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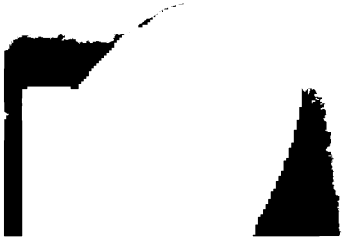

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JOURNAL

OF A

TOUR TO CONSTANTINOPLE.

VOL. I.

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A STEAM VOYAGE

TO

CONSTANTINOPLE,

BY THE RHINE AND THE DANUBE,

IN 1840-41,

AND TO

PORTUGAL, SPAIN, &c.,

IN 1839.

BY C. W. VANE,

MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY, G.C.B., &c.

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED, THE AUTHOR'S

CORRESPONDENCE

WITH

PRINCE METTERNICH, LORDS PONSONBY, PALMERSTON, &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

HENRY COLBURN, PUBLISHER,

GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.

1842.

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LONDON:
F. SHOBERL, JUN., 51, RUPERT STREET, HAYMARKET,
PRINTER TO H. R. H. PRINCE ALBERT.

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TO HER

UNTO WHOM

I OWE MORE THAN I CAN REPAY,

ALTHOUGH

NOT MORE THAN I FEEL;

TO

THE PARTNER

OF

MY JOYS, MY SORROWS, AND MY FATE,

I DEDICATE THESE PAGES.

V. L.

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CHAPTER XIV.

The materials for living at Constantinople—The city is ill-provided with the comforts and luxuries of European Society —Baron Stürmer—English hospitality found at his house— Negociations for the purchase of an Arab—A Turkish stable— Turkish Etiquette—Conduct of Emir Pacha and his Physician —Arrangements for Lady Londonderry's audience with the Sultan — Lady Londonderry received at court under circumstances differing from those which marked the Sultan's audience with the Countess Woronzow—Prospect of the Sultan's receiving distinguished persons of both sexes as is customary with other sovereigns — Abdul Mehjid and his harem — The Sultan's brother — The divan — Turkish overreaching — The sapphire ring and the Sultan's portrait — Desirable objects at Constantinople 321

ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOL. I.

Portrait of Prince Metternich . . . *Frontispiece.*
View of Constantinople 167

VOL. II.

Portrait of Abdul Mehjid, the present Sultan of Turkey *Frontispiece.*

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CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

Steam Voyage from the Tower Stairs to Holland — The Thames — Arrival at Rotterdam — Picturesque Scene — Mr. Murray's Hand-Books — Mutual Detestation of Holland and Belgium — Professional Men at Rotterdam — Increase of this City in wealth—Antwerp—Fête for the celebration of the second century of Rubens: a strange ceremony—Belgian Soldiers—Leopold's Neutrality—His Policy—Brussels — English Residents—A *Dîner en Gourmand*—Railroad to Liege—Inferiority of its structure and arrangements to those of a similar nature in England—Railroad Carriages—Belgian Manners—A curious Scene—Characters—Aix-la-Chapelle—Alterations and improvements here since the Writer's visit when Ambassador at the Court of Vienna in 1815—Baths—The country from Liege to Cologne — Cologne Cathedral — Present prosperity and favourable prospects of Cologne 1

CHAPTER II.

Steam-Boats on the Rhine—Banks of the Rhine from Rotterdam to Cologne—Johannisberg, the Estate and Vintage, so

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JOURNAL.

CHAPTER I.

We sailed from the Tower Stairs, on a lovely morning, in the Giraffe, mail-packet steamer, for Rotterdam. By taking separate cabins in these fine vessels, which now ply on this station, any party or family can be conveniently accommodated; and, though the *salon*, where the mass of the passengers congregate, exhibits a motley collection of all hues and descriptions of the human species, from age to childhood, and from the noble to the unwashed, the affluent can, by paying in proportion, enjoy the advantage of separate and quiet accommodation.

How often has the tale been told of every in-

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teresting object near at home! — how frequently have the splendid naval institutions at Greenwich, the various edifices and establishments on the river Thames, the docks of Chatham, the entrance of the Nore, and all that belongs to the proud *embouchure* of England's mighty river, been described! Passing all these with a conviction that my feeble pen could add little of novelty to subjects so often painted, I shall merely state that, after thirty hours' passage, the vessel was hove-to at the Brill, the first town in Holland where a custom-house is established.

On running up to Rotterdam, all merchant vessels are stopped here to have their hatches sealed up, and these are not opened again until they pass the chief *bureau* at Rotterdam. This regulation prevents their landing any of their cargo by smuggling ashore on either banks of the river.

There is a peculiar gaiety in the gaudy, brightly painted, and cleanly aspect of every Dutch town. I remember having described Rotterdam formerly: and I willingly renewed my acquaintance with the golden prows of the Dutch galliots, and with the

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floating streamers of the Dutch tricoloured flag, —horizontal, instead of perpendicular—the latter being but too well known as belonging to that nation which raised the renown of the French empire under a standard displaying these colours. Next came the various ensigns and vanes at the top-masts or flag-staffs of the innumerable motley merchant vessels at anchor; and, lastly, and adding most to the life, splendour, and brilliancy of the quays of this commercial city, appear the many Rhine boat steamers, which load and unload at all hours of the day, and keep up a continued scene of bustle and activity before *l'Hôtel des Pays Bas*. This hotel is considered the best in the place, being patronized by the very excellent English consul, Sir Alexander Ferrier, whose attention and zeal in the service of his countrymen cannot be surpassed.

The influx of visiters from England to the different public baths on the Rhine, as well as the numerous books of information that are written, and the quantity of descriptions already in print, both which last may be purchased at the Steam

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Navigation Office, render any detail here superfluous. This is more particularly the case, since the very able handbooks of Northern and Southern Germany, compiled and written, I believe, by Mr. Murray, son of the eminent bookseller, have been given to the public. I can from experience declare, that, on every point connected either with the countries themselves, or the travelling through them, they form a compendium of information and instruction, that shows the imperfection and uselessness of all other books on the same subject. Were I then to enlarge here on what is well known, or attempt the plagiarism which is often resorted to, in order to make up a journal or book of travels, I should be guilty of great absurdity; and shall, therefore, only observe, that the establishment by steam, within these few years only, opens an immense traffic, that now exists on the banks of the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt; and the rapid circulation, through all channels, of commercial intercourse in Holland, as in Austrian and Dutch Brabant, (now metamorphosed into the kingdom of Belgium) cannot fail in a very few years to

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add powerfully to the wealth and prosperity of this part of Europe.

It seemed to me that the Dutch towns had in general greatly increased and improved since the House of Orange was compelled to abandon the possessions obtained in 1814 and 1815, and that the mutual detestation of the two nations, Holland and Belgium, for each other, was increasing in proportion as each plumed herself on her own augmented prosperity.

Although nothing can exceed the movement of trade at Rotterdam, I doubt if the better sort of inhabitants travel out of their old track.

There is little encouragement by adequate remunerations for professional men to settle in the city. There are few artists or masters of any kind, and the professors of medicine and surgery are very inferior. I had occasion to visit a dentist; he furnished me with a bottle of his elixir, and his total demand was seventeen sous—a strange proof how the great operation of looking into your mouth differs in London and in Holland.

The stride towards great wealth made by Rot-

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terdam is surprising. This city far exceeds Antwerp, Brussels, and, I believe, all Leopold's kingdom together: what may be farther effected for her by steam and railroad, no prophet can foretell.

From Rotterdam we went to Antwerp by steam, passing the different small islands of the Scheldt, as well as Dort and other villages, and also the renowned fortress of Bergen-op-zoom.

At Antwerp it was the *fête* for the celebration of the second century of Rubens. If any part of the world is justified, or called upon, after two hundred years, to renew honours to departed mortal genius, Antwerp may pay this tribute to Rubens, for his finest works are in this city, and especially the Descent from the Cross. But it does not seem particularly rational, after a lapse of two centuries, to see a large plaster of Paris statue raised on a lofty scaffold, and crowned with laurels, while the whole population of the town is called out for fourteen days together, to indulge in idleness and dissipation, merely to announce that Rubens was a famed Dutch painter in times long passed. If such "celebrations" are proper and

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necessary, why not do equal honour to a Shakspeare or a Pitt, a Newton, or any of those illustrious men by whose superior intelligence society has so greatly profited?

Above five thousand francs were laid out in illuminations, and arches of triumph built across the principal streets with much architectural taste; perhaps not the least ridiculous part of this strange ceremony, was a parade on foot round the town of all the authorities, civil and military, who walked uncovered in solemn procession, flanked by one of the *élite* regiments of lancers of *les Braves Belges*.

Although I understand King Leopold takes indefatigable pains in endeavouring to improve his Belgian army, from the specimens I saw in his majesty's new dominions, I cannot but incline to the opinion that they are not likely to become a formidable or well disciplined force. The ambiguous nature of this monarchy, half French, half Dutch, yet hateful to both, will never give a national character to the country, nor to the army an *esprit du corps*.

What political line Leopold would be disposed

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to take on the oriental question, which at that moment agitated Europe, was the most interesting topic to the good people of Brussels.

It was true, they said, that, by the treaties which established his kingdom, his neutrality had been ensured. But how far would England and France, in the event of a war, respect this neutrality? The Belgians, attached to France, and having an enthusiastic recollection of their share in the halcyon days of Napoleon, would raise the popular voice in favour of their ancient alliance. But would the sovereign be of the same opinion was, and perhaps is, the problem to solve.

France could, undoubtedly, at first seize possession of a country so *limitrophe* to her empire as to be, in fact, a province. But, still, with Antwerp and other fortresses, Holland in the rear, and Hanover and Germany at hand, and, above all, England aiding, perchance, with a British army, the independence of King Leopold's acquired throne and kingdom might be more permanently secured by adhering to the allies, than if he linked himself to Louis Philippe, in whose power alone, (in

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case of non-resistance to France) he would ever afterwards remain: and far better would it be, in my opinion, for this founder of a Belgian monarchy, if he should desire for his dynasty an honourable duration, to throw himself into the arms of the many, and reap advantages from all, than to place his destiny at the mercy of the future rulers of France. King Leopold, however, studiously avoids giving any insight as to his prepossessions. Amiable and considerate both at the courts of St. James and the palace of the Thuileries, he so nicely balances his attentions, that that which is his favourite mistress cannot be discovered by his own privy councillors.

Brussels, as usual, was full of English. The palace of the Prince of Orange still remains uninhabited — a sad monument, which decay will soon render sadder. What motive requires that it should thus moulder into ruin?

The chief part of the English residents in Brussels are families who live there on three or four thousand a year far better as to luxuries and for education than they could in England for half as

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much more. This city always strikes me as being a bad imitation of Paris; and, liking even a bad original better than a good copy, I never would remain in the former if I could go to the other.

Staying some days at the *Hôtel de Belle Vue*, a greatly overrated establishment, and not near so comfortable as the Hotel de France, I made acquaintance with Dr. Lever, the physician of the mission. He was desirous of doing the honour of the place to me, and he ordered for us a *díner en gourmand*, at the chief restaurateur's, maintaining it surpassed the Rocher at Paris. Six or eight partook of the entertainment, and we all agreed it was infinitely inferior to the Paris display, and very much more extravagant. So much for the copy.

I proceeded by the new railroad to Liege, or rather to Ans, to which place only the work has as yet advanced.

The inferiority of these new miracles of transport in other countries is quite remarkable, in comparison with those of England. The people actually appear as if they did not know how to

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manage or work scientific discoveries, and their details. The materials are all of an inferior and inadequate nature, commencing with their uncouth, hissing, snorting engine, and ending with their ill-contrived, double-seated carriages for passengers.

An attempt is certainly made at order and regularity in the arrangements, in imitation of our English plans; but civil order is not so easily acquired on the Continent as military discipline. Every body seems in confusion; no person, no part of the picture, is in its proper place and keeping; all are directing, shouldering, ordering, and quarrelling, and, at last, every passenger must attend to himself, or be left behind.

The carriages are of two sorts—first class, and *char-à-bànc*. The latter are all open; the people sit back to back, and face to face, as they like, and get at their places by scrambling, squeezing, and altercation. This is not agreeable for any class of persons, but proper order is indispensable to prevent insults amongst those who seek the best, or first class accommodation.

The coaches of the first class have seats both

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ways, back and front; but there is a passage through the centre of each, with doors, opening into the middle part of the coach, affording only two seats on each side of the door, but four seats opposite the entrance. The places are not numbered, nor are there tickets, and there is a rush to secure what each party requires. I happened to arrive late, and I pressed forward before my family to secure seats. Arriving in the passage between the double coach, and requiring room for six, I posted myself to prevent an intruder, but I was soon assailed by a tall, spectacled merchant, who, with all his vigour, attempted to force by me. In vain I urged that *mesdames* were just behind me; he doggedly persevered, and was followed up by a clerical personage, who poked his long shovel hat into my face. However, I resolutely retained my position, after a sturdy fight and considerable debate, arising to abuse, and seated my party in safety. But all this would never have occurred on our railways. At Malines, between Brussels and Liege, the train stops and changes carriages. Here a curious scene occurred. An inunda-

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tion of priests poured into all the carriages; they came so thick, that they were literally thrown back by their attempts to squeeze themselves in, and their cocked hats and black flowing robes gave them the appearance of ravens, with their wide-spreading wings, hovering over their prey in the vehicles.

The greatest part at last took a new flight, finding it impossible to perch; and then my attention was caught by one of those many strange figures one encounters since railway travelling has been established. It is true that, even in England, you meet all sorts and kinds of persons; and I have heard that a late ambassador's lady and her daughter travelled in a carriage with a police officer and a felon in irons. But at least the passengers here are all of one and confessedly a civilized nation, while on the Continent your fellow-travellers are of all Europe, and you suffer from a quintessence of the vulgar and disgusting habits of all. The character in question, who stretched himself at full length on the seat opposite the ladies, appeared like a Spanish grandee,

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or an actor assuming the part; his two large legs and thighs, clothed in light blue, with long Spanish boots, and heavy silver spurs, formed the foreground of this extended body; a black satin waistcoat, overlaid with chains of gold, a black velvet Spanish cloak and hat, together with red beard and whiskers, and a face resembling the Saracen's on Snow Hill, completed the *tout-ensemble* of one who certainly believed none like him existed, and it is sincerely to be hoped he was correct; his conduct was as extravagantly overbearing as his person was odious.

The conveyance by omnibus from Ans to Liege, used temporarily and until the railroad is finished, is a sad purgatory to encounter; twenty-five or thirty railroad passengers are tumbled and crammed into a long carriage, where, beset with smoke and spitting, liquor, loud talking, vulgarity and abuse, and shaken to pieces over a miserable *pavé*, in a close, crowded vehicle, without springs, it is really almost past the endurance of Job.

We dined at Liege, and reached Aix-la-Chapelle the same evening. At this place, various

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old recollections assailed me, and recalled the great transactions of the Congress of 1815, where the details of the peace of Europe were arranged.

At that epoch, the constant diplomatic conferences, and the evening re-unions of the plenipotentiaries, together with the assemblage of nearly all the princes of Europe on the spot, rendered this town a scene of remarkable interest. At that time, likewise, as English ambassador at the Court of Vienna, I was intimately mixed up with all that was going forward, and further, I had a peculiar pleasure in being accompanied, at the express desire of George IV., by that accomplished and matchless artist, Sir Thomas Lawrence, who was charged to paint, for Windsor Castle, the important and interesting personages forming this remarkable assemblage. Nearly five-and-twenty years had now passed away; the place was much altered—it had become a great commercial city. The Prussians, into whose possession it fell, according to the arrangements of Congress, had greatly augmented its prosperity.

The best streets were all paved with fine *trot-*

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toirs; the buildings had become large, handsome, and numerous; the hotels and baths equally so; and the general air of luxury and wealth that prevailed around hardly allowed me to recognise my old quarters.

The baths here, strongly impregnated with sulphur and iron, were considered by Napoleon the best in Germany; and the splendid imperial bath of fine marble, constructed by himself and by his own order, is yet to be seen.

From Liege to Cologne the country, though otherwise flat and uninteresting, is highly luxuriant. The crops of corn on all sides denote fertility in the soil, producing a superabundance of riches; while the miserable harrow in use turns up the ground as it goes, and that so barely, it creates wonder that the cornucopiæ can be obtained with so little of human labour.

After traversing an extensive plain, Cologne is visible far in the distance, where its magnificent and unequalled cathedral raises its mighty head. The structure is Gothic, and is confessedly the finest in Europe; but, unfortunately, the two great towers

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have never been completed, so that they still remain a monument of both the genius of the architect, and of the poverty, if not meanness, of the present age. It is said it would cost about a million of francs sterling to finish it.

Since the peace, trade and commerce have made rapid advances in Cologne. The free navigation of the Rhine, and the Prussian regulations, have largely contributed to a degree of prosperity heretofore unknown in the place.

The streets, formerly dirty and narrow, and the houses, old and tumbling down, have given way to wide spaces, handsome edifices, and various and attractive shops. The hotels are remarkably good, and their charges very reasonable; and, as the Liege and Brussels railway is in a state of rapid progress towards this city, its actual wealth and importance will soon be still further augmented.

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CHAPTER II.

Steam-Boats on the Rhine—Banks of the Rhine from Rotterdam to Cologne—Johannisberg, the Estate and Vintage, so called, belonging to Prince Metternich — Ehrenbreitstein — Summer Palace of the Duke de Nassau—Mayence—Singular Spectacle—New Railroad—Wisbaden—Its architectural superiority over Tonbridge, Worthing, and Brighton—Gambling in the Assembly-Room — The Mineral Springs — Bieberach—Imperial Presents — Russian Alliances — Francfort, and its Hotels—Inferiority of the Inns of Germany to those of Holland and Belgium—Splendid Episcopal Palace at Wurzbourg —Journey to Nuremburg — Proposed Canal to connect the commerce of the Danube, the Mayne, and the Rhine—The King of Bavaria refuses to give the writer an audience, because he could not present himself in uniform—Correspondence with the author and the Aid-de-Camp de Service.

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CHAPTER II.

A good Rhine steamer now arrived from Rotterdam, with the rest of our party and the baggage, from both which we had separated in making the *détour* to Brussels, which I have just traced. We went on board September 2nd, and landed at Coblentz, at the *Hôtel du Geant*, close on the banks of the river.

The steam-boats on the Rhine are very clean, and well fitted up. Every part of the arrangements is convenient, considering that at times there are two hundred passengers on board, and that upon deck, smoking, spitting, and noise, have no limits, and cannot be prevented. But below decks, the party, especially if they take the *pavillon* to themselves, may be comfortably accommodated. The boats belong to rival establish-

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ments; hence the emulation; but the Cologne and Dusseldorf vessels are the best.

In the *restaurateur's* department, the rules of the *table d'hôte* and charges for every article are printed, framed, and hung up in conspicuous places. In the *salons* there are newspapers and books, and for every possible information on the tour, you have laid before you the following:— "Sketches by Mrs. Jameson"—"The Principal Spas of Germany," by Dr. Granville; "Germany," by Bisset Hawkins; "Up the Rhine," by Thomas Hood; "The Rhine," by Joseph Strow, &c.

"In Heaven's name, then, why write about the Rhine?" asks my reader. Only because the vanity of every pen will give its own version of what the writer beholds, and perhaps for the reminiscences it awakens.

To me, the general course of the banks of the Rhine, from Rotterdam to Cologne, is flat, sandy, cold, and uninteresting. From thence to Coblentz it improves a little, and onwards to Mayence becomes in many parts picturesque; but the landscape is rather confined. The mountains of the

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Rheingau are high, and wooded to the water's edge; the next interval of rock and dreary waste, the offspring of the desert, lends a striking contrast to the scene, and then you obtain a beautiful outline of villas, castles, and palaces, with their variously fashioned gardens. Excepting, however, the chateau of the Prince of Prussia, and Prince Metternich's at Johannisberg, there is nothing very striking or worthy of note. The generality of the seats, located in the most romantic spots, have neither ancient nor modern architecture, nor even any apparent arrangement to recommend them. They are large, square, high-roofed buildings, devoid of form and feature, uncouth and comfortless to view, and only apparently inviting as abodes for the enjoyment of the soft, cool air that is inhaled from the clear and lovely climate, the wide-flowing Rhine, and the high mountain summit in the hot season of the year.

Prince Metternich's far-famed Schloss Johannisberg is as crude and ill-shaped as any of those alluded to; though its size and situation impose and render it one of the most conspicuous.

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This estate, it is well known, was presented to his minister by the Emperor Francis, at the congress of Vienna. It had been given, previously, by Napoleon to Kellerman. The peculiarly fine quality of the grape, with which it abounds, produces the choicest of the choice Rhine wines. But a small, though generally very inferior, portion of this produce is in private hands; and from this source foreign markets and our own are principally supplied with the reputed Johannisberg. The value of the property, in particular years, is very considerable.

To the former old castle the prince seems to have added a large square building; but it looks strangely tacked on at one end of the original structure. There is no *façade* nor design that embraces uniformity or taste; and it gives the idea of having been erected for lodging-rooms. Rising terraces surround the whole chateau, up to which all the vineyards incline, so that its height is considerably above the level of the river. The views from these terraces are very extensive, and, I doubt not, very delightful; but my description is merely given from the steam-boat as we passed along.

