles, were covered thick with a mass of human beings, breathing rage and dealing death; combining the savage excitement of ancient war and weapons with the sublime horrors of modern artillery. When the sun went down on this scene of carnage, two hundred and fifty wrecks lay mo-

tionless on the waves, reddened by the life-blood of five and thirty thousand men. Such was the scene presented by that memorable battle of Lepanto, the recollection of which Cervantes, in his old age, declared to be dearer to him than the right arm it had cost him.

The forces of the Turks and of the allies (the Pope, Spain, and Venice) were pretty nearly equal; both equally eager for the combat, — equally confident of success; and on either side, their distinguished leaders inspired confidence, excited emulation, insured scientific combination, and boded a desperate struggle. The Turks were stationed at anchor, eastward of Missolonghi; the Venetian fleet, running down the coast of Acarnania and passing between the Curzolero Islands, came unexpectedly in sight of the enemy. The first division of the allies, under Doria, bore away to seaward so as to allow the centre and rear divisions to come up, and form the line of battle abreast: their line stretched four miles, the interval of a ship's length being left between each vessel.

“Immediately as the Infidels were discovered,” says the animated narrative of Contarini, “that happy news ran from ship to ship. Then began the Christians right joyfully to clear their decks, distributing arms in all necessary quarters, and accoutring themselves according to their respective duties: some with harquebusses and halberts, others with iron maces, pikes, swords, and poniards.

No vessel had less than two hundred soldiers on board ; in the flag-ships were three or even four hundred. The gunners, meantime, loaded their ordnance with square, round, and chain shot, and prepared their artificial fire with the pots, grenades, carcasses, and other instruments requisite for its discharge. Every vessel was dressed with flags, streamers, pennons, banners, and banderols, as on a day of jubilee and festivity ; the drums, trumpets, fifes, and clarions, sounded : a general shout rang through the armament ; and each man invoked for himself the Eternal Trinity and the Blessed Mother of God ; while the priests and many of the captains hastened from stem to stern, bearing crucifixes in their hands, and exhorting the crew to look to Him who had descended visibly from Heaven to combat the enemies of His name. Moved and inflamed by ghostly zeal, this great company assumed, as it were, one body, one spirit, and one will ; careless of death, and retaining no other thought except that of fighting for their Saviour. Those who had mutually inflicted or suffered wrong, embraced as brethren, and poured out tears of affection while they clasped each other in their arms. Oh blessed and merciful omnipotence of God, how marvellous art thou in thy operations upon the faithful ! ” *

The fleets at first approached each other slowly

* Contarini, 48 b.

and majestically ; the sun had already passed the meridian, and shone therefore dazzlingly in the faces of the Turks ; and a westerly breeze springing up just before they closed, gave the allies the advantage of wind also ; so that when the cannonade began, the smoke was driven full upon the Infidels. A Corsair who had been sent forward to reconnoitre, not having seen the rear division, reported erringly of the Christian numbers ; and stated, moreover, that the large galleasses in the van carried guns only on their forecastles. The Turks, therefore, bore up to them fearlessly, supposing that when their bows were passed, all danger was at an end. Great, then, was their consternation when a close, well-directed, and incessant fire, in which every shot told, from the admirable level of the guns pointed much lower than those of the loftier Turkish vessels, burst from each broadside, scattering destruction over every object within its range. The wind blowing in their teeth kept the Mussulmans long exposed to these deadly volleys ; and whenever at intervals the smoke cleared away, they saw a horrible confusion of shivered spars, yards, masts, and rigging : here, galleys split asunder ; there, others in flames ; some sinking, some floating down the tide, no longer manageable, their banks of oars having been shot away ; and every where the face of the sea covered with men wounded, dead, or drowning.*

* Contarini, p. 51.

Ali Pasha and Don John, each distinguished by the standard of chief command, singled each other from the *melée*. Thrice was Ali's galley boarded, and his crew driven to their main-mast; and thrice were the Spaniards repulsed; till, at one critical moment, Don John, pressed by an immeasurably superior force, which had hastened to the Pasha's assistance, appeared lost beyond the possibility of rescue. By the seasonable advance of a reserve, Don John was enabled to renew the combat with his distinguished antagonist; and as his boarders grappled again with the Pasha's galley, and sprang once more upon its deck, Ali fell by a musket-shot, and his crew threw down their arms. The Pasha's head was severed from his body, set upon the point of a spear, which Don John himself displayed from the top of his own mast. The grisly trophy, soon recognised, struck terror into the whole Mussulman fleet, and decided the hitherto wavering fortune of the day.

The shout of "Victory" from the main battle of the allies was answered by the same glad word from their left, but on the right the engagement was still continued with less assured success. Doria had swept round in a wide and distant compass, as if to outflank the enemy; and had, consequently, not yet been in action. The practised eye of Ulucci-Ali perceived at once the great advantage thus afforded him by the breach in the Christian line; and bearing down upon fifteen of

their ships thus separated from their mates, he captured a Maltese and set fire to a Venetian galley.

The superiority of the tactics of the Algerine commander continued to baffle Doria, till he boldly dashed onward through the line which he had already broken, made for the Curzolari, and effected his retreat with between twenty and thirty of his squadron. This small remnant, with a reserve of about an equal number, were all that remained of the vast Turkish armament after five hours' battle. Fearful, indeed, was it, says Contarini, to behold the sea discoloured with blood and shrouded with corpses ; and piteous to mark the numberless wounded wretches tossed about by the waves, and clinging to shattered pieces of wreck ! Here might you observe Turks and Christians mingled indiscriminately, imploring aid while they sank or swam ; or wrestling for mastery, perhaps on the very same plank. On all sides were heard shouts, or groans, or cries of misery ; and as evening closed and darkness began to spread over the waters, so much more was the spectacle increased in horror.

The Turks lost in this naval action the scarcely credible number of 40,000 men, killed, prisoners, and emancipated, and above 200 vessels of war ; yet, within sixteen months of this murderous defeat, the triumphant alliance had been dissolved, and a treaty signed which obliged Venice to pay tribute to the Porte ; “ making it appear,” says Voltaire,

“ as if the Turks, not the Christians, had gained the battle of Lepanto.” But the cause of this event is simple enough: *in six months*, by an effort paralleled only by the Romans in the first Punic war, the Turks had equipped a fleet equal to that which they had lost, and more than a match for the allies, who, declining combat, could not keep the seas. Nevertheless, the victory of Lepanto saved Venice, and prevented the invasion of Italy or Spain by the Turks. Should the possessor of Constantinople again menace the Mediterranean, it is to be feared that Venice, Barcelona, and Ancona, will equip no fleets to maintain the independence of their common inheritance. The once Queen of the Adriatic possesses no Doria now; Spain, no John of Austria, for whose brow again might grow the laurels of Lepanto.

CHAPTER V.

ANATOLICO — TRIGARDON — MARSH OF LEZINI — SWIMMING
TO A MONASTERY—DEPRESSION OF THE COAST OF ACAR-
NANIA AND EPIRUS.

AT Anatolico we slept at the archbishop's, where the frontier line, the only subject the people have any inclination to speak about, was inflicted on us again all that evening and the next morning. Somehow, the topic assumed always a new form, and we were not unentertained by the militant prelate Porphyrius's version and opinion. He had formerly been Archbishop of Arta; but, during the revolution, had "zoned himself," wore pistols in his belt, and, on some occasion, led a cavalcade with the cross in one hand, and the sword in the other. We went to see the spot in the church where a well was luckily opened by a shell, whilst the Pasha of Scodra was besieging the town, and was on the point of reducing it from want of water.

Against regular military operations Anatolico might be much more easily defended than Missolonghi, which, indeed, has no facility for defence whatever; although far preferable for a Greek

defence and a Turkish attack, as the event has proved. The Greeks little dreaded breaches and storm, but they feared the overwhelming and unceasing showers of shells, which the great extent and soft ground of Missolonghi rendered less destructive than they would have been in the circumscribed space and rocky soil of Anatolico.

The 25th.—From Anatolico to Niochori the distance is an hour; thence to Catochi, where you cross the Aspropotamus, another hour. Turning to the left, and descending the river, half an hour brought us to the ruins of Trigardon, enclosing, within an extensive circuit of Cyclopean and Hellenic walls, three hills, which once must have been an island of the group of the Echinades. Nearly one half of the circumference touches the extensive marsh of Lezini. On the northern side, within the marsh, there appears to be remains of a port. A deep canal leads through the marsh from the sea to that point, and in its course none of the reeds were to be seen, which made the rest of the marsh, as far as the hill on the north, ten or twelve miles off, appear like a plain covered with green crops.

We were much surprised at the extent and magnificence of the ruins of Old Plevrona, compared with the confined extent of the country. New Plevrona surprised us still more; but Trigardon, and the numbers of Hellenic remains we now perceived on all sides, filled us with wonder.

Here were monuments of wealth and power, crowded into the space of one day's march, exceeding, in this almost unknown corner, all that remains of the glory of the Peloponnesus. But, then, it is to be remembered, that these were the fields for which the Augean stable supplied the manure; where the arm of Hercules held the pitchfork; where the agricultural science and the industry recorded in this mythological language, were blessed with the bounty of the earth and the tribute of the sea. No wonder, then, that it should be here that

“ Plenty leapt to laughing life with her redundant horn.”

Therefore were such structures raised to defend the goods which the gods bestowed, and to bear testimony, at the distance of two thousand five hundred years, to the refinement that accompanied so much energy, and the science that was associated with so much prosperity.

An elegant young lad, of whom at Catochi we inquired our way to Trigardon, offered to accompany us. He mounted his horse, and shewed us that which was most interesting, and which might have taken us days to find by ourselves. We regretted we had sent our tent on, and thus had but a few hours to wander about. The thickness of the underwood, and especially of the black thorn, which has every where been our arch-enemy, rendered difficult the visiting of every

portion, and completely prevented us from examining what must have been the ancient port. A large tower, of Hellenic construction, even now nearly fifty feet high, defends the harbour, as it were, against the city ; and polygonal walls, which stretch from the tower, and encircle the port, are connected with the ramparts by walls evidently of another date. Among these ruins the polygonal construction prevailed ; but entirely destitute of the characters of antiquity to be traced in the Cyclopean remains of Tyrins, or even of Mycene. The stones were of nearly equal dimensions, beautifully joined and chiselled on the edges. While scrambling over the wall encircling the port, we came, much to our surprise, to a gateway in the polygonal wall, with an arch over it. The arch was very flat, nearly semicircular, the stones that formed it preserving their polygonal character.

Although this arch exists in a wall of that style of architecture which belongs to the remotest antiquity, yet I do not claim for it equal rank with the ruins of Plevrona and Chalcis, or even with those of the age of Pericles. Still, I think it may be referred to a period anterior to the arrival of the Romans in Greece ; and, if so, it will prove that, though arches were not commonly used, they were at least known in Greece before the Roman conquest. The ruins of Kyria Irene afford confirmation of this hypothesis. The small posterns in the walls are arched, although the arch is composed

sometimes but of two stones, that meet from either wall, hollowed out into a semicircle ; but the arch is also at times formed of three stones, one of them a regular key-stone. At the same place there is a large cistern in the rock, traversed by three walls, in each of which there are several arches : but though their form is Gothic, the principle on which they are constructed is Hindoo. The dome of the building at Mycene, commonly called Agamemnon's Tomb, is formed by a succession of circles, narrowing as they rise, each circle being a horizontal arch.

Trigardon (a corruption of a Slavonic term for three cities) must be the ancient *Æniadæ*. If a doubt existed, it would be dispelled by comparing the description I have given of the port, and the walls connecting it with the ramparts, with the following passage from Polybius, in the wars of Philip the Second with the Etolians. After his successful incursion into Etolia, and the sack of Thermus, Philip retired on *Æniadæ*, his fleet having been sent to that point to await the return of the army to the coast. The Etolians prepared to defend this strongly fortified place ; but on the approach of Philip they were panic-struck, and evacuated it. Philip took possession ; thence ravaged the Calydonian territory, and deposited the booty that had been collected within its walls, " remarking," observes the historian, " the admirable position of this city, placed at the confines of

Acarmania and Etolia, on the mouth of the Ache-
 lous, at the entrance of the Corinthian Gulf, distant
 only 100 stadia from the coast of the Pelopon-
 nesus; strong, besides, by its fortifications, and *the*
surrounding marsh — he determined on strength-
 ening it. *He surrounded, therefore, the port and*
naval station with a wall, and joined these to the
 citadel.”*

Our guide told us, that there were in some
 parts subterranean crypts, or altars (βῶμοι), to
 which, when a child, he had been taken down;
 the sides covered with paintings (ζωγραφία), not
 those of saints. He did not, however, recollect
 the place. There is a theatre cut in the rock, the
 right and northern horn supported by a mound,
 and faced with polygonal masonry; the southern
 extremity with Hellenic, and a flight of steps
 beyond the seats. The area is almost thirty-five
 paces across; twenty rows of seats, two and-a-half
 feet deep, run all round, and, perhaps, double that
 number behind. This city has been overturned
 as completely as its contemporaries; but it is so
 much wooded, and so extensive, that it is with
 more difficulty examined, and may contain unex-
 plored archæological treasures.

The sun was not far above the horizon, when
 we reluctantly quitted the ruins. We had to

* Καὶ τῷ λιμένι καὶ τοῖς νεωρείοις ὁμοῖς τεῖχος περιβαλλὼν ἐνε-
 χεῖρει συνάψαι πρὸς τὴν ἄχραν.—Polyb. iv. 65.

return to Catouna; thence it was two hours to the monastery of Lezini, and an equal distance to Gouria, the village where we had directed our tent to be pitched. We determined on taking the road to the monastery. Like every path in Greece, the road to Lezini was scarcely distinguishable from the sheep-walks; it lay, besides, over a thickly wooded hill, and it was not without great self-gratulation (unattended as we were), that we found ourselves, half an hour after dark, on the border of the marsh, but the monastery stood in the *middle* of it! We were now, indeed, in a dilemma; we shouted and hallooed for half an hour, and received but jackal cries in answer. What was to be done? We were exceedingly fatigued, equally hungry, and particularly disinclined to adopt either of the alternatives of retracing our steps, or of lying down supperless on the cold rocks amid the croaking of myriads of frogs, whose innumerable voices rising from so great an extent of marsh (twenty or thirty square miles), falling into a sort of measure, might be compared to pulsations of the earth. I therefore stripped, tied my shirt round my broad-brimmed straw hat, and committed myself to the Naiads of the marsh. But I made a sad mistake in my estimate of distance. The night was pitch dark; a canal leads through the marsh to the monastery; the sides seemed firm, but when I attempted to cling to, or to climb upon them, I sank in the slime, or

got entangled in and torn by the thorns and broken reeds. I was thus compelled to keep to the clear channel, and the water presently, having reached my shirt and hat, weighed down my head, and closed my ears. Swimming slowly along in this far from enviable predicament, I suddenly perceived (for I could not hear at all) a boat close upon me, and on the point of running me down. I shrieked out with all the emphasis that could be given by sudden fright, and a mouthful of water. The boatman, not a whit less terrified at the inhuman cry from the water, and the sight of a white floating substance like an enormous water-lily, under which form they personify the goul or spirit of the marsh, shrieked and roared in his turn; punted away with all his might, ran foul of the bank, and, tumbling head over heels, lost his pole. He then paddled away back to the monastery with the seat of the boat. I had nothing to do but to swim after him, when, fortunately, I stuck upon a knot of reeds, clung to them to rest myself, and thus raised my head with its wet load for a moment out of the water. Cries from a short distance met my ear of, "Who are you?" "Turn back." "Speak, or we will fire!" and only, after a quarter of an hour's assurances and explanation, was I permitted to approach the bank, having the comfortable assurance, repeated over and over again, that twenty muskets and a nine-pounder full of grape were pointed upon me,

in faith of which the lighted match was held up and whirled about. Even in the shivering, lacerated state in which I was, I could not help making myself merry at their warlike preparations; but, having convinced them that I was no spirit, for in that case I would not have asked their permission; that I was no robber, or I should not have made such an outcry; and that I was but one naked individual; they allowed me to land, and gave me the warmest reception that had ever fallen to my lot. One took his shoes off to put on my feet; another slipped off his fustanel to wipe me with; another wrapped me in his hot jacket; and my toilet was completed, to the infinite amusement of the whole party, with the canonicals of the venerable Abbot. In this state I went, or was rather lifted along, to the monastery, which was at some distance, while the boat was sent for my companion. Upon the distance, he and I could never agree: he made it but half a-mile; I, at the least, a mile and a-half: and, surely, having swam it, I should know best. The Greeks were much amazed at this feat; it had only been once performed before, though hundreds had perished in attempting it in escaping from the Turks.

The Abbot's best suit was brought out for me. An old Calogria, or nun, who was living in sisterly love with the Abbot, had me bathed in hot water and rubbed with oil, as there was not a square

inch of my skin untorn; and summed up her solicitous attentions by a restoring cup of Greek athol aroge—hot rakki and honey.

Lezini is a small, low, rocky island, in the marsh of that name, which extends from Petala to Trigardon. In some places it is separated only by a narrow beach from the sea, and, near Catouna, it approaches the banks of the Aspropotamos. It has the appearance of a fertile plain, covered with tall and green reeds, the roots of which spring from, and bind together, a constantly increasing crust of decayed vegetables. This forms a second soil, which will not bear the foot, but which, being two or three feet in thickness, is perfectly impervious to boats. It is suspended four or five feet at least from the bottom, but does not float, for the winter floods rise over its surface. Canals traverse it from the shore to Lezini, thence to Trigardon; from Trigardon to the discharge to the N. W.; thence another canal winds along the northern shore, and turns round to Lezini. The discharge is near Petala, and the fall of the stream suffices to turn a mill; so that, according to the construction of their mills, it cannot be less than eight or ten feet. This makes me think that a cut from the marsh to the sea would probably convert the greater part of this immense and noxious morass into fertile fields. Besides, the lowering of the water in this basin might render it possible to lead through it the waters of the

Achelöus, where they would deposit, as in a tank, the immense load of earth now carried by that river to the sea.*

It has been supposed that the marsh of Lezini is one or both of the lakes to which Strabo gives a length of twelve miles. The resemblance of the sounds of Cynia and Lezini is adduced in confirmation of the supposition; and the difference of the breadth is accounted for by the gradual encroachment of the shore on the sea. I am inclined, however, to think that those lakes were further to the south, and are now become a portion of the firm land of the Paracheloïtis. He enumerates them in proceeding southward; after Cœniadæ, comes Cynia, then Mylete and Uria, and then the Fish Marshes; so that they must have lain between the northern mouth at Cœniadæ and the ancient southern mouth, or *Anatolicon Stomma*, now *Anatolico*. I am, therefore, of opinion, that Lezini is a marsh of recent formation.