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Coblentz is on the left bank of the Rhine, and over against it Ehrenbreitstein, towering on high, with its countless defences: it forms the great bulwark of Germany, upon this river. It is one of the finest fortifications in Europe.

Since the peace, the Prussians have, more than ever, applied all the science of engineering to make it impregnable. Its entrenched camp is capable of containing 120,000 or 130,000 men. On the other hand, and under a more peaceful aspect, the confluence of the Moselle and the Lahn, and the now free city of Coblentz, add greatly to its importance and commercial interest. It will ever remain the great *point d'appui* of Prussia, in her Rhine provinces.

In proceeding towards Mayence by the steamer, on the 3rd of September, we arrived at the broadest part of the river, the end of the Rheingau; where the country, on each side, becomes flat, and several large islands present themselves. The really charming palace of the Duc de Nassau lies now before you, at Bieberach. It is an extensive mass of brickwork, with two long and

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high galleries, and a circular dome, of some extent, in the centre. The gardens round it and along the banks of the waters are in the highest order and cultivation. It is usually the summer residence of the Duchy of Nassau, the principal court being held at Wisbaden.

Our steam-boat arrived about mid-day at Mayence. The inns connected with the Cologne and Dusseldorf Company are on the quays; so that, unless you intend to make a sojourn within the fortress, there is no use in putting up in the town. The place is very strong; and, from its great military importance, was not adjudged to either of the rival aspirants at the congress of Vienna, where both wished and claimed possession of it with equal eagerness. After great contention, it was ultimately determined that the garrison should always consist of one half of the troops of each power, and that the commandant should be alternately Austrian and Prussian.

A singular spectacle occurs before arriving at the bridge of boats, between Mayence and Cassell and its Tête du Pont, in the number of flour water-

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mills that are moored in a line half across the river. They are worked by paddles, and all the corn in the vicinity is ground by them. The curious figures of the millers, covered with white, and the workmen, who are naked to their waistbands, and with skins of an olive hue, form an exceedingly disagreeable exhibition. The military works on the right bank of the river, covering the bridge of boats, are very formidable, and deserve close inspection.

The new railroad, established from Cassell, runs to Francfort, and has also a line to Wisbaden. The former branch is complete, and carries carriages; not so the latter, which at present only takes passengers and baggage. We sent our vehicles, therefore, with posthorses, to Wisbaden; and were carried there ourselves, in half an hour, by an indifferent railroad.

The baths at this watering-place are undeniably the most frequented in Germany. The Nassau family have made great exertions to render them known and frequented, laying out large sums in public buildings, fine hotels, and lodging-houses; but, though the influx of visitors is great, the society is

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generally not so *élite* as that found at Baden Baden, Marienbad, Bain D'Ems, and other spas on the Lahn and elsewhere.

The principal place of public resort at Wisbaden is the assembly-room. It forms the front of a great square; and on each side, at right angles, two very fine stone colonnades, built in perfect taste, with shops of every description underneath, have been erected. The merchants from the great fair of Francfort, and from that town itself, make a point of coming here during the season, and opening the gayest *boutiques* that can be seen; amongst which those of the Bohemian glass, of all colours, are not the least conspicuous.

The fourth side of the square is open to another fine *place* of handsome buildings, of which *L'Hôtel des Quatres Saisons*, and *L'Hôtel de Nassau*, in the angles, form apparent palaces. Certainly, in contemplating these masses, and remembering the miserable lath and plaster erections at Tonbridge, Worthing, and even Brighton, one is dreadfully ashamed of our own pitiable architecture, and of the *mesquin* arrangements there, that prevent all grandeur and effect.

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The assembly-room is used in the day for two or three large *rouge et noir* and *trente et quarante* gaming-tables. Around these, Germans, male and female, congregate; and, I believe, often remain for twenty-four hours together, without intermission, plunged in all the excitement of play, for dollars and florins. The gravity of some, the eagerness of others, the joy of the winner, and despair of the loser, are all strongly delineated on the generally phlegmatic faces of the Deütscher. There is far more of the vice in question displayed around the tables I have described, than in the grand *salons* of the rich, where self-control is much more studied.

Beyond the assembly-room are gardens, and a fine piece of artificial water; and under the foliage of orange-trees, and amongst numerous flower-beds of annuals, as well as of American plants, round tables and numerous seats are placed for the mass of the society to enjoy smoking and coffee; while some of the more refined, and the fair sex, are regaled with ices and lemonade. A band of excellent musicians, subscribed for by the frequenters of the baths, play daily from four to seven; and the

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waltzes and other German airs are quite delightful.

The springs are hot as boiling water. The taste is that of sulphur and iron, mixed; they are not unpleasant, and you soon learn to take six tumblers before breakfast, and plunge into a hot bath immediately afterwards.

We were much pleased with Wisbaden, and, in consequence, stayed there six days.

I must not omit to add that we went one day to Bieberach, the Duke of Nassau's palace on the Rhine, before described. The circular room in the centre of this building is ornamented with magnificent marble pillars; the floor is also of marble; the galleries *en stucco*, with ornaments of gold *encroustès* upon them. From the middle compartment of the great hall there are varied prospects of the Rhine, which becomes studded here with small cultivated islands; and the multitudinous orange, myrtle, cedar, and cyprus trees on all sides at once proclaim Bieberach a most enchanting abode.

In looking up the Rhine, the bridge of boats and the towers of Mayence engross the earnest gaze; and in looking down, the rich vineyards of Johan-

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nisberg, the villas of various proprietors, and the hanging woods, so tastefully diversify the landscape, that all must admit the picturesque attractions of this part of the river.

In traversing the private apartments of the palace, the attendant ostentatiously pointed out some fine crystal and China vases, lately sent from the Emperor of Russia as a present to the young reigning duke. In the adjoining room he likewise drew our attention to three Sevres ornaments, formerly sent by Napoleon, when all the *mediatisée* were under the power of France. It is curious how eagerly the great sovereigns of the Continent cultivate and court the inferior *soi-disant* independent states to their separate friendship and alliance. In the event of a new war in Europe, the weaker princes would be influenced by the great monarchs with whom they are connected by blood. Russia has married her eldest daughter to an adopted Bavarian; the Grand Duke Cesarowitch is married to a Darmstadt princess; and the beautiful Princess Olga of Russia was at this time talked of for the Duc de Nassau. Such marriages will naturally give Russia a new and strong hold in the centre of Europe.

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After our delay at Wisbaden, we passed through the Imperial City of Francfort to Aschaffenburg, the first town in the Bavarian dominions. As to Francfort, it is unquestionably a splendid city. Its bridge over the Mein, its palaces in the High Streets, its gorgeous shops, and the beautiful walk round the town, are well worthy the admiration they never fail to elicit.

L'Hôtel de Russie, amongst various others, claims precedence for splendid accommodation; but, like most establishments of this description abroad, it has much show and little real comfort.

Les maîtres, ou les maîtresses, of these fine inns never think it necessary to pay further attention to travellers than by receiving them on their arrival, and standing at the door on their departure. The providing for all wants, and the attendance, are left to many lazy *garçons;* and if not attended by servants of your own, you may often wait till Doomsday to have your wants supplied.

I think the inns in Germany far worse than those in Belgium or Holland; and, with such constant travelling through the country, the competition that exists, and the high charges, it is surprising to me

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that there is so little improvement there within the last twenty-five years.

To Aschaffenburg the road is flat. You then enter the mountains of Franconia, and from thence there is a hilly *chaussée* to Wurzbourg, where we slept on the night of the 10th of September.

Here there is another Hotel de Russie; and one of our party recorded our entertainment in the *Livre des Voyageurs* as detestable, affixing our names thereto.

In the morning we visited the palace of the ancient bishops. It contains three distinct sets of apartments — those of the present sovereign, which are modern and lately fitted up; those of the Dowager Queen; and those of the former bishops. The last *alone* number twenty-five receiving-rooms. The splendour of the king's suite is great, and especially of one ancient room, preserved in its original style. It is entirely fitted up with looking-glass, on which there are exquisite painting and gilding, the art of executing which is now forgotten. Another apartment has a singular echo in it. By standing in a particular spot in the centre, and

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clapping your hands, a hundred repetitions resound.

The cathedrals, the churches, and the town, are worthy of examination; and the bridge over the Mein, adorned with the statues of different saints, gives an air of religious pomp and awe to the whole city.

The journey to Nuremburg can be accomplished in a day; but the pace of German posting is so slow, the hills are so numerous, and the drag-chains on and off so continually, that, in a long day, there is a great demand on your patience; and if for a moment forgetfulness overpowers the senses, you are startled from your reverie by the shrill blasts of those discordant post-horns, on which the performer often vainly endeavours to blow out a waltz. This brings you to the station. But here a greater trial awaits you, from the immoderate length of time the new *Anspan* requires.

Happily, however, railroads and steam will materially diminish the weary course of travelling in Germany, which is far worse than in any other country. Already the journey from London to

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Vienna is relieved of nearly one half its length of time, and of quite one half its inconvenience.

In taking two days to Nuremburg, you must pass the night at Langenfels; and here, as happens often in our mode of travelling, when the landlords are civil and give up their kitchen fire to us, we fared the best, carrying our cook, provisions, our canteens, and *batterie*. In the larger hotels, they will not consent to travellers cooking, and they send up a multitude of dishes, by *gourmands* styled *cochonnerie*, which really are not eatable.

On the 12th of September, having fared sumptuously at Langenfels, we arrived at Nuremburg; where, owing to the illness of one of our party, we halted for some days, and found the Bavarian court assembled there from Munich, in order to be present at a camp of exercise. This was formed for 1,800 men, at the village of Furcht, to which place there is a short and very bad railway, traversed by horses instead of steam. In this vicinity also is the new canal, by which it is proposed to connect the commerce of the Danube, the Mayne, and the Rhine. The speculation is patronised by

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the king, but it is not considered likely to answer. Shares are taken by many wealthy persons and merchants, but they are as low now as 60 per cent., which affords no great promise of prosperity. But, to return. The camp was commanded by General Pappenheim, who was created a marshal on the troops breaking up, as a proof of the king's satisfaction. I can say nothing of the troops, as I was not permitted to see them.

It so happened that I projected my tour from Francfort to Munich purposely to pay my respects to the King of Bavaria there, and to see the numerous works of art, which H. M. had collected in his capital since he came to the throne. I was the more induced to this plan from the belief I entertained that, having known the king intimately as crown prince in 1814 and 1815, he would receive me with courtesy and attention, in remembrance of an interesting epoch; and more especially as his majesty had professed the greatest friendship and obligation to my late brother, at the Congress of Vienna; but, " Put not your trust in princes."

I was both surprised and mortified on writing to

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the A. D. C. de Service, announcing my passage through Nuremburg on my way to Munich, to find that the king refused to give me an audience, because I unfortunately had no uniform, having sent mine on before me to Munich.

Lord Combermere was also not received, and on the same ground. But he had not the like personal claim from old associations.

It is a harsh measure in any sovereign, holding a camp of exercise, to refuse (on account of an accidental omission) permission to general officers, high in rank in foreign service, to witness their field manœuvres of the moment. It is the more so when, to the conduct of those officers refused and their country, the very monarch himself may, in some measure, owe his crown. Without disputing the general propriety of the regulation as to uniforms, there is no rule without an exception; and a king, under peculiar circumstances, should allow good taste and sound discretion to regulate form.

I here annex the letters that passed on the subject, as I could not but evince the disappointment, and, I hope, not unjustifiably, the ill-humour, that I felt towards his majesty for this conduct.

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"Nuremburg, le 12 Sept., 1840.

"Le Soussigné A. D. C. de Service auprès de S. M. le Roi de Bavière a soumis à la connoissance de S. M. le désir de M. le Marquis de Londonderry, et a été chargé par sa majesté d'exprimer à Mr. le marquis tous les regrets que sa majesté epreuve de ne pouvoir lui donner l'audience desirée, puisque sa majesté tenant cour dans la ville de Nuremburg, d'après l'etiquette etablie ne peut recevoir à l'audience que les personnes qui sont dans le cas de se présenter en uniforme ou militaire ou civil, et d'autant plus que sa majesté elle-même porte ici toujours l'uniforme militaire.

"Le Soussigné saisit cette occasion pour assurer à M. le marquis de toute sa considération la plus distinguée.

"Le Général et Aide-de-Camp,

"COMTE PAUMGARTEN.

"Au Général le Marquis
de Londonderry."

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" Bayerischer Hof

" Dimanche, 13 Sept., 1840.

" Monsr. le Comte,

" Je viens de recevoir la lettre dans laquelle vous étés chargé par sa majesté d'exprimer tous les regrets que sa majesté epreuve, de ne pas me donner l'audience desirée, puisque S. M., tenant cour dans la ville de Nuremburg, d'après l'étiquette etablie, ne peut recevoir a l'audience que les personnes qui sont dans le cas de se présenter en uniforme ou civil ou militaire.

" J'avois cru temoigner mon respect pour sa majesté en saisissant cette occasion de lui faire ma Cour en lui rappellant le doux souvenir qui me restoit du tems passé et des heures amicales que comme Prince Royal de Bavière il avoit daigné accorder a mon frère et a moi à Vienne.

" Je m'etois flatté que, comme ancien camarade d'armes de l'excellent Maréchal Wrede avec les armées de 1814 et 1815, sa majesté auroit accordé un souvenir flatteur à l'individu sans egard à l'uniforme, ou au moins sa majesté auroit pu m'avoir accordé une audience particulière.

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" Je vois maintenant que je me suis trompé, et il me reste seulement à offrir mes excuses à sa majesté.

" La recéption flatteuse que j'ai eu ailleurs, et l'idée que le nom de l'individu et son service en fait la réputation, et non pas l'uniforme, étoit la cause de mon indiscretion.

" Mon profond respect pour la personne de sa majesté fut le sentiment seul qui dirigeoit mon voyage envers Munich : actuellement je ne tarderai pas de quitter les états de sa majesté le plutôt possible.

" Je vous prie Monsr. le Comte d'agréer les assurances de toute ma considération.

" VANE LONDONDERRY,

" GÉNÉRAL."

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CHAPTER III.

Ratisbon — Magnificent efforts of the King of Bavaria to encourage the Arts in his Dominions—Temple of Wahlhallen; its structure and purposes — Steam Voyage from Ratisbon to Vienna—Romantic Scenery of the Danube—Arrival at Vienna —Lodgings—Removal to the Palace of Prince Esterhazy at Marienkülf—Fauxbourgs—Architectural Improvements in the Austrian Capital — Singular fulfilment of a suggestion from Lady Mary Wortley Montagu — Fashionable Watering Places —Our Ambassador at Vienna—Courteous reception from Count Tatischeft, Count Woronzow, and Prince Metternich—Johannisberg at the Prince's table — Present appearance of Prince Metternich—His Family—The change which twenty years have produced in the gay world of Vienna — Lady Montagu's opinion of the Austrian Ladies no longer true — Vienna more moral than London and Paris.

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CHAPTER III.

We reached Ratisbon on the 16th. There are many interesting objects in this old town, which is famous for the assembly of the diet in former times; and the most striking ancient edifice it contains is the old gothic cathedral. But if the palm is yielded here to antique structure, the king's modern temple at Wahlhallen undoubtedly deserves the second place for grandeur of design and admirable execution. His present majesty, with a laudable desire to encourage the arts within his dominions, and to raise the drooping energies of taste and *vertu*, has not only taken every means and all possible pains to embellish the old edifices, the churches, and other buildings, but has also, and at an enormous expense, fitted up in the cathedral additional windows, of modern painted glass, to

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correspond with the ancient ones. He has likewise entirely new coated the exterior with masonry. Besides all this, the splendid idea of the temple, on the model of, and not inferior to, the Parthenon, and consecrated to the memory of the great statesmen, warriors, poets, and literati of the age and of Germany, will hand his majesty's name down to posterity as a magnificent benefactor of pre-eminent intellect.

The temple of Wahlhallen is placed on a pinnacle of rising ground above the village of that name, and about one hundred yards from the Danube; from which river you ascend to the entrance of a cut stone portico by a stupendous marble staircase. The *locale* is flanked on both sides by two high mountains: on the top of one is an old castle, and on the other a church.

The pedestals, as well as the columns of this temple, are of the finest white stone, and the interior is completely lined with marble of Germany. Busts of the warriors, statesmen, poets, and literati are, upon their death, to be deposited in niches round this sanctuary. And, during life, all distinguished

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persons may, on application, have their likenesses placed in a part of the structure devoted to the purpose; and, at their decease, their deeds will be scanned, and it will be decided if they are worthy of the higher honour of eternal fame and a permanent place in the temple; or else they will be removed.

I apprehend that the funds of the estate of the diet at Ratisbon largely contributed to this work, which was to be completed in 1841. The cost must be enormous, but the idea is grand. The employment, too, of so great a number of people as have been engaged upon this work does great good in the country; and so remarkable an edifice cannot fail to add largely to the celebrity of Ratisbon.

At this place we found that Bavarian steamers were established on the Danube, which took carriages and passengers to Linz: there the Austrian steam navigation begins, and takes them to Vienna, and so on down the Danube.

In former times, the journey from Ratisbon to Vienna with heavy carriages, &c. could not be accomplished under six or seven days; now you

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can perform it in forty-eight hours. I cannot too highly applaud not only the saving of time, but also the public spirit and excellent style in which these steamers are conducted. The boats from Ratisbon to Linz are necessarily, owing to the shallows of the river, narrower than those on the Rhine, and altogether smaller. But you can secure separate cabins for a family in both with equal facility, independently of the general passengers. In these steamers there is a *restauration*. The general hours of meals are breakfast at nine, and dinner at two. The fares on the whole line are moderate; and the embarkation and disembarkation of carriages at the different stations are managed with skill and despatch.

The steam passages along both the Rhine and the Danube afford to those who delight in the picturesque ample opportunities for gratification. There may be a difference of opinion as to which river presents the more sublime scenery. I, however, infinitely prefer the Danube. The Rhine, with its hanging woods and multitudinous inhabited castles, affords a higher dressed and more culti-

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vated picture. But, in the steep and craggy mountains of the Danube, in its wild outline and more dilapidated castles, the imagination embraces a bolder range: at one time, the river is confined within its narrowest limits, and proceeds through a defile of considerable altitude, with overhanging rocks menacing destruction; at another, it offers a wide, open archipelago of islands: the mountains have disappeared, and a long plain bounds, on each side of the river, its barren banks.

This rapid metamorphosis is astonishing: and, really, the passage from Linz to Vienna, with views of the Benedictine convent at Mölkt, and the castles of Duremberg and Greifenstein, afford specimens of romantic scenery that set a writer's power of delineation at defiance.

The steam-boats do not go nearer Vienna than Neudorff, which is a German mile from thence, and where the station has its *bureau* and establishment.

We found, on our arrival, the carriages of Prince Esterhazy, with his intendant and servants ready to receive us, and learned that quarters had been pro-

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vided for us at the Swan Hotel, until the prince's palace at Marienhülf, which he destined for our ultimate reception, should be prepared. This was only an earnest of the kind and affectionate reception we met with during our stay at Vienna.

The importance of getting quarters on arriving at Vienna is great, the inns being all indifferent and noisy. Our temporary apartments in the third story of "the Swan" were commodious, but charged at the extravagant rate of eight pounds per day.

We gladly removed, therefore, to the palace on the third morning of our stay, the more especially as there is a casino, or club of all the young nobles at "the Swan," which prevents a moment's quiet or peace. The *cuisine*, however, was particularly good; and I should consider the lodgings very desirable for single men, though much the reverse for a family.

The next day was one of interest to me, as I determined to go forth and observe the vast changes that twenty years had made in this imperial city.

Vienna, it is well known, is within its walls circumscribed as a capital, with narrow streets, with-

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out *trottoirs;* houses and palaces are strangely jostled and jumbled close together: and such is the inconvenience, that in the frequented streets of the Kohlmark and Graben, carriages, fiacres, horsemen, foot-passengers, and all the attendant train of a great town are so mixed in one common *mêlée*, that unless one is on the *qui vive*, it is a service of danger to get along. Nevertheless, the scene in these choked-up streets is gay and diverting. The hurry of the people, the noise of the carriages, the tramping of horses, and the jostling of the pedestrians, make a lasting impression upon the traveller.

The great mass of the inhabitants have always occupied the extensive fauxbourgs; they are about an English mile on every side from the walls of the capital; and, formerly, the roads between were so bad—presenting such a sea of mud in winter, and cloud of dust in summer, that it was almost vain to attempt communication with the suburbs. None of the nobility nor ambassadors could live there. It is true, a few fine palaces existed in the quarter, but intercourse, especially at night, was impracticable; and, when Prince Razumowski,

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who built a fine palace and a bridge, connecting it with the Prater, gave great entertainments, it was a grievance to the society in Vienna to be invited to them under the penalties of arriving at the place.