As far as I could judge of the nature of its bottom, it is clay. The alluvial deposits have, of course, grown more or less; but I have invariably remarked on these shores, that clay bottoms, themselves liable neither to increase nor decrease, invariably indicate a depression of the coast. By

* Its modern name of Aspropotamos or "White River," is derived from the colour of its charged waters, which whiten the sea around the Curzolero Islands, and render it daily more shallow.

the evident construction of Strabo's words, the marshes of Cynia, &c. were to the south of the Achelöus. There are there no marshes of importance now; the soil is alluvial, and its level has been raised by natural growth. To the north of the Achelöus there were no marshes;* now there is a very extensive one, its bottom is clay. Leucadia was formerly connected with the Continent by an isthmus of dry land over which the Lacedæmonian galleys were dragged. That peninsula is clay; it is now covered with water. The Roman paved road along the northern shore of the Gulf of Arta runs over clay: that road was certainly not constructed under water; there is now four feet of water over it. The ancient Aby, the ruins of which are called Phido Castro, was certainly not built in the water; it is now only accessible by boat. The entrance of the Gulf of Corinth is stated by Strabo to be seven stadia; it is now twice that breadth: the land on either side is low, and the stratum is clay. Of course, wherever the coast is alluvial such depression cannot be visible; and, on the contrary, such spots have risen as compared with the level of the sea.

I regretted much not having had time to ascertain this point satisfactorily by more extensive

* Polybius mentions a marsh round Œniadæ; that was with reference merely to the defence of the town: had a marsh any thing resembling that of to-day then existed, the place must have been uninhabitable.

observation ; but, in favour of the supposition of a depression of the coast, I would also adduce the comparatively small increase of the Deltas of the Evenus and Achelöus in modern, compared with remoter, periods ; a circumstance which, in Pausanias' time, had already been observed, since he attempts to account for it.

On the highest parts of Lezini are the ruins of a Venetian fortress of respectable extent, with very thick walls. The island has constantly been a place of refuge during the revolution ; and is the only virgin spot of Greece. When the Pasha of Scodra ravaged Acarnania, the island was crowded with nine hundred fugitive families. The youthful Pasha and his Ghegs, burning with vengeance for the irruption into their camp, and the havoc made among them by Marco Bozari * and his handful of heroes, arrived on the borders of the marsh exulting in the prospect of immolating to their lost comrade the fugitives assembled in the island. They attempted to establish a footing on the treacherous crust of the lake ; their foot soldiers were entangled, horsemen dashed in, and horse and rider were quickly swallowed up. The checked and disappointed horde now dispersed over the hills, stripped the branches from the trees, and commenced forming hurdles to establish a passage. But their unorganised efforts were of no avail ;

* Though the story of his entering the Pasha's tent is a sheer fabrication.

when they made some progress, their weight, ill adjusted to their precarious causeway, opened a passage through the yielding crust; whole masses were engulfed; more were entangled amid the reeds, or half buried in the slime. The crafty Albanians, who had cheered them on, now sneered at their woful plight; and the Greeks from the island sent forth shouts of derision and defiance, and, secure behind their rocks, plied their "nine-pounder" and their muskets. It was next determined to fell trees and construct rafts; but where were hatchets to be procured? Delay was occasioned. The country around was entirely depopulated, and provisions were scarce. The few tools that were procured were soon rendered worthless, and no progress was made. The choler of the Pasha having, in the meantime, had time to cool, he perceived that "*le jeu ne valait pas la chandelle*;" and at length moved on. His army, which for muscle, stature, animal courage, and devotion to its leader, was one of the finest that of late years has followed a Turkish banner, was thus led about exposed to be cut off in detail, and to expend its energies on rocks and marshes, through the intrigues of the Southern Albanian Omer Vrionis. A miserable remnant alone returned to Scodra in the winter of 1823. The rising inclination of the Ghegs to interfere in the affairs of their neighbours was checked; and the Greek war remained, as before, a source of plunder, pay, and importance, to the

military Mussulman* populations of middle Albania.

The next morning we bade adieu to the exhalations of Lezini, and recrossed the Aspropotamos, at Gouria, where we got sight of our tent. A Suliote Captain, stationed at the passage of the river, hearing that we were expected, had prepared a feast, in which, of course, figured the roasted lamb, with a Suliote's frank and hearty welcome.

We pushed on that night along the left bank of the Achelöus, through an enchanting and parklike country, and pitched our tent close to the ruined little village of Angelo Castro, nestled behind a pointed hill, on which stand a portion of a lofty Venetian tower, and a small dilapidated chapel. From this point we had an extensive view of the lake Ozeros, of the river, and the disputed plain, as far as the corners of the lakes of Vrachori and Angelo Castro, on the extreme right. Immediately below runs a clear and rapid stream, over which is a bridge, and around it one of the sweetest glimpses that wood and water can afford.

The boundary line proposed by the Protocol just comes up to the fertile plain that nourishes the inhabitants of all the surrounding mountains, and then turns off to the east, leaving the plain without the Greek state. It is well wooded, chiefly with oak, but interspersed with gigantic, but

* In Mustapha Pasha's army only one-sixth were Mussulmans, the remainder were Christians.

distorted Italian poplars and elms. There appear all over it the nearly effaced traces of myriads of irrigation canals, intersecting each other at right angles; a system which here was at one period carried to the highest perfection. The luxuriance of the trees, brushwood, and wild oats, barley, and grasses, that cover the country, while they produce the most beautiful and picturesque effect, recalls at every step the regret that such a country, after the struggles it had made to obtain independence, should be again abandoned to the ravages of Albanian invasion. We met several muleteers who had escaped from the vicinity of Janina, and had abandoned their possessions, but not without infinite risk and difficulty: little, however, did they anticipate the reception that awaited them in "free" Greece!

CHAPTER V.

EUROPEAN POLITICS AND TURKISH POLICY — COMPARISON OF
TURKISH AND ROMAN CONQUEST—ADMINISTRATION INTRO-
DUCED BY THE TURKS.

THERE are many provisions of the Protocol besides the limits, the practicability or justice of which may, perhaps, be easily explained in London, but which are very difficult to comprehend in Greece. For instance, the Greeks and Turks have each permission to dispose of their possessions. What would be the value of a Greek's property in those districts so ravaged, when the proprietor himself seeks to abandon it? But the property of the Turk in Greece has disposable value. Moreover, land unjustly acquired may thus be disposed of without reference to the real proprietor, who may be alive, or who may be the farmer of his own fields.* Ali Pasha was obliged to give up his project of sending a pilgrim to Mecca because the law re-

* This refers merely to the districts mutually ceded in consequence of the decision of the Conference. In the remainder of Greece, the Turkish property, by a fallacy which I cannot now enter into, was constituted as appertaining to the Sultan, and confiscated for the benefit of the Greek state.

quired the expenses to be defrayed by the sale of land; and the possessor of millions of stremata did not hold, according to the decision of the Turkish cadi, property, *legitimately acquired*, sufficient for this purpose.

This is a fearful and gigantic exhibition of wrong. It is not to be accounted for, by saying that Ali Pasha was a great tyrant. It is not to be explained, by saying that Turkish Pashas do such things. Our eyes have rested with intense-ness on Greece alone of all the dependencies of the Ottoman Porte; and there two former revolutions, followed by wars and subjugation, have led to the confiscation of property. In Egypt, the rule of the Mamelukes, even before the wholesale robbery of Mohammed Ali Pasha, had there also familiarised us with the violation of private property, and led to the idea of its insecurity in Turkey. Without entering into the principles of their government, or recurring to past events, a single consideration will, I think, suffice to shew, that the Porte must have habitually respected property and local customs; and that consideration is, the extent of dominion and the past history of the small tribe denominated Osmanlis, who actually rule over Greeks, Turks, Albanians, Illyrians, Bulgarians, Servians, Wallachians, Jews, Armenians, Turcomans, Lesguis, Curds, Maronites, Druzes, Bedouins, Berbers, Copts, Moors, &c., exceeding twenty times their own number.

The fact which I have mentioned, respecting the unjust possessions of an Albanian Pasha, brings to light, at the same time, an indication of the fundamental principles of Turkish jurisprudence. In a matter where law and religion were both combined, the Turkish judge stood forth to utter a withering decision against the "Albanian Leopard" in his hour of apparent omnipotence.

The policy of the Porte had been to control the Albanians by fostering the Greek Armatoles, or militia; but the insurrections of 1770, and, more particularly, of 1790, which had been organised by a Christian power, and of which religion had been made the active principle, drove the Porte into hostility with this Christian militia, against whom it now combined with the Mussulman Albanians. And, perceiving the intimate knowledge of Russia of the internal state of Turkey, I should not be surprised if the overthrow of the Greek militia had, in reality, been the object she had in view in revolutionizing the Morea; a measure which, without this solution, would appear to have been ill advised.

The preponderance which the Albanians now acquired led to the granting of the horse-tails to an Albanian,—that is to say, that to those warlike bodies, which the Porte had hitherto restrained, its authority was now delegated; the circumstances were, consequently, reproduced which first led the Greeks to call in the Turks. The fountains of

justice were broken up; and in this internal revolution of power, throughout which the finger of foreign diplomacy is at every step to be traced, Ali Pasha then, as Mohamet Ali Pasha now, became possessed of a disciplined force which rendered practicable such violations of private rights; whilst not only the weakness, but the general discredit thence resulting, has fallen on the Turkish Government, to enfeeble still further its controlling power. Singularly enough, the Alliance has mingled itself up with these violations to legalise them. This, to be sure, is a minute point; but the whole questions that have absorbed the deep contemplation of the Great Allies, affect property which, even in extent, scarcely equals the estates of the Duke of Sutherland.

Again, as to allowing a year to Greeks and Turks to retire to their respective countries. Could the Turkish Government, while it yet commanded a fortress or a man-of-war, consent to a measure which would place in jeopardy the whole landed property of the empire? Had the Alliance such an object in view when they penned the provision? To carry it into effect, you must have appointed agents to see this liberty of emigration respected, and thus made the European, or perhaps the Greek consuls, the dictators of Turkey. The consequence of this liberty of emigration is still more serious, and could still less have been endured by the conference, had they understood the effect

of their own measures. The communities are, more or less, in debt : the individual peasants are jointly responsible for these debts ; if one or more quits his village, the burden falls on the remainder. Suppose, then, that the right to emigrate is proclaimed under the sanction of the three great powers of Europe, the immediate effect would be a general panic. The very agitation of such a measure must disturb all relations of private interest, and convulse political order and administration. If the provisions of the Protocol were not intended to go this length, they were perfectly ineffective and nugatory ; as, in fact, they have been found to be, except in so far as they threw Greece back again into uncertainty, Turkey into agitation, enabled Capodistrias to deter Prince Leopold from accepting the proffered crown, and brought about the reverse of those objects that England desired, and that the Alliance professed.

After passing through the plain, from Angelo Castro, a distance of rather more than two hours, we arrived at the Turkish burgh of Zapandi. The minarets of two ruined mosques stand picturesque, but melancholy objects. As we wandered through the deserted streets, hundreds of ravens croaked from the tops of the walls, on which they seemed as if they had long remained in undisturbed possession. This is a scene in a small province which the great powers of Europe had for three years been labouring to pacify.

Half an hour further on, we reached Vrachori, capital of the district. We passed for some time amidst the ruins before we were gratified by the not very common sight of a roofed house. At the corner of the once bazaar stood a venerable platanus, the trunk of which measured nearly twelve yards round; and a little further on, a tall pole spread to the breeze a shabby Greek flag, as if jealous of every moment it had yet to flutter in Acarnania.

A thunderstorm delayed us in the house of the Governor. We there saw the Primates of the place, who prognosticated the disasters that must ensue from the cession of the country, and of this plain in particular, which gave winter work, and summer food, to the inhabitants of the surrounding mountains. They spoke of the Makronoros as their saviour and friend, and seemed very incredulous of any protection the European powers could afford them, if the barrier of the Makronoros were thrown open. From being the most independent subjects of the Porte; where the Turkish inhabitants of the country were at best but on a footing of equality with the Greeks; where no Turkish troops were permitted, and no Turkish authority, excepting the cadi or the judge, existed; — they were reduced by Ali Pasha to a state of subjection below that of the rest of his dominions, as he wished to extinguish their martial spirit, which, since the commencement of the Ottoman rule, had limited, on this side, the

excursions of the Albanians. The Captain was their military chief; the Codga Bashi, the civil chief. The first held his situation on the nomination of the Greek municipality; the latter was a municipal officer (or council, as the number varied), annually elected. The Cadi, or Mousselim, was there to give the sanction of Turkish form to the authority of the Captain; but his influence was slight, save when there was dissension among the Greeks. The Bishop was the depositary of the higher judicial authority; and when he required the secular arm, he applied to the Cadi, who commanded the Captain to enforce his decrees. The impositions, which were very trifling, were, as elsewhere, apportioned and collected by the municipal body, and consisted of charatch, for which they compounded, the tithe and house-tax: besides these, they assessed themselves for the Captain's pay and for local expenses.

This policy of the Turks of balancing the power of the Albanians by the Greeks, dated from their establishment at Adrianople. Indeed, the Turks first appeared in Greece as friends and allies. This statement may appear at variance with received opinions, and I may, therefore, be excused for entering into some details to substantiate it.

After the fall of Constantinople, Demetrius and Thomas, the brothers of the last of the Paleologues, retained the Peloponnesus. It might have afforded a refuge and a sanctuary to humbled pride and

fallen greatness, if disasters and misfortune could ever have driven from the breast of the Greeks, the vain aspirations which have unceasingly urged them to sacrifice that which they did possess, in the pursuit of what was beyond their reach. But Demetrius and Thomas had no sooner secured each a fragment of their distracted patrimony, than they quarrelled between themselves. The Albanians, who had been gradually attracted by the service offered them under the various Despots, seeing the shrivelled house of Byzantium divided against itself, withdrew from the service of both Princes, and prepared to impose upon the degenerate and unwarlike, though yet warring Greeks, a yoke more to be dreaded even than that of their Latin conquerors, from whom the Morea had been so lately, and not altogether, emancipated.

Demetrius and Thomas, united by the common danger, offered tribute to the conqueror of Constantinople, and claimed his assistance. Scarcely had they been united against their Albanian foes, when a Cantacuzene was found to head a revolt amongst the Greeks against themselves; and the Albanians, who had occupied, or ravaged, the greater part of the champaign country, sent also to the Porte to offer their submission, and a tribute for the Morea, if allowed to hold it as a fee from the Porte. "At this period," says M. von Hammer, "would the empire of the Greeks in the Peloponnesus have been entirely extinguished, if the Greek

commander of Corinth had not requested, and obtained, from the Sultan, a Turkish succour. Turakhan, who, thirty years before had conquered Hexamilia, and had penetrated to Lacædemon, Leontopoli, and Gardica, and had routed the Albanians at Tavia, now again returned, with his sons and a Turkish army, as the allies of the Greeks, and to defend the Peloponnesus against the Albanians."

Chalcondylas, in relating these events, puts the following words in the mouth of the Turkish commander, as addressed to his countrymen : " You must have been ruined if the Sultan had not been moved with compassion for you, and come to your succour. It is clear you have not governed your state as you ought to have done ; but now an absolute necessity requires you to govern your subjects in future in a better manner." The Turkish veteran further holds up to their imitation, what he asserts to be the secret of his countrymen's success ; viz. securing the love of their subjects in peace, and inspiring their enemies with terror in war.

The Albanians were driven from the Peloponnesus, and pursued, by the Greeks and Turks united, even into their own mountains. But scarcely had Turakhan withdrawn with his Turks, when a revolt broke out against the two Despots ; and after four years of revolt, treachery, massacre, and anarchy—in which figured, now as allies and now as

enemies, the two Greek rivals, the Greek party opposed to both, the Albanians and the Turks : a bloody campaign put the Turks in possession of smoking cities and a devastated country. Thus was again enacted, and from the same causes, the intervention of Rome in favour of Greece which had taken place 1500 years before ; and in an equal period of time, through the same national characters of vanity and faction, did Greece disappoint the hopes, and provoke the vengeance, of her liberators ; so had she hailed Rome as a saviour to curse her as a tyrant ; extolled a Flaminius to the skies, and denounced a Glabrio, with the damning volubility of her tongue. In four years Greece saw her Latian allies united to her old Macedonian oppressor ; and after the extinction of that kingdom, the savage devastation dispensed by Mummius far exceeded the destruction which afterwards followed in the rear of Alaric.

This is a very singular coincidence : Romans and Turks appear as protectors of Greece ; and both people, within the same period of *four years*, became its oppressors. It would, however, be most unjust to compare the acts of Mummius with the advice of Turchan, and the last part of the Roman intervention with the first portion of the Turkish.* This, however, is what M. Von Ham-

* About the same period has sufficed for the Alliance to extinguish the customs, laws, and independence of the Greeks ;

mer does, reversing the picture, and comparing the first portion of the Roman with the last of the Turkish intervention. He terminates in these words, the tragic scene of the conquest of the Peloponnesus: — “ What a picture of volcanic horror is this, and *what a contrast* with the glorious brightness of the conquering Consul of Rome, Quintus Flaminius, who, on the day of the Isthmian games, with no less humanity than policy, on assembled Greece, which, agitated and doubtful, expected its fate, conferred, in the midst of universal jubilations, the *dream* of liberty !”*

But having, for the purpose of pointing out an honest error of judgment in a man of high and merited scholastic reputation, referred to one of those books which are written on the East, I am reminded of a literary effusion of a descendant and representative of that class of Greeks who, after sacrificing the throne of Constantine, and ruining the Peloponnesus, coiled themselves round the heart of the Ottoman empire ; who corrupted the simplicity of the Turkish system by their political doctrines, the primitiveness of the Turkish pastoral habits by the servility of their own bearing and conduct ; and who, after dismembering the empire

but the ingenious Alliance has been labouring in its disinterested efforts solely for “ the pacification of the East.”

* M. Von Hamner’s work has since appeared in French : it is very singular that this passage is omitted.

by their intrigues, now stand forth to glory in their treachery towards those whom they served. I allude to M. Jacovaki Rizo's work, entitled "L'Histoire Moderne de la Grèce." Gibbon, in quoting four Greek authors of the lower empire, of whom two were statesmen, and two were monks, remarks, that "such was the character of the Greek empire, that no distinction is observable between churchmen and politicians." So the work of M. Rizo, without his name and titles as "first minister of the Princes of Wallachia and Moldavia," as minister for foreign affairs, and commissioner under Capodistrias, and member of several of the subsequent administrations of Greece, would certainly have been taken for the production of a monk, conceived in a cloister, and penned upon a *lutrin*, in the intervals between penance and liturgy. Religion (that is, the ceremonial of the Eastern church) is, with him, the all-explaining cause, the all-directing impulse; and, speaking of the state of the Greeks under Turkey, and of the causes of their revolution, he reduces all these questions to points of theology and church-government.

The only interesting part of his book is the anecdotes he gives us of the Mussulmans, which are all, without exception, instances of benevolence and of tolerance: and these, in verification of the old proverb, that the antidote grows beside the poison, present themselves in singular contrast

with the opinions which his work is intended to promote, and the epithets in which it so courageously indulges.