It may, therefore, be imagined what advantages arise from all the fauxbourgs being now joined to the old city, by excellent paved roads and flagged causeways. The fortifications, bastions, and walls are nearly all levelled, except the main wall and ditch. The bottom of the latter affords an extensive pleasure ground, and a drive all round the town; and the space between the ditch and the fauxbourg is laid out in gardens, with temples, statues, ornamental columns, &c. Handsome gates are constructed at each entrance; at the principal thoroughfares there are long colonnades and carved stone columns, and the *tout-ensemble* now gives the Austrian capital a brilliant appearance. The embellishments were decided on and adopted by the late Emperor Francis, and they have been executed under the advice and direction of Prince Metternich. It is somewhat curious, after contemplating all these improvements, to turn to the let-

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ters of Lady M. W. Montagu, in 1716, and find the following passage:—

"I never saw a place so perfectly delightful as the fauxbourg of Vienna. It is very large, and if the emperor found it proper to permit the gates of the town to be laid open, that the fauxbourg might be joined to it, he would have one of the largest and finest built cities in Europe."

Singularly enough, after a century, this has now happened.

It is not only in the exterior that Vienna has gained. The narrow streets, within the walls, are changed into wider ways; new mansions and palaces are rising up; and the increase of shops and the commercial aspect of the place are surprising. The mode of display for the jewellery, and other wares and goods, seems copied from the French Palais Royal. Large plate glass windows are universal, and the names of the tradesmen in gilt letters, with their signs admirably painted in front of their premises, produce a brilliant effect, especially in the rays of a meridian sun. No capital can have made more evident progress in improvements within the last twenty-five years.

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The season of the year—it was October—found all the *élite* society and noblesse at the baths. Prince Metternich, however, had just returned from Königswerth, and all the diplomatic corps, of course, flocked in after him to the capital.

The former fashionable watering-place of Baaden, four posts from Vienna, no longer boasted the same attractions. Some few worn-out gourmands had successively died of apoplexy in taking the bath—and this had so paralysed the good appetites of the Germans, that, by degrees, the place was becoming deserted. The new rage was Isher, where the younger generation of doctors had established their air, their cures, and their other miracles.

The beautiful Prater, which we visited often during our stay, had undergone no alteration; nor seemed there any in the silent, almost motionless, police guards, whom I found apparently just in the spot where I left them.

One could all but swear to the identity of the man, to the poor horse and naked sword, drawn up in the centre of the imperial highway, to keep order where no commotion arises; and to pre-

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serve decorum, where all are so well behaved, that no language, but that of the eyes, *en passant*, ever interrupts the imperturbable harmony of the scene.

What object, therefore, can there be of constantly retaining the unhappy horse-guard police, I cannot imagine.

Our first days at Vienna were occupied in dinners of ceremony at Lord Beauvale's, the Russian Ambassador's, (Count Tatischef) and Prince Metternich's. In the order we received the invitations I shall note them. Our minister's repast assembled only a small party, and was apparently offered as a convenience to us on the day of our arrival. His *attachés* were present.

He himself lived on a second floor in a fine house, the lower part of it, I understood, not furnished. Lord B. sees few people, and seldom gives any grand or general reception, his indifferent health being the reason for living privately; his amiable qualities and facility, however, his long residence at Vienna, and his friendship for Prince Metternich, make up for all omissions.

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I think an ambassador of England, at an imperial court, with £11,000 per annum, should not live as a private gentleman, nor consult, solely, his own ease, unmindful of the greatness of the sovereign he represents. A habit has stolen in amongst them of adopting a spare *ménage*, to augment private fortune when recalled. This is wrong; and, when France and Russia, and even Prussia, entertain constantly, and very handsomely, our embassies and legations, generally speaking, are niggardly and shut up.

At Count Tatischef's, our reception was of a different description—perfection in *cuisine*, wine, and attendance; sumptuousness in liveries and wax light; and the company, about thirty, the *élite* of Vienna. All the Russians in the town were of the party: Madame Narichkin, Madame Razumouski, Prince and Princess Kourakin, Count Woronzow, besides the Austrian ministers, and the diplomatic corps.

Count Woronzow, governor-general in South Russia, was on his way to Odessa. He met me with the old and cordial friendship which I have

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experienced from him for so many years; he having been with me in 1813, when both belonged to the King of Sweden's *corps d'armée*. Count Woronzow pressed us very much to go by Odessa and the Crimea, to Constantinople, instead of taking the Danube navigation; but the very long land journey, and the lateness of the season, made me decide against the plan, which, however, he offered to facilitate by extra horses, and every order for accommodation.

Prince Metternich's was our third dinner; he was residing at his garden, two miles out of the city. He had made great additions to this delightful summer-house, which it was when I saw it last, in 1822, and had added three *corps de logis* —one for his children, another for his wife and himself, and a third, as a *pavillon* for company. The last was really a fairy edifice, and so contrived with splendid reflecting mirrors, as to give the idea of being transparent. It was ornamented with rare malachite, porphyry, jasper, and other vases, presents from the various sovereigns of Europe, &c. Besides these, there were many statues of mar-

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ble, and casts of the most celebrated works in Italy.

We were above thirty at dinner. The wines are the most *recherché* part of Metternich's table. The far-famed Johannisberg is presented in the greatest perfection. But I cannot state (as did Lady M. W. Montagu) that I counted eighteen different sorts of wine, or that a list of their names was on my plate—if such a practice ever existed, it is long since it was used.

Some account of the prince's present appearance and health, the more striking as I had not seen him since the congress of Verona, in 1823, may be generally interesting. His reception of me was kind and very courteous, though, perhaps, less warm than formerly, or than I expected to receive; but age blunts the effervescence of early sentiments. The formal embrace on both cheeks was given in a more stately manner—the smile was more languid—and the eye less illumined. His person is more slight than formerly, his hair is of a more silvery hue, the features of his expressive face are more marked; the erect posture was still

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maintained, but the gait had become more solemn; and, when he rose from his chair, he had no longer his wonted elasticity.

Such are the ravages of time on the frame in twenty years; but in the prince's conversation I found the same talent, the unrivalled *esprit;* the fluency, and elocution so entirely his own, were as graceful, and the memory as perfect as at any former period.

After the death of the first princess, in 1819 or 1820, I believe, the prince married a very beautiful girl, the daughter of "Mr. Joelson." By her he has only one son, who is now his heir; the son by the first princess having died of a decline when nearly arrived at manhood. There were also three daughters by the first lady, two of whom are married into high families at Vienna. By his present wife, who was a daughter of Count Zichy Ferraris, the prince has had five children, but only three are living, two boys and a girl. Though not so beautiful as her immediate predecessor, the present princess combines a very spirited expression of countenance with a clever conversation, a versatility of genius, and a wit rather satirical than

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humorous, which makes her somewhat formidable to her acquaintance; still her genius, taste, and tact, are universally admitted. She has great charms for the prince, who, when relieved from the harassing labours of his *bureau*, abandons his evenings to the pleasures of private society, collecting all the *beau monde* of Vienna in his *salon*.

I found the gay world of this city no longer the same as it was twenty years ago. The present emperor's court was even less easy of access and more retired than that of the Emperor Francis. The families are withdrawing much into small circles or coteries. The beauties of former years had lost much of their brilliancy, and a new generation equal to them had not yet appeared.

I would wish, nevertheless, in 1840, to rescue the Austrian ladies from the character given of them in 1716 by Lady M. W. Montagu. She says, "Their costume, in that day, disfigured the natural ugliness with which God had been pleased to endow them." Now, it so happens, that in the present era, and speaking within the last twenty years, Vienna has produced some of the hand-

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somest women in the world; and, in frequenting the public walks, the Prater, and places of amusement, you meet as many bewitching countenances, especially as to eyes, hair, and *tournure*, as in any other capital whatever. There has also been a great change in the morals of the upper classes from what is stated by the same great authority. She says—"Reputation, in Vienna, has quite a different meaning from what it is given in London, and getting a lover is getting reputation, provided he is of rank and high station. Yet there are neither coquettes nor prudes; no coquette encourages two lovers, and no prude pretends fidelity to her husband: and further, the husbands are the best natured of men, and look upon their wives' gallants as their deputies; and that, in inviting a woman to dinner, you must equally ask her attendant lovers."

All this, if ever a "true bill," is vanished. Public morality and decorum, and the unwillingness ever to *afficher* in public, a *liaison* is no where better observed than now at Vienna. The errors of the women are confined to their own breasts; there is no shock to public decency or propriety

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in the manners of the present age: there are attached husbands and delightful families. The court is a model of religious and exemplary morality; and, although vices exist such as characterise every great metropolis, the misfortunes and miseries created by immoralities and wickedness in London and Paris are certainly greater than in the less ostentatious city of Vienna.

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CHAPTER IV.

Houses of Reception at Vienna—Theatres—Management of the Austrian Finances — Dislike of Change — Kollowrath and Metternich—General Fiquelmont, Prince Esterhazy, and the most distinguished Austrian Diplomatists—The Austrian Army—General Baron Croissard: his military suggestions—Account of the Battle of Culm, from Croissard's History—His Description of the Etat Major of the Peninsular Army—A Dinner at Prince Esterhazy's villa at Pottendorf—The Prince's Palaces — A Visit to the Castle of Falkenstein — Its singular position — Expedition to Esterhazy — The Prince's Stud — Count Etienne Zecheny—Prince Esterhazy's magnificent Mansion at Eisenstadt—Splendid Conservatory—The Prototype of that lately erected at Chatsworth.

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CHAPTER IV.

There are few houses of general entertainment or reception at present in the *beau monde* at Vienna. The ambassadors live more or less retired. Metternich's *soirées* are the only constant rendezvous; but, so long as he remains at his garden, to trudge there late for a couple of hours' general conversation is not very alluring. Still there is no place where a family, or an individual, can live so entirely as they please, and where luxuries of all kinds are at so reasonable a rate, as in the Austrian capital.

The playhouses are good, and women now act on the stage, though they did not when Lady M. Montagu wrote, as she affirms. The German "Burg" theatre is the most aristocratic, and the best for tragedy and comedy; Italian operas and ballets are at the Kärnther Thor theatre, and vau-

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devilles at the Leopoldstadt, and Prater. The general idleness that seems to pervade all classes of the community imparts a *jouissance* unknown in other parts of the world.

My thoughts, on returning to this great capital of the empire, naturally reverted to the alterations that had been created since my residence in it. The industry and employment apparent every where I have already described: comfort among the people was universal. But, with all this seeming prosperity, it was avowed that a great deal of it was only factitious. Since 1832, although in profound peace, the Austrian empire has increased its debt by upwards of thirty-five millions of francs, and what is worse, it was alleged that the treasury was without money, and none could be procured save by ruinous loans.

By some unfortunate management, the army, during the peace, had been kept at its full war establishment. This was not the case with the more adroit Prussians, who have contrived to keep a year's revenue in their coffers, without any accession of debt. But there is an inherent weakness

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in the composition of the Austrian government, which, although all seem aware of, still, as in other old establishments, it grows familiar by custom, and long continues to be cherished, from dislike and dread of any alteration. Better to

> " ———— bear those ills we have,
> Than fly to others that we know not of."

In no state is the horror of change so remarkable as in Austria; she marches not with the times we live in; she partakes not of the irresistible movements that agitate other nations; but keeps on her wonted way, and, like the great Danube, which rolls through the centre of her dominions, the course of her ministry and of its tributary branches continues without any deviation from its accustomed channel. The present emperor is known to be unable to grapple with his vast position.

The two leading ministers, in whose hands all power is vested, are Metternich, and Kollowrath, the minister of the interior. The mind of the emperor Francis was firm and decided, and there never was a sovereign more truly the father of his people. He had also acute judgment and intellect to con-

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ceive and determine, and there was less difficulty with him in carrying measures into effect. But the misfortune now is, that there is no directing head; and, when the two all-powerful statesmen differ, measures are in abeyance. It can easily be imagined, in the concerns of such a monarchy, how much this state of affairs must weaken and paralyze the government. Kollowrath and Metternich are known to be of opposite principles and measures; and while the latter is the statesman most looked up to by his country and Europe at large, the former is a politician of the old school, has the highest reputation for abilities, and commands, by his *portefeuille* of the interior, all the resources of the kingdom.

With all these drawbacks, existing more or less for half a century past, Austria has nevertheless stood prominently forward on the political arena of the world, as the great fulcrum of all social and conservative order, and has mainly contributed to preserve the peace which has been so long enjoyed in Europe.

Such, I am persuaded, will still be the case, owing

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to her geographical position, native firmness of character, and horror of changes, as I have described it, abroad as well as at home, since the one re-acts on the other; but Austria, it must be recollected, has large, widely separated, and, to this day, ill-reconciled possessions; so that commotion is dangerous, and quietude her real strength. This, I am persuaded, is the *mot d'énigme*, though the cause may appear enigmatical.

Metternich has little or no effective assistance in his department; he has lost by death many able *employés:* General Fiquelmont, late ambassador in Russia, has been recalled, and made a *conseiller privé*, with a view, perhaps, of lightening the prince's labours. Fiquelmont is known to have great abilities, and to be an energetic and honourable man. Prince Esterhazy, however, is in a situation, especially with his enormous possessions in Hungary and his long diplomatic experience, to play a great card, if he thinks fit, in the future destinies of his country; whether he will do so is another question. He has evidently talents and experience, but he has also numerous private avocations, which

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may draw him off from the intense labour that will be required from the successor of Prince Metternich. Count Appony, likewise, is most highly spoken of, and has had a long and brilliant diplomatic career at Paris. Baron Stürmer, the *internonce* at Constantinople, and M. de Lebzeltern, at Naples, also an able minister, yield to few living diplomatists in character and efficiency. Count Colleredo, of a high family, and now at Munich, has likewise reputation, and is reported as likely to succeed Esterhazy in England; but, from the late arrangement at Vienna, I consider General Fiquelmont as the most probable successor to the foreign department, though really, from Metternich's energy and vigour, he may yet serve the government many years to come; and this is a consummation most devoutly to be wished for Europe.

With regard to the state of the Austrian army, I must observe that there have been of late considerable losses, by death, of many of their most distinguished officers. General Hardeg is the minister of war; he and his brother are good soldiers and talented men; but the demise of Bubna, Langenau, Colleredo, Clamm Martenez, and various others,

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has made fearful ravage in the first ranks since 1814 and 1815. General, *now* Marshal Radizki still commands the army in Italy, which is said to be in the highest order; and General Walmoden commanded in Lombardy, but, since writing the above, Radizki has, from his infirmities, been replaced. The system so long and so admirably established in the Austrian army must ever keep it in a perfect state of discipline. The officers are of a very superior class to the other German states; but where old officers disappear, and until their successors have opportunities of distinguishing themselves, the fame of an army cannot stand in such public estimation as before.

Amongst many old friends, General Baron Croissard called on me, renewing old acquaintances of outposts; he entered late into the Austrian service, having originally been a French loyalist. He deemed his services not adequately considered. He had written a book of the campaigns in Germany and in Spain, where he also served, and latterly had been occupied in plans for carrying on an invasion of France from Holland. Gene-

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ral Croissard's idea, as stated by himself, was as follows:

Suggestions of General Baron Croissard, as to a March of the Allies on Paris, by Holland.

Two hundred thousand men, Russians, Austrians, and Prussians, to be transported on rafts, and supplied with three or four days' provisions. These rafts to be towed by steam-boats down the Vistula, Oder, Elbe, and the canals adjacent to them, and thus to be disembarked in Holland.

To attack the Low Countries, and march to Paris.

The whole line from Holland to Switzerland to be occupied by the forces of the four powers.

The first army on the right to be charged to reconquer the Low Countries. This corps would have, as pivots of its operations, the strong places of Holland, as well as Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, Juliers, Maestricht, and the bridges over the Rhine, where *têtes du pont* should be formed.

2d. The army of execution, or of the centre, debouching from Cologne, to march direct on Paris,

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having, for the base of its operations, Luxembourg, Mayence, Cologne, and Coblentz, with which fortresses this *corps d'armée* would connect itself by posts and entrenchments *en échellon*. The whole of this force would form the general reserve of the whole army.

3d. An entrenched corps, having Luxembourg for its pivot, would paralyze the efforts of an enemy endeavouring to act beyond the Moselle, under the protection of Metz and Thionville, or upon the rear of the left wing of the army of execution.

4th. An entrenched corps in front of Landau, as the pivot, would unite with that of Luxembourg. The posts of the two would communicate, hold Lorraine in check, and act upon the communications of such of the enemy's corps as might attempt by stealth to approach the Upper Rhine.

5th. A corps stationed in the Brisgau, and acting independently, would have the charge of covering the countries of Baden, Darmstadt, and Wertemburg, as they might be exposed. This corps would be especially charged to keep possession of the Bergstrasse.

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If this line of defence, however, should be considered too extensive, a camp might be placed at Bruchsal, having for its pivots Heidelberg, Heilbron, and Pforzheim.

There is a good deal of ingenuity in this plan, provided the steamers and rafts could transport the troops from their distant regions by the rivers.

General Croissard also handed to me two extracts of his work, wherein the services of Sir George Murray and myself were mentioned.

Battle of Culm, from Croissard's History.

" Le lendemain de cette memorable journée, l'empereur se rendit au camp et vit les troupes: lorsque sa majesté arrivoit au corps de grenadiers le Lieuténant Général Rajewski vint à moi et me dit. J'espére que la journée d' hier vous sera favorable. Oh! réponds je, on ne m'a point encore accoutumé aux récompenses, en admettant que j'en ai merité. Je parlerai plutôt à l'empereur, reprit ce loyal général, toujours disposé à s'oublier lui-même pour appeller l'attention sur ceux qui seroient sous ses ordres.

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"Cependant les bulletins furent publiés, et les ordres du jour remplis des noms des officiers qui avoient attirés les regards des monarques; j'ai conservé les ordres du jour Russes. Ce sont des souvenirs qu'on aime a retrouver devant les yeux quand on a vieilli. Ils rappellent les beaux jours qu'on eut dans la vie: j'y retrouve que sa majesté le roi de Prusse daigna m' accorder son ordre de Mérite Militaire pour la journée du 29 et dans l'ordre du jour de 30 Août pour l'armée russe, j'y vois que l'Empereur Alexandre m' honora de l'ordre de St. Anne, enrichi de diamans. L'Empereur d'Autriche ne se montra point moins prompt à accorder des récompenses; le Général Osterman fut fait commandeur de Marie Thérèse dont le Général Yermaloff et le Prince de Cobourg furent fait chevaliers: cet ordre, si distingué et si difficile à conquérir, ne pouvait pas se poser sur de plus glorieuses poitrines. Il avait été dignement acquis par les chevaliers qui venoient d'en être illustrés. L'empereur d'Autriche comprit dans la promotion deux Anglois dont l'un en étoit depuis long-tems chevalier, Wilson, devint commandeur

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et le Général Lord Charles Stewart fut fait chevalier. Certes, si la plus brillante valeur étoit un titre pour parcourir les rangs de Marie Thérèse, les deux Anglois devoient y être signalés. On doit au Général Lord Charles Stewart des renseignements recueillis dans une périlleuse reconnoissance et des conseils savants qui en furent le résultat."

Description of the Etat-Major of the Peninsular army, de Croissard.

" Le quartier maître général de l'armée, le Colonel Murray, encore jeune, extrêmement laborieux, s' appliquoit avec assiduité à bien reconnoître le pays : d'un caractère doux et facile, assez peu communicatif plutôt par timidité que par caractère, il craignoit, ainsi que son général en chef, les avis, mais il étoit disposé à recevoir les idées qui lui arriveroient assez indirectement pour qu'on les crut à lui. L'armée et ses officiers de l'état-major le designoient comme un homme profondément instruit, et qui méritoit leur confiance. Ses liaisons avec le brigadier Sir Charles Stewart, Adjutant

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Général, frère de Lord Castlereagh, faisoient l'éloge de l'un et de l'autre. Sir Charles avoit eté attaché au Général Craufurd : pendant sa mission aux armées autrichiennes je l'avois connu dans ce tems ; cette connoissance me rapprocha aussitôt de lui. Il étoit consideré comme l'officier de cavalerie le plus déterminé et le plus habile. Il jouissoit d'une estime générale, entouré d'égards, qu'il ne devoit qu'à son mérite et à son noble caractère. Ce fut sur lui que je jetois les yeux pour transmettre les idées militaires que les differens cas de guerre pourroient me suggérer; car je vis bien que je ne parviendrois pas à les exposer moi-même, mais qu'on me sauroit gré des voies détournées que je prendrois. Je n'hésitois, donc, pas à prier Sir Charles de me permettre de lui communiquer tout ce que je penserois. Je m'attachois particulièrement à lui, et je crois véritablement qu'en mettant beaucoup de réserve dans ma conduite, qu'en ne parlant manœuvres et opérations de guerre qu'avec lui, je serois parvenu à être bien avec l'armée Angloise, si les tems m'eussent permis à prolonger mon séjour. Cependant je l'avoue, il m'auroit fallu

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tenir une marche extrêmement difficile, car il n'est point de nation chez qui l'amour-propre soit plus entier, ou les individus soient plus disposés à refuser de ces témoignages généreuses, qui en accréditant la gloire d'un autre, tendent d'attirer celle qui leur est personelle."

I regretted to find this intelligent officer discontented with his situation.

After above a fortnight's *séjour*, and seeing the great sights of Vienna, which, as all the books of *voyageurs* describe, I shall pass over, we set out, on Saturday, 3rd October, for Pottendorff, having been invited by Prince Esterhazy to visit his different residences. The above-named mansion, originally built in the old castle style, with two magnificent towers and a castellated chapel, has been changed by his highness into a modern villa. It is delightfully and romantically situated in a woody valley, between Vienna and the formerly much-frequented watering-place of Baaden. Its great *agrémens* consist in its proximity to the metropolis;

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its excellent *chasses*, its cool trout streams, the fine artificial water around it, covered with a hundred swans, and, finally, its perfect privacy and seclusion. It was here that the late prince, neglecting all his palaces and grandeur, used to pass the greatest portion of his time, secluded with the companions he preferred.

One of Prince Paul's chief embarrassments was to know how, amongst his numerous splendid mansions and residences, he could best fix his own position, and in what repository to collect his unrivalled family heirlooms and possessions. I think he has no less than eight or nine *châteaux*, vying for pre-eminence, and in each of which it is expected, by his subjects of the soil, that his highness should reside. Pottendorff is established as his villa; and, though his hounds are kept at Kitzee, he has a considerable establishment of hunters, carriage-horses, and hacks, at Pottendorff. He has fitted up Eisenstadt with much taste, commenced embellishing Esterhazy, and revived the old walls of Falkenstein. *L'embarras de richesses* smiles upon him in this particular, at least.

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After a most exquisite dinner at the villa, with every *recherchée délicatesse* that *la meilleure cuisine* could afford, and a most agreeable evening with the princess, whom to know is only to admire and love, we set out at an early hour, on the following morning, to visit the old castle and singular possession of Falkenstein.

This—fortress once, but will be so no more—was often defended by the gallantry of the reigning princes of Esterhazy against the Turks. All the old memorials, portraits of the preceding generations, and precious relics of matchless beauty and rarity, are here assembled; and it took us several hours to examine them. The site of the castle is on a huge mass of rock, to be mounted only by slow and painful efforts; and none but particularly small Hungarian horses, trained for the purpose, can draw a carriage up the steep ascent. Relays of these animals are always stationed at the foot of the mountain; and the Hungarian peasantry, male and female, in their fanciful dresses, escort you to the top. Prince Esterhazy and the princess are hailed and received as king and queen. A guard of soldiers of the family, which the prince has the sove-

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reign right to maintain, forms the garrison of the fortress; and the different officers belonging to it have their separate pay, establishment, and duties.

We returned to a very late dinner, and on the next day made an expedition to Esterhazy and Eisenstadt. The former resembles the imperial palace of Schönbrunn, at Vienna, but on a smaller scale; and is situated low, near a considerable lake; and the overflowings of the Danube, at a particular season of the year, must render it, I should think, an unhealthy abode. It was built by one of the richest princes of the house of Esterhazy, who was long ambassador at Paris. You may here see much of the original furniture of Madame Pompadour, which was then procured and brought from France by the ambassador. Prince Paul is reviving the Louis XIV. style in his new embellishments of the palace; two of the principal and largest apartments are already gilt in the most costly manner, and will add to the gorgeousness of the *tout-ensemble.*

The country round being flat and favourable for coursing and racing, the prince has formed here

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his principal studs for breeding racers, &c. I counted about twenty of the most celebrated English blood mares, selected from the stables of Exeter, Egremont, Jersey, Grafton, &c., besides colts, fillies, and three or four of the most esteemed stallions. The whole seemed on the most approved scale.

From Esterhazy we went to Eisenstadt, delaying, however, on the road to dine with Count Etienne Zecheny, a Hungarian nobleman, and an old friend of mine by whom we had been invited. His place is called Zenkendorff, and is situated in the midst of the large plains and wilds of Hungary. He inherited it only as a bad cottage, but, having a real English taste, and being one of those patriotic noblemen who are devoted to the good of the soil they inhabit, he has been indefatigable in the improvements around him. He left the Austrian army for these pursuits, and married an interesting and beautiful woman, a widow with a young family, she being a countess Zichy by marriage. The count had added largely to his house, and it was fitted up with great good taste. I had the curi-

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osity to ask him what his dining-room cost building, as he said it was all done in his own village. To my surprise, he informed me that he finished it, complete, for four hundred and fifty pounds, and I never saw better brick or joiners' work. The room was forty feet long, and twenty-five wide, and twenty-eight high. I mention these points to show the immense difference of price, comparatively with England.

Our dinner was excellent; on the sideboard were exhibited, not only old plate, but various cups and tureens, prizes at the races of Pesth, Vienna, and Presburg, won by the count's horses; and it was gratifying to me to learn that all these races had followed my introduction of them when ambassador at Vienna.

We took leave of our kind and hospitable friend with great regret, returning to Eisenstadt. Here we were absolutely lost in admiration of the regal splendours of this family palace of the house of Esterhazy. Upwards of two hundred chambers for guests—one large saloon capable of dining one thousand persons—may give some idea of the scale

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of the abode. It was chiefly erected by Prince Paul's father. A battalion of the household guards mount at the principal entrances, all paid, armed, and equipped with the uniform of the family, from the revenues of the estate. The style of the mansion is Greek, and this has been preserved in the temples and ornamental erections in the grounds. One of the principal of these is the temple of Leopoldine, in which is placed a beautiful statue, by Canova, of the Princess Leopoldine Lichtenstein, the sister of the present proprietor.

A remarkable appendage to this enchanting possession are its conservatory and greenhouses. Their extent, breadth, and magnitude, are of fairy dimensions; three or four hundred orange trees alone shed their flowers and exhibit their hanging fruit in the centre of the ranges of glass.

Specimens of plants from all the regions of the world have been assembled here, without regard to trouble or expense. There is no collection comparable to this in England, not even at Sion House; and, possibly, it is from witnessing the grandeur of this exhibition, that the Duke of

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Devonshire, with that patriotic taste and energy which is peculiar to him, has been induced to occupy himself in endeavouring to establish a rival wonder at Chatsworth, which has long obtained the palm of nulli secundus.

We returned to Vienna, enchanted with our excursion—but, coming in late in the evening, (although we passed) we had not time to see, Laxemborg.

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CHAPTER V.

The Emperor of Austria honours the author with an audience—His Imperial Majesty crowned King of Hungary when Crown Prince — The Official Summons — Conference with Prince Metternich—His Opinions on various subjects, the ill-judged attempts of France and England to foster unintelligible Reforms—Unprepared State of Austria for a General War—The Chevalier von Genz, the Diplomatist: his extraordinary passion for Fanny Ellsler—A Lover at Fourscore—Unfortunate result of his attachment — An interesting Collection of Portraits forming by the Princess Metternich—Her *boudoir*—Superiority of the boudoirs of Petersburg and Vienna over those of London—Despondency arising from an approaching departure from attached friends, with whom there is no probability of our again meeting—Prince Metternich's reply to the author's farewell letter.

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CHAPTER V.

On the 7th October, I received an intimation that the emperor had fixed the next day for coming from Schönbrunn to his palace at Vienna, to give me an audience, and I was much flattered by the mode in which H. I. M. afforded me this honour. I applied officially for an interview through our ambassador; but Lord Beauvale was informed that the emperor was too well acquainted with me, and remembered my services too distinctly to require any presentation, and that he desired I might come alone. So marked a remembrance, I own, surprised me, and I repaired to the palace with my son, Seaham, and Dr. Forbes. The emperor received me in the same spacious apartments as his imperial father had done so often before. Conducted through six or seven different rooms, handed over from one chamberlain

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to another, I arrived, at length, at the very spot of the parent's reception, now occupied by the son. Apparently not one of the very few chairs that ever decorated these stately empanelled *salons* had been moved in twenty years.

His Imperial Majesty is known so generally, that I need not say more than that his manner and conversation were excessively kind and considerate towards me.

It may not be known, and it is worthy of note, that Prince Metternich managed, with great adroitness, during the late Emperor Francis's life, to satisfy the anxious desire of the Hungarians to have their king actually crowned at Presburg as King of Hungary. The Crown Prince Ferdinand went, therefore, through the brilliant ceremony, and subsequently succeeded, as of course, and without any question or embarrassment, to the imperial diadem, which possibly might not have been the case if the previous coronation had not been so ably determined on.

The tranquil and sterling feeling of the Austrian people towards their sovereign induces them, when

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once he is proclaimed, to consider him perfect, if not sublime; and, while the present ruler possesses a Metternich, the great machine of government will roll on smoothly. The emperor appeared to me much improved in health and appearance. H. I. M. expressed satisfaction at the circumstance of my son's being born in Vienna, and explained that, in consequence of the deep court mourning for the death of the Duchess of Modena, the empress much regretted she could not give Lady Londonderry an audience.

Some more general conversation occurred; and, in half an hour, the emperor dismissed me with many flattering expressions.

I annex the official summons I received from Lord Beauvale:

"Le Comte de Czernin, grand chambellan de Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, a l'honneur de prevénir S. E., M. le Lord de Beauvale, Amb. Extra. et Plenip. de S. M. B. que Sa Majesté Impériale recevra M. le Marquis de Londonderry, Jeudi, 8 Oct., a 11 heures du matin, à Vienne. Le Comte de Czernin saisit avec empressement cette occasion

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pour renouveller a S. E., M. le Lord de Beauvale l'assurance de sa haute considération.

" Schönbrunn, le 6 8ber, 1840."

Oct. 9. On this day I called on Prince Metternich, and had a most interesting conversation with him. He shewed me around his official residence in Vienna, newly painted and done up, with that purity of taste which characterises the mind that directed the labour. The old apartments, which I so well remembered, having so often and so patiently danced attendance in them, were changed, and were now handsomely decorated. It is a strange point in the character of this celebrated statesman, how eagerly and minutely he interests himself in mere trifles, or rather the smallest minutiæ where art and mechanism is combined. I saw him one evening remain half an hour examining the interior of a small clock playing different airs.

When we had visited all the rooms, the prince turned to his *cabinet du travail*, and said, " He bien, mon cher! voilà une partie, qui reste absolument la même comme le jour que vous l'aviez

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quitté." And, actually, to the very place of the paper and despatches, sealing-wax and pencils, as laid on his writing-table twenty years ago, and every surrounding article in the apartment, there appeared not the slightest change.

The accounts had just arrived of Beyrout. He said, " C'étoit un commencement—peu de chose. Il faut voir actuellement ce que le montagne fera."

I alluded generally to the apparently happy change of system in our foreign policy. Metternich replied, that in life " he had always observed and acted upon the plan of adopting the best proceeding and determination on all important subjects; that to his point of view thus laid down he had stedfastly adhered; and that, in the indescribable workings of time and circumstances, it had ever occurred to him that matters were brought round to the very same spot from which, owing to the folly and misguided notions of inexperienced men, they had for a time taken their departure."

This was evidently an allusion to England's having departed from the intimate alliances and principles of the treaties of Vienna and Paris.

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The prince's description of our government, as at present constituted, then succeeded; but, his remarks being quite confidential, I shall not put them to paper.

On Spanish affairs he next descanted largely, and here I do not think the same reserve necessary. He told me, "that often, during the late reign, he had exposed his views at great length, urging his counsels on King William's ministers. His principles were, that no nation had any right to interfere in the internal concerns of another, when they did not menace the safety of such nation; that, above all things, the succession to the throne and the nomination of a government belonged to the people of every country, and never should be interfered with. In Spain the succession to the crown might be deemed legitimate in two instances; that of Don Carlos, by the pragmatic line from Philip V., and of Queen Isabel, from the will made by Ferdinand VII. — nothing is so impolitic," he said, "as a nation adopting a policy towards a neighbour that they would not submit to in their own case. And what would England have said if William IV. had, by

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will, left the crown to the Duke of Cumberland, instead of to the Princess Victoria? We know very well the people of England would have set the will at defiance; and yet England, on no better grounds, launched into all the embarrassments of the political civil war in Spain.

"A singular part," he continued, "of the conduct of the British ministry seemed to be that, instead of courting order, and studying the interests that would promote security and legitimate succession, the great *culte* of their devotion appeared evident in their affording, unfortunately, and he believed ignorantly and unknowingly, aid to revolution and disorder in all their intercourse with foreign powers."

Metternich then spoke, in no very measured terms, of a letter addressed lately by the Duke of Sussex to Espartero, sending him the Order of the Bath; and the extreme injudiciousness of this proceeding, in all its parts, made a general and most disadvantageous impression on the Continent and throughout Europe.

He went on to explain that, while he had written

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all these sentiments with regard to Spain to England, "he had directed his efforts equally to Louis Philippe; and, although he could not argue the question of legitimacy in the same way with him, he based his reasonings on the pernicious tendency of the conduct of France and England, as fostering the march of anarchy and unintelligible reforms, which in the end would be baneful to both countries. A nation became strong in proportion as it had adjoining and neighbouring kingdoms whose governments were stable, whose institutions were well guarded, and on whom a firm reliance might be placed for tranquillity, peace, and social order. On the other hand, where change and innovation were ever at the door, it was necessary to be always on the *qui vive*, and *les armes à la main*."

I wish that it was allowable, and I could indite with due force and power all the illustrations that accompanied this reasoning, marked as it was throughout with the profoundest, statesman-like *prévoyance*.

As far as I could collect the course of the Austrian diplomacy, I should pronounce that the fear

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of a possibility of war actually keeps the empire in a state of constant jeopardy. Unfit as their preparations are, the occurrences in the East have led them more earnestly to contemplate such an issue; and I can imagine no event that would more annihilate the rock of Metternich's ambition than another European contest. All his fame now rests on having established, by his policy and wisdom, a peace which has lasted nearly thirty years. He wishes, and very naturally, to carry this transcendent exploit to his tomb; and, if it really became endangered, his proud and statesmanlike career would come to an untimely end. Austria, during Metternich's life, will never risk another general commotion of the civilized world.

To return to less important matters. The Princess Metternich gave a *soirée*, for the purpose of enabling us to hear Thalberg, the famous pianiste.

Nothing can surpass his execution and peculiar brilliancy of expression upon his instrument. He and Listz, another *élève* of Metternich's, are the great rival players, and share the enthusiasm of

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the German musical world. Thalberg is generally preferred.

At this party I enjoyed another long conversation with Metternich relative to an old and common friend of ours—alas, for his country and the world, now no more!—I mean the celebrated Chevalier von Genz. No one, who has turned his attention to the political state of Europe for the last twenty years, can be ignorant of the great card this famous compiler and writer has played in the allied congresses, and in the counsels of all the cabinets.

Eleven years ambassador at Vienna had made me intimately acquainted with his singular abilities; and Metternich repeated to me, once again, what I had often heard him say before, that he never knew a man, and believed none ever existed, who possessed such intellectual powers, and such facility and felicity in giving expression to them.

Is it not, then, passing strange that this profound genius, this subtle politician, this phœnix of literature and composition, should have died actually from an overwhelming excess of the passion of love?—and this, too, at an age, when nature

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cools down the passions, and bids them subside? for he was near fourscore: yet so the case stands. He imbibed a maddening attachment for Fanny Ellsler, the Vienna *danseuse*, then more partially known, but of late conspicuous both in England and America. Her early charms and fascinations turned the philosopher's brain. His habits of business wholly ceased; and, on Prince Metternich's observing and reasoning with him upon this change, Genz assigned, as his formal excuse, "that he had been so thunderstruck with the result of the days of July, that from that moment he had given up Europe for lost, and was convinced that no effort could save the world from anarchy and confusion, and therefore he ceased to occupy himself with state affairs." Metternich argued with him, "that, in proportion as greater dangers arose, so ought men of capacity to rise more energetically to the combat." But Genz then more candidly avowed, "that he had abandoned himself entirely to one engrossing feeling; he proclaimed it, he gloried in it; he was fondly, passionately, desperately, eternally in love, and had only that existence and that deity."

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On this opera girl poor Genz lavished large sums of money, and, whilst exhibiting his partiality, contracted debts, and ultimately died in penury and wretchedness. It is due, however, to this enchanting creature, Fanny Ellsler, to say that she behaved very kindly to him, and seemed vain at having subdued and attached a person of such high and undoubted genius. Prince Metternich related also that he was with his friend a few hours before he breathed his last, and that this individual, who was proverbially known to be so timorous, that he dreaded his own shadow, nevertheless, by the force of the one predominant feeling, died with the greatest calmness and courage, declaring he embraced death as a relief from the devouring passion that consumed him. He thus departed, at the ripe age of fourscore, a victim to the affections.

Genz left behind him some beautiful sentimental letters in manuscript, addressed to his fair dulcinea, breathing feelings stronger, perhaps, than ever were penned before. I could not obtain copies.

With regard to the other *Employés* of Metternich's *chancellerie*, who shared the work of the

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bureau with Genz, they have been all changed during twenty years, and many no longer exist. Count Mersey, a very able man, had retired from bad health; and other persons, both of civil and military note, have vanished from the scene, and but a few evergreens survive.

I found the theatres in Vienna much fallen off, the Bourg alone excepted. The charming *ballets d'enfans*, which produced the Meyers, the Heberles, and the Ellslers, had been put a stop to by the emperor Francis, before his death, on the ground of immorality. There may be wisdom and virtue in the decision, but still the loss in amusement and pleasure is extreme. The public balls for the middle classes, at this time of the year, in the Leopoldstadt and Prater, were more numerous and general than heretofore; and it is impossible to record a more striking instance of the good conduct, order, and tranquillity of these happy Viennois, than by the fact that, while night after night they assemble in hundreds in these *salons de danse*, with their Straus's, or other delicious German bands, and while the rooms are filled with

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smoke, and the beverage, coffee and lemonade, there never occurs an instance of quarrel, riot, or disturbance, although the whirling waltz and merriment continue from five in the evening till after midnight.

Little else worthy of note occurred during our very agreeable stay at Vienna—the same evenings at Metternich's; the same lounges for making purchases and visits of a morning; the same idleness and fatigue at night, which the searching and arid climate and the clouds of execrable fine dust invariably create, more or less, in all travellers.

But there is one point I ought not to forget at Princess Metternich's *soirées*. She has established a rule of asking every distinguished stranger, who visits her for his portrait, to be painted by one or other of the eminent artists who inhabit Vienna: of these, M. Draffin is the favourite. No one, of course, can or ought to refuse so flattering a request from a beautiful woman; and the princess has now on her table three large folio books, containing portraits of the most renowned or interesting characters in Europe, who have passed through

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Vienna since her marriage, all painted in beautiful miniature, and presenting the most striking likenesses. Count Woronzow and myself were solicited and equally gratified to sit for and to present our portraits on the same evening, and we now occupy the same page in this historical collection.

Princess Metternich's boudoir, situated next to her receiving-rooms, is of great *récherche*, and illuminated by shaded lights, producing a soft and pleasing effect. It unites in its large collection of curiosities and *vertu* all the nicknackery these fairy departments now generally assume. These, however, are more effectively got up at both St. Petersburg and Vienna, those in London being still far behind them.

Much more could I write of Vienna, which I so greatly admire; but I must close this already long chapter.

I know nothing in life more painful than the act of bidding adieu to those whom in life, according to all probable chances, we shall never meet again. This weighed so deeply on my spirits, that I was unwilling to take leave of Prince Metternich; I

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therefore wrote him a short note, expressive of my sincere attachment, and the interest I must ever take in his welfare, in his administration, and in his country. The Prince's answer is a record no less flattering to myself than remarkable for the truth, simplicity, and kindness of its composition. I here annex it.

" Ce 15 8bre, 1840.

" Mon cher Marquis,

" C'est avec bien des regrets que je ne vous ai plus vu : conservez moi votre amitié et revenez nous voir, car je n'ai guère de chance d'aller vous chercher ; mon existence ressemble à celle des coraux fixés sur un roc, et qui ne se déplacent qu'avec la base sur laquelle ils sont attachés. J'accepte ainsi avec satisfaction votre bon augure, car je ne voudrois également point mourir sans vous avoir revu.

" Notre connoissance et amitié datent d'une époque qui aujourd'hui à la valeur de ces tems que l'histoire même qualifie d'héroïque. Tous les souvenirs qui s'attachent à des tems pareils ont un charme égal pour l'esprit et pour le cœur.

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" Je vous recommande au Lieuténant Colonel Philippoville, qui fera le voyage avec vous à Constantinople. C'est un officier très distingué, et que nous envoyons en Turquie pour le mettre aux ordres de la Porte.

" Il pourra vous servir de Dragoman, car il sçait le Turc, aussi bien que nous deux ne le sçavons pas.

" Vous trouverez ce inclus la lettre à l'Internonce.

" Mille hommages à Madame la marquise, et que le bon Dieu vous protége dans votre voyage.

" Conservez moi souvenir et amitié.

" METTERNICH."

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CHAPTER VI.