M. Rizo, how and why it matters not, is unacquainted with the fact that the Turkish policy had always been directed to support the Greeks against the Albanians. But this is not enough; he discovers in the strength of these very Albanians, the oppressors of the Greeks, the proof that the Greek religion had been the preserver of the remnants of Greece against the hostility of Islamism. He lays Phranza and Chalcondylas aside, and speaks as follows:—“ Whilst the rapid successes of the Turkish arms filled with affright the Christians of the Eastern church, whilst Mohamet II. occupied, without resistance, the island of Mitylene, Attica, the Peloponnesus, and Eubœa, a *Greek* displayed to his co-religionists the example of heroism, in braving alone,* with his little army, all the forces of the conqueror. This Christian hero was—*George Castriote, Prince of Epirus!!* surnamed by the Turks, Scanderbeg. Alone, and during thirty years, he struggled against the power of Murad and Mohamet; destroyed their armies; infested their provinces; and ceased to conquer only when he ceased to breathe. His government did not

* Were the Caraman princes, and the remnants of the Seljouks, no allies of Scanderbeg? Were Humiades, the king of Servia, and “*the Impaler*” of Wallachia, no enemies of Mohamet?

survive him ; but Epirus and Albania learned, from that moment, to despise the Turks. *From that epoch dates the establishment of the Christian Armatoles."*

Is it possible to conceive a greater jumble of facts and sense than is exhibited in this paragraph ? An Albanian ! and a Catholic ! and, moreover, a Mussulman renegade ! positively set down as a Greek, in the political and religious acceptation of the word, by a Fanariote historian of Greece, by a professor of Greek history, by a minister of Free Greece, and by the most philosophical and the most distinguished Greek writer of the present day ! The victories of the historic enemies of the Greeks are set down as—the date and the source of the establishment of the Greek Armatoles : the establishment of which is of prior date to the victories of Scanderbeg. But the adherents of Scanderbeg were finally subdued. How then, supposing them to have been Greeks, could their *victories* have led to this organisation ?

“ Albania,” he says, immediately afterwards, “ by its inaccessible mountains, the warlike spirit of its inhabitants, the extent of its coast, its proximity to the Venetian possessions,” (and, why does he not add, by its adhesion to the Latin creed ?) “ was terrible to the Ottoman Government. Mount Agrapha, the natural bulwark of Epirus” (that is, the limits of the Greeks and the Albanians, and

the bulwark, at this day, of the former against the latter), “ was the first country which obtained, by capitulation, the prerogative of having a captain, with a sufficient number of soldiers, to maintain order, and to preserve the security of its towns and villages. Its inhabitants obtained from Murad II.” (that is, before the war with Scanderbeg) “ the right of having two deliberative voices out of three in the administration of their civil affairs. The Turkish judge had the first; the Greek bishop,* the second; and the Greek captain, the third. *This right subsisted to the time of Ali Pasha. This organisation* was subsequently extended to all the provinces of Continental Greece.” —Page 49.

Speaking afterwards of the Albanian chiefs, whom, with his usual accuracy, he terms “ feudal,” he says,—“ There existed, therefore, between these Mussulman chiefs” (they were not their Mussulmans) “ and the Ottoman Porte, a reciprocal mistrust and animosity, which turned to the profit of the Greeks of these provinces” (he means Christians, for there is no Greek population in them) “ in consolidating, more and more, the constitution of the Armatoles, in strengthening these

* It was the Codga bashi, or municipal authority, which had the second voice; but that would not have suited the religious theory.

mountaineers in their retreats, and in facilitating the commerce and the industry of the Christian inhabitants of the towns.”—Page 53.

Was it not worth the while of a man, clothed with the character of a statesman, and aspiring to that of a philosopher and a historian, to dwell, at least for a moment, on the extraordinary fact here recorded?

The descendants of Scanderbeg, Christians then, are now Mussulmans, and still stand in precisely the same relation to the Porte; whilst the Greeks, protected by the Porte against the Albanians, then and now, are in both cases Christians. The following extract will shew at once the power deliberately granted to the Greeks, and the union of their interests with those of the Turks.

“ From the origin of their conquests in Thessaly, the Turks established, in the vast plains watered by the Peneus, a Mahometan colony drawn from Iconium, and which, up to the present day, bears the name of Coniar. These colonists, peaceful agriculturists, soon became an object of contempt to the Albanians, who pillaged them with impunity.* The neighbouring Pashas not being

* It was not the Albanians who pillaged them, but the Slavonians. It would be curious to know the cause of the substitution of the name of the one people for the other. But without looking to other associations, the true statement of the fact which he mistates, is the complete overthrow of his theory,

able to reduce these numerous bands of Mahometan* (?) and Christian robbers employed against them the vigilance and the courage of the Armatoles, or Greek Captains. Thus did this Greek body continue always to be recognised by the Government; and was so far from being an object of mistrust, that the Hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia were authorised to draw from them the guards of their persons and their principalities."†

Thus will it appear from the testimony of three writers inimical to the Turks, and the last of whom wrote expressly during the war to make out a case against them, and to excite sympathy for the Greeks; that the Turks appeared in Greece on the requisition of the Greeks, and twice restored to them their country, after overthrowing the Albanians; that, when they did occupy it, they left the assessment of taxes to the inhabitants; established an elective council in each district; organised a Greek militia, with elected officers; and, I may further add, that they imposed no

because this Turkish population was placed as a barrier to the ravages of a population which professed the Greek creed; namely, the Bulgarians.

* The word "Mahometan" is certainly here only introduced to keep the word "Christian" in countenance. At that time there were no Mussulman Albanians. The changes rung on the words "Greek" and "Christian" are very amusing.

† "L'Histoire de la Grèce," p. 54.

restriction whatever on commerce, and exacted no retribution or fees of any kind for their own clergy or church. A comparison with these principles, of those which have regulated the colonial policy of some other nations, might be instructive.

CHAPTER VI.

REFUGEES IN THE LAKE OF VRACHORI — ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES AND MISHAPS — EFFECT OF GUNPOWDER ON GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLE — REFINEMENT AND RUINS OF ALYZEA — A PICTURESQUE SCENE.

THE plain of Vrachori is supposed to contain 35,000 acres, of which 25,000 belonged to the Turks, and 10,000 to the Greeks. From the surrounding mountains of Carpenizi, Agrapha, Cravari, and Patragick, 10,000 men descend to work during the winter, which is here the season of labour; and, in exchange for their work, carry back with them Indian corn and grain for six months' consumption, and the little foreign luxuries they require. Peasants from other districts, having some property, and Vlachi, a distinct race of shepherds, originally from Wallachia, were accustomed to rent land from the Turks, for the season: 4000 labourers, from the Ionian islands, were in constant employment. Of resident proprietors, there were 1300 hearths in the plain, and 200 in Vrachori. Not above a third of these are to be seen at present.

The position of Acarnania, and the character of its inhabitants, rendered it peculiarly liable to the excitement of the revolution; and, though they had heard of the defeat of Ypsilanti, yet the state of Albania, and the necessity, which then became apparent, of supporting Ali Pasha against the Porte, at once excited and perplexed them. On the 21st of May, 1821, the whole country suddenly flew to arms; 1600 Albanians and Turks were butchered, or shut up in their castles; and Isko, with a handful of men hastily collected, occupied the important passes of Makronoros just in time to arrest the progress of Ismael Pasha, who, on the first indication of insurrectionary movements in the South, was hastening to quell them before they gathered head. The Greeks, startled at the new position they had assumed of resistance to a Turkish authority, were with extreme difficulty retained by their leader at their posts, and brought to fire on the Turks, who advanced, boldly and exposed, ridiculing the very idea of open warfare. After a few minutes of appalling indecision, a close and deadly discharge struck the Turks with amazement and terror, and filled the Greeks with confidence and exultation: the door was closed to all reconciliation, and the revolution was sealed. But, to return to our journey.

When the weather cleared up, we galloped down to the Bridge, across the lake of Vrachori,

or rather the Marsh, which separates it from the lake of Angelo Castro. It had previously been very sultry ; but now the freshness of the woods and fields, the coolness of the air after the storm, the stillness of the two lakes that reflected, in unruffled mirrors, the surrounding mountains, presented one of the calmest and most beautiful landscapes. The bridge, of thirty arches, seems like a low and narrow causeway crossing a marsh ; but the water is clear and in rapid movement among the trunks of the trees ; the bottom firm, and filled with sedges : alder, ash, fig-trees, and elms, festooned with creepers, grew out of the stream. The whole country wears the aspect of luxuriant harvest. We rode through fields of fern, which covered our horses, and wild oats, some heads of which were taller than man and horse. The borders of the lakes are exceedingly marshy, and the lakes themselves very shallow, especially that of Angelo Castro : they abound in fish and eels, and are filled with tall reeds. In the various passages of the Turkish troops, the inhabitants took refuge in these marshes : on one occasion, 500 families had made themselves habitations by fixing posts and branches, and binding together the growing reeds. The Turks made desperate efforts to destroy them ; many horsemen perished in attempting to reach them ; rafts and monoxyls were made use of, but they could not penetrate in sufficient numbers, and were singly exposed to the fire of the

Greeks. The Turks attempted to set fire to the reeds, but they would not burn : and, lastly, they attempted to starve them out ; but the shores of their little sea were open to them, and, like the Ichthyophagi of Herodotus, they were supported by the fish beneath their dwellings.

Next day, we sent on our servants to pitch our tents among the ruins of Stratus, ourselves starting in the direction of the ruins of Thermus, as laid down by Pouqueville. We traversed a mountain stream, ascended and descended thickly wooded and steep hills, and, after losing our way several times, at last climbed an abrupt hill of solid, rectangular form, that appeared from the plain below like a fortress. This rock was crowned with the ruins of the ancient Thermus ; very little agreeing, however, with Pouqueville's description.* The ancient gate still gives access to the fortress ; the remains of the massive walls, formed into tambours, with small stones and earth, supported with wicker-work, have oftentimes served, during the late struggles, as a place of refuge for the inhabitants of the country.†

* Those fortress-looking rocks are masses of conglomerate overlying sandstone ; and wherever they appear on elevated positions, they have been chosen for the erection of places of strength.

† The position of Thermus having been the subject of considerable antiquarian controversy, in consequence of a passage of Polybius ill understood, and of the descriptions given by

We spent a considerable portion of the day in examining the country from this elevated spot. It was not till we had descended the most rugged part, and had untied our horses, which had been grazing below, in a beautiful recess, on the richest clover, that we recollected that we had four and a half hours' march to the ford of the Aspropotamos. To pass this ford by daylight, without guides, was said to be impracticable; and the sun was already bordering on the horizon. We pushed on rapidly through Vrachori and Zapandí; but neither the last twilight, nor the clear moonshine, shewed us any traces of the road. After galloping over the plain, I climbed one of the loftiest trees, and, to my surprise, perceived the extensive and white bed of the Achelöus (Aspropotamos) within a quarter of a mile. The stream was rapid, broad, troubled, and, apparently, deep; we dashed in, however, nothing daunted, and were soon on the dry ground beyond it, laughing at the accounts we had heard: but we soon discovered that our enterprise was only begun, as the more formidable streams and eddies were still to be breasted, with quicksands between, in more than one of which we got entangled. Our horses were soon knocked up, and the adventure was gradually despoiled of

Pouqueville, I consign to an appendix an account of Philip's expedition against Thermus, which, I think, will satisfactorily explain the meaning of Polybius, and reconcile his statement with the topography of the place.

all its illusions. After an hour's anxious and toilsome wading and piloting, we had the satisfaction of finding ourselves on the firm ground. What, however, was now to be done? To bivouac *sub Jove frigido*, we were in a worse condition than before the passage; and great was our joy when, after half an hour's march up the bank of the river, we perceived a light, which we soon made out to be a fire, surrounded by the ferrymen, who, with their horses, instead of boats, ply at the ford. When they heard our story, they crossed themselves; but did not believe us, till they had felt our horses and our clothes. They conducted us to Lepenou, once a rich and happy township, of 2000 souls, where we found our tent pitched beside the still-flowing, clear fountain—the only animated being in the midst of the deserted village. We perceived, on a rising ground near the ford, the outlines of the remains of Stratus, which, by “pale moonlight,” gave us an exaggerated impression of their magnificence and extent.

The people of the country may, in time, and à *force de voyageurs*, become good Cicerones; but, at present, they are of but little assistance to the traveller. Many of the inhabitants, indeed, are recent settlers; and their ignorance, even of names and places, frequently misled us. A compass and Lapie's map (which has but too often followed Pouqueville) were our only guides; but the dis-

agreement of these led us into the recommendable practice of ascending the hills to take a bird's eye view. Difficulties and adventures have, consequently, been our inseparable companions, as we wandered along a country where the roads are effaced, houses and villages deserted, and the sight of man a rare occurrence; but these circumstances forced upon us a more particular knowledge of the localities than would have been obtained by greater facilities of travelling and longer residence; and gave a romantic interest to the excursion, which is wholly incompatible with straight cut and ditched roads, rectangular fields, sign-posts, toll-bars, and other evidences of civilisation.

Next morning, by daylight, we were amidst the ruins of Stratus. Strabo places it at ten stadia from the Achelöus, which he says was navigable up to this point. At present, one branch of that river runs under its walls. Their circumference is from three to four thousand paces; the blocks being of sandstone, have not the freshness and sharpness of angle that the hardness of conglomerate and limestone have given to the other ruins. The remains of the solid wall have outlived all it was destined to preserve. A gate near the water still leads into the vacant enclosure: at this spot the wall retains nearly its original height of twenty feet. On an elevated point, looking to the west, are heaps of sections of unfluted columns

(old Doric), triglyphs, and capitals of beautifully white limestone, obtained either from Vrachori or Machala. On the highest ground northwards, there are remains of a more ancient cyclopic citadel. The other ruins formed an undistinguishable mass, matted over by an impervious growth of thistles. Rock-bees had established themselves amidst the crumbled layers of stone; and large brown and reddish serpents lay basking along the walls, and, disturbed by our researches, came leaping and thumping on the stones below. From a mossy rock, under the shade of a fig-tree, fell, or rather dropped into an ancient sarcophagus, the tiny stream of an icy fountain, and supplied irrigation for a single field of Indian corn, the only cleared space within the enclosure.

By inquiry from a peasant, and the examination of our map, and a still persevering faith in Pouqueville, we satisfied ourselves that the *present* Aëtos was the *ancient* Metropolis, and made up our minds to be at Metropolis that night. Early in the morning, accordingly, the tent was sent on, with orders to be pitched at Aëtos, while we started some hours after directing our inquiries for *the* Ruins. But this was the last time we staked our bed and supper on the identity of an ancient and modern city! The morning had been fatiguingly spent in taking the plan of Stratus; and we were quite exhausted by the excessive heat, and by an hour's race after our horses, which, while we

were busied with the ancient architecture, made an excursion in pursuit of recent botanical specimens into the field of Indian corn; so that the sun was already, as the Albanians would say, "two fathoms above the Eastern horizon," when we set forward in search of Metropolis. After crossing the plain to the westward for nearly two hours, we wandered along the base of the mountains from the little to the great Ozeros (lakes), without meeting a living creature, or being able to descry any path. At length, in exhaustion and despair, we unsaddled and picketed our horses, and laid ourselves down under a tree. The day passed, and evening came; but no one appeared, so we mounted again. We had to cross the mountains, but to engage in them unless by a path, and with a point in view, was perfectly hopeless; and the more we studied the map, the more bewildered we were. In this perplexity, we had the good luck to meet with a flock of horses, and a herd of swine; the advantage of this coincidence and rencontre may not at first be very intelligible. The pigs were accompanied by a biped, whose explanations might not have served us much, but who, on the exhibition of a hundred para piece, secured one of the wandering stud, and conducted us to the path that leads up, through a ravine in these abrupt and difficult hills, to Machala.

We passed the monastery of Licovitza, beautifully situated high on our left; and the twilight

shewed us an amphitheatre of hills opening to the south, with their shelving sides studded with villages, and with a degree of cultivation which surprised us after the deserted appearance of the rich plain that we had left below.

The ruins of Metropolis are now termed Porta. Though we did not reach them before it was quite dark, we descried their position, crowning and encircling a small but steep and rugged hill, where now stands the monastery of St. George, surrounded by a score of little huts like bee-hives, belonging to fugitives who had ventured back into Acarnania. The ruins of Metropolis have an air of antiquity from their being polygonal, from the absence, or at all events the fewness, of towers, and from the destruction of the walls.

This *is* Porta; we doubted not that it *had been* Metropolis, but it certainly was *not* Aëtos; and therefore no tent was to be seen; so we had to pass a not very comfortable night within the court of the almost deserted monastery; the solitary Calogeros sparing us a very little very black bread, and a rug to cover us from the cold. But we were soon glad to rid ourselves of the treacherous gift.

Next morning we were up betimes from our bare cold dewy sod; indeed, we had paced the court during the greater portion of the night, and, descending from the inhospitable rock, passed for three miles through the little plain of Aëtos, en-

circled with lofty hills, and filled with thorns and oak. Under a perpendicular rock, crowned by a Venetian castle at its opposite extremity, we were delighted to get a glimpse of our tent among the dark underwood. The smoke rising close by, like a tall, straight poplar, bushy at the top, was indeed a welcome sight; and as the little watchdog came running towards us, and we saw our accustomed beasts of burden hopping in their shackles among the trees, the strange wilderness appeared familiar. The whole of this day our tent was allowed to occupy its position; nor for the rest which Nature demanded, could we have desired a more delightful spot. On the opposite hill, there was a hamlet from which smoke arose, and which, therefore, was inhabited. As we had molested neither a flock of sheep, nor a herd of swine, in our vicinity, and appeared altogether very tame and peaceable creatures, the women of the hamlet, towards evening, made a trip of curiosity and traffic; they brought their pitchers for water (we had pitched by the well), and eggs and yaoort for sale. We were soon on the best terms with our fair visitants. An old dame, jocose and *spirituelle*, was the *chaperone* of the party; and wherever she moved, the young ones all ran and clustered behind her, so that they always presented to us the apex of a Macedonian phalanx, the leader cased in the armour of sixty winters, the rank and file from the rear

wielding “eyes for their lances.” We gratified the old lady with a cup of coffee; but our liberality could go no further,—they were too many for our cups or our coffee, and we had no wish to fling the apple of discord among them by partial preference. Afterwards, we had a visit from the men, who chatted about ancient Greece, Turkey, Europe, and, of course, about the Protocol; and we amused ourselves in thinking how the hinds of any other country would have kept up a conversation on such subjects.

From Aëtos we ascended, for one hour, north, to Zeuki, once a considerable village. Another hour brought us to a gorge, through which a torrent, descending by Zeuki, forces its way into the plain of Mitika. On the height of the gorge, above the road, stands, almost entire, a small and beautiful Hellenic tower, fifteen feet square, and twenty high; the wall only a foot and a half thick, and the loopholes, on the outside, three feet by five inches.