A Family Separation — Count Etiénne Zecheny and the Austrian Steam Navigation Company—Embark on Board the Galatea Steamer—Her Accommodations—Banks of the Danube—Pesth—Suspension Bridge—Club House—The Zrynii and her Passengers — Emir Pacha — Dr. Duroni, and Colonel Philippoville—Unpleasant Voyage—The Station at Drenkova — Continuation of the Voyage in Open Boats — Romantic Scenery—Orsova—Fourth Embarkation in Wallachian Boats —Passage of the Rapids between Orsova and Skela Gladova —Embark on board the Pannonia—Cupidity of the Agents — Intolerable annoyances — Stranded on a Sand-bank again — Sufferings of the Passengers from the Over-crowded state of the boat, and Inadequate Accommodation.

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CHAPTER VI.

It was on the banks of the Danube, at the eastern extremity of the Prater, where the Austrian Steam Navigation Company's ships have their station, that I parted with my children on the 15th October, 1840. Lady L. and I having resolved to make the passage to Constantinople, and not deeming it advisable or prudent to take young people with us, we left them at Vienna, to proceed by land to Trieste, and thence by steam to Ancona, or Manfredonia and Naples, where we hoped all to rendezvous by New Year's day.

The separation from your own belongings, the division of a family already one thousand five hundred miles from home, was naturally attended with gloom; and the wretched, rainy day of our departure increased the melancholy that pervaded the

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party. They who have at all studied human nature will admit that we are generally prone to consider ourselves as the centre of our own immediate circle, and the orb round which revolves, and must revolve, all that most interests our feelings. When blessed with a domestic position and offspring, the whole world and its attractions are but secondary and insignificant to the creatures of our own affections.

All possible pains had been taken by the direction of the Austrian Steam Navigation Company to afford us every convenience and accommodation in their power. An old and particular friend of mine, Count Etiénne Zecheny, was at the head of this direction, and had entered, about ten years ago, upon the laudable undertaking of navigating the Danube by steam, and thus joining, by easy intercourse, the capitals of Vienna and Constantinople. Nothing more enlightened or patriotic was ever projected; and it is mainly owing to this high-spirited Hungarian nobleman, that the great advantage is now enjoyed of performing, in twelve or thirteen days, the journey to the capital of the

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East, that some few years since could only be achieved by riding the whole way, and occupying by couriers two or three weeks.

But it is not solely in originating this great scheme for the benefit of the empire he belongs to, that Count Zecheny has reason to be proud. He has also entered largely into every practicable speculation to benefit Hungary and its capital, Pesth, where he resides, and which affords to every inquiring traveller abundant proofs of his liberality.

The head direction of the steam company is established at Vienna. There are now eighteen boats, varying from sixty to one hundred horse power, and it is stated that twenty-four more are to be added within a year. Some of these are to be of iron, as better adapted for the strong currents of the Danube.

The arrangements for this navigation have been laborious, but are by no means yet perfected. Capital is not very disposable in Austria and Hungary, and the company have had great difficulties in the undertaking; but, for the last two years, the profits have increased, which may give en-

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couragement to capitalists, and lead to improving the arrangements. The Austrian archdukes, Prince Metternich, and the rich and influential noblemen, have at length been persuaded to take shares in this project: but all matters march slowly in Austria. As yet the Danube boats are far inferior to those on the Rhine, but still cannot be much objected to by those who undertake to travel with the free abandonment, for a time, of their own comforts and luxuries.

Our first day's steaming only took us to Presburg, it being but a few miles from Vienna. Here we first slept on board the Galatea, Austrian steamer. Two separate cabins, for Lady L. and myself, with our own beds, made our accommodation all that could be desired. The *cuisine* on board was also very fair. The captain, an intelligent, agreeable man, spoke many languages, and was the best specimen of the kind we met. The vessel was nearly as large below, for carrying passengers, as the Rhine boats. But nothing can be worse contrived than the general sleeping accommodation for both sexes. It is true they have

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distinct cabins; the ladies occupying the steerage. The gentlemen, however, regardless of numbers, stow into the saloon, or fore-cabin, the sofas and cushions of which are attached to the sides, and, at the hour of rest, small tickings, about two feet wide, are drawn out and unfolded from under the sofas; these have an iron frame and two iron bars, that rest on the floor. A coverlet is given as the sole furniture to these sad narrow pallets, on which you may lie flat on your back, but in which few can turn without falling off. On these the passengers are doomed to repose; and, when all are in line, seen by the dim light of the cabin lamp, it might be assimilated to the sepulchral scene of Robert le Diable. But, of the two sexes, the ladies are ten times worse provided for. Amongst the gentlemen there are some separations, something like places divided off. But in the women's cabin there are only the usual seats around, with cushions and pillows; so that all lie pell-mell, covering themselves with their cloaks, or what they possess, and wallowing together like a herd of cattle;

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than which nothing can be more inconvenient and indelicate.

All this is unnecessary, and is occasioned by the cupidity that looks only to the multitude of passengers, and not to their accommodation. The boats ought to be properly fitted up with births, bed and bedding, like the best English steamers.

On the 18th we reached Pesth, at five in the evening. The banks of the Danube, between Vienna and the capital of Hungary, offer nothing inviting. At Presburg is a bridge of boats, and the town is finely situated. There are a country-seat and hunting-box belonging to Prince Esterhazy; and the large mansion and residence of Jalburg, the property of the Zichy family, in the environs; which, however, are flat and uninteresting. There are traits of good soil and laborious cultivation, with woods of small timber, that run along the banks of the river, and these last form the only marked feature in the long range of space through which the steamer glides.

We were lodged, at Pesth, in an excellent hotel—*L'Hôtel de la Reine d'Angleterre.* The city stands

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on the right bank of the river, and opposite, on the left, is Ofen or Bude, with which a bad bridge of boats communicates.

Above the town are very commanding heights, and the white mansions and palaces are attractive to the eye. On the summit is the residence of the Archduke Palatine, and where the Diet assembles.

This town ranks, with regard to Vienna, as Dublin to London; and is not very much unlike the Irish capital. It partakes also of a Russian appearance, as respects many of the equipages, and small carts, while the Hungarian peasant is by no means unlike the Muscovite Moujik's. Large wide streets exist, but many are as yet unpaved. Great overgrown buildings, seemingly suspended for want of capital or means to finish them at present—splendid plans and foundations, in progress, meet the eye. But many long years must elapse before this town has an orderly appearance; and yet, the new projects, which I understand are mainly laid down by Count Zecheny, are in good taste and magnificent.

One of the most remarkable enterprises that is going forward, and under the direction of an Eng-

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lish engineer, Mr. Clarke, is a suspension-bridge over the Danube. It is to be completed in five or six years; and undoubtedly, if finished on its present scale, it will rival our famed bridge of the Menai.

Count Zecheny has also had built and established a club-house, with public assembly and ball rooms; assimilating the arrangements to those of England. A library, with all the modern publications, is attached: and the count is indefatigable in bringing forward every speculation for improvement and general utility.

Visiting the various places above-mentioned, and the shops in the town, (which, like Vienna, has several fauxbourgs), occupied the 17th, and our baggage and effects were this day transferred from the Galatea steamer to a vessel named the Zrynii, after an Austrian general who defeated the Turks in one of their great battles.

In this boat we had rather more ample accommodation; but it was neither so good nor so comfortable as the Galatea. The captain was an Italian, and of him we saw little. We had, at first,

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about one hundred passengers from Vienna on board. Amongst the most distinguished of these was a Turkish pacha, who was styled Emir Pacha, and his doctor, who was called Duroni. This medical gentleman passed for a Turk, with long beard, fez, and high buttoned-up Turkish coat. He was fond of his person, imitating, in look and attitude, the portraits of our lord Jesus. He was assiduous to the greatest degree, not only in looking after his pacha, but in fetching and carrying for every soul on board. I must say that he, as well as his patron, made, by their amiability and attention, great impression upon us, and we were very intimate during the passage; afterwards, however, things turned out differently, and we found our Turkish doctor was no more than a Perote, and son of a Pera physician; and our pacha we lost sight of at Constantinople.

Besides the foregoing companions, we had Colonel Philippoville, especially recommended to me by Prince Metternich, proceeding on a mission to organize the Turkish new levies. He was accompanied by two other Austrian officers. There was, likewise, a Wertemburg colonel, with his aid-de-

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camp and attachés, on a mission of information to the East, and also employed to purchase horses for his sovereign. These were the chief personages; but the mass of our numbers diminished at each station down the Danube:—the second day we were reduced to fifty; the third to thirty.

The dinner hour was one p. m., the supper at eight. Lady L. and I had our two separate cabins, and our repasts at our own hours.

The 18th October, the day we left Pesth, was fine; the following was quite execrable, with the coldest wind and the most uncompromising rain. The novelty of the scene, and the various inquiries made, and the information received, during the first days, kept up the spirit and interest of the scene; but deplorable indeed was our situation and predicament after that time. The damps arising from the river at night, added to the wet from the decks, which flowed into our cabins, made them like a pool. Our beds and linen were cold, and never dry, from the torrents above and the humid vapours below. The constant tremulation or shaking caused by the machinery in these small steamers,

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arising from the paddles of the engines being underneath the vessel, occasioned disagreeable sensations; and these were not improved when we found ourselves stuck fast and deposited on a sand-bank, between Semlin and Belgrade, on the evening of the 20th. We had expected to arrive at Drenkova (our next halting station) on that day, but we were doomed to pass many long hours half-buried in the sand, and only reached the above place late on the following evening.

The entire of the station consists of a magazine, a cabaret or *gasthaus*, and a church. Tired as we were of our steamer, and suffering as we had done, we had not, in the miserable appearance which two or three small heated rooms afforded, any temptation to leave the vessel, especially as we were to prepare for another embarkation the following morning, in the small covered barges which are provided at this place, to enter upon the more intricate navigation of the river.

At break of the next day this operation commenced; and the shifting of the baggage, carriages, passengers, and all the commercial stowage, from the Zrynii steamer, of sixty horse power, into flat,

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broad, and covered boats, similar to the Dutch canal schoots, was no trifling operation; and much more convenient arrangements might be made with little difficulty.

In leaving the Zrynii, I must not fail to state, that the captain exerted himself in every way to be civil and accommodating, and, but for the inclement weather we had, there would have been no real hardship or inconvenience up to our arrival at this station of Drenkova.

The company were now divided into two large eight or ten oared barges, with flat-bottomed boats following, bringing luggage and carriages.

The day cleared a little after nine o'clock p. m. The banks of the Danube, in the passage to Orsova, were high romantic cliffs, and steep and craggy mountains, tumbled together, flanking the tortuous course of the mighty river; which, in this its region of separation between Austria and Turkey, seems to have taken the singular caprice of entirely changing its hitherto navigable nature.

We reached Orsova on the 22d, in the middle of the day, and might have continued our voyage

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two hours longer, which would have brought us to the next station, where the steam-boats again begin to ply; but another transmigration of all the body politic, as laid down by the orders and regulations of the administration, was to be performed at Orsova, and we could not go through the ceremony, nor were the boats sufficiently in readiness to enable us to get to the steam-boat before dark; so we (rather joyfully) found ourselves obliged to put up this day on shore, in the best little inn that Orsova afforded. The town is rather a habitable place; the Austrian Company are building a very respectable *bureau*; there are agents' and negocians' houses, and the country round is picturesque in the extreme.

Here, on the left bank of the Danube, you have the Wallachians and the *lazaretto* for the quarantine from Turkey; and, on the right bank, with a fortress on an island in the centre of the Danube, you have the blood-red flag and the crescent towering on high. No language can describe the filthy barbarian specimen of the Wallachian population; the *moujik* of the Russians are gentlemen

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in comparison to them. A small establishment, railed in on the neutral ground near Orsova, affords a curious place for the Turks to bring their merchandize and traffic with the Wallachians on their territory, on the left bank, and the contrast of the population, and the strange barbarian mixture, are equally edifying and amusing.

Our next and fourth embarkation (these being Vienna, Pesth, Drenkova, and Orsova,) took place at eight o'clock in the morning. By the favour of the heavens, the weather had changed, and the 23d, most fortunately, was a remarkably fine day; but this shipment was by far the worst of all. The boats are Wallachian, and as rudely constructed as at the origin, probably, of this savage race. Although covered over with wood at top, they are open on both sides and in front and rear, courting a total exposure to cold, wind, and rain, and for no earthly purpose that I could discover, as they might as well have protection from the inclement season. The helmsman stands up at the stern, as in a galley, his rudder being a pole, bound by cord to a plank, while four paddles aft and six

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on the fore-part of this ill-shapen canoe carry it along; and then you are guided, under, as we are told, the very scientific direction of these natives, through the dangerous rapids and iron gate of the Danube, that present themselves between Orsova and Skela Gladova.

Now, with respect to these rapids and the iron gate, they may be very dreadful at lower water, and they may even be dangerous; but, for my own part, I hardly perceived any descent or fall, when rowed through them — the only sensation felt in the boat being, that it was guided or steered in a zigzag, circuitous manner, through a little sea of sharp, small waves, forming large whirlpools occasionally. The boat, however, from its extreme flatness, rides over the small surges, and communicated, in this instance, at least, little or no change of sensation inside. Whether the pointed rocks below can be excavated so as to lessen the causes of this turbulent passage, or whether other means can be applied to make it better, time may determine; but all I can safely record is, that you can pass it now with the greatest facility, and without

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the least possible danger; how far the passage may be improved for travellers, is another question.

While I protest against the want of fair accommodation in these open passage-boats, which might easily be rendered better, I am ready to acknowledge that it is only for two hours that you are condemned to the annoyances they entail; but this is quite enough, especially on a wet or cold, windy, and frosty day. Neither can I say that the prospect brightens on arrival at Skela Gladova. Here we were a fifth time embarked on board the Pannonia, of only, alas! thirty-six horse power.

This station is composed of but a few wooden huts, an agent-house, and a small colony of Wallachians, settled there for the mere purpose of loading and unloading the craft that arrive.

The Pannonia lay off a muddy bank, with planks of board to get up her side, and was as dirty as any collier. She saluted us, it is true, with nine guns, and hoisted national and English colours; but, on mounting her deck, it was stowed, fore and aft, with carriages of merchants going to Galatz

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and Odessa; and so enormous was the quantity of other baggage and stowage, that no passenger had space to move. Such was really its state when I first went on board, and ere long three enormously laden boats from Orsova and two carriages arrived; will it then be believed, that it next packed in all these in addition to the crew we brought! Such was the cupidity of the agents, to make the most of the voyage; but finding, with all their efforts, they had no room for another carriage, and having been paid for mine at Vienna, they were obliged to tow down another large boat for it, at the tail of the Pannonia; and I need scarcely add, that they took further advantage of this, by stowing a great lot more of merchandize. I had engaged (all that I could) one separate cabin, at Vienna; on coming on board, the captain protested against the right of the administration, in this respect, but handsomely offered his own cabin to Lady L., and afterwards I got a separate birth, but both were so small as to be only capable of holding a bed. The deck was a scene like a crowded bazaar —Jews, Turks, and Christians, six carriages, piles

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of boxes of merchandize, sacks of tobacco, with grapes, and boxes of pineapples for the Serail, under the especial care of the Turkish Pacha and his doctor, these being especially ordered for the new-married bride, the sister of the sultan.

All this and more was crowded on an arena both filthy and black with the coals of the steam-boat, mixed with flakes of water, and nothing to wash the decks; while the oil of the engines, and the stench of garlic issuing from a four-feet square cupboard, by way of kitchen (from which effluvia no part of the deck was free), formed an *ensemble* that certainly no delicate female should ever be exposed to, even by a speculative mamma or from curiosity to see foreign parts. On the 23rd, about 1 p.m., we got under weigh; the miserable steamer being crammed up to its mast-head, and tugging after it a heavy barge, laden with bales and merchandize, which, undoubtedly, retarded our progress two hours out of six.

I can hardly comment with patience on the extreme want of order and regulation that must exist at the head direction, and with the agents at the

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different stations, for nothing would be so easy as to apportion the places, baggage, goods, &c., taken up at each; or else to engage all at the head *bureau* alone, and not allow the sub-agents on the route, without ceremony or discretion, to load the vessels (into which the unfortunate passengers from Vienna are so often transshipped) so enormously, that, when these arrive, they literally can hardly find places.

We were to have reached Ghirges and Roustouck on the 25th; but, owing to the immoderate weight on board the vessels, we had, on that day, scarcely done half the distance; and then, to our inexpressible horror, after a morning of very heavy fog, when we got under steam, about nine o'clock, the weather clearing up, we stranded again on a sand-bank, before eleven a. m., and remained there several hours. The inconvenience and sufferings we now underwent can hardly, by any description, be exaggerated. The rain, since we entered the Pannonia, had, after the first evening, fallen in torrents. The fog surrounded us, and the damp pierced through the sides of our deck-cabins; nothing could be kept dry, nothing could be got

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warm, and there was hardly room in any part of the vessel to move.

In the fore-cabin, where only twelve should be accommodated, thirty-six or thirty-eight were stowed. In the first cabin (though somewhat better), the ladies were so closely packed that only one had room to dress at a time; and, contrary to all practice and usage, the whole deck was covered with the carriages and merchandize, so that it was impossible to walk about.

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CHAPTER VII.

Arrival at Ghirges—Austrian Steamers—Mr. Slade's Political Opinions—Austrian Policy and Russian Aggrandisement—The Prussian Commercial League—Navigation of the Danube—Whig Policy—Austrian Alliance with Russia—Russian Commerce—State of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia, under Russian Protection—Efforts of Austria to find new Markets for Extending her Commerce—Proposed Canal to Kustendji—Voyage Continued—Project to go by Land to Constantinople obliged to be Abandoned—Description of Galatz—Free Ports—Hospitable Reception at Galatz—Account of Gipsies—Quarantine — Letter from the Prince of Moldavia — The Russians at Sulina—Calm Passage through the Black Sea—Description of the Entrance into the Bosphorus—Line of Coast—Suburban View—Constantinople.

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CHAPTER VII.

It was late on the evening of the 26th before we arrived at Ghirges, opposite to Roustouck, on the Turkish side. The station was nothing but a large warehouse, or barn; a mere cover over the goods and merchandize, during the momentary arrangements of the steamer. The town is about three English miles from the place at which the steamer comes to an anchor. Having been so uncomfortable on board for four days, and not having to continue our voyage till the next morning, we were very desirous of getting a night on shore to refresh ourselves, though there was no hotel or place in this miserable town to receive strangers. The agent-director of the company, Mr. Staut, was so obliging as to put two rooms of his house at our disposition, with a covered carriage to take us to them, and a waggon for our baggage and servants. Although it

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rained unceasingly, and the trouble of moving out, to return by five o'clock the next morning, was very great, we decided on making the effort; and, by eight o'clock in the evening, were at our dinner, which our *chef de cuisine*, the famed M. Perron, always contrived should be excellent. It was impossible to surpass the kindness of the gentleman and his wife in their attentions.

The town has the wretched remains of a Wallachian fortress, which was besieged, but not taken, in the last war between the Russians and Turks: opposite is another strong place (Roustouck). Both these, at the peace of Adrianople, were directed, by the treaty of capitulation, to be razed; thus presenting an additional feature of desolation and destruction in a country, and among towns, which, in their own naked deformity, surpass all description of wretchedness.

It must be observed that the Austrian steamers go alternately down the right and left bank of the Danube; and the passage by Jemlin and Belgrade is very ably described in Mr. Slade's interesting book.

With respect to the author's political reasoning

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as to the expediency of Austria's endeavouring to obtain more absolute possession of Servia, and her impolicy in the late arrangements of Moldavia and Wallachia, on the great jealousy of Russia, and the preponderating influence of this power, I admit there is ample ground for future apprehension: but, after all, every power is the best judge of its own interests; and Prince Metternich is not a man ever to become supine or blind to the great and real interests of the important empire swayed by his counsels. I have always been of opinion that the terrors of northern aggrandizement are overstated, and, with respect to the immediate subject of the navigation of the Danube, it occurs to me that no fear of the Servian people, or of what Russia might possibly do if she could, through them, to control the passes and the rocky parts of the river, which might certainly be made more navigable and useful, should prevent Austria from at once embarking in the attempt at improvement; because it it is quite clear that a war, or any difference between the two powers, would be for higher objects than the tenure of a pass on the Danube. Besides,

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there can be no sufficient reason for neglecting improvements for the general good, which are equally required by all parties, simply because the country may, possibly, hereafter be commanded by only one of the powers interested.

Ghorgeo is only forty-six hours' travelling from Bukarest, the capital of Ghika, the sovereign prince of Wallachia, the dynasty of this family in succession having been established at the last peace with the Turks. Moldavia, the adjoining principality, equally under its own independent sovereign, has its capital at Iassy. These countries, formerly under the Turkish dominion alone, have lately passed, as is well known, under Russian protection; but what this phrase exactly means, I do not here pretend to understand; and, certainly, with all my faith in the honest dispositions of the Emperor of Russia, I consider an undefined protection singular and inexplicable. But still, if Austria and Prussia, who must be judges of their own interests, are satisfied with it, and have allowed Turkey to acquiesce, it is not for England to be more alive to what, after all, may be unjust suspicions.

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And here I must remark that the causes assigned by Mr. Slade, for the present and future course of the Austrian government, do not seem to me to be sufficient or satisfactory. It cannot be doubted that the first intimations of a commercial league, on the part of the Prussian government, in 1820, met the strongest discouragement from the Austrian minister, who saw in it not only the direct aggrandizement of Prussia, both commercial and political, but also, more indirectly, the first step towards sapping the preponderance of his own government in Germany, already materially diminished during the war, and not recovered entirely, even by the large share taken by Austria in the final successes.

The efforts made by Bonaparte to render the north of Germany independent of England, by the institution and encouragement of native manufactures, had thrown, however, into the hands of Prussia, since the peace, an instrument by which she hoped to raise herself to the same political importance as Austria, and likewise to become independent of Russia. These efforts, consequently and

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naturally, threw Austria more in the way of Russia, from the similarity of their interests in extending the commerce and civilization of the south of Europe, in proportion as their influence diminished in the north, and more especially in Germany. But the navigation of the Danube was a task that required a degree of energy and a capital that did not seem as yet developed in Austria; and, in fact, it has been attained only by slow degrees, owing both to the want of enterprise in individuals, and the caution of the government in all great undertakings.

Still, it was only through the medium of this navigation that the southern provinces of this great power could be brought into the state so desirable for their own interests, and for the general benefit. Any thing that tended to facilitate the improvement of the south was, therefore, an advantage to the Austrian government; and, as its most enlightened statesmen have not the same alarms with regard to Russia, that are felt and expressed in the north of Germany and by England (an alarm in which I never could partake), the advantages of mutual trade have naturally united the two go-

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vernments to a degree which causes the uneasiness of the rest of Europe.

Had the policy of the British Whig ministry not depreciated and despised the early efforts of the Union — an error admitted, when too late, by the fifth article of the treaty with Austria—we should not have deprived this power of the commercial influence of England, acting in her behalf, nor left her to a state of isolation, in Germany, that forced her, independently of any other cause, to draw closer towards Russia. We can the less wonder at this course, too, after the refusal of the British Cabinet in 1828, to unite with Austrian counsels in the affairs of Turkey, which had produced some considerable estrangement in the mind of the Austrian minister as to the conduct and principles of Great Britain.

The policy, then, which was put forth in Germany, and so paraded by these and the Prussian governments, of forcing Austria upon Hungary, the Danube, and the Black Sea, as a bar to the increase of Russia, in that quarter, has certainly not produced this last end: and the failure proves the

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fallacy and insufficiency of the principle so ostentaciously laid down by one class of politicians; while Russia, whom it was intended to depress, reaps all the advantages of which it was sought to deprive her, by this, however, temporary union of commercial interests with Austria. Now, Austria herself, feeling that the weight she has lost in the north can, for the present at least, be only recovered by obtaining a firmer footing, and an increased importance in the south, joins with Russia to advance this object by every means in her power. On the other hand, Russia, disunited from Prussia, and not altogether secure in Poland, seeks and cherishes the Austrian alliance from something of the same principle, among others; and she is greatly assisted by the jealousy of Austria towards the gradual maritime alliance of Prussia with England.

The Austrian treaty of 1829 with England, having been nominally renewed, but, in reality, destroyed by the Whigs; and their commercial treaty with Turkey having injured the latter power, and all others that adopted it, and thus proved bene-

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ficial to Russia alone, whose far-sighted statesmen at once perceived and rejected its pernicious and impractical tendencies, has thrown all the trade of the Ottoman port into the hands of Russia; and she, under present circumstances, and the weakness of Turkey, holding the command of the Black Sea, offers every inducement to Austria for trade in that quarter: so that the roads, railways, and steamers of the latter — all that, in fact, improves her internal condition and external power, are nourished by the commerce she carries on with the Levant, Archipelago, Euxine, and sea of Azof. Austria, in return, opens her Danube navigation to Russia, with sufficiently rapid improvement of Hungary, Servia, &c., to suit her immediate views, though not so fast as is desired by those who overlook her internal difficulties; and she is, besides, careful to avoid the display of a premature and ill-judged jealousy of Russia, at the moment, in that direction.

While the Austrian provinces are thus, and especially Hungary, rising, surely, into prosperity, and the chief rivers, such as the Save and the Drave, are

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attracting attention towards the improvement of their channels; while Austrian steam boats are on the increase between the Lower Danube, the Adriatic, and the Black Sea: and while this route opens a trade with Servia, Bulgaria, Wallachia, Moldavia, Constantinople, and through Trebizond even to Persia, it cannot be denied that the advantages thus accruing are well worth some sacrifices on the part of Austria: nor can it be wondered at that Russia, whose exports are so greatly diminishing in Europe, but who is anxious to push her manufactures in all directions, and more especially in Central Asia, where our recent unhappy policy of aggression has converted hostility towards her into friendly feeling, should be anxious, on the one hand, to throw every impediment in the way of an Austrian trade with England by the Danube; while her northern provinces look upon Austria as a far less dangerous competitor than England towards Circassia, the Caucasus, and the East.

I am therefore of opinion that the two states are bound by ties of immediate commercial interest, that sufficiently account for their apparent apathy

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towards other considerations, so inexplicable to many writers, who regard less the actual relations between the two countries than the views of their own governments.

With respect to the views and proceedings of Russia in a political sense, admitting for a moment, as some say, that these are such as are calculated to produce alarms in connection with Moldavia and Wallachia, and even Servia, I cannot think the difficulties they unquestionably create are such as to more than merely complicate and embarrass, without actually endangering the position of Austria. Under the protection of Russia, the two former provinces do certainly feel themselves freed from the misgovernment of Turkey; and they have hitherto clung to that protection as a source of safety. For, even if it were admitted that the Turks are more mild and supine in their provincial domination and government, strictly so called, it cannot be denied that the political rights, if violated, were more easy of toleration than those individual wrongs which were so constantly committed, from private and personal motives alone, upon

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the natives; and these, in fact, are the real grounds of complaint against the Turks, mixed and heightened as they are with sneers and insults, and invectives against those who held a different faith from the followers of Mahomet. But once accustomed to have their private rights respected and held inviolate, political wishes and claims will follow, till the very feeling that led the inhabitants of the two principalities to seek aid from Russia will grow into a still stronger sentiment of national emancipation and independence.

The intriguing system, so successful of late in Wallachia and Servia against their proper rulers, will, if these are displaced, turn against their successors; and, if the spirit of Russian aggrandisement in this quarter is as strong and restless as it is charged with being, the habits of intrigue which it has fostered will become a tool for any other power, to turn against their Muscovite masters, if such they are to have. The longer the chain of Russian dominion, and the more numerous its links, the greater the diversity of views, passions, interests, and jealousies, that Russia will have to

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control: and if her power in the South ever becomes sufficiently great to equipoise that in the north, the superior fertility and resources of the former will shortly go on to overweigh and paralyse the capitals of Moscow and St. Petersburg — but this is a state of things that I think can never come to pass.

Besides, Austria knows too well that, were she once united with England and Prussia, that hour, in spite of Russia, brings restoration to Poland.

Austria showed her opinion of the capacities of the line of principalities when she inserted them as sharers of the Danube navigation in the treaty with England; and they are growing sensible of their own position, after the example set by Servia. Whether protected or independent, however, this chain of posts can never belong fairly to Russia, unless she is also permitted by all Europe to rule over the European portion of Turkey also, with Greece included; they pertain rather, and by position, to Austria, if to either power. And she cannot be lightly assailed and injured by encroach-

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ment, direct or indirect, to any extent on the part of Russia, who is aware that, in the event of a war with England, France, and Prussia, on Austria alone depends the security of Poland.

Thus guarded on the side of Dalmatia, the Adriatic, and the principalities, Austria, as I said before, can easily afford to overlook much that excites the uneasiness of Europe in the pursuit of commerce, and the development of her now progressing manufactures, which require the new markets she is obtaining for them, by her increased activity in the Mediterranean and Archipelago, the Atlantic and even the Baltic, and with America.

But for these and similar considerations, and with all deference for the reasons assigned by Mr. Slade against the measure as ineligible, I cannot help thinking that the idea of a canal to Kustendji would be realised, so soon as a necessity should exist for it, either in the increase of commerce, that should require and remunerate the expenses of such a channel, or in the complicated relations of Russia towards the Austrian government; for

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capital is the only thing apparently wanting to this end, when once resolved on in Vienna.

But, undoubtedly, this capital is not a very easy commodity to obtain in the first metropolis of the Austrian empire, and the state of the finances, and the cruel deprivation and sacrifices of the rich nobles and the first houses during the French war, render it problematical, in any defined period, whether Austria will be able to undertake any gigantic effort, such as has been alluded to. But to return to my narrative.

Taking fresh provisions aboard the steamer at Ghorgeo (for the bad arrangements at Skela Gladova, already described, and the unusual delay of the boat, had made the supply of every thing run short), we proceeded on our voyage on the morning of the 27th. The beautiful weather of this day cheered all our spirits, and prevented our repining at the relinquishment of an idea I had taken up of either going by land to Choumla, and across the Balkan to Adrianople and Constantinople, or else getting to Varna by crossing the Peninsula in our carriage, and being taken up again by the steamer

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there, to cross the Black Sea. Any thing practicable of this kind would have been joyfully embraced to get rid of the small steamer, which had now become a complete purgatory. However, on inquiry we found that the roads over the mountain were impracticable at this season for a carriage, and that in a Turkish waggon it would take us four or five weeks, and oblige us to carry all our provisions with us, with often no other accommodation, when we were forced to stop, than could be afforded by small huts. On the other hand, though we might thus get more easily to Varna, we could in no way reach it in time for the steamer. Both projects, then, became impossible; but, as the road was open for adventurers on horseback, a party of Wertemburg officers, together with a young Englishman, Mr. Napier, who were our companions on board, very gallantly and determinedly left the Pannonia on the 27th, when we sailed, to ride post to Constantinople. These gentlemen, on arriving at Varna, found the plague had broken out, and did not reach Constantinople till a fortnight after us. How fortunate we then thought ourselves in not having attempted the arduous enterprise!

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How little can the wisest predict, even on a sunny day, the course of the clouds for the morrow! The whole crew and the most experienced of the passengers united in assuring us that now the fine weather had set in: but that night, and on the morning of the 28th, storm, rain, and wind assailed us. It blew a hurricane against our steamer, which could make little head, and we were afraid we should not reach Galatz, the post of our destination, by the evening. Nevertheless, after four p.m., the wind moderated, and we anchored at eight off this Moldavian seaport town. The consuls residing here came on board; and, after some difficulty, we got lodgings in the house of a major named Skeletti, commanding the troops in garrison.

The description of this town is admirably given in the new "Hand-Book for the East."

The old town, bordering on a marsh, and flanked by the sea, is a mass of irregular wooden houses; the ways—for streets there are none—are a cloud of dust in summer, and a quagmire of mud in winter. These lanes are pallisaded by palings five and six feet high, enclosing the irregular build-

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ings, which are much worse than those in the less opulent Russian towns; still the general appearance of both people and towns approximates to that country. The new town of Galatz is building on a height above the old one. The houses promise to be much better. Here all the consuls reside, as well as the governor and the commandant of the place.

The steam-boat stopped at Breila, where there is a station. This town is about two hours higher up the Danube than Galatz, and here is the separation between the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. Galatz carries on a very large trade in wool, tallow, and more especially in corn, with the ports of the Mediterranean and Italy.

Previously to the late treaty of Adrianople, Turkey had the entire monopoly of all the exports; but the Treaty of Commerce negociated at that peace established Breila in Wallachia, and Galatz in Moldavia, as free ports; and hence the commerce has increased fourfold. A great number of vessels, from all countries, load at both ports; and if Russian protection has obtained for these hitherto

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barbarian provinces the change that a few years exhibit, from want and Turkish misrule to ease, comfort, and just government, every friend to humanity must rejoice, however it may be supposed to add to the power or force of that empire of which the world now seems to stand in so much awe. I cannot, however, deny to myself, that, from all I saw, much more must be effected for these principalities, in order to humanise them effectually.

No house of reception for travellers existing in the place, we were kindly and hospitably received, as I have stated, at Major Skeletti's. His wife, a charming person, seemed much above the position in which she was placed. This was narrow enough; for, though they gave us two small rooms, our servants, men and maids, were without beds or accommodation; and yet, by our being lodged with them, all their own family, children, servants, &c., were stowed into a single room, and twenty soldiers of the major's had quarters in a back kitchen. The feeding, too, of these servants and soldiers was quite out of the way and miserable; they had their meals together on a kind of large platter, and the

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dish consisted of a paste made of Indian corn, with bones or pieces of indifferent meat mixed in it: in short, the repast was particularly sickening. Still, what surprised me most was, to see this very rare and perfectly refined woman in such a household; but she had six children; and when I asked her if her life, with such a different scene and *ménage* from what probably she was formerly accustomed to, was bearable (for I could not consider it so), she answered that she was a *caractère très content*, and submitted to whatever she found.

How invaluable is such a gift from the Almighty! I doubt if any other blessing equals it. This charming and gifted person did every thing in her power to amuse and occupy our weary time; amongst others, she brought a company of gipsies to entertain and play for us. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu describes this race, in a statement which it is very difficult to receive or reconcile with ascertained facts, as having a patriarch of their own at Grand Cairo, and as being really of the Greek Church. She also states, that their extreme ignorance makes them wholly under the control of their

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priests. I never heard they had any; but, as they let their hair and beard grow, they may, perhaps, give much the same idea of the Indian fakírs and devotees. Their musical instruments, and singing, or rather screeching, beggar all description.

I ought also to notice here a very gay ball the governor gave us, the principal attraction of which was a Turkish beauty, who had been carried off from the Sultan's harem, and actually shewed her face and engaged in the dance.

At length, we bade adieu to Galatz, on the night of the 1st November. There is a strict quarantine now established both in Moldavia and Wallachia against Turkey, and the steamer arriving cannot land any body without going into quarantine: in like manner, once on board the vessel, you cannot stir out of her again. We were thus obliged to send all our luggage, with one servant, on board early. The major and his wife most affectionately accompanied us in the evening to the bank of the river, where, after embracing and taking leave of them as very kind friends, we were marched through a long covert way of wood, with troops

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guarding it, and preserving the quarantine regulations, and embarked in the Ferdinand steamer. I thought it only due to our delightful host and hostess, to acquaint their prince of all their attention to us, and humbly recommended the major to his care. It gives me great gratification to annex here a letter from His Highness, proving he was not insensible to my wishes.

"Jassy, 13e Novembre, 1840.

"Monsieur le Marquis,

"Le passage par le Principauté de Moldavie d'un personnage aussi marquant que vous est un evénement rare et heureux dont je ne sçaurai que me réjouir; je regrette de n'en avoir point été averti d'avance de me rendre a Galatz pour y profiter des avantages et des agrèmens de votre honorable présence, ainsi que celle de Madame la Marquise. Je me félicite vivement, Monsieur le Marquis, de l'attention particuliere que V.S. a bien voulu donner au port de Galatz, et de l'assentement qu'elle a accordé à tout ce que j'ai jugé à propos de faire pour favoriser le développement de commerce dans

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cette échelle importante: l'approbation de V.S. est un encouragement précieux pour moi. L'acceuil fait à V.S. et à Madame la Marquise etoit du à des personnes aussi distinguées par leur qualité que par leur haute position sociale. Je sais grè a Monsieur le Major Skeletti de m'avoir aussi bien compris à cet égard, et je ne manquerai pas de lui en temoigner ma satisfaction.

"J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.,

"M. STOUDZA.

"A Monsieur le Marquis
"de Londonderry."

We got down the river to the *embouchure* of the Danube at nine o'clock on the following evening, the 2nd November. The day had been pouring in torrents incessantly, and the gale freshened so much in the evening, that the captain of the vessel, on arrival at the outlet point, found it would be very dangerous to cross the bar of sand formed at the entrance of the river. It seems there are three principal channels into it from the Black Sea; two are practicable for small craft alone; the centre

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one is the only large passage, and even this can be attempted only in moderate weather at Sulina Point. The Russians, since the last treaty of Adrianople, have taken possession of Sulina, and established themselves as masters of the mouth of the Danube. It was alleged that the trade of this river was becoming prejudicial to Odessa; and hence a Russian position, to regulate all the navigation, became indispensable. How this was acceded to, I know not; my opinion, I own, is, that it places the commerce of this stupendous stream entirely under the unnatural direction of the empire of the north; and, in case of a bad use being made of it, the mischiefs to other nations bordering on the river would be incalculable. But still I ask as before, why has Austria yielded to this plan?—and I answer again, she ought to know her own interest best.

The Russian Marine commissioner at Sulina came on board, and, like all other Russian officers, he was dressed in full uniform, with brilliant epaulettes and orders: he told us we could not leave the port that night, and offered every civility.



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On the 3rd of November we passed the bar of sand at six a.m., and the wind moderated, and became fair for the Bosphorus. The 4th was a most beautiful morning, and our captain was desirous of running alongshore, touching at Kuschundee, and taking in passengers and goods. I strongly opposed this scheme, insisting that, as our delays had been so great, we ought to sail at once for our port. He finally and fortunately agreed, which brought us to an anchorage in the Bosphorus at four p.m.

The delight of a calm passage and fair wind in the Black Sea, which is notorious at this season for its sudden bursts of storms and hurricanes, and which is described in two not very delicate lines by Lord Byron, is beyond description soothing. Such was our good fortune, as if designed to recompense all we had gone through of discomfort and suffering in descending the Danube.

Our quarters having been taken by our banker before hand, we did not hesitate a moment in our preparations for landing: and were soon boarded by our friends of the Merlin and the Dream, two

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of the Royal Yacht squadron, which we found in these waters. We willingly accepted dinner on board the Dream, while our servants, &c., landed with the baggage, and proceeded to our lodgings.

I come now to a difficult part of my narrative, when I endeavour to describe the entrance into the Bosphorus, and all the feelings which arose in my mind as I stood on the deck of the steamer, watching its passage up to its moorings before Constantinople. There is no one who has read the romantic and brilliantly elaborated descriptions of Gibbon, Anastasius Hope, La Martine, &c., down to the glowing details of Miss Pardoe, with her "City of the East," as well as of other modern writers, especially the able compiler of the recent "Hand Book for Travellers," and, above all, the immortal Byron, who can avoid having his imagination excited and worked up in trembling expectation as to the beauty, splendour, and magnificence of the scene, so as to look for and expect a terrestrial Paradise.

All these descriptions, doubtless, immortalize "the light Caïque," as much as Shakespeare does "the cloud-capt towers, the gorgeous palaces,

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the solemn temples," &c.; yet, under the influence of all this imagery and previous preparation, I never experienced more disappointment than in my first *coup d'œil* of the Ottoman capital. When you expect much, it is seldom realized; and I bitterly felt this truth, and was bold enough to come at once to the conclusion that what I had read or heard was overcharged. The most eminent of the writers mentioned, I think, could never have seen the spot; and in some instances the prejudices of long intimacy, or of poetical exaggeration, had, probably, operated: the rest seem but agreeable delusions, intended for simple firesides at home, and written by individuals, who, having by great efforts accomplished the feat of arriving at Constantinople, had seen little beyond it and their own homes. The entrance of the Tagus, the Bay of Naples, the splendid approach to the grand quays of Petersburg, the Kremlin, and view of Moscow, all struck me as far preferable to the scene at the entrance of the Bosphorus.

But, to state points and facts that bear me out: the entrance is far from wide. Two castles, one on

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the side of Europe, the other on that of Asia, appear on the flanks; these are turreted with long walls of brick, whitewashed in a most slovenly manner. Then embrazures appear all over the buildings, and loopholes irregularly fill up half-formed defences. These two outward towers are called Anatole and Broumelly. As you pass on, other forts, in the same style, but of less dimensions, appear on each side: and all bearing a ragged and poverty-struck appearance, differing as much from the fortresses and defences on the Rhine in Germany, or of Russia at Warsaw, as a swivel from a twenty-four pounder. The line of coast appears to form into seven moderate-sized promontories, or projecting lands on one side, with corresponding bays and inlets on the other. In the hand-book of the Voyageurs, there are endless names and details of all these points, and of the monuments and interesting objects dispersed along the twenty miles that you sail: but, really, there was not one feature sufficiently striking to induce a reference to those agreeable dictionaries for travellers.

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Proceeding then up the channel, which is not more than half a mile wide, you pass various buildings, government warehouses, palaces, and public edifices for military or other establishments; the cliffs are high, but not very commanding; in some places composed of rock and rugged stones; on others are groves of wood and trees of different species, the most prominent of which, and spread in every direction, are the cypress and myrtle; evergreens, also, cover innumerable walls and buildings, the high mountain-ground forming terraces and plateaus, on which there are villas and country-houses, occasionally relieved by white spires, and minarets. These, although built of red brick, and although their forms are picturesque, are half covered, and generally in a slovenly manner, with whitewash, which does not, on a nearer approach, conceal the ugliness of the material beneath it. Amongst the palaces there are villas of every description, much in the style of the Indian pavilions, but generally low, and of one story only. They extend over a long line, and give an air of stateliness; and the gardens, and cypress, and

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myrtle that surround, undoubtedly have at a distance a picturesque effect; still, I should compare the whole landscape to that exhibited in a beautifully-painted "drop" at the theatre, as seen from the front boxes. It is striking on the first approach, becomes less pleasing from its flimsiness and poverty, on a nearer view; and, when under close observance, its deformities become more glaring. In short, in point of fine architectural feature, monuments of art, and magnificent structures, excepting only in the great mosques, the chisel of the mason, the marble, the granite, the stone, Constantinople is more destitute than any other great capital. But then you are told these objects are not in the style and the taste of the people: that their morals, their manners, their religion, being all peculiar, their splendour and greatness consist in other matters. Be it so; but then do not let the minds of those who cannot see and judge for themselves be led away by highly-wrought and fallacious descriptions of things which do not exist.