As we descended, we perceived ruins upon one of the hills to the left, in the chain through which we were passing. We were sorry to leave them unvisited, and yet their numbers increased so rapidly upon us, and they were often of such difficult access, that the task of examining each was beyond our strength. We, at present, determined on dividing our labours. My companion scaled the hill, and I directed my course through the plain of

Mitika, to the ruins of the ancient Alyzea, at its northern extremity.

The ruin on the hill is Cyclopean, without towers ; has only two gates, formed by a transverse slab resting on two uprights ; there is a cistern quarried in the rock. There are two extremely rude bas reliefs, cut in the limestone rock, and much obliterated. One exhibits two figures, seated, with a snake between them ; the other represents a warrior, naked, holding a spear, and a woman, draped, standing beside him.

What a strange state of society do these remains indicate ! Populations pressing on each other by their density, shrinking from each other by their fears, expending their labours in the construction of defences, and their time in toiling up the mountains and precipices, where their places of strength were situated. The projectiles of modern warfare would have either put an end to the causes of mistrust, or, perhaps, they would have annihilated the sources of this plethoric population. Rival towns could then almost insult each other from wall to wall ; and some powerful states of antiquity could now exchange shot and shell from capital to capital.*

We have been so much in the habit of considering the effects of gunpowder, as used by one state against another, that we have neglected to

* Olynthus and Potidea, for example.

consider the effect of this invention on the states themselves. I believe that it may be shewn to have materially influenced, throughout Europe, the character of society, of institutions, and of government. By artillery, the advantage and resistance of localities have been lost, the most war-like tribes have had their spirit broken; and, amidst the strongest positions, the once sturdy mountaineer is pursued, if unarmed, by his armed oppressors; or, if possessed of these means of destruction, is tempted to become a robber and an oppressor in his turn.

In the West, gunpowder, with its concomitant standing armies, has succeeded in extending a tranquil domination, which disguises the military character of the sources of European power. The political institutes of the West, more or less oppressive in their uniform and regulated operation, provoke not local resistance, but awaken general discontent. Local resistance becomes ineffective, because of the increased military means of the executive; local resistance is superseded by the moral character of the resistance which is called forth by the exceptional principles which have found their way into the administrative practice and science, so called, of Europe; which degrades, amongst the people, respect for their own perceptions, by substituting laws for justice, and a Government's regulations, for duty and for right.

In Turkey, the feelings and habits of the people

not having been levelled by a military power of this description, the abstract principles of the administration have retained, in a great degree, their primitive simplicity; the increased efficiency, therefore, given by gunpowder to the proportionably small number of men who carry arms by the right of authority or revenge, serves to increase the accidents of wrong, but not to establish uniform but legal injustice. The difference is rendered immense between the soldier and the bandit, now wearing a musket, and the peasant who no longer can match his sithe or his flail with the spear or sabre, or escape, by a single stride, beyond the reach of such weapons. But the soldier in Turkey has been, as yet, only the retainer of the Pasha. When he becomes the servant of the Government, happy indeed will be this country, if that Government retains the moderation, the simplicity, and the character, of supreme and impartial judge, now imposed on its military weakness as the only prop of its authority, or support of its existence. Still the cultivator of the ground, superior in the relative scale of civil society to the cultivator of the soil in Europe, has sunk below that consideration which he formerly enjoyed, and must sink infinitely lower when discipline has been added to gunpowder, and a disciplined insurrection* imposes

* Has not the insurrection of Mehemet Ali — does not the state of the peasant in Egypt and Syria — forcibly illustrate this truth?

conditions on the Porte, or a standing army levels all differences before its equal weight and constant pressure.

The plain of Mitika is a triangular level. The shore is the base; two chains of lofty and abrupt mountains form the sides, and stretch beyond it into headlands. The island of Calamo rises from the sea, in front of the plain, at the distance of one or two miles. The mountains are limestone: some conglomerate crops out at their base, inclining towards them. The plain is clay, and is marshy towards the shore, from want of cultivation. The Vernacus has forced a magnificent passage through the limestone, near the angle of the plain; and there, restrained by an embankment at the gorge, accumulates its waters for the irrigation of the plain. I speak of it as it was, not as it is. This embankment is the vestige of antiquity which pleased me most in Acarnania. Here Hellenic construction, and Cyclopic labours, have been devoted to a useful work, and remain, at the present hour, an instructive lesson. The discovery of this ruin gave me a peculiar interest in this city, and every thing connected with it. I fancied that its protecting barrier of rocks disconnected it from the events of Acarnania, shielded it from the desolating neighbourhood of the Etolians; that its little lake gave exuberant fertility to the soil; that its sheltered harbour brought commerce to its shores; and that here the peaceable, intellectual, and ima-

ginative portions of the spirit of Greece enjoyed, in not inglorious peace, and not unmanly refinement, the richness of this lovely spot, and the security of this strong position.

Alyzea possessed, among many other inspirations of "Sculpture's Attic muse," the "Labours of Hercules," from the chisel of Lysippus. I heard, from the peasants, of a great many inscriptions among their huts, but could discover only two. The walls are in the best Hellenic style; and, probably, of all these cities, Alyzea would best repay excavation and research.

The excitement which the arrival of Europeans every where produced, was here called forth in a most striking manner. They thronged round me, anxiously inquiring where the limits really were to be; and, when I told them that they were without, they stood like men who had listened to a sentence of death. A fine, intelligent boy, certainly not more than ten years of age, and who, for an hour, had been leading me about the ruins, exclaimed, "We never will allow the Turks* to come here again!" "Will you prevent them, my little man?" said I. With a look and attitude full of indig-

* It may be worth while to remark, that the word Turk is used in Greece much as it is in Europe. These populations had never but once seen a *Turkish* army—they had never fought against Turks. To the Turks they owed, as already stated, their original institutions, and continual protection against their historic enemies, the Albanians.

nation, he replied, " You may laugh, if you please, but the Turks will never take alive even a little child " (ὁὐκ ἔστιν ἵσχυς ζῶντα ἀνδρὸς μήτε μωρὸν παῖδί). " I would shoot my sister," pointing to a girl older than himself, " sooner than that she should again be made a slave."

Half an hour before sunset we left Candile for Vonizza : we put spurs to our horses, and reached, with daylight, the gorge near Alyzea, through which the Vernacus passes. On the shoulder of the right precipice, which rises perpendicularly at least five hundred feet, stands a Venetian fortress, called Glossa. After passing the cliffs, the gorge winds to the left ; the mountains rise on either side. We were here suddenly stopped by a Hellenic wall, filling up the whole glen. We dismounted, and, after groping about for some time, discovered a passage to the right. This was the dyke to which I have before alluded, the superior layers receding so as to give it a pyramid-like inclination : eleven layers still appear. The night had closed in, but we had the advantage of a most brilliant moon, which threw a flood of light through the gorge we had passed. We stood in the deepest shade, to acknowledge the *religio loci*, and enjoy the fragrance and freshness of an eastern evening that succeeds a fatiguingly brilliant and sultry day. We threaded our way through groves of myrtle under the deep shade of the lovely and magnificent *Chenar*, that, filling the bed of the stream and the

bottom of the glen, threw their spreading branches like arches over our heads. An hour's distance from the first, we came to the second gorge ; there the want of fodder prevented us from passing the night. Half an hour brought us to a mill, before which, on a green sward, a circle of muleteers sat in the moonlight, smoking, singing, and playing the guitar.

About midnight we established ourselves on an exposed brow, close to a clear fountain ; turned out our mules and horses to graze, and lighted a blazing fire, which added much to the picturesque character of our situation, but did not seem to please the wild boars and jackals, which kept up a continual snorting and screaming around us. After pipes and coffee, I prepared to taste not the least of the traveller's enjoyments, slung between two trees in a Mexican hammock, after one of the pleasantest days of a most delightful journey.

Next morning we were *en route* at dawn, and, in two hours, crossed the highest part of the pass of the Acarnanian Olympus. An hour further on, we looked down on the fertile little plain of Livadia. As we passed by, some shepherd-soldiers, from a little grove on the right, brought out and offered us milk newly drawn, and fresh "mgithra" (curds) the Italian ricotta. We went to visit their woodland habitation : huts, sheepfolds, roofs, and palisades, formed of green boughs and live shrubs bent into the forms of walls : it was quite a labyrinth of

foliage—a hamlet of live verdure; their arms and rude implements were hung upon the trees; the sun, which shone brightly on the opposite hills, and on half the plain below, had not reached them; the grass was still wet with dew. We gladly accepted their hospitality, and made a hearty breakfast on their simple fare, while they were churning, cleaning their arms, milking their goats and sheep, and shearing around us. They were astonished at our inquiries, and could not credit the admiration we expressed at their encampment; they even suspected that we were amusing ourselves at the expense of their simplicity: some of them, who knew a little of the world, began to expatiate to the rest, on the palaces, luxuries, and learning of England, and wondered how *milordi* could find pleasure in observing their ignorance and poverty, “we, beasts that we are”—(ἡμεῖς ζῶα οὐδὲν εἰμεθα).

On a little hill to the north, are the ruins of Pyrgi, or a farm establishment, built by Ali Pasha: it has remained for years untouched by the plough, and is now a rich meadow; for the right of their respective adherents to pasture on which, Vernachiotti and Zonga are at present at variance, and probably may soon be at war.

We descended gradually from plateau to plateau. The country is partially wooded: the basins, although the rocks are limestone, filled with rich soil. The path descends several times

through chasms, burst open by the torrent, which reproduced, in miniature, the grander scenes of last night. These chasms were overhung with varieties of oak,—the quercus, smooth-leaved, prickly-leaved, ilex, and with ash, elm, and other forest trees. Moss, which is uncommon in this climate, hung profusely from the damp rocks and from the trunks and branches of the trees, over which wandered innumerable creepers, chiefly the clematis, which flings its slender stems from the very summits of the trees to the banks of the stream below the rock, where they coiled as loose rigging hanging from a mast.

About an hour from Livadia, we came successively in sight of the serrated shores and bays of the Ambracian Gulf, the Leucadian Promontory, and the 'Ακτὴ Ἐπειροῦ. Before us rose the land of Pyrrhus, Scanderbeg, and Ali Pasha; and, to the right, the mountain altars of ancient mythology, the ridges of the Pindus, “sublimed with snow.” An hour more brought us to Paradisi, when, turning to the left, we saw a narrow plain stretching to the Gulf, on the shore of which rose a small round knoll, crowned with the Venetian towers and fortifications of Vonizza.

It was near mid-day when we reached the base of the hills: the heat was tempered by ample shade, and by the sea-breeze that had just set in. The country seemed to smile around us in its reckless richness. We found ourselves on a bright green sward, half encircled by a bend of the

rocky stream, and shadowed by a deep border of that constant ornament of running waters, the friendly Chenar. The foreground presented a masterpiece of nature's art, which a Salvator Rosa or a Byron, alone, was worthy to look on. A troop of Palicars, though there was no village nor even house in the vicinity, had chosen this situation for their encampment, and fixed their habitations among the trees. They were allured only by the amenity of the place, the abundance of water and shade, and their innate taste. Each Palicar had woven for himself a pallet of green boughs covered with fern, which, according to his fancy, he supported by stakes driven into the bed of the stream or its banks, or nestled in the forks of the massive trunks and branches of the trees, or, to catch the cool current of air, suspended from the boughs crossing each other from the opposite sides of the stream. Their goats, for every soldier has one or more, were resting under these pallets, or standing in the water. Some of the Palicars were bathing, some, in their rich picturesque and warlike costumes, seated crosslegged, smoking; some grouped round fires preparing their food, while the smoke rising through the thick foliage, passing over the trunks, or curling round the light-green smooth branches, caught and reflected the rays that had penetrated through the canopy of verdure, and produced a thousand beautiful effects. The sharp tingling of a single tambouriki, softened by the

murmur of the tumbling torrent, formed a happy accompaniment to the dream,—for such it seemed.

The Platanus, the Chenar of Persian poets, is a tree so elegant in its form, so docile in its growth, that it gives beauty to all that surrounds it; shooting up like the poplar when confined; spreading, when at liberty, like the oak; and drooping like the weeping willow over streams—it adapts itself to every position of soil, and assimilates itself to every style of landscape. The foliage, by the broadness of the leaves and their springing at the extremity of the branches, is bold and massive, without being dense or heavy. Vast and airy vaults are formed within, excluding the strong light and the sun's rays; and through these verdant domes, the round, long, naked boughs, of a light-green hue and velvety texture, meander like enormous snakes.

We lingered in this valley, which deserves its name, if aught on earth can deserve such a name, (Paradisi), to allow time for the pitching of our tent at Vonizza, and for preparing a dinner to compensate us for our long privations: but, alas! on our arrival we found ourselves in reality restored to terrestrial cares, for neither tent nor dinner were there,—our servants had quarrelled by the way, and were literally at daggers-drawing.

CHAPTER VII.

CHANGE IN THE PALICARS—THE VLACHI SOLDIER-SHEPHERDS
—POUQUEVILLE'S BLUNDERS—FETES IN THE MAKRONOROS
—BOAR HUNT—ARRIVAL IN ALBANIA.

STEP by step, as we proceeded northward, the alarm of commotion and anarchy vanished before us. Like fame and the rainbow, that fly the pursuer and pursue the flier, alarms now flourished in our rear; and we heard of nothing but commotions in the Morea. We were arrived at the place which had the reputation in the Morea of being the very focus of disaffection and disorders; but here, as elsewhere, we found the most perfect tranquillity: nor had we to take the slightest precaution for the preservation of ourselves or of our most trifling effects; nor, during our whole peregrinations in Acarnania, had ever the idea of precaution presented itself to us.

General Pisa was Military Commandant of Western Greece; and we were soon put in possession of all the details of its state and organisation. Some months before serious disturbances had taken place amongst the soldiery; but these were ex-

cited, I will not say by the incapacity, but by the very sight, of Augustin Capodistrias. The Greek Armatoles might submit to the authority of a European officer, commanding respect by his abilities, and sharing with them their dangers and fatigues : the arrogant bearing of an upstart Frank, and, above all, a Corfiote, no soldier, and, withal, a vain and silly man, could only excite amazement, to be followed by contempt.

Since the appointment of General Pisa, the most perfect tranquillity has prevailed, from no other reason, I believe, than because he is not Augustin Capodistrias ; nor, by intermeddling, has he yet informed them, that he is General Pisa.

Vonizza is the head-quarters for the troops posted on the Makronoros, and in different points of the Gulf, with which the communication is maintained by Mysticos. The regular alternation of land- and sea-breezes, renders this inland navigation most sure and expeditious. When we proposed going to visit Caravanseraï by land, that we might inspect the southern shores, we were recommended to go by water, because the passage was usually made by water ; the route by land being circuitous and bad, and the breezes favourable and certain,—I retain the remark, because it may prove illustrative of the passages of Philip and the Lacedæmonians from Leucas to Limnæa, in the last of which the omission, as I imagine, of the word “ by sea,” has given rise to discussions

among learned commentators in their closets, which the inspection of the localities would easily set at rest.

We were much gratified, not only by the good feeling that seemed to exist among the soldiery, but also by their strict and cheerful subordination, which the example of the Peloponnesians had hardly led us to expect. Since the organisation had been effected, one single case requiring penal animadversion had occurred. A subaltern officer, not in activity (ἀπόμαχος), had beaten, in a quarrel, an old man at Vonizza. He was tried by a court of his peers, and sentenced to lose three months of his half-pay, and be confined for six months in the Castle of Lepanto. This sentence was the spontaneous suggestion of the officers themselves, as was also the mode of putting it in execution; namely, delivering the order for his confinement to the convicted officer himself, that he might present it to the Governor of Lepanto, offering himself, at the same time, for imprisonment. This is an exemplification of the point of honour,* which is, of course, quite unknown in the East. The officers spoke with delight of their first judicial proceedings.

* It is strange enough that the word "honour," which we have been told by travellers has no synonyme in Turkish, is itself a Turkish word, "Huner" which is, in its strict sense, *order*. In Greek, the word for "honour," τιμή, means, also, *price*.

Though Vonizza was the head-quarters, there was no body of troops in it, and only one of the Capitani, Zongas, the chief of the Vlachi,—a population which has contributed to the revolution, at various times, as many as ten thousand men: Zongas has mustered as many as two thousand at once. The Vlachi, though not Armatoles, more readily become soldiers than the Greek Rayah. Their nomade habits, and the little contact they have with the Turks, render them less submissive, and familiarise them with danger and the use of arms; while their property in flocks and cattle, which they can so easily remove, and in butter, cheese, and capotes, which are disposed of every where with equal facility, leaves their roaming habits unconfined, while it deprives them of the necessity or inclination to engage in brigandage. I suppose I need not observe that the Vlachi are originally from Wallachia; and that, to the amount of about half a million of souls, they are wandering shepherds all over European Turkey, changing their abode with the seasons, possessing a large proportion of the sheep of the country, and often having additional flocks confided to their care by the stationary populations.*

* The following description of the Vlachi in the thirteenth century, is a curious illustration of the permanency of Eastern habits and interests :—

“ The Vlachi are a wandering race, who have acquired considerable wealth by their flocks and herds, whose pastoral life

Their celebrated chief, Cach Antoni, who was one of the Klephti heroes of Ali Pasha's reign, had been a wealthy proprietor of sheep and goats, of horses and mules. A party of Albanians once alighted at his encampment: sheep were killed, and skins of wine untied. When they had feasted themselves, they proceeded to the most shameful outrages; and fell victims, during their sleep, to the violated chastity of the Vlachi establishment.

Cach Antoni, exasperated by the dishonour of his family, and now irrevocably excluded from all hope of pardon, set fire, on the spot, to his tents and weightier movables, mingled the blood of two thousand slaughtered sheep with that of the Albanians, and, as they emphatically express it, "took to the mountain" (επῆξε τὸ βουνό). A man of a daring, not to say of a lofty mind, and of an iron frame, he now became the hero of the Vlachi name, recruiting his band from these hardy mountaineers, no where fixed, but always to be found where the wolves have dens and the eagles nests. For many years he defied the power of Ali Pasha, but was caught, at length, suffering from the ague, and concealed in a cave; whither one of his sons, who had carried him far, had been

has inured them to fatigue, and endowed them with great strength and hardness of body; while a habitual practice of the chase has taught them the first rudiments of war, and frequent skirmishes with the imperial troops have trained them to a considerable skill in the use of arms."—PACHYMEER, *Hist. Andr.* lib. i. cap. 27.

forced to deposit him. In this state he was brought to Janina ; and suffered a cruel and lingering death by the successive fracture of every bone in his body, while he uttered neither groan nor complaint ; and reproached one of his sons for dishonouring his house, by evincing weakness while undergoing the same torture.

Zongas was his Proto-palicari, and, shortly after his death, submitted to Ali Pasha. He inherited his former patron's authority among the Vlachi, who thus appeared, for the first time, as Armatoles. Though distinct from the Greeks in language and in race, they were identified with them in every other respect ; and thence the same ready transition, on the breaking up of the dominion of Ali Pasha, from Klepht to Armatole, and from Armatole to Patriot.