A friend of mine remarked, "You should see Constantinople on a fine sunny day, to form your

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opinion;" my answer was simply, that all views are improved by a brilliant glare from the heavens. But no light nor sunshine could bestow the glories of art where these do not exist. I am free, however, to admit that simple Nature presents a scene totally different from those aided by art: but the variety of her powers are exhibited equally in various other parts of the globe, as the lakes of Italy, the rock of Gibraltar, and other wonders of the picturesque world. But my argument is, that all details and descriptions of the Bosphorus and Constantinople have been considerably overrated in certain travellers' descriptions.

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CHAPTER VIII.

Night Landing at Pera—Situation of Pera and Galata—View of Constantinople from the Golden Horn—Difficulties in the way of Communication — Appearance in the Streets of a Pacha, or Great Man—Immense and varied Population—Masculine Characteristics in both Sexes—The Streets of Constantinople—Traffic in Eatables — General Cemetery of the Turks —Dogs—Mosques —Minarets—The Turkish Ladies—Scene at the Bajazet Colonnade at the Conclusion of the Ramazan—The Grand Bazaars—Their various Shops and Dealers—The Systematic Cheating to which Europeans are there Subjected —The Seraglio—Winter and Summer Palaces of the Sultan —Correspondence relating to the Conduct of our Ambassador at Constantinople, to the Author.

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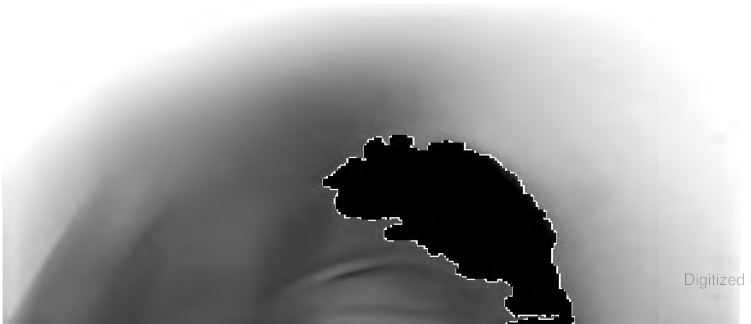

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CHAPTER VIII.

Having landed at Pera at night, all I can describe of the first coming on shore is, that at the landing-place a *chaise de poste* was in readiness for Lady L., myself, and my companions. I scrambled up by a pavement which no description can accurately portray, a very rugged height, with wooden houses overhanging us on each side, and no lights but from paper lanterns, carried by the passing Turks; we were thus escorted to the lodging-house of Mademoiselle Joseph.

I now proceed to detail my impressions, on the following morning, of the city I had entered. Pera is built on a single height, at the foot of which is Galata, connecting it with Stamboul and Constantinople. In Pera all the Franks are domiciliated. The waters of the Bosphorus wind round

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the height of Pera, and form a wide channel, called the Golden Horn, between it and Constantinople, which rises rather majestically on another promontory opposite, of a more commanding character. At the extremity, forming the other side of the inlet, the great seraglio of the Sultan is situated, and this spot is called Seraglio Point. The channel thence runs up three or four miles, separating the Turkish quarter from Pera and Galata, and ends in a rendezvous for summer excursion, denominated the Sweet Waters. About a mile above Tophana, which is on the Pera side, and forms the landing-place from Constantinople, there has been lately erected, over the strait, a very long, light, and splendid wooden bridge, forming at each end two high arches, which admit the small craft to pass through, and do not impede the passage of the river. But when larger vessels and men-of-war, which generally lie above the bridge, come towards the Bosphorus, a great portion of the bridge is floated away by ropes, and again replaced when the ships have passed. This, however, is a very serious drawback to the general usefulness of that

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fine construction. From this [illegible]

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fine construction. From this bridge the most diversified and important prospects open upon the spectator. The large collection of merchant and other vessels, above and below, present a forest of shipping; and still farther above are the docks and arsenal of the Turkish navy; which last, however, were at that time in a state of neglect and dilapidation, except, as we were told, the portion that had been treacherously given up to Mehemet Ali, and was at Alexandria.

The general effect from this point is most imposing. The two mountainous elevations on which Constantinople and Pera are built, and other heights surrounding, communicate thus across the Golden Horn, not only by water and the bridge, but also by the road, which, round by land, is a distance of five or six miles to the top of the Porte. This last is the residence of the Sultan's ministers, and the spot where the grand bazaars are established. Viewing Constantinople as a whole, and with all its annexes, it strikes you as larger by far than Paris or London; but the obvious reason is, that the eye embraces a greater por-

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tion of its entire extent, and hence arises the deception; for the capitals of both France and England are far larger than that of Turkey.

It may be inferred, from my sketch, how very difficult all communication in this place must be for ladies not accustomed to the usages of the country. In fact, it is almost impracticable. They must ride up and down the heights, or go in very narrow bad carriages, and be shaken to a mummy over the pavements. It would be bad enough, living at Pera and going to Constantinople, to have one land and one water journey every day; but so miserable are the means of transport, that you have two most harassing trips up and down rugged declivities, on horseback, and then the embarrassment and difficulties of the passage in *caïques* or boats. Besides, you must also bear in mind, when you set out, not only that you have horses to carry you to Tophana, the place of embarkation for Constantinople, but that horses are ready for your use on the other side, and you ought to carry your side-saddle with you. It must be noted here, that studs of horses, with Turkish,

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Greek, and Armenian runners, or groom-boys, exist where cabs and hackney-coaches are placed in other capitals. Most passengers travel on horseback; and you generally mount yourself, and your servants, together with your dragoman.

Nothing is more curious, in these miserable streets, than the passing of a pacha or a man of note. Two or four of his *keevoches*, or guards, precede him with pistol and scimitar, to clear the way, making no scruple of knocking every one down, or dealing the bastinado, if opposed—then comes the pacha on his fiery Turkish barb, supported on each side by two attendants and with two in the rear. These grandees ride every where through the streets of the bazaars, and all the people seem as subservient to them as if they were their abject slaves. One singularity strikes you while looking at this immense population, consisting of nearly half a million of souls, viz., that your eye rests only on one sex. There are, no doubt, examples enough of all races, Turks, Armenians, Greeks, Jews, &c., male and female; but all appear to be of the masculine gender. The busi-

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ness in shops and in every concern is entirely transacted by men. The Turkish women, when they go abroad, have their faces so covered up, and their bodies so enveloped in their *yashmacs*, that they give no idea of female form and feature; and the Frank women scarcely ever make their appearance in the street. Among these dense masses of people the strictest silence seems to prevail, and after seven or eight at night all the streets are empty, or perambulated only by multitudes of growling, hideous curs, and by a few Turks, who glide about with their long paper lanterns; it being a regulation of the police that, after sunset, all persons out of doors shall carry these, even in the finest moonlight nights; and there are no other lights whatever in the public streets. But streets I ought not to call them, for the best are but narrow passes, where two vehicles of any sort can scarcely pass. Constantly is the thoroughfare stopped by the meeting of two carriages going different ways, when the ingenuity of coachmen and attendants, and crowd, is put to all kinds of shifts to lift up the hind wheels of the carriages,

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and place them in such directions as will help to disentangle the wretched machines. In the middle of these tracks runs a deep gutter, on each side of which is a raised path, all covered, not by smooth pavement, but by rugged stones, jammed most awkwardly and uncouthly together, and these are the Regent Streets and Bond Streets; but when you come to the narrower streets and lanes, these exhibit a mere passage, where two persons can scarcely go abreast, and they have equally with the streets the aforesaid gutter in the centre. The houses are generally of the Moorish character, and all much on a par; with large projecting roofs, and equally projecting wooden porches over the doors and windows: all are of wood and bad brick throughout.

The thick, dense mass passing all day long inspires a stranger with extreme surprise at the extent of the population; but the ways, with all their other difficulties, are choked up with stalls and baskets, and Turks squatting before them, selling all sorts of eatables for men and dogs. Baskets of all kinds of fruits, provisions, sweetmeats, &c., likewise plenty of cakes for the canine race,

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(but how made I will not describe), are sold at every corner; and, unluckily for themselves, a small crew of English sailors boarded a tray of the dogs'-meat, thinking them good pies, and devoured them accordingly: the consequences may be guessed. Doubtless the Turks thought them good enough for these *dogs of Christians*, as well as their own.

The foregoing obstructions explain the difficulties of passage in such a barbarously regulated town, unless on small active horses, which are to be met with at every corner. Guard-houses of Turkish soldiers are placed in different quarters of the city, and at the landing-places of Tophana and Constantinople; but the quiet and orderly conduct of the people is remarkable.

At the Pera side of Galata stands a huge, high, and commanding round turret, with a spiral top—the only striking edifice there. Not far off is the immense general cemetery, that flanks all the passes round the Pera and Galata mountain. It seems the universal sepulchre for all that has been, and is to be, and to invite the living mass surrounding it, crying, "Come ye, and I will give

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you rest." Nothing can wear a more gloomy and desolate aspect in a moving world than this mass of tombs, amongst whose countless stones the tall black cypress, in equally countless numbers, rears its black, spiry, and lengthened form. The monuments, generally, are of a thin, upright stone, about the height of a man, on the top of which is carved a rough, but not shapeless turban, painted of different colours. The effect produced amid gloom is like the tall, white forms of Turks, standing centinel over the mounds of earth; and the scene altogether, by day or night, is sad, mournful, and dreary. Add to this, that all the ground lies open to the highways and byeways of every part of the towns, the dogs prowling in numbers over it, making their lairs generally where the earth has been most recently dug up, wakening the most loathsome sensations.

This brings me to notice the dogs, which are a species *apart* at Constantinople and Pera; they infest, by companies or sections, every quarter in the towns; live on all the offal and filth; are scavengers to the ways, and a constant yelling and

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howling nuisance to the inhabitants. It would seem as if they had a police and regulations established amongst themselves; no dog goes out of his own district; and if, by chance, one leaves his proper bounds to spy elsewhere, the alarm is instantly given in the nearest department, and a general barking and growling announces a stranger in the camp. In the day you fall over these horrid animals, black, brown, red, white, and yellow, of deformed shape and indescribable hideousness; but at such times they crouch, fawn, and slink out of your way. Not so, however, at night; and bludgeons, sticks, and defensive weapons are then absolutely necessary if you are abroad, as these beasts attack you *en masse*, and with ferocity; whilst their incessant yells and howling prevent sleep with all who are not used to them from infancy.

I now return to the description of Constantinople, of which the mosques, and especially St. Sophia, are the most commanding edifices. The five largest and principal architectural constructions are, St. Sophia and the Bajazet mosques, the Seraglio or Porte, and Sultan Achmet's mosque.

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St. Sophia is distinguished by its superior size, and by being flanked with a large minaret at each of its four corners. The above edifices are pre-eminently conspicuous, and tower above all the houses of the place. Here and there are large mansions, apparently belonging to pashas of distinction; and, unquestionably, Constantinople is, in many attributes, such as its pavement, appearance, and general cleanliness, better than Pera, especially that side which, after passing the bridge, circles round, and brings you to the top of the Porte. There are, besides, endless minarets; that is, tall, cylindrical pillars, built of bad brown brick, and but partially whitewashed, having spiral tops, and a circular parapet on high, with apertures like pigeon-holes, forming a sort of capital, from which the spire rises: the base is a common pedestal, square, or round; the minarets at the Porte, however, are formed of stone. These barbarous erections are scattered without number over the two heights, and possess no beauty beyond their singularity, which forces itself on a European's notice. The domes also of the mosques are

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neither gilded, plated, sheeted over with copper, nor painted. (How different from the magnificent Moscow, with its Kremlin, churches, and mosques!) All here looks impoverished, and of a dirty white, except, perhaps, St. Sophia, which, to do it justice, has a crescent, or ball of gold.

The place of assembling for ministers is, as I have already said, at the top of Constantinople Hill, and is denominated the Porte. Here is also the horse-guards, (one may say,) the government war-department; and around it exists a large space, where all the pachas, their sultanas, the nobles, and people, assemble for their mid-day air. This adjoins the mosque of Bajazet; and the different carriages, or rather palanquins, and litters of all the Turkish women, are seen here about two or three o'clock on a fine day.

The uncouth cages, or litters of the ladies, resemble the toy coaches for children, seen in the London shops; the shape is the same, but the sides are open, and deep curtains hang from the top. They are profusely gilded; the insides consist of beds, cushions, and pillows, in which the occupants



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squat or lie down, with their faces all covered, but their eyes peering round in every quarter. The ladies, as usual in the East, generally wear their jewels in the morning, and display their most showy dresses. Some have their children with them, and their black slaves and pages are numerous. Those tiny gold-coach cages are drawn by two horses, the coachman walking before them, and leading them by two long reins. There are so many in a string, that the carriages move only at a snail's pace, and make frequent and long stoppages; in fine, staring *in*, *at*, and *out*, is almost the sole amusement on the Bajazet promenade.

It was during the Ramazan that my visit to Constantinople occurred. All know that at this time it is prohibited to the Turks to eat, drink, or smoke, from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof; and that at this last-named instant, not eating but devouring, not inhaling but wallowing in smoke, commences furiously. At the Bajazet colonnade, where there are various *cafés*, when the business of the feasting hour commences,

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the scene of eagerness and delight to rush to enjoyment, the variety of costume, and greater variety of style and manner, with an illumination of myriads of paper lanterns — all make it at this general rendezvous a very curious spectacle.

I must now touch on the grand bazaars, which also adjoin the Porte. These are large alleys, composed of ranges of shops, or stalls, and with collateral lines intersecting at all points, forming absolute labyrinths for strangers entering them. It is very difficult to find your way there; the principal long line is broader than the rest, but the narrow vehicles and pachas on horseback go up and down the alleys. Before the shelves and wooden partition that constitute each shop, a counter or table is placed, upon which the Turks sit, with their legs doubled up, until roused to show their wares; they then leap up with activity, and bring down upon the counter, from on high, goods which otherwise generally remain packed up there. They usually make a point of producing their best and rarest objects last, and evince sometimes an indifference and reluctance to showing

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their best merchandize; but this is only feigned, in order to enhance the price, and they universally ask three or four times as much as they will take. Strangers are pillaged, and the Drogomans, or interpreters, are equally, with various others, leagued to assist the plundering of any unknown lady or gentleman supposed to be rich, which they all consider a highly commendable practice of dexterity, and no crime. It is vain, therefore, for visiting parties of strangers, who frequent the bazaar, to hope to buy any thing without being cheated. You must by all means visit the mosques; but mark there what you like; ascertain, through old inhabitants, the value of what you want, and then send the money for it by a stranger: in this way you will make all your acquisitions with the least positive cheating.

The different lines of the shops in the bazaar mosques are divided into departments for each particular trade or commodity: a line of mercers, for silk; then, a line of clothiers; then, jewellers, for precious stones; again, silversmiths and furriers; next, Turkey carpet-warehouses; then, per-

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fumery, sweetmeat-shops, and cashmere-shawl closets; and so on: in short, for the particular article you desire, you always proceed to a particular part of this never-ending bazaar. One curious circumstance is, that if you are deeply engaged in a bargain at one stall, adjoining merchants will all press at the same time similar articles before you, at something of a cheaper rate, so that no respect apparently is paid by one Mussulman to his cheating neighbour. When looking out for a ruby, and in the act of bargaining for it, I myself had half-a-dozen immediately thrust under my nose. In curious nooks and little dens, annexed in various places to the shops of the bazaar, the Turkish merchant has his cabinet, or boudoir; into these he will take a favoured customer, make him squat down, and, by degrees, unfold his shawls, display his emeralds or diamonds, and begin bargains which seem as if they would last till doomsday; for with these Turks it often takes hours to make an agreement about a comparative trifle. They invite you to smoke and drink coffee during the dealing; and there

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are many Turks *now* who do not refuse to drink wine.

I quote here a moral lesson, which may be well applied to the arguments on the advantage of temperance societies. Achmet Bey told Lady M. W. Montagu, when she asked how he came to allow himself to drink wine, "That all the gifts of God are good, and designed for the use of man; that the prohibition of wine, or spirituous liquors, was a very wise maxim, and meant for the common people, wine being the source of all disorders amongst them; but that the Prophet never designed to confine those that knew how to use it with moderation." A hint to Father Matthew — to which must be added, the assurance that no Turkish pacha refuses wine in 1840. But to resume. The bazaars, unlike our Burlington Arcade, Western Exchange, &c., not being lighted from above by skylights or glass, are very dark, and exposed to the weather. After a few visits, all interest in them vanishes, as purchases are far better made elsewhere, and at your quarters, where you escape being jostled, harangued, smoked, and poisoned

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with insufferable smells, realizing Fletcher's description of

> " A stink that might disdain what Araby,
> With all its odours, could against it do,"*

for hours together. These places of Jewish sales and rendezvous are not to be compared in convenience, display, and effect, with the Gastanodwir at Petersburg, or the Grand Mosque Bazaar at Moscow.

From the bazaars you again descend the craggy precipitate steep to the chief landing-place, on the Golden Horn Inlet; and if you there enter a boat, or hire a caïque, you may be rowed round the seraglio. This palace is flanked towards the sea, and in the direction of the Dardanelles, with a very high wall, which continues for two or three miles, embracing in its enclosure the gardens of the seraglio, and all the buildings belonging to it, and is lost finally in the south side of the city, which extends for miles in the above direction. On the high wall alluded to is a parapet, and occasionally a sort of scaffolding, with a bridge, and means to

* See Phineas Fletcher's Purple Island.

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descend from it into a boat, affording passages from the extension of the terrace formed on the top of the wall; and while the blue Bosphorus washes its base, you cannot avoid associating with it in your imagination the bodies that may be so conveniently thrown over from its summit, or the heads that may be decapitated, and whirled into its foaming waters, at the nod and pleasure of the entirely despotic sovereign of the east. As you sail or glide along the shore of Asia Minor, which is opposite, clothed at its point by the town of Scutari, it affords the commanding view of a splendid barrack, built on an eminence by Sultan Mahmoud, to instruct his new European troops, when he annihilated his Jannissary guard.

Returning towards the Golden Horn, you pass a rock with a bad lighthouse, which, however, is a picturesque object; and, advancing towards Pera again, the Sultan's two renowned palaces, the winter and the summer residence, meet your eye. The former is painted red outside, and is of old construction; the latter, square, milk-white, more extensive, rises in *pavillons*, and is a perfect model

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for a confectioner's *Pièce monté* on a plateau, at a great reception dinner. These palaces are not far from each other, and are in the line from Pera, stretching beyond that never-ending public cemetery, through which you are obliged to pass in every land-excursion you make from this suburb city.

Quitting this hasty and imperfect sketch of my first impressions of the city of the east, I may state, that, after being settled in a tolerable good house, I took measures, on the 6th instant, to deliver all my letters, pay visits, and send to our ambassador, Lord Ponsonby, desiring to be presented to the court, and obtain the usual firmans to see all the mosques, &c. A correspondence then ensued between his excellency and myself, which I have no difficulty in entering in this journal, as well as my letter, representing all the circumstances, to Lord Palmerston; for I think it right it should be known how the case of introduction for strangers, visiting a foreign court, stood, under the direction of Lord Ponsonby, as her majesty's representative; being perfectly persuaded, on a proper exposure, our government is too just and enlightened to allow it to last.

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CORRESPONDENCE

WITH

LORD PONSONBY,

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, &c.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

The Marquis of Londonderry to Viscount Ponsonby.

Pera, Nov. 5, 1840.

Dear Lord Ponsonby,

I regret I have had no means as yet of paying my respects at Therapia; but as yet you have not the blessings of railways, or omnibuses.

I am desirous of a presentation to the Sultan, and to have a firman to see the great lions of this strange new world.

Will you be so good as to assist me in these objects?

Lady Londonderry is equally desirous of seeing the harem, if it can be accomplished.

I remain, dear Lord Ponsonby,

Yours, very truly and faithfully,

VANE LONDONDERRY.

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Viscount Ponsonby to the Marquis of Londonderry.

Therapia, 6th November, 1841.

Dear Lord Londonderry,

I cannot present any body to the Sultan without exposing myself to perpetual inconvenience of having to present every body, and to make a journey of twenty miles every day, and spend my whole time in attendance upon visiters to this place. This is the plain truth, and I tell you frankly.

Nobody sees the harem, that I know of; and it is not a thing fit for me to ask. You can easily get a firman by paying for it to see the mosques, &c. It costs *me* £40 to go to see them, and I am not rich enough for such expenses.