After spending three days at Vonizza, we proceeded to make the tour of the Gulf. General Pisa placed at our disposal one of the government mysticos ; and when the sea-breeze had set in, we left Vonizza, and skimmed along the Gulf right before the wind, " wing and wing." Our first object was Caravanserai, where we had nearly made up our minds to find the Amphiloichian Argos ; and were certainly exceedingly disappointed at the uninteresting appearance of the narrow cove, the barrenness of the limestone hills, and the insignificance of the ruins themselves. They consist of a simple Hellenic wall, two thou-

sand five hundred paces in circumference. The walls extend from the shore round the summit of a little rocky hill : to the north is the narrow cove of the Gulf ; to the south, the long river-like lake called Ambracia ; and to the east and west rise abruptly two barren mountains, which intercept the view, and scarcely afford, in the vicinity of the ruins, a spot of level ground large enough for a garden.

This place has been pitched upon for the locality of the Argos Amphiloichicum by D'Anville, Barbié de Bocage, Arrowsmith, &c. D'Anville, not content with finding an Argos, has made an Inachus for his Argos, by drawing a meandering line from the Achelöus entering the Gulf at this spot. The description I have given of the locality will shew that there never could have existed any stream at Caravanseraï. Pouqueville, with his usual exuberance of blunders, makes it out to be Olpæ. He observes, that D'Anville calls this place Argos Amphiloichicum, and that the peasants call it Ambrachia, " which is no less an error on the part of the geographer than on that of the peasant ; but," continues the facetious consul, "*pour moi qui savois* that Ambrachia is the Acropolis of Rogous, and Argos is the submerged town of Philo-Castro (Phido-Castro—snake-castle), I *discovered* in Ambrachia the ancient Olpæ." Above all, is he fixed in this conviction by the "*precise*" distance from Argos — his Philo-Castro. Shortly before this, he

had “discovered” in Combote, some ten or twelve miles to the north, Crenæ, which the Lacedæmonians, coming from the south, had to pass during the night, to arrive at Olpæ in the morning; and as to his “precise” distance, instead of the twenty-five stadia between Argos and Olpæ, there are at least two hundred and fifty between Phido-Castro and Caravanseraï. The quotations he gives in confirmation are themselves perfectly conclusive against his suppositions, besides being, as usual, misquoted. The perfect confidence, no less than the errors, of Pouqueville, would, at times, make one think that his book was intended for a hoax. Throughout Acarnania his discoveries have not extended much beyond the one we have just seen of Olpæ in Caravanseraï, and of Thermus, where it is likely no mortal will ever “discover” it again; but he tells us, “j’ai soulevé le voile qui couvroit des problèmes géographiques jusqu’à présent insolubles, j’ai révivifié l’Acarnarnie entière.”! Again, says he, “Je donnai, par une sorte d’inspiration, des noms à tous les lieux qui m’environnoient!” What an invaluable accompaniment he would have been for Ross or Parry’s northern expeditions!*

* Pouqueville places Lymnæa at Loutraki, and, to support this position, says that Cnemus “l’abandonna au pillage *en se détournant un peu du chemin* qu’il tenoit pour pénétrer dans l’Agraïde; en effet, ce general parti de Leucade *avait dû prendre sa route au midi du Lac Boulgari* pour se porter vers le défilé de Catouni, et ne put passer à Lymnée qu’en dérivant à

We returned to sup and sleep on board our mystico, and sailed about midnight with the soft land-breeze that dies away again in the morning. A little before sunrise, we were awakened by our

gauche." It belongs but to Pouqueville to combine, in so short a sentence, so many errors, misconstructions, and such inconceivable assurance. In a note he reports some of the words of Thucydides, adding again, within parentheses (*"en se detournant un peu de sa route."*)*

Thucydides says that Cnemus left Leucadia in great haste, leaving some of his troops behind, to reach Stratus, thinking, if he could surprise it, the rest of Acaruania would submit. He, therefore, passed through Argis (not "l'Agraide" of Pouqueville), and, arriving by sea, as Philip did afterwards, and as seems to have been, as it still is, the common practice, pillaged Lymnæa; but there is not a single word about quitting his road for that purpose. The words are:

Καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἀργείας ἰόντες Λιμναίαν χωμὴν ἀτείχιστον ἐπέβησαν.
'Αφικνεῖνται τε ἐπὶ Στράτον.—κ. τ. λ.

"Stephanus, of Byzantium," says Pouqueville, "is wrong in making Lymnæa a burgh of Argolis" (as Thucydides, in this very passage, does), because he had not the benefit of Mr. Pouqueville's discovery of Argos, in Phido-Castro, and, consequently, "à pris le change relativement à Argos Amphiloichicum." Palmerius quotes this very passage of Stephanus, in rejecting a proposed emendation of this passage of Thucydides by some commentator. And Gronovius, in his notes to Stephanus, says that, in carefully examining the passage of Thucydides, he must adhere to the correct judgment of that learned geographer.

* And, besides, this intercalation supplies Thucydides with a reason for the pillage—"pour encourager les soldats."

keel grazing the beach of the Makronoros. The commander Verri was standing on the beach to receive us. The style, the outline of the figure, the arms, the *tail*, suggested the comparison with the old Scottish chieftain; but the climate, the refinement of manner, the classical language, and I must, in spite of early associations, say elegance of costume, were in favour of the Greek. The struggles of the Scotch Highlanders and of the Greek mountaineers, probably, had very many points of resemblance, but their principles and results have been very dissimilar. The Scotch bravely shed their blood for the sinking cause of bigotry; the Greeks for that of rising liberty; and, fortunately, the same principle triumphed in the failure of the former and the success of the latter.

Thus did we lucubrate then and there; and these dreams of Greek regeneration afforded us many an hour of real enjoyment. The enthusiasm of mutual sympathies opened to us many a heart, now closed in bitterness against every thing that comes from incapable Europe.

Verri, the Tagmatarch, led us to a chamber, fresh wove of the boughs of oak, arbutus, and myrtle, supported on posts, driven into the sand within the sea-mark. It was open towards the sea; a rugged trunk of a tree was laid in imitation of a natural ladder to the entrance from the beach. I was quite enchanted with the novel and beautiful idea. A similar apartment had been prepared for

us wherever we halted during our stay in the Makronoros, varying in style and form, but always fresh; and, seeing the trouble they had taken to do us honour, we could not but be strongly prepossessed in favour no less of the taste, than of the sedulous hospitality, of our entertainers. Just such another little apartment must have been the earliest Temple of Delphi, woven of green laurel boughs.

It is, of course, superfluous to say that the whole of the morning was spent in abusing the Protocol. The point of chief importance here was the practical means of frustrating it. "Here we are," said they, "not because the Europeans have put us here, but because the Turks have been unable to drive us out. If the Alliance orders the Greek troops to retire from Acarnania, the Greek troops will retire; that is to say, our commissions in the Greek service will be sent back, but we will remain in Makronoros. The Protocol will neither make the Turks' swords sharper, nor their powder stronger. The Alliance will not be able to attack us, for we will renounce the connexion with Greece; and if shots are again fired across the frontier, independent Acarnania will have a hundredfold more to gain than to lose, and may render to the North the service she has already rendered to the South; and the Protocol, intended to give peace instead of war, will bring war, where peace at present exists. Our state is now very different from what it was at our former

rising. From our mountains all around, we could then only look upon our enemies : now half the horizon is filled with victorious co-religionists. Then, we struggled for existence : now, we fight for independence. Then, our wives and children grasped our fustanels, and implored us to hold our hands : now, our women and children encourage us to resistance, and would revile us for submission."

This sad Protocol has alienated no less the respect than the confidence and affection of these people. Little could we then have anticipated the lengthful series of these dire diplomatic instruments, whose snakelike and tortuous course has wound itself in many and deadly folds around the destinies of Greece. No! never can revive again those moments of hope and exultation ; no revolution can bring Greece back again to that state in which she was, at the period here described. Her futurity has been shipwrecked after the danger was passed ; and the wreck will remain a great and lamentable example of the crimes that benevolence can commit, when destitute of knowledge.

At noon the roasted sheep made its appearance, imbedded in a wicker tray of myrtle ; and we were afterwards lulled to our siesta by the rising ripple brought in by the sea breeze, which, as it freshened, dashed the swelling waves against the stakes, and rocked us in our cradle of verdure. When we awoke we found horses ready capari-

soned, and adorned with boars' tusks, to carry us to the position above. Our intention was to sail from Makronoros that night with the land breeze ; but we found that, before our arrival, where and when we should eat and sleep for three successive days had been decided on, and preparation accordingly made. An officer from each of the other Tagmata came to meet us ; and, of course, all our plans were gladly sacrificed to the enjoyment of such distinguished and interesting hospitality.

Accompanied by several officers, and a guard of Palicars, we proceeded to the Tagma of Veli, an old friend and companion in arms. The road first lay through low brushwood, myrtle, lauro-cerasus, bramble, tall heather, thorns, and palluria, a shrub with multitudes of long and slender branches, set with strong thorns, perfectly unapproachable itself, and binding up the underwood into an impervious mass ; when a sheep gets entangled in it, unless found by the shepherd, it perishes. These thorns have been the principal strength of the Makronoros. The path was like an arched way cut through this underwood, and we rode along almost doubled on our horses. In some places it has been cleared by fire, in others it opens into forests of oak ; and still, under a canopy of verdure, one seems passing from corridors to spacious halls. After a couple of hours' journeying on, without seeing any thing of the country through which we were passing, we

came at length to a space open to the heavens above. A band of the forest was before us, a green brow rose close behind it, and on its summit were squatted Veli and his men; their white fustanels were soon flying about, as they scampered down the hill; and, after we entered the forest, we found them drawn up in two lines, waiting for us.

We dismounted at the proper distance, saluted and embraced, and then walked with Veli through the ranks of his men, who gave us a hearty welcome as we passed. Our guard from below went on a-head; these followed two and two behind; their fustanels were all snow white, their persons and clothes clean and tidy to minuteness, their looks fresh and cheerful, their manner orderly and submissive; and I said to myself, "Are these the same men — the 'horde' — that I saw eighteen months ago, filthy and discontented, in the camp before Lepanto?"

Rizo has truly said, and Mr. Gordon has given tenfold weight to the remark by repeating it, that a man who sees Greece in one year, will not recognise it in the next. Most forcibly was this observation pressed upon me, by the state in which I found the soldiery of Makronoros. On leaving Greece for Turkey, little more than a year before, if I had been asked, what the greatest benefit was that could be conferred on Greece, I should have

said, — a deluge, to sweep away the whole race of Liapis.* On my return I found, to my surprise, industrious and docile labourers and muleteers, who had previously been soldiers. I explained this by the supposition that the best disposed had resumed habits of industry, but was still far from supposing that any improvement had taken place in the mass, or from suspecting that, in judging of them formerly, I had not estimated correctly their capabilities. It was now, therefore, with quite as much surprise as gratification, that, by observing them under other circumstances, I formed a truer and a higher estimate of their qualifications and their dispositions.

Arriving at Veli's bivouac, we found on a little knoll, shaded by an oak, and commanding a prospect of the Gulf and Plain of Arta, a large table, and an ample sofa on each side, formed of branches fixed in the ground, wove with boughs, thickly covered with oak-leaves; quite of a different character, but quite as tasteful — more so it could not be — as the chamber over the sea in which we had been received in the morning. Whilst we were taking our coffee, the Palicars formed a large circle around, and shewed, by the conscious smile that followed our encomiums on their Arcadian taste, the part and the interest they had taken in

* Liapi is one of the tribes of Middle Albania, celebrated for its rapaciousness and filth. Hence the word has become an epithet of contempt.

the preparatives for our reception. They paid us a pretty compliment by the mouth of the Grammaticos; and, after standing about ten minutes, their chief said, "The Hellenes may now retire." Formerly it would have been the "Palicars;" but their hopes were now warmer, their aspirations higher, and they disclaimed even the names that were associated with their previous history.

Our evening repast was positively sumptuous; five large fires had been put in requisition for it. A community of shepherds could not have boasted of greater variety, or excellence of laitage; and here, in the wilderness, we had whiter and sweeter bread than I ever tasted in Paris or London. Young zarcadia (wild deer) and little brindled boars picked up the crumbs around, and disputed them with the pups of Macedonian greyhounds. When the evening had set in, and the moon arose, the long Romaika was led out on the mountain's brow.

" Their leader sung, and bounded to his song,
With choral voice and step, the martial throng."

For two long hours did the leaders dip and twirl,
while the long tail ebbed and flowed, like a follow-
ing wave, to the mellifluous air—

Πῶς τὸ τρίβουν, τὸ πῖπτε
"Οἱ διαβόλοι καλογέροι.

Next morning we were very anxious to get up

a boar-hunt, but we abandoned the idea when we understood, that young Botzari had prepared for receiving us at noon ; and, an active messenger promised that in the afternoon we should there find every thing prepared for a regular Chevy Chase. We were taken to see a tomb which had been discovered in making an oven ; it contained some bones, some pieces of a broadsword, and two Roman coins — it makes an excellent oven. There seemed to be many others in the neighbourhood.

Accompanied, as before, by the “Hellenes,” we ascended the highest point of the Derveni, towards the south, where it looks down on the plain of Vlichæ, and where, if my calculations are correct, still remains to be discovered the site of the Amphilochean Argos. Here we found the remains of an Hellenic city, of considerable extent, and, apparently, of a superior style of architecture ; and, in the uncertainty of its locality, I might have supposed this the disputed Argos, had it not been for its remoteness from any thing like a stream, and the commanding position, which, had that city been possessed of, must certainly have been recorded. Standing on this point, Thucydides’ description of the march of Eurylochus is perfectly graphic. Passing by Lymnæa (Caravanserai), he ascended the Thyamus (the Spantonoros), then descended into the plain of Argos (the plain of Vlichæ), then passed between Argos and Crenæ,

where the troops of the enemy were stationed, probably on commanding positions, and were reached after passing from the plain below; therefore, they were on the hill on which I stood; this very place, Crenæ. Olpæ a ruin, on a commanding situation, three or four miles to the north; or, if this were Olpæ, Argos would have been three miles lower down. In either case, the ruins of Argos are still to be discovered in the plain of Vlichæ, or between it and Makronoros. Having ascertained it to be between those two points, we must not despair of finding it, because there is no river worthy of the name of Father Inachus, and because there is no ruin on the shore. Thucydides calls it ἐπὶ θαλάσσια, but not ἐπὶ θαλάσσης. The term "maritime" might be applied to almost any city in the neighbourhood of the Gulf; and had he more strictly defined its position to have been on the sea, the difficulties, instead of being diminished, would have been increased. We do not dispute the locality of Stratus, because Livy calls it a city "super Ambracicum sinum."

The stream which Pouqueville's map calls Crickeli, may very well answer for the Inachus. Strabo merely says that it flows to Argos towards the south;* the Crickeli first flows to the south, and then to the west; the simple mention of the

* Strabo, Book vii.

stream when so much importance was given to water of every description, shews how insignificant it must have been.*

We now turned northwards along the ridge, and in about an hour and a half, descending among rocks and through oaken forests, we caught a glimpse of the pretty little encampment of Botzari, in a small and sheltered flat, where rocks and woods would have hidden it from observation, except from above. A shot from our guards was answered by a bugle from below; here was no formal greeting, but the Suliotes came bounding up the rocks with their young chief foremost in the race. Here we found a perfect temple of green boughs; it was raised high on stakes, and had windows all round it; the sides, roof, and floor, of green oak boughs; the floor strewn with fern, and the windows wreathed with garlands of wild flowers; the whole so fresh, that they seemed scarcely plucked an hour.

Botzari was Upo-Tagmatarch, and had the command in his superior's absence; he is a fine

* *Purus in occasus parvi sed gurgitis Æas*

Ionio fluit in mari, nec fortior undis

Labitur avectæ pater Isidis.—LUCAN, lib. vi. v. 362.

Inachus, or Ino, father of the Egyptian Isis. — See Pulmerii Græ. ant. dem. lib. ii. c. 7.

However, the original Inachus might have been contented with a very slender streamlet for its representative. Again, Pausanias says, τοδὲ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐξίχεται τῆς γῆς.

manly youth, not above twenty, if so much, and the youngest brother of the Suliote hero: I cannot say that his countenance was distinguished; in manner he was shy and bashful, but I have been seldom so interested by any one on so short an acquaintance. Here, again, we were astonished at the excellence and variety of their dairy; our young host observed that it was but natural, since "it was May, and the flocks feed only on flowers, and our milk is drawn by hands which have been hitherto accustomed only to the musket and the yatagan."

Afterwards, we had a delightful boar-hunt. Not that the game was rife. There were about three hundred men engaged in it. They ascended, by a circuitous path, to the upper part of a ravine, then beat it downwards, on both sides of the slope, with the stream and with the wind. The principal party of marksmen were placed at the opening of the dell; and large Albanian greyhounds were turned into the cover, but did not succeed in disturbing many deer. We were in want of proper dogs, and were too near the encampment; our sport was, therefore, confined to a few ineffectual shots at a couple of wild goats, which broke away. During the *battue*, we had a splendid prospect of the plain and gulf. The land and water below displayed the most strangely variegated tints; and the descending sun burnished the still vivaria (fish preserves). Amongst the lower mountains, to the

north and east, lead-coloured thunder-clouds were thickly rolling; heavy peals came echoing along the hills, while the plain, to the left, seemed undisturbed by a breeze; and the lofty cliffs of the Djumerca, which rose out of the very thickest of the storm, reddened by the evening sun, looked serenity and smiles.

In the evening, we enjoyed the merriment of the men, and their indefatigable dancing, in the moonlight. I could not help repeatedly expressing to their young chief the lively impression that the happiness of their condition made upon me. His answer expressed, in one single idea, the strong thirst of the Greek character, and more particularly of the young men, for information. "The boys," said he, "are happy, because they know no better; but do you think I can be happy, while I see strangers, like you, knowing every thing about my country, while I know nothing of theirs?"

I was here much struck with the strict military subordination which, without accompanying discipline or instruction, had taken place of the previous turbulence. It is generally supposed that the Greeks had a great objection to become regular troops, and that this objection was the most embarrassing question under Capodistria's administration. With all the means at his disposal, with French officers and French commissariat, the President mustered eight hundred men, and these, for

the most part, adventurers from Turkey and the Ionian Islands. Favier, by his own next to unassisted efforts, and on a portion of the eleemosynary contributions from Europe, managed to collect, at one time, three thousand regulars. The President expressed, indeed, earnestness to form troops — his actions implied no wish of the kind. To organise the Greeks, regular pay alone was requisite, as the present state of Makronoros proves. The men were not clothed in uniform, but they were dressed very much alike, if not entirely so ; some with white jackets and blue embroidery, some with red ; and all of them with clean fustanels. They were divided, though undisciplined, into Lochi and Tagmata, with successive gradations of command, with titles from the Spartan bands. The utmost subordination and etiquette divided these ranks, a result of eastern habit and ideas ; but the authority of the Capitan had altogether vanished. They were precisely at that point where the uniformity of the action of a machine met, without having as yet impaired the value and intelligence of the individual. The greater portion of these troops are lads whose services commenced with their recollection, who have lived like goats, amidst rocks and caverns, and who have been spared much that was debasing in the hard experience of their fathers. They are proud to call themselves the children of the revolution, and distinguish themselves as such from the old men,

whom they call Turks. The common epithets of Klephti, or Palicar, are now become terms of reprobation. Their only designation is Hellenes, which they apply to each other in familiar conversation.

Next morning, we bade adieu to the Suliotes, and descended to Palaio-koulia, the second ridge. Here are the remains of a small Hellenic fortress, six hundred paces in circumference ; thence we descended to the little plain of Menidi, where we had disembarked.

I have had occasion several times to allude to the strength of the position of the Makronoros ; I have mentioned Iskos arresting here, with forty men, a body of Turks, which, had they passed, would have extinguished at its dawn the revolution in Acarnania, — perhaps, in the Morea. The recovery of Western Greece, and its present addition to the New State, is owing to a bold movement of General Church, who, with five hundred men, surprised the strong posts of the Makronoros : by this movement a convoy of provisions was arrested ; and the fortresses of Lepanto, Misolonghi, the castle of Roumelie, with four thousand prisoners, consequently fell into the hands of the Greeks.*

* General Church was recalled by the President, in disgrace, after this splendid achievement, which secured to Greece that portion of territory, which was no sooner withdrawn by the

Before visiting the spot, I could not understand how a pass of such evident importance should not have been more particularly indicated by Thucydides, in describing the double action in its vicinity between the Ambracians and the Acarnanian league ; but an inspection of the localities reconciled the apparent discrepancy, for the position is very much stronger now, than it was anciently.

Makronoros is a sandstone hill, in three escarpments, appearing one above the other. The face is abrupt, but seldom precipitous ; the back dips considerably but equably ; they present their abutments to the gulf and the west ; and, consequently, the ridges and the valleys are at right angles to the frontier line : this, of course, is not a strong military frontier, and it has only become so now, because covered with an impervious mass of thorns, underwood, and forests.

In the night we sailed ; and awoke in the morning at Caraconisi, an island connected with the fish preserves and shallows on the north of the gulf ; it is occupied by the Greeks. We there got into a monoxvlo, and punted away to Phido-Castro, so pompously announced by Pouqueville as his “revived” Argos Amphiloichicum, and were,

conference, than the President declared it necessary to the existence of Greece, and made it the principal subject of his Jeremiads to Prince Leopold.

of course, disappointed. This ruin is in the middle of the vivaria ; is a small circuit of Hellenic walls, the base of which is submerged four or five feet : we heard of inscriptions and columns that had been blasted, and carried away for building, by the Turks. The bottom of the vivaria is covered with a thick succulent grass, on which they say the mullet feeds. The preserves were farmed this year, for 40,000 piastres, to Nicholas Zerva, the Suliote Tagmatarch at Vouizza.

On our return to Caraconisi, we found a perfectly English breakfast — coffee, eggs, toast and butter, &c., awaiting us at the quarters of Malamo, the Suliote Tagmatarch, who had been in the English service. We passed a most interesting day with him, though he was suffering from the ague.

As usual, we sailed with the land breeze at night ; and when we awoke in the morning, found ourselves between the points of Actium and Anactorium, and opposite Prevesa. The mystico would not run up under the fort ; but we hailed a fishing-boat, and soon rejoiced in pressing, at length, the shore of Albania : our journey was now to commence.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PROTOCOL.

IN quitting Greece, I must, in a few words, explain the nature of the Protocol of February 3d, 1830, which gave rise to so much confusion. The previous Protocol of March 22d, 1829, had been framed in accordance with the suggestions of the Ambassadors of the Three Powers, who, assembled at Poros, had instituted an inquiry into the previous government of Greece, and into the statistics, topography, and finances of the various populations of Continental Greece who had taken part in the war. This Protocol fixed, as the boundary of the Greek State, that which was the natural line of demarcation between the contending populations, and which constituted the real military frontiers both of Turkey and of Greece; defined by natural lines of demarcation, and supported by positions of military strength. This was the great and practical object of an intervention aiming at pacification; and the Ambassadors, in adopting the line so recommended, did little more than admit what did exist, and sanction rights which had been practically acquired.

This frontier extended from the passes of Thermopylæ, on the Gulf of Volo, to the passes of the Makronoros, on the Gulf of Arta.

The Protocol of the 22d March further established the independent administration of Greece ; reserving the *suzéraneté*, and a yearly tribute, to the Porte.

This act received the approbation of the Greeks. The Porte rejected it officially, because it bore, together with the signatures of the plenipotentiaries of England and France, *that of the plenipotentiary of Russia*, with which power she was actually at war on the receipt of the document ; and, as the allies persisted in forcing this signature upon her, she declared the arrangement as established “ *de facto*,” and admitted the intervention as “ *sous entendue*.”

A few days, however, previously to the signature of the treaty of Adrianople, she formally acceded to the Protocol. At the treaty of Adrianople, that Protocol was made a positive stipulation between the contracting parties, being considered as binding as if inserted verbatim in the treaty.

The Protocol of March 22d, was thus proposed by the parties to the treaty of the 6th July, and was finally admitted by the belligerents ; it therefore satisfactorily settled the material questions relating to the pacification of Greece. It was the conclusion of the acts emanating from the Triple

Alliance, and was, furthermore, established by a separate treaty between Russia and the Porte : and the basis thus definitively settled, after costing so much anxiety and labour ; exposing for so long a period the peace of Europe to continual hazard ; involving pecuniary sacrifices to so great an amount ; after having given rise to the battle of Navarino and the Russian war ; — was now ratified with a solemnity no less imposing than the previous complications had been alarming : and Europe and the East, for the first time after ten years of war and convulsion, could breathe with freedom ; and yielded to the illusion, that, at length the alliance of July had accomplished its end — the “ Pacification of the East.”

This illusion had endured for four months, when it was dissipated by the Protocol of February 3d, 1830, which created Greece an independent and sovereign state ; and, in compensation to Turkey for this change in the original stipulations, reduced on one side the territory previously assigned to Greece — restoring Acarnania to Turkey, but extending the Greek territory on the east, for the purpose of fixing a better frontier line : that is to say, the natural frontiers were thrown open by this new act ; and, while an expensive system of government was imposed on Greece, its territory and resources were diminished ; the previous acts of the Alliance set at naught, and the solemn compact with Turkey violated.

Thus the Alliance interfered, without necessity, under the pretext of adjusting differences between parties, who neither of them, in this respect, claimed its intervention: the judgment, so given, was a violation of compact, it unsettled that which did exist, and it was rejected by both parties to whom it was offered.*

When powers with hostile interests, stand face to face, each with half the world at its back, balancing each other's power, and controlling each other's supremacy;—when two powers, one aiming at universal dominion, by disorganising and convulsing states; the other looking only to peace, and seeking to consolidate and defend—sign a compact by which they are bound to act together, then either the aggressive or the conservative policy must wholly triumph throughout the world. By this Alliance, either the ambition of Russia was sacrificed to the preponderance of England, or the power of England was rendered available for the projects of Russia. A knowledge of the East would have given to England the means of controlling

* “Having by this treaty (of Adrianople) imposed upon Turkey the acceptance of the Protocol of March 22d, which secured to her the *suzéranité* of Greece, and a yearly tribute from that country, Russia used all her influence to procure the independence of Greece, and the violation, by herself and her allies, of the agreement which she had made an integral part of the Treaty of Adrianople.”—*Progress of Russia in the East*, p. 106.

Russia; our ignorance of the East has given to Russia the control of England, the disposal of her treasure, the direction of her foreign department and marine, the keeping of her character and her honour, and the patronage of her diplomatic service. Thence the perversion of the national mind, toleration of insult, familiarisation with contempt; and, finally, we have arrived at that point of political degradation, where we pursue the policy of Russia, believing it to be the interest of England.

Greece, when struggling for existence, passed fundamental laws for the exclusion of the influence of Russia, her former patron, the projector of her revolution, and the enemy of the Porte; and she surrendered herself to England, invoking her protection, direction, and a sovereign of her choice. Now, England has there neither consideration nor influence: Russia is supreme! England has advanced to Greece nearly 5,000,000*l.*, and has no right to remuneration — certainly, none to gratitude. Russia has advanced 666,000*l.*, of which a sum of 500,000*l.* has found its way back to her, and holds the mortgage for two-thirds of the allied loan of 2,400,000*l.*! England having abandoned her claims, and having sacrificed her former mortgage for the previous loans of 2,800,000*l.* Greece, in an evil hour for her and for us, invoked our protection; we have betrayed her to the power she dreaded; we have transferred her and our money to

the power we sought to restrain. In Greece, no less strikingly than in Turkey, Persia, Central Asia, &c., has Russia advanced towards supremacy and dominion, by the use she has been enabled to make in the East of the power of England, while exhibiting to the Eastern world her European preponderance, in insult and injury, heaped with impunity on Great Britain.

Turkey is perishing, and, useful lesson! perishing through the absence of diplomacy. But some of the greatest men of England have considered England's power and dominion, and therefore existence, contingent on the preservation of Turkey. May not this consideration have occurred to other cabinets? Unless some mind arises in England equal to the circumstances, most certainly will the desire and prospect of sharing the spoils of England present themselves to the governments whose aggressions we suffer to proceed unopposed; whose appetite will be whetted, and whose power will be increased, by the incorporated fragments of the Ottoman empire. The partition of Turkey will become a maritime, as that of Poland was a territorial, bond of union.

CHAPTER IX.

THE THREE COMMISSIONERS — DEPARTURE FROM PREVESE —
PROSPECTS OF CONVULSION IN ALBANIA — THE PLAIN OF
ARTA.

THE seclusion of our worthy consul, Mr. Meyer, had not been broken in upon by a stranger for eight years. We remained here a couple of weeks, crossed to Santa Maura, visited the opposite point of Anactorium, and roamed about the ruins of Nicopolis: of all which places enough has been said.

Permission had been requested for H. M. S. Mastiff to enter and survey the Gulf; the Meteor, also, Captain Copeland's surveying vessel, was heard of in the Gulf of Volo, at the other extremity of the proposed frontier line: their simultaneous appearance occasioned great alarm, to which our presence added, being supposed to be the commissioners sent to fix the boundary. My companion's valet being dressed, as we then were, *à la Française*, there was no use in denying that we really were the three commissioners,—English, French, and Russian, sent to plant stakes.

We were very anxious to visit the Greek chiefs, Gogo and Coutelidas; but Mr. Mayer induced us to forego this plan, lest the Turks should have suspected us of some political object. We had, therefore, no alternative but that of returning to Greece, or endeavouring to reach Janina, which was actually in possession of Veli Bey. The road was safe as far as the Pende-Pigadia; thence we might get to Veli Bey's camp; and then trust to chance, and to the movements of the troops, for penetrating further; and, if we found that impracticable, we had only to return, as, whatever might become the relative positions or circumstances of the adverse factions, Veli Bey had his retreat secured on Arta and Prevesa.

Having determined, therefore, on an attempt to reach Janina, on the 16th of June we sailed with the sea-breeze at noon for Salaora, where we arrived in two hours. Our boatman was an Arab, whom we had hired in consequence of having been spectators of a dispute between him and the harbour-master of Prevesa, a Greek, and formerly commander of one of the mysticoes that had forced so gallantly their way into the Gulf. The Arab, with great patience, submitted to insults and exactions from the Greek and his Albanian underlings; but, when he got on board of his caïque, while the shore was lined with Turks and Albanians, he stood, like Palinurus, on the elevated poop,

and, taking off his cap, raised his arms, and imprecated Heaven's wrath on the whole Skipetar race.

We saw at Salaora several of the Greek sixty-eight-pound shot, which had destroyed the few houses that were there. It was no easy matter to procure horses. A Cephaloniot went to the Aga, and proposed that we should hire his *ati* (charger), saying, "They will pay you a dollar for the trip;" at which proposal the Aga seemed very indignant, which produced on the part of the Greek a torrent of the most foul-mouthed abuse. During the altercation, several Greeks, squatted around, and gave evident signs of approbation, while the Turkish soldiers * pretended not to understand the matter, and the Aga affected to laugh.

"Are dollars so rife amongst you," exclaimed the Ionian, "that you spurn them so? Why, then, do you not get a new fustanel for yourself, and pay your soldiers their arrears? And what have you to do with horses? Get *zarouchia* (rude slippers used by the mountaineers) instead, for you will soon have to run and hide yourselves among the rocks."

This seemed most strange, according to our preconceived notions of Albanian fierceness and haughtiness; and, putting together the scorn of

* This, of course, should be "Albanian soldiers." In my journal, large additions have been made, but the records made on the spot, of impressions received, have been preserved.

the Arab, and the volubility of the Greek, we began to think that, after all, even the Skipetars might be more sinned against than sinning.

Along the road, on approaching Arta, we saw on all sides gardens and well-cultivated fields, filled with labourers. We passed 140 pack-horses between Salaora and Arta. We met the Greeks armed, Greek priests singing in chorus, with wild-looking Albanians, and could not resist the momentary conclusion, that we had come all this way for nothing, and that Albania was as tranquil as any other land. We asked our muleteer (a Greek) if the Turks oppressed him? he answered, "sometimes;" but immediately afterwards related how, some days before, twenty of his countrymen had been taken (*angaria* *) to transport to Janina the baggage of Veli Bey. There, other Turks had seized upon them; and only eighteen returned to Arta: two had been killed, and their mules taken. We asked him how they could endure such treatment, and why he did not go into Greece? He said it always had been so, and if he attempted to escape he might be killed; and who knew if, after all, he would be better treated in Greece? This fact, the first that came more immediately under

* That is, *corvée*, or forced labour; which, in Turkey, is not in principle the same as the former practice throughout Europe, or of some countries at the present day. The *corvée* in Turkey is allotted by the municipal authorities. The present and similar instances are, of course, direct violations of the law.

our eyes, relieved us from further alarm ; we saw we were yet in time to come in for a share of the dramatic and the picturesque.

From Salaora to Arta they calculate three hours and a half ; but, displaying a regard for our property which we denied to our persons, we had left our watches behind : we were, therefore, never able to keep any exact register of distance by time. The necessity of travelling with the lightest possible baggage not only deprived us of every species of convenience, such as canteen, bed and bedding, but also of the more important utensils for a traveller, books of reference. We were generally prevented, by the jealousy even of our own guards, from taking notes ; and, so far from being able to carry away geological and other specimens, I had to make it a rule not to pay attention to the strata. However, the political circumstances of the country, and the present condition and future prospects of the inhabitants, were the inducements which led us to run the risks, and undergo the hardships of such a journey at such a moment, and left us little time for collecting a *hortus siccus*, or for forming a register of births and marriages.

We soon came on the road which Ali Pasha had made for carriages, from Prevesa to Janina. It looks quite civilised ; thirty feet wide, a ditch on either side, supported by a wall ; but it is traversed every twenty-five paces by a row of stones, intended, I suppose, to preserve it in form,

and to ensure its convexity. But the soil having been worn away, the rows or walls of stones rise above the level of the road, and render it perfectly impracticable for carriages, and strange hopping for foot passengers, whether bipeds or quadrupeds. The plain, as well as the portion now under water, that forms the Vivaria, is clay. The small portions of it which I have been able to examine contain neither organic remains nor minerals; neither are those under water, nor the borders on the shore, covered with vegetable soil. Further from the shore, and in the centre of the plain, it is covered with a thin crust of earth; to which circumstance I am inclined to attribute the proverbial fertility of the plain of Arta. Their ploughs, which scratch and move the soil to the depth of three or four inches, never reach nor turn up to the surface the deeper soil, which has been fertilised by the sinking of the finer earth, and the filtration of decayed vegetables and animal matter. In deep soils all this is irrevocably lost to them; but here, on the clay, which, once saturated, is impervious to moisture, the natural manure remains mixed with the shallow soil, and is kept within the reach of their superficial cultivation. The clay is very tenacious, and cracks excessively in drought; so, that in the lower part of the plain, trees are scarce, and the few there are have spreading roots.

As we approached the city, the road, though

broken and clogged up, with its ditch on either side, and overhanging trees, presented a scene such as I had not had the gratification of seeing for four years. Vineyards and gardens smiled around, mingled with fruit-trees, and divided by hedges; and some apparently magnificent building appeared above the trees, and marked the position of the city. The very dust along the road had its interest; and I anticipated finding an equally pleasing contrast in Arta with the ruined cities I had become accustomed to of late. Very different, however, was the prospect awaiting me. In Greece the destruction of the towns is so complete, as now to present little more than the interest of historic facts: but here the causes of destruction are still active; and, on entering Arta, we were stopped by masses of ruins, over which a path had not yet been formed, and from which the dust seemed scarcely to have been blown away.

At the commencement of the revolution, and before its characters were well defined, the Albanians, who at first saw only the fact of resistance to the Turks, were inclined to make common cause with the Greeks; but the moment they perceived that the Greek movement was a national one, they immediately abandoned the hasty alliance. But, on the other hand, the Albanians have frustrated every plan of the Porte for the subjugation of the Peloponnesus. At Arta the Albanians assisted the Greek rising; but the house we occu-

pied, designated “ Casa Comboti,” was defended for fifteen days by the Turkish muselim, who had been sent by Ismael Pasha, then besieging Ali Pasha at Janina. The walls and upper windows still bear the marks of bullets—the door, of fire and the axe; the traces of Marco Botzari’s first exploit. Here his name was first made familiar with men’s lips, and his daring boldness recorded as that of another Capaneus,—

“ πῶς εἴποιμ’ ἄν ὡς ἐμαίνετο.”

Ammunition failing, the Greeks offered to supply it; and Tair Abas was sent by the Albanians to receive it at Missolonghi, and, at the same time, to observe the condition and penetrate the designs of the Greeks. He soon returned, and told his compatriots that he had seen flags with crosses, and heard of nothing but “ γένος” and “ ἐλευθερία,” “ race” and “ liberty.” They received the ammunition — turned their arms against the Greeks (who were also betrayed and deserted by their co-religionists, Gogo and Contelidas) — and drove them beyond the Makronoros. Then, in turn, abandoning Ali Pasha, they submitted to the Porte. The Greeks did not injure the town. Many of the inhabitants, who had not been connected with the insurrection, but who feared the indiscriminate vengeance of the Turks, retired with them. The Turks, again in possession of the place (that is to say, the Albanians, after they had changed sides), destroyed the houses of those

who had fled; although, when too late, they repented them of their blind fury. A few hours after the flight of the Greeks, the Albanians arrived, ravaging the country in their march. The whole population, suddenly panic-struck, took to flight. The Albanians, exasperated, pursued them, and were but at a short distance, when — “fortunately it was near supper time”— a flock of 5000 sheep crossed their path and spoiled the scent. The fugitives, during the night, put Makronoros behind them. Among these was the owner of the house we occupied. She had spent five years at Corfu, and returned still possessed of some little property, which she expended in fitting up a house and clearing a garden. On which twenty Albanians were immediately quartered upon her, and she took refuge in the consulate (the house is hers, but rented by the English consul), and lives now in one of the stalls of her father’s stables.

Within the year, the township, in its present wretched condition, has paid 200,000 piastres to Veli Bey. To me it is inexplicable where these Greeks get their money; but, however little men may gain, if they spend less, they are rich. Besides the contributions in money, they have to lodge, feed, clothe, serve, and even shave the soldiers, gratis; unless we reckon notes of hand, and “promises to pay” when they receive their arrears. I forgot to inquire at what discount this scrip

could be obtained. Thus, under circumstances that would have driven to desperation the more impatient and less easily satisfied Gothic tribes of Western Europe, this population perseveres in industry and in hope ; improving every hour, husbanding every resource ; sowing their seed by stealth, and reaping their own as if it were a theft. What must be their condition, when they look back with gratitude to Ali Pasha ! His tyranny, though indiscriminate, was single : neither robbery nor oppression, indignity nor violence, had any one to apprehend whose account was settled with him. They say, “ We thought him a tyrant, and we rejoiced in his destruction ; but it is not his feet we would kiss, but the very dust beneath them, could he be restored to us ! ”

CHAPTER X.

POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND DIPLOMATIC DISQUISITIONS, WITH A
GOVERNOR, A NOBLE, AND A JUDGE.

17th.—WE spent this day in paying (and receiving in return) visits to the governor, two beys, and the cadi. We found our vice-consul, Dr. Lucas, an excellent cicerone. He is of Albanian extraction, that is, from the Albanian colonies established in Sicily, has long resided in this country, and speaks the Greek as well as his mother tongue. His quality of physician is, no doubt, of great service to him; and we found him most attentive and communicative. He is the only servant of the British government whom I ever met with in the East, who has assisted me in my endeavours to establish an intercourse with the natives of the country. Musseli Bey, the governor, brother of Veli Bey, who is ruler of all Lower Albania, occupies the palace of the archbishop, once the residence of Porphyrius, our host at Anatolico. The church is a granary; a mosque, a den of palicari.

Devastation is now the ruling deity, and "no fond abodes" circumscribe its worship. The palace is one of the few buildings that still stand. The apartments are airy and spacious; and the view from the windows of the divan, overlooking a bend of the river, and extending towards the hills, was so beautiful, that it constantly distracted me from the long and varied conversation we had with the Bey, and his Albanians who filled the spacious apartment. We obtained so much favour among them, that when he came to return our visit,* they crowded every part of the house we occupied, though it was not a small one. They stood up even on the sofas, and left behind them an odour which scarcely with ventilation and time was got rid of.

* This circumstance may appear remarkable. Turkish governors are not in the habit of paying such honours to travelling gentlemen; and there was no possibility of our having acquired, immediately upon our arrival, any personal consideration peculiar to ourselves. We attributed the circumstance at the time, and I think justly, to the remarkable contrast between the English agent here and in other places. However humble his station, he had a character for honesty; and mixed with the people as in other parts of the world, knowing their manners, and speaking their language. Strange that such qualification in the holder of a most insignificant vice-consulate should be a subject of remark and observation to two English travellers, and should be the cause of their receiving marks of respect and means of information.

Musseli Bey had heard the report that we were come to settle the frontiers, and was exceedingly satisfied to learn that this was not the case. He anxiously inquired where the line was to be drawn; and exclaimed against the injustice done to Albania, whose "bread" was thus given away. We answered, that they had already lost not only so much, but more than the Protocol had assigned to the Greeks; that so many years of war had advanced them nothing; and that the Greeks complained of not having at least all the territory they had conquered. It was here evidently the realisation of the old proverb. The Greeks made an outcry, why should the Albanians be behind them? The Protocol was the mad dog, and every one flung his stone. The conversation now turned on the greatness, power, and inventions, of England. We were overwhelmed with questions, which might have gone on till now, had we not stopped their mouths with steam-coaches and Perkins's guns. Going from Arta to Janina in an hour, and mowing down a regiment, while a barber was shaving a single chin, were calculations which they immediately made. When their astonishment had somewhat subsided, a last, lagging question surprised us in our turn: "And what have you invented *since*?"

A Bin Bashi, who had been listening in silence, at length turned round to his people, and said,

with a thoughtful shake of the head, "We must take the crown from them, and give it to the Americans."

They fancy the Americans our enemies; that they were formerly our *rayas*; and that they will overturn England, as Greece will Turkey. The Bey overheard the remark, and, having had his eyes opened at Shumla and Varna, reproved him sharply. "Are you not ashamed," said he, "of such filthy ignorance? Are we, who owe to others the crown we have kept, to speak of giving away the crowns of Europe?"

The Albanians seem most anxious to display, on all occasions, their respect for England; and are most forward to confess their obligations to us in the Russian war.* But you may perceive, in every expression, a mixture of hatred and fear; for they look at Greece, that severer wound to Osmanli pride than any triumph of the Russians, and attribute its independence to England. Our

* This gratitude, which I, no doubt, then thought justly founded, I have since been puzzled to account for; but certain it is, that, through the whole of Turkey, the belief was at that time established, that England had saved Turkey from imminent destruction. Perhaps, it was merely because they thought she ought to do so. This general conviction was strengthened by the dread of the Russians for England, which every Albanian or Turk, who had come in contact with a Russian bivouack, must have obtained the consciousness of.

power and our motives are equally incomprehensible to them; and no wonder.

The subject of religion was broached among them. One of the party was defending high church principles, when an officer — filthy, ugly, and, though not old, toothless, and altogether a jovial sort of savage, calling himself a “Frank” — came and placed a chair before us, and seated himself in our fashion. He pointed his finger at the defender of the faith, and burst into the most immoderate fit of laughter. When he had recovered his breath, he exclaimed, “That fool, then, goes to his mosque and prays one way, as if God were not every way.” Then, pointing to us, “You go to church, and pray to your Panagia (Mary), and each thinks the other will be damned; which one or other, or, perhaps, both of you certainly will be. I worship both, and revile neither; so, when I go to Paradise, I am sure of one friend, if not of two.” The other inveighed against the depravity of the age that tolerated such unbelievers; and said, that even the Greeks would not suffer amongst them an infidel like him. The scoffer had, however, the laugh on his side; and, when his antagonist muttered something of his repenting this one day, he was seized with a louder fit of laughter than before, in which the bystanders joined; clearly shewing the tendency of Albanian faith—*ἡ σαρκουλα*

εἶναι ἡ ψυχὴ μου αὐτὴ νὰ εἶναι καλλὰ —“ My purse is my soul; may it prosper.” We recognised the freethinker for a Turkish freemason, or Bechtashi, by the polished piece of stalagmite from the cave of Hadgi Bechtash, suspended round his neck. Another of the Bin Bashis wore the same symbol; but we could not extract from them any information as to the extent and feelings of the order in Albania, except this, that a Christian may become a Mussulman, a Turk, a Jew; but a Bechtashi is a Bechtashi for ever.

Hearing that Musseli Bey was going into Chamouria, to put an end to a dispute betwixt two factions of the Chami, 2000 of whom were fighting hard only twenty miles from Arta, we requested permission to accompany him. He would have been very glad of our company, he said, but that his presence was no longer necessary; we had nothing left, therefore, to do, but to submit, with what patience we could muster, to the disappointment of being twelve days in Albania, existing in the midst of the most perfect tranquillity.

The Bey is a middle-aged man; spare, but well put together. He left on me the impression not of the best parts of the Skipetar character: his unquiet eye, his lank and sallow countenance, were deeply stamped with depravity and cunning. For the sake of contrast, I suppose, was seated by his side, the governor of the fort — a fat, stupid,

good-natured looking being, short and round as Bacchus, or a butt. The men were rather tall than short; some of them handsome; no superfluous flesh; clean limbed and round jointed, with expressive countenances, and free carriage. Muscle seemed to beat both bone and blood; and energy to bear away the palm from strength. But there was no family-like resemblance amongst them; and their dress, which shews so well the outline of the person, and leaves completely bare the neck, forehead, and temples, is not a costume calculated to give an air of uniformity. None of them were particularly cleanly; but every kirtle, or fustanel, was flounced about as if it had been a peacock's tail; and every urchin of three feet strutted along with the air of a Colossus.

We next went to Calio Bey, the first Osmanli family in the country; and, as Mr. Meyer had told us, one of the most intelligent men. He received us with extreme politeness and urbanity. On our previous visit to the governor we had been amused at the avidity with which every expression was caught at that could be construed unfavourably to the Sultan, or the Turks. We now, amongst the Osmanlis, heard the Albanians abused in the most unqualified manner, and, of course, the poor Greeks, who are free game to both parties. Our Osmanli host did not know which of the two, Albanians or Greeks, he detested most; but he was very sure of two things, that

they were both degenerate races, and that neither of them would come to a good end. But he had held a situation in Greece under Veli Pasha; and when we came to speak of things in detail, we found that there were many lights to pick out in the broad shadows of his national prejudices. In answer to his inquiries, we informed him of the rise of value of land in Greece; of the progress of building; of the extension of cultivation; of the immunity of the peasant, save from government taxes (fortunately, he was not inquisitive upon that score, nor as to the election of municipal officers, or the administration of justice, because all these things seemed to the Turks as the necessary accompaniment of tranquillity), and the security of the property of the rich.* We told him we had seen Turks pleased and contented in Greece, and allowed to retain their arms while the Greeks were disarmed. Though he said little, he seemed to reflect much on these facts, which he could believe from the mouth of an European. Perhaps we left him less certain than we found him, of the bad end the Greeks would come to, determining on our next visit to endeavour to set the Albanians also right in his opinion, which, I must allow, we should have found rather a more difficult task.

The political affections of the Osmanlis are strangely distracted. They are generally satisfied

* This, of course, refers to the progress made between 1828-9, before Capodistrias could pull up.

with the destruction of the Janissaries; but they greatly fear the consequent increase of the Sultan's power. They detest the Albanians, to whose violence and tyranny they are subject,* and apprehend more the protection of the regular troops, because they see in them a system which, once established, will be all powerful. They wish the Albanians to beat the Greeks; and they wish the Albanians to be beaten: they wish the Nizzam† to thrash the Albanians; but are excessively averse to the Nizzam being in any way successful.

At Constantinople, we had found it very difficult to ascertain the sentiments of the Turks on the subject of the new military organisation. Here there were no motives for disguise,‡ and Calio Bey candidly allowed many of its advantages, while, instead of concealing his objections, he anxiously endeavoured to convince us of their justice, and urged them not as a matter of party, but of faith. We thus discussed the subject with him at great length.

* In such a state of humiliating dependence are the Osmanlis kept, that Turkish Beys are often not allowed to visit their farms without the written permission of the Arnaut governor.

† Regular troops.

‡ And, what was far more important, *there were* opportunities of intercourse. The supposition of there being motives of disguise originated in this, that when I began to have means of intercourse, my ingenuity was taxed to find reasons for not having had it before.

The following conversation, which I set down nearly *verbatim*, immediately after it occurred, will, perhaps, best illustrate the opinions of the best class of Turks on these heads.

“ Our law,” said he, “ is the Koran; and we must judge of the acts of the Sultan, not by the praise or blame of the ignorant, but by their conformity with the precepts of our religion. For some of his acts I applaud him; for some, I condemn him. Our law and our practice are widely different. The law justifies a Raya in killing a Mussulman if he enters his house by force, or even against his will. What connexion, then, can it have with the oppression and injustice which now pervade the land? ‘ One hour,’ says Mahomet, ‘ usefully devoted to the administration of justice, and the state, is worth seventy years of Paradise.’ The Koran tells us that ‘ the ink of the wise man is more precious than the blood of the martyr.’ Is it, then, our religion that has rendered us ignorant, or has driven away the science by which we flourished, to raise the Europeans over our heads? Religion and policy applaud the Sultan for humbling men who were oppressors and tyrants, enemies of the people, as well as of the Sultan, and alike ignorant of and despising religion and letters. The Sultan has thrice saved Turkey from perdition; he has destroyed the Janissaries, the Dere Beys, and the great rebel chiefs. As to regular troops, when our law flourished were not

ours the best disciplined in the world? and had that law been maintained, would the Janissaries have become a wound instead of a sword in the hand of the state? Can religion forbid men to stand or to walk together, to obey their superiors, and fight their enemies? Is it not, besides, from our very practices of religion, that men first learnt discipline? Do we not kneel all together with the Imaum? do we not rise up with him? do we not raise our hands at the same moment? Men may object to the Nizzam because they are enemies of honesty and peace, but not because they are friends of the law of Islam. But there are other points upon which the Sultan is to be condemned. He has violated our system of taxation; he has, more than his predecessors, falsified the coin; and, in copying Europe, he has introduced practices and manners which are no profit to him, and which exasperate men's minds against him. He has dressed all men alike, so that respect is not paid where it is due; and he has dressed Mussulmans like Franks, so that we risk giving the salutation of peace to infidels. One of our principal articles of faith is the *abdest* five times a day: why, then, dress us in tight sleeves and pantaloons, and, above all, with stockings and shoes, to the constant inconvenience of the whole people, so as to make the observances of religion oppressive?"

We asked him, if the Sultan, as Caliph, and the Ulema, could not, by their joint authority,

change an article of faith? He replied, warmly, "The Sultan as Caliph, and the Mufti and Ulema as expounders of the law, would lose their own authority if they attempted to undermine the sole basis on which it rests. The Sultan and Mufti, to preserve the unity of the faith, may decide upon a question that divides the faithful; but the subject of the difference, and the grounds of the decision, must be alike drawn from the Koran."

We asked him, if these opinions were universal, how they had not prevented the Sultan from attempting such innovations? He said, "the best portion of the people, rejoiced at the destruction of the Janissaries, were strongly prepossessed in favour of the Sultan, and, if they were dissatisfied with other things, they held their tongues, through ignorance of their own feelings and power. They had, besides, before their eyes, the apprehension of a reaction; the decision and executions of the Sultan had inspired universal terror. The defection of Greece, the Persian and the Russian war, had broken the spirit of the nation, while the subdivision of interests, and the separation of races, allowed no union to be formed which would have brought the national feeling to bear usefully. But, above all, were the Ulema and Constantinople to blame? They should have secured a national and permanent Divan, before sanctioning and effecting the destruction of the Janissaries. How has the Sultan maintained him-

self hitherto? What is his Nizzam? What is their number or instruction? They will no doubt become powerful; but what have they been hitherto, but boys of ten or twelve years of age, who know not what religion or duty mean, and who already presume to despise their betters, and will grow up to divide Mussulmans into two factions—and all about pantaloons and turbans?”*

Our next most interesting acquaintance was the Cadi, an Osmanli from the metropolis: a man not unlike Rossini in features, though I had no means of judging of his musical powers; but he was free of speech to volubility; and some of his louder tones, though diplomacy was his *thème*, positively broke into recitative. He was at dinner when we first called on him; but the hospitable habits of Osmanlis know no unseasonable intrusions. — With him — a man acquainted with “the town,” and versed in public life and affairs — our conversation turned on foreign politics. He expressed the greatest indignation at the interference of the three powers in the affairs of Greece; and asked us by what arguments our governments pretended to justify to their own people so flagrant a violation of the rights of nations; which, backed by such power, had dismembered their empire, overcast every prospect

* We went to visit a farm of Calio Bey, celebrated for its tobacco. For an account of the cultivation of this article, see Appendix, No. 6.

of internal amelioration, and cast them, a bound victim, to their treacherous foe, and our treacherous friend? However, we debated the point with him; and, of many arguments used, one alone succeeded in making any impression; I may therefore mention it, as, in fact, it is the only ground upon which the question can be put in opposition to a Turkish antagonist.

The Sultan, I observed, as sovereign of Greece, had entered into treaties with us for the commerce of that country; these treaties became null by the confusion that prevailed; we could only appeal to the legitimate sovereign. The Greeks, subjects of the Sultan, had committed piracies to an enormous extent on our commerce; we applied to their sovereign for indemnification. He has one of two courses open to him—to give us compensation; or, by declaring them pirates, to abandon them to the justice of those they had injured. Our government, in justice to their own subjects, had but one of two courses open to them also—that of compelling compensation from the Sultan, or from the Greeks. The Sultan would adopt neither course; the European governments leniently deferred the enforcing their just claims, and seven years of procrastination and patient remonstrance, had only accumulated wrong on wrong, and left the solution as hopeless at the end of that period as it was at the commencement. The enforcement of our treaties, the compensation

of our subjects, the restoration of so long interrupted tranquillity, and the free navigation of the seas, required us, at length, to exert the power we possessed, not to avenge, but to pacify; not to make war, but to restore peace. With what wisdom that intervention was exercised, facts would shew: the intractable rebels and incorrigible pirates had immediately become quiet and peaceable; the seas were reopened to commerce; from enemies they became useful allies, and offered to the Turks a place of refuge from their own internal convulsions, and a personal security, which their own government could not afford.

The Cadi said that this was to him altogether a new argument, and that he felt its force; but that, still, he could not see that our right to indemnify ourselves, gave us any right so to exercise our power, that the Ottoman empire should be overturned by our good intentions and benevolent support.

We answered, in turn, that his objection was equally just; and that the independence of Greece, which did not enter into our first plans, was brought about by the obstinacy of the Sultan. He has only to go on in the same course to bring about the independence of more countries than Greece, even with our best dispositions to prevent it. "*May the devil's ears be stopped!*" exclaimed the Cadi. "Well, well," said he, after a moment's pause, "wrong or not, we are always sure to

suffer; the weakness and corruption of our government are likely enough to give you a pretext. I know," he added, "that it is to you we owe our deliverance from the Russians, who were brought upon us by the perverseness of the Sultan,* at the very moment that he had taken from his people the means and the inclination to resist them. What would you say of a man who would invite his friends to a marriage-feast, without having butter and rice in the house? and if you cannot make a marriage-feast without *pilaf*, can you make war without *pilaf*? Not content with cutting off the Janissaries, he immediately afterwards attempted to exterminate the Becktashis. I was then at Constantinople, and every morning I felt my head with both my hands (suiting the action to the word) before I was sure that it was on my shoulders. In the midst of this panic, he assembles the Pashas, Beys, and Ayans, and asks them if they would fight the Russians? Who would dare to say to the Sultan that he would not? But who would fight for such a government when they would have preferred a Jew or a Gipsy for a Sultan? I have left my home and avocations at Constantinople for the hovel you see me in, and am contented to live among these savages, because

* The war was by no means the Sultan's act; but I give the conversation as it occurred. It illustrates the political effects that may be the result of the dissemination of news; which power is altogether in Russian hands.

I am out of the Sultan's reach." I need not add that our friend was a Bechtashi.*

The discordant opinions and interests of the different communities into which the population is split, the changes in progress in Turkey, and the altered position of Greece, the agitation of the question of the limits, the ignorance in which they are of, and the eagerness they have to know, the dispositions of the European cabinets, together with the strange occurrence of travellers in their country, have surrounded us with an interest, and a confidence, quite extraordinary. They overwhelm us with questions, and hang upon our answers; and thus are exposed to us their secret aims and motives. Here Turkish opinion, unveiled and undisguised, displays an activity and intelligence that would in vain be sought for in Constantinople;† and the hope daily grows upon me, that the present fermentation will lead to political regeneration—a thing not so difficult in Turkey, I should think, as many suppose.

* This, and all other individuals of whom facts or opinions are recorded, which, by any contingency, might be injurious to them, have been ascertained to be beyond the reach of consequences.

† The people here almost all spoke Greek, and I did not then know a word of Turkish.

CHAPTER XI.

STATE OF PARTIES, DISPOSITIONS FOR OPENING
THE CAMPAIGN.

By the intelligence which has arrived to-day, June the 19th, the plot seems to thicken fast. The military chest, baggage, and avant-guard, of the Sadrazem, we were informed by a Tartar, had left Adrianople eight days ago, and are expected to-day at Monastir. The avant-guard is composed of eight tambours (regiments), and amounts to between five and six thousand men, regulars, who have served in the Russian campaign. The Sadrazem's (Grand Vizir) departure is retarded, for a short time, by the measures he is taking to crush Arslan Bey at the first blow. Before proceeding westward, he wished to put in movement the Ayans and Spahis of Roumeli, with the twofold object of making them act against the Albanians, and of preventing insurrectionary movements in his rear. He wished, also, to give time to Mahmoud Pasha, of Larissa, to obtain some advantage over Arslan Bey, to add *éclat* to his arrival. The devastations committed by Arslan Bey and four thou-

sand followers, at Zeitouni, Triccala, and on the northern borders of Thessaly, and the recent sack of Cogana, afforded the Sadrazem a splendid opportunity for declaring himself the protector and avenger of the agricultural population, and for resolving the struggle between the Albanians and the Porte into a question of government or no government. Arslan Bey has consequently been placed under the ban of the empire and the church, and declared a Firmanli. Ten thousand men, it is said, are assembled under Mahmoud Pasha, who promises to send the head of every rebel follower of Arslan Bey to Monastir. The result of this first operation will, no doubt, materially affect the prospects of both parties. Arslan Bey, if beaten, will find a passage by the mountains into Albania; but he will bring discouragement to his party. The line of separation between the Sultan's Skipetar friends and foes is not distinct and straight, but confused and undulating; and many of the waverers will watch the first turn of fortune. Should Arslan Bey be successful, the Sadrazem may mount his horse and return to Constantinople, for his only strength lies in opinion, and in the Sultan's name; and, by declaring Arslan Bey Firmanli, he has staked every thing on this throw.

Arslan Bey is a young man and an Albanian hero, tells a story well, is good-looking, sings well, fights well, and drinks well, and has inherited from his father, Meuchardar of Ali Pasha, a quarter of

the hoarded treasure the Vizir left in trust to his four principal favourites. He was named Governor of Zeitouni by the late Roumeli Valissi, who also made Selictar Poda Governor of Janina, and strengthened, as much as possible, that party. The difference betwixt the party of Selictar Poda and Veli Bey is entirely of a personal nature. There is blood between their houses; but their retainers enlist with either, according to the conditions they can obtain. They all of them turn their eyes towards the pay of the Porte; but they are all equally indignant at the attempt of the Sultan to controul them in their native mountains, and, above all, to compel them to enlist in the regular troops, and to wear trousers.

Veli Bey's feud with Selictar Poda made him a fit instrument for the designs of the government; while he was glad to obtain, by such a coalition, consideration and importance. Thus a party, favouring the Sultan, was established, though the individuals composing it had no common interest with the Porte, or inimical feelings to the other Albanians. Their numbers were few, but they had possession of the important positions of Janina, Arta, and the passage over the Pindus by Mezzovo, from Epirus to Thessaly.

Selictar Poda is not the chief, but the most influential man of the other party. He holds in his hands the cords which connect the remnants of the faction of Ali Pasha; he is wary, artful, and,

if his reputation is not great in the field, it is unrivalled in the council; he has great wealth, and possesses a fortress which has the name of being impregnable. The other chiefs are men of little consideration, and little known beyond their own sphere. They are, Geladin Bey, of Ochrida, uncle to Scodra Pasha; the Beys of Avlona, Argyro-Castro, Tepedelene, Gortcha, and Colonias (though the most influential of these last is attached to the Grand Vizir). These men are rivals, rather than confederates. They will not yield obedience to any of their peers, and, consequently, cannot act with union or energy. If the contest is prolonged, their rivalries and their rapacity will lead to defections; and mutual distrust will bring them to anticipate each other's treachery. As for the men, they will stick to their leaders as long as they can: it is, indeed, the respect and regard of the common men that alone elevates one man above his fellows. At present, this confederation occupies all the plains and fortresses of their country. Impunity and license, under a powerful chief, may keep them together, without regular pay; but, if shut up in their mountains, where clothing, food, and every necessary of life, have to be procured with money, and also to be obtained at sea-ports, or regular marts, and transported by fortresses, and through guarded passes, their resources and patience would soon be exhausted, and they would abandon their chiefs, and the cause of Albania, for

the accustomed rations and pay, even if these were only granted on the hard condition of doffing the fustanels.

Looking on the Albanians and Turks as open enemies, and on their struggle as regular war, the supposition of their being shut up in their mountains, and expelled from the plains and fortresses, could only be the result of a successful campaign; and yet I have assumed this as a *preliminary* step to the operations of the campaign. The fact is, that, though each party looks upon the other as an enemy, yet, in the forms of their intercourse, the greatest harmony appears to exist, and the rebel does not dare to avow opposition, or to encourage himself or his followers by a watchword or a symbol. A buyourdi, or order, of a Pasha, is received by an Albanian commander of a fortress with the utmost submission. It requires him, perhaps, to give up the fortress; he answers, that he is most ready to obey his highness's orders; that he is most anxious to come and kiss the fringe of his sofa, but that his troops, having arrears owing them by the Porte, retain him as a hostage, and the castle as a pledge; that he is daily in danger of violence at their hands, and entreats and implores the Pasha to send the money that is owing, for that otherwise he cannot answer for the consequences, nor for his own life. And this was often said with truth. In fact, the Albanians would hardly commence by positive opposition, without

some justifiable grounds. Here, too, lies the strength of the Porte—a moral strength, which, if properly wielded, laughs at numbers and at arms; but therefore does all depend on the intelligence that directs. This, too, in a more practical and commonplace point of view, gives the Porte the immense advantage of choosing the moment of action and the point of attack; and, without proceeding to open hostilities, by satisfying claims and liquidating arrears, it can obtain the evacuation and possession of places of strength and importance. Thus, the Albanians may be enclosed in their mountains, which is, as I have above said, but a preliminary step to the approaching struggle, should Arslan Bey be beaten, and the war carried into Albania.

If, however, Arslan Bey, after being declared a Firmanli, maintains his ground, blood having been spilt, the fortresses will be held without scruple, and pay and provisions will be exacted from the peasantry. The want or incapacity of a chief would then alone prevent them from carrying their ravages elsewhere, and raising, in earnest, a standard of revolt, before which the sixty horse-tails of Roumeli might be humbled in the dust.

The Albanians feel the precariousness and dangers of their position, though they despise their enemies, and are convinced that their numbers and warlike vigour would assure them an easy victory, if they could be properly directed; but

they want confidence in each other, and they want a leader. In this dilemma, their eyes are turned towards the Pasha of Scodra. The independence of the Ghegues (or northern Albanians, subject to the Pasha of Scodra) has ever been more complete than that of the Albanians; they are united, too, under one head; are equally warlike, but a more stubborn race, who have not been accustomed to take service among the Turks. "They unite," says Colonel Leake, "the cruelty of the Albanian to the patience of the Bulgarian." Rich in territorial possessions, with an equal distribution of substance, they care as little for the spiritual as for the temporal authority of the Sultan. The spirit of Scanderbeg may have but scantily descended on his successors, but the geographical positions and military strength that made Croia (a dependency of Scodra) the centre of a momentary empire, still exists, and Scodra is now, as it has ever been, the capital and the pride of Albania. The dispositions, then, of Mustapha Pasha are all important, but, as yet, they are enveloped in mystery. The Albanians affirm that he is in perfect intelligence with them; nor is it likely that, owing, as he does, his Pashalik to a victory of his grandfather over the Sultan's troops, he should like to see the Albanians forming a part of the standing army of the Porte.

The positions occupied by the partisans of the Grand Vizir are as follow: the plains of Thessaly,

by Mahmoud Pasha, a Circassian, and *protégé* of the Grand Vizir, a man devoted to him, of great personal courage, Persian address, dignified manner, and said to possess great ability; Janina, the Plain of Arta, and the communication by sea of Prevesa and the Gulf, by Veli Bey, a dependent of the Grand Vizir, bound to him by domestic ties, equivalent to those of blood. For an Albanian, Veli Bey is a man of letters; and, though not exempt from the vices of his country, nor unsullied by the crimes of his times and station, yet I should think it very difficult to find amongst his compeers his intelligence or extended views, or the talents that have raised him to, and maintained him in, his precarious elevation. The important pass of Mezzovo is confided to the ability and devotion of a worthy veteran Gencha aga.

The Albanians—I mean the hostile party—are in strength to the north of a line drawn north-east from the shore, opposite Corfu, to the Pindus; to the west of an undulating line which, from the vicinity of Castoria, encircles the central group of the Albanian mountains, leaving Monastir to the east. On the north of this tract, the Ghegues, the Mirdites, the Bosniacs, and Servians, secure the insurgents from attack, even if they do not afford them the powerful assistance now expected.

To the south of the Albanians, the mountains of Chimara, Paramithea; to the east, the central chain of the Pindus, and the Pierian mountains, are

occupied by twenty thousand armed Greeks, Armatos, who now stand between the contending parties, and may cause to preponderate the scale into which they throw their weight; but they are geographically dispersed, without common motives, or a chief.

The centre of the Grand Vizir's operation is Monastir. This position, not defensible as an insulated point, is most important, as at once the civil, the political, and the military centre of Albania. Its military strength consists in the surrounding passes and fortresses, which draw closer and closer circles of defence against every approach; while, from this point, the plains of Albania are open on one side, and of Macedonia on the other. Thessaly and Epirus are equally accessible. From Monastir, it is easy to intercept the communication between Albania and Scodra. Concentrating the communications of the surrounding country, this position is no less available for receiving supplies from Constantinople, and for collecting the contingents of Roumelie, than for directing operations against Albania, and for overawing the Pasha of Scodra.

I have spoken of Veli Bey as commanding at Janina; but the nominal authority belongs to Emin Pasha, son of the Grand Vizir, who had been sent, the year before, to Monastir, to keep up communications with the Sultan's party in the south, but without venturing into the country. A secretary

of his, a young Greek, by all accounts of considerable ability and extended views, but, being educated in Europe, little acquainted with the nature of the people with whom he had to deal, was received at Janina, then in the possession of Selictar Poda, with every demonstration of submission and respect. He was assured, by that crafty disciple of old Ali Pasha, that he was ready to obey, and proud to submit to the orders of his master's son ; that he rejoiced in the opportunity of proving his allegiance, and refuting the calumny that would make him the enemy of the Grand Vizir, because he was the enemy of his unworthy favourite, Veli Bey. The secretary despatched letter after letter to his master, entreating him, by his presence, to secure these favourable dispositions ; and the youthful Pasha, dazzled with the prospect of reducing both factions of Albania to submission before he could receive an answer from his father, then engaged in the Russian campaign, hastened to Janina, was received with unbounded devotion, carried in triumph to the palace of Ali Pasha, within the castle, which had been prepared for his reception, and found himself a captive and a hostage. Veli Bey, indignant, of course, at the insult offered to his master's son, sought and found the means of expelling the adverse party ; arrived, triumphant, at Janina, to deliver his adopted brother from his unworthy thralldom, and transfer the prize to himself.

Such was the state of parties at our entrance into Albania, which coincided with the expedition of Mahmoud Pasha against Arslan Bey, the departure of the Grand Vizir's first troops from Adrianople, and an attempt, by negotiation, to gain possession of the most important fortress to the north, which shewed the extraordinary justice of the Grand Vizir's *coup d'œil*, and was attended with his usual success. The value of the acquisition to which I allude, the fortress of Berat, can best be illustrated by a comparison of the position of the two parties in the war of Ali Pasha, and at the present moment.

Though Ali Pasha possessed the fortresses of Gortcha, Castoria, and Ochrida, and the surrounding mountains, yet Monastir, for five years previous to his fall, had been in the hands of the Roumelie Valissy, who had succeeded him in that office, and who was devoted to the Porte. Thus, to the Porte the value of that position was neutralised by Ali Pasha's possession of the surrounding country, in which he again was not secure, by the enemy's lodgment in Monastir. In the present struggle, the importance of Monastir will equally depend on the reduction of Ochrida.

In the former war, the attack upon Albania was simultaneously made from three different points. An army, under Pechlevan, penetrating through Thermopylæ, and, ravaging Phocis, Doris, Locris, and Etolia, fell upon Acarnania, and, leaving

Prevesa blockaded by the Turkish squadron, occupied, without resistance, the Pente-Pigadia, at the moment that Ismael Pasha had but shewn himself on the Thessalian passes of the Pindus, to receive the submission of Omer Vrioni and Moustas, with twelve thousand Albanians and Greek Armatoles, the strength and the trust of Ali Pasha; a force which would have amply sufficed for the defence of the eastern and southern passes of Albania against any force of the Sultan's, had they been attached, by interest or inclination, to the cause of the Vizir. The third army was that of young Mustapha Pasha of Scodra, who had assembled his Ghegues and Mirdites, occupied Tyranna, Elbassan, and Cavalla, and had already reached Berat, when the news of an incursion of the Montenegrins, supposed in consequence of the intrigues of Russia, into his Pashalik, was gladly seized by him as a pretence for returning; for, however rejoiced he might be at the humbling of so dangerous a neighbour, he would have been very sorry to contribute to his total overthrow; still he wrote to Ismael Pasha, urging him to occupy the champaign country of Middle Albania; and, shortly afterwards, the Roumeli Valissi commenced operations from the strong positions he occupied against Mouchtar Pasha, who held Berat; and, in this, if not assisted, at least was neither menaced nor incommoded by the Ghegues. Yet, after the loss of all these positions, after the defection of his

troops and his sons, Ali Pasha, but for treachery, would at last have been conqueror.

In the present contest, the independence of Greece guarantees the Albanians from attack from the south. The dispositions of the Pasha of Scodra, to all appearance, not only protect them from open aggression on his part, but close to the Grand Vizir the strong barriers that stretch from Ochrida to the passes of Catchanic and the Bosnian mountains ; but, as Janina is already in the hands of the party of the Sadrazem, and as, besides Janina and Scodra, there is no position, combining at once military strength, territorial riches, and a succession of lines of military defence, I should be inclined to think that, unless the Pasha of Scodra places himself at the head of the league, a central point of communication will be as fatal a want to them as that of an efficient leader.

The Grand Vizir, therefore, having only the means of penetrating into Albania by Monastir or Mezzova, it is all-important to him, as he is already in possession of Janina, to carry his point as far north as possible, to strengthen Monastir by the acquisition of the surrounding positions, to reach the plains of Tyranna, Croia, and Berat, where his cavalry could act, so as to interpose himself between the Albanians and the Ghegues, while he takes the Albanians in the rear, and cuts them off from the plains and the sea.

These preliminary observations will render intelligible the events I have now to relate.

While we were congratulating ourselves in not having been deterred, by the fears of our friends in Greece and Roumeli, from entering Albania, and in being so fortunate as to arrive at the very moment of the explosion, a Greek captain, a relative of the Consul's wife, entered our apartment, and told us that he had just arrived from Berat, and that there the first scene of the tragedy had been enacted. "At Berat!" we exclaimed. Our previous impressions were confirmed by this single word, which declared at once the dispositions of Mustapha Pasha, the apprehensions of the Grand Vizir, the plan of his campaign, and the depth of his views.

The castle was held by a relative of Selictar Podas, with a garrison of five hundred Albanians. The Grand Vizir's Meuchardar (seal-bearer) had presented himself before the gates, and summoned it to surrender. The Commander answered, that his men would not allow him to give it up till their arrears were paid. The Meuchardar answered, "Perfectly right;" requested to be made acquainted with their claims, examined the accounts, struck the balance, then repaired to Scodra, and received from the Pasha, it was said, 800 purses, about 6400*l.*, with which he returned, and displayed the money before the walls. The Albanians were

now in a sad dilemma. They had no orders, they knew not to whom to look for any; they knew not the dispositions of their compatriots; they feared committing their cause, or compromising themselves; and they were, above all, perplexed by the unaccountable intelligence which seemed to exist between the Pasha of Scodra and the Grand Vizir. The Commander went mad; whether the derangement was real or feigned, is immaterial; it served for a pretext for delaying the surrender of the castle, and it shewed, evidently, that the Sultan's name, and the Grand Vizir's ability, were yet a tower of strength. The brother of the Commander, who succeeded him, professed entire ignorance of the state of the accounts, and refused to give up the fortress; but there was little doubt but that the Grand Vizir's agent was, by this time, in possession of it.

The Meuchardar Effendi had been received with apparent submission by the Beys of Berat (the castle is on a rock, beneath which, and on either bank of the Beratino, extends the town), but they seemed inclined to traverse all his plans, and little disposed to afford him the assistance and support he required. A public assembly was held, in which he indignantly reproached them with their want of spirit, and told them that he had very little to say to them, only this: "that if they were Jews, they might at once renounce their faith; that if they were Mussulmans, they owed

obedience to the Sultan and his Vizir." "What!" said Souleman Pasha, "are the Odjacks of Albania to submit to the dictation of a stranger? Are you, because the slave of the Vizir, to speak to your betters with insolence? Are you, or am I, Odjack here?" "Did you get no schooling," replied the Meuchardar, "in the dungeons of Ali Pasha? Has the Balta, suspended over your head, not sharpened your eyesight? Have the 500,000 piastres revenue, which the Sadrazem has restored to you, given you neither sense nor gratitude? You ask, whether you or I am Odjack here? You are Odjack,* and I will tell you what that is—two upright stones, with burning wood between them; but the master's foot is close by; one kick overturns stones and fire, and nothing remains but smoke and ashes." The refractory Odjack was silenced, and all professed their readiness to co-operate in the reduction of the castle.

Our informant had, in two days' march, counted fifty dead bodies along the road. Even between this place and Pente-Pigadia, four tambours, or posts, are not sufficient to secure the road; and, within the last few days, two parties have been attacked, and several men shot.

* Odjack, which means a fire-place, is the designation assumed by the Albanian, and other chiefs of substance and family.