Thus, you see, I am as useless as need be in what you want of me. Nevertheless, I should like to be useful, but I should like better to persuade you of the facts I have stated above.

We shall be very glad to see you when you like to come this way. I am too constantly occupied to have a moment for even taking the air, much less for so long a journey as from hence to Pera,

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and I am afraid I shall not get my liberty for some days to come.

I remain, my dear Lord Londonderry,

Yours, faithfully,

PONSONBY.

I send some letters for Lady Londonderry, which I have just received by post.

The Marquis of Londonderry to Viscount Ponsonby.

Constantinople, Nov. 7, 1841.

My Lord,

I have to apologize for addressing your excellency in a private note upon a point certainly of no small importance to myself, considering the situations I have had the honour to fill in my country's service, military and diplomatic.

Your lordship's comment of last evening obliges me now to place my request in an official form before you. I send a letter from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, recommending me to your lordship's protection and good offices, and I

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solicit the honour, to which I thus conceive myself entitled, either of a presentation to the Sultan by your lordship, or to furnish me with such a letter to his prime minister as will authorize him to interest himself with his royal master to receive me. In making this application to your excellency, I conceive I am only asking for an accustomed right, and which has been repeatedly conferred, especially on those who have served in high and responsible situations, and which never as yet has been refused to me at the various courts I have visited.

It is not for me to point out where or how I conceive I have rather more claim than every common visiter; but the congress of Europe, the treaties of Vienna and Paris, the campaigns in the peninsula, are surely remembered by some of the statesmen of the Ottoman Porte. Nor would they attribute your refusal to me, of almost an imperative dutiful demand on my part, to mere party or political feelings, but would probably infer some disapprobation had attached to me from my sovereign and my country at home: your excellency's conduct towards me, therefore, might prejudice me unfavour-

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ably in the eyes of the other ambassadors at this court. And upon what grounds does your excellency reject my legitimate and just request? "That it would expose you, forsooth, to perpetual inconvenience of a journey twenty miles every day, spending your time in attendance upon visiters." Now is this candid, my lord, when you know full well the usages of this court do not receive the general run of visiters?—you know, also, how very few these are.

Was this excuse also made to the Duke of Devonshire?—and, although in rank and station inferior to his grace, I feel, nevertheless, that I am a peer of parliament, a general in her majesty's armies, an ambassador for ten years before your lordship had your credentials of any kind in diplomacy; and yet your lordship can, for the only alleged reason of your own convenience, act towards a countryman and an officer of my long, if not meritorious services, in a manner equally uncourteous and unjust.

Reverse our positions, my lord, and I should like to know how your lordship would feel and act.

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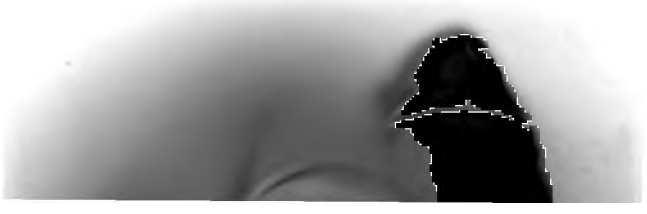
But it becomes a question, my lord, in the diplomatic duties of our ambassadors at foreign courts, if they have the right or power, according to their will or caprice, to present some favoured friends of rank and distinction, and deny the honour to others equally of mark and position in their own country. I am not a person to suffer a slight without attempting, at least, to obtain redress. I do entreat, therefore, your excellency to reconsider the private decision you have announced to me, and, if so, the case between us ends here. But, if you persevere in your determination to reject my humble application, my first appeal must be to the Secretary of State, my next in my place in parliament before the public and the country; and, at least, the line I feel called upon in justice to myself to adopt will cause such instructions to be established as will in future prevent the embarrassment of those who, under circumstances like mine, solicit, and those who, under the shelter of personal convenience, think proper to refuse.

I have the honour to be, &c.

VANE LONDONDERRY.



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I ought to add that I mentioned the harem only on Lady Londonderry's account; of course I never could dream of subjecting your excellency to any personal disbursement.

May I beg your secretary to send me a copy of my first note?

Mr. Percy Doyle to the Marquis of Londonderry.

Saturday Night, 7 Nov.

My Lord,

I am requested by Lord Ponsonby to beg that you will accept his excuses for employing me to say that he is so engaged with public business for Syria and England, that it will be out of his power to answer a letter he has received from you before to-morrow evening. I received two letters to-day which you sent for Vienna, and which I will take care shall be forwarded by the courier, who is to start to-morrow at one o'clock. Any other letters which you may send me before that time I will take charge of with great pleasure.

Believe me, my lord, yours faithfully,

PERCY W. DOYLE.

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The Marquis of Londonderry to Mr. Percy Doyle.

Tuesday, Nov. 10, 1840.

Sir,

I was taught by your note of Saturday night, addressed to me at the request of Lord Ponsonby, in consequence of his arduous public business for Syria and England, to expect an answer to my official letter of the 7th on the following evening, Sunday. As, however, I have, up to this period, received no reply, I must suppose that weighty affairs still press so inconveniently on his excellency as to prevent his answering my just and necessary appeal, or otherwise he would hardly have refrained from the duty he ought to pay to my written application, and the courtesy usually observed in affairs of an unpleasant nature.

May I beg you to represent that I am anxiously awaiting the official letter promised?

I have the honour, &c.,

VANE LONDONDERRY.

Perhaps I ought to add that Mr. Hay gave me a verbal communication, and a Mr. Pisane called upon me, for what I did not well know; but, having re-

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ceived your note of the seventh, I did not, of course, attend to either of these gentlemen.

Viscount Ponsonby to the Marquis of Londonderry.

Therapia, 9th November, 1840.

My Lord,

Pressing business has hindered me replying sooner to a letter I had the honour to receive from your lordship on the evening of the 7th instant.

I received from your lordship, on the 6th instant, a note written in terms naturally employed by persons who have been a good deal and amicably acquainted for very many years. In that note your lordship mentioned certain things which you wished me to do. In my reply, I stated simply my reasons for declining to do what your lordship desired, and I wrote without any notion I should give offence to your lordship. On the 7th, your lordship wrote me the letter to which I have now the honour to reply, and which certainly has given me pain; but, not being conscious of having done any

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thing wrong, I must now content myself with saying that, whenever it may be your lordship's pleasure to complain of my conduct to the Secretary of State and to the House of Lords, I shall know how to defend my conduct.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
Your lordship's most obedient, humble servant,
PONSONBY.

In accordance with your lordship's desire, I inclose a copy of your lordship's note of the 6th instant.

PONSONBY.

The Marquis of Londonderry to Viscount Ponsonby.

Pera, November 10, 1 P. M., 1840.

My Lord,

Since despatching my note of this morning to your secretary, Mr Percy Doyle, I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's communication of yesterday evening.

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Permit me to say, that, as to the main question, and the only point of importance at issue between us, it is no answer at all. Can any one infer from it whether your excellency will or will not present me to the Sultan, or give me those facilities that I have demanded? Your excellency, I am sure, will not shrink from a distinct official reply to this question; if I am to believe that Mr. Hay, your *attaché*, was authorised to give me, on Sunday evening, some verbal message.

It is true, my lord, my first note was private, and in that amicable spirit I should have been proud and delighted to preserve, but it was met by indifference and slight, if not contempt. It placed me here in a painful and mortifying position. For why the Duke of Devonshire should have been so recently presented by your excellency, and that I should be refused solely on the grounds of your own convenience, I really could not comprehend.

I thus had no line to pursue, but an official appeal, and of course my future proceedings will be regulated by your excellency's acquiescence or

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refusal to comply, or promote my urgent and most natural application.

I have the honour to be,

Your excellency's

Most obedient and most humble servant,

VANE LONDONDERRY.

Mr. Percy Doyle to the Marquis of Londonderry.

My Lord,

Immediately after the courier was despatched last night, Lord Ponsonby sent down a letter directed to your lordship, with orders that it should be delivered to you as soon as possible this morning. I trust, therefore, that long ere this y u will have received it.

Believe me, yours faithfully,

PERCY W. DOYLE.

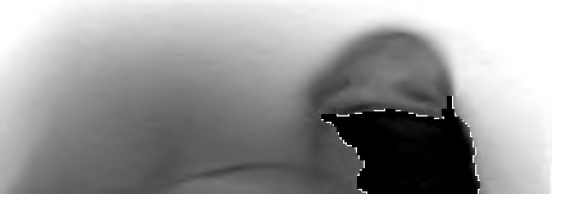
Therapia, Tuesday, November 10., 3¼ p. m.

Viscount Ponsonby to the Marquis of Londonderry.

November 10, 1842.

My Lord,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your lordship's letter of this day's date.



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I am extremely sorry and much surprised to find that your lordship can have imagined that I intended to reply to your note, so as to allow of the idea that I treated it with slight of any kind. I replied to it without premeditation, and with a familiar frankness that I should certainly have used to any person with whom I considered myself well acquainted.

I sent the message by Mr. Hay, who was going to dine with your lordship, because I wished your lordship to be informed, as soon as possible, of the fact that Reschid Pacha intended to ask the Sultan's permission to present your lordship to his imperial majesty; and also to give the firman you wished to have, and to show you all the civilities in his power.

In my letter of yesterday, referring to my first familiar note to your lordship, I wrote as follows: —"In my reply I stated simply my reasons for declining to do what your lordship desired, and I wrote without any notion of giving offence to your lordship." My note continues: "On the 7th inst., your lordship wrote me a letter, to which I have

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now the honour to reply, and which certainly has given me pain, but not being conscious of having done anything wrong, I must content myself with saying that, whenever it may be your lordship's pleasure to complain of me to the Secretary of State and to the House of Lords, I shall know how to defend my conduct."

I intended this to be, and I hope it is, a civil and respectful manner of acquainting your lordship that I declined doing what your lordship desired me to do.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord,
Your most obedient, humble servant,
PONSONBY.

The Marquis of Londonderry to Viscount Ponsonby.

Pera, November 11, 1840.

My Lord,

In acknowledging your excellency's letter of this morning, I am very unfortunate in not entirely understanding it. I accept, willingly, your



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lordship's explanation as to any intended slight under the denomination of familiar frankness. The message to me by Mr. Hay I presume I may now take officially — viz., that Reschid Pacha would ask the Sultan to receive me, and give the firman, and show all the civilities in his power. This, then, is a proof that your excellency had taken measures on reconsideration to comply with my wishes, and I feel bound, so far, to return you my thanks; but I had hardly felicitated myself here, when you restored two pages of the former note, for no other apparent purpose than to repeat again "that you declined doing what I desired of your lordship."

Having, however, now succeeded in accomplishing all I had in view, I shall only add, for your excellency's information, that I was anxiously desirous of paying the representative of my sovereign (according to my knowledge of diplomatic usages) every possible respect, by soliciting *his* presentation and *his* good offices, agreeably to the despatch of the secretary of state. Having done so, and having met a most ungracious and positive

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refusal, I am proud to add and to know that my own humble name and character (entirely independent of my ambassador) were at once able to accomplish, both for Lady Londonderry and myself, all those honours from the Sultan and his ministers, which I still consider I had as much right to aspire to as any other British subject. I shall now be advised by my friends, whether it will not be my duty to forward this correspondence to Lord Palmerston, with a view that there should be some more precise rules hereafter, in these cases, laid down, to prevent future embarrassment.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your very obedient,

VANE LONDONDERRY.

Viscount Ponsonby to the Marquis of Londonderry.

12th November, 1840.

My Lord,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your lordship's letter, dated the 12th instant; and I take the liberty of requesting your

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lordship to have the goodness to favour me with a copy of the first note I had the honour to write to your lordship in reply to the first note I had the honour to receive from you.

I have the honour to be your lordship's

Most obedient, humble servant,

PONSONBY.

[Lord Londonderry sent on the evening of the 12th a copy of the note requested, marked No. 2, with his compliments to Lord Ponsonby.]

The Marquis of Londonderry to Viscount Palmerston.

Constantinople, Nov. 18th, 1840.

My Lord,

After mature deliberation, I consider it not only a duty I owe to myself, but also to all persons of rank and station in England, who may visit the foreign courts of Europe hereafter, to put your lordship in possession of a correspondence which has unfortunately passed between her majesty's ambassador at this court and myself. I say unfortunately — as nothing gives me more annoyance

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than to be obliged, in a private capacity, to make an official appeal against any individual high in office.

The letters between Lord Ponsonby and myself must speak for themselves. The questions arising from them, and subject to your lordship's decision, are—

First, Whether, being armed as I was with your despatch to the British ambassador at the Ottoman Porte, desiring him to extend to me his good offices and protection, I was or was not justified in calling upon his lordship to present me to his imperial highness the Sultan, or to aid me by affording me the means of such introduction?

Secondly, Whether, having made that request in an official form, Lord Ponsonby was correct in positively refusing my application, and if the reasons assigned were proper and sufficient?

Thirdly, When it was notorious that his excellency had very recently presented the Duke of Devonshire, was it right or fair to confer the advantage on one nobleman which he refused to another?

According to the established rules, I apprehend, when presented at your own court, you have the

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privilege of paying your respects to foreign sovereigns; but, where individuals have been high in official employment abroad, neglecting to solicit an audience from the court where they may be accidentally on their travels, might be deemed justly a slight. Thus the demand I made I considered imperative on me; and making it through our own ambassador I thought most respectful to him. That my request should have been met by indifference and denial I was wholly unprepared to expect; but I do not make a personal grievance of this, as, from my intimacy with the Austrian internonce, and the knowledge that Reschid Pacha had of my name and character, I had those facilities which enabled me to accomplish all my views of presentation of Lady Londonderry and myself to the Sultan, his ministers, &c. But these advantages might not attach to many greater personages than myself.

It is therefore for my distinguished countrymen that I feel I ought to have defined under what limits the right I have claimed exists, and under what grounds it ought to be refused, and if the

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option rests entirely on the will or caprice of the ambassador.

I will put the case to your lordship. Supposing you were out of office, and that Lady Palmerston and yourself visited Constantinople, and that I happened to be her majesty's ambassador at the Ottoman Porte, and was to inform you "that it did not suit my convenience to present you," would your lordship consider yourself treated either with respect or propriety, or that good offices had been extended towards you?

I beg your lordship to observe I pressed Lord Ponsonby in no way as to time; it would have been more than indiscreet if I had wished him to put aside any public business for my private object. Again, my lord, his excellency knows full well how very seldom there are those English here unto whom his services would be an object of natural importance and proper interest.

If the residence of Therapia is twenty miles distant from the Porte, is it conducive to the public service to reside so far off, if the duties cannot be performed without inconvenience? This might

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lead, no doubt, to a question in parliament, whether Lord Ponsonby's living always at Therapia (in like manner as I believe Lord Howard de Walden does at Cintra) are proper proceedings for their relative important avocations. The Russians are building here a magnificent stone palace at Pera. The Austrians reside here. Our embassy, before it was burnt down, was here; and, undoubtedly, if for the mere pleasure of an ambassador, he chooses to live afar off and entirely isolated, it ought not to be urged as public grounds for his not performing what (unless I am taught otherwise) I must consider his bounden duty.

I sincerely regret, my lord, that a question involving these difficulties has been so unnecessarily mooted by Lord Ponsonby, as the embarrassment in the business is entirely gratuitous on his part. One word to me of his desire, as soon as convenient to himself, to meet my request would have at once entirely satisfied me. But as his excellency, *up to his last note*, perseveres in declining to present me, I have no other course left but to inquire if this denial on his part is supported and approved of by your lordship.

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Having already had convincing proof that your lordship allows no political feelings to interfere in the strict administration of justice in your own department, I confidently rely on my obtaining such explanation and redress as I am satisfied the case demands.

I have the honour to be
Your lordship's most obedient and
very humble servant,
VANE LONDONDERRY.

May I beg your lordship's answer may be sent to her majesty's minister at Naples?

From the same to the same.

Naples, March 5, 1841.

My Lord,

I had the honour of receiving, by your lordship's directions, a letter from the Under Secretary of State, in answer to my despatch and enclosures to your lordship of the 18th of November last, from Constantinople, merely acknowledging the receipt of the same, and intimating that reference

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should be made to Lord Ponsonby with regard to the communications.

As much time has elapsed, I hope I shall not be considered as importunate in drawing your lordship's attention to the subject. I am aware how deeply and anxiously you must be occupied in subjects of a more serious and more important nature; but, at the same time, when I consider my position and character in some measure at stake, and either as a public diplomatic servant of a former period, I have taken a wrong and mistaken view of the transactions related, or I have been gratuitously unkindly treated, I feel it necessary to have the distinct opinion of her majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on the case which I have humbly submitted.

I have the honour to be,
My lord,
Your lordship's very obedient servant,
VANE LONDONDERRY.

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Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Londonderry.

Foreign Office, March 24, 1841.

My Lord,

I had the honour to receive on the 19th instant your lordship's letter of the 5th of March, stating that you wish to have the distinct opinion of her majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, on the case which you had submitted respecting Viscount Ponsonby's conduct to your lordship, during your late visit to Constantinople.

Having received, on the day before your lordship's letter reached me, Viscount Ponsonby's explanation on the matter to which you refer, I am enabled to return an answer to your lordship without further delay.

The complaint made by your lordship was, that Viscount Ponsonby refused to present you to the Sultan. His Excellency states that no Court is held by the Sultan, and that every introduction made to the Sultan is the result of his highness's special condescension to the request of the am-

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bassador who seeks to introduce any particular person to his highness; and that, although the Sultan has been very condescending in this respect, he (Viscount Ponsonby) has always considered it not only good taste, but in some sort a duty, to avoid giving his highness the trouble, which he is supposed to dislike.

Acting upon this principle, Viscount Ponsonby did not present to the late Sultan Mr. Ellis, though that gentleman was at the time the king's ambassador to the shah of Persia; nor Sir John M'Neil, who was at the time envoy extraordinary to the same monarch; nor the Earl of Durham, (his own nephew,) who was at the time ambassador to the Emperor of Russia; neither has he presented any of the peers and commoners who have visited Constantinople, with the single exception of the Duke of Devonshire: but Viscount Ponsonby states, that in the case of the Duke of Devonshire, there were personal considerations which induced him to exert the influence which he enjoyed from the favour which the late Sultan was pleased to honour him with, to obtain the permission of his

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highness to present that nobleman to him; and Viscount Ponsonby contends, that the exception which he made in favour of the Duke of Devonshire could not reasonably be urged by others, as entitling them to claim that he should make a similar exception in their favour, when it is considered that the duke and himself are very near relations, and that he was brought up in the house of the duke's father, and that the duke has been intimately known to him from his infancy.

Viscount Ponsonby states, that if he were to deviate from the rule which he has laid down in this respect, it would be impossible for him to make any distinction among the great number of British travellers who visit Constantinople, and who might equally claim to be entitled to be presented in a country where there is no court; nor could he draw the line between those whom he should, and those whom he should not present; and that, consequently, not only would his own time be taken up, to the prejudice of public business, by attendance at the Sultan's palace, but the time of the Sultan would also be inconveniently

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occupied, if his highness should condescend to grant audiences to all the travellers who might be desirous of being introduced to him.

I have thus given your lordship the substance of Viscount Ponsonby's explanation on this matter; and as your lordship states that you wish to have the opinion of the secretary of state upon the question which has arisen between His Excellency and yourself, I cannot hesitate to say that I consider Viscount Ponsonby's explanation to be entirely satisfactory and sufficient, and I have acquainted His Excellency that such is my opinion.

I have the honour to be,

My lord,

Your lordship's most obedient humble servant,

PALMERSTON.

Marquis of Londonderry to Viscount Palmerston.

Holdernesse House, May 25, 1841.

My Lord,

I delayed answering your lordship's letter of the 24th of March last, which I received at

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Paris, until my return to England. I have the honour now to address a few lines to you, lest my silence should be construed into an acquiescence in your lordship's opinions, or in the reasoning that supports your decision. Under present circumstances, I feel it would be of no avail to move further in this business. But reserving to myself the right of publishing the correspondence, to which I hope your lordship will not object, or taking other measures hereafter,

I have the honour to be, &c.

VANE LONDONDERRY.

Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Londonderry.

Foreign Office, May 31, 1841.

My Lord,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 25th instant, and in reply I have to acquaint your lordship that I certainly cannot object to your taking any steps on the matter to which it relates, which,

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upon consideration, your lordship may think proper.

I have the honour to be,

My lord,

Your lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

PALMERSTON.

Observations on Lord Ponsonby's refusal to present me to the Sultan.

It is not easy to understand a delay of above four months in answering my application to the Foreign Office; as the impression of the facts it referred to was daily lessening; and in truth the lapse of time had evidently erased from Lord Ponsonby's mind the reason he had assigned for the refusal in the first instance (viz., a private motive), and induced him to rely upon a second, of a wholly distinct nature from the former. This was unfortunate. Nor was it less so, perhaps, that our ambassador to Turkey should have acted on a supposed dislike in the present Sultan's mind, and an imagined systematic neglect of royal condescension,

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without being aware that the cases of Messrs. Ellis and Macneill and Lord Durham referred to the former, not the reigning monarch; and that the omission of introductions to Abdul Mesjid was an error, and contrary to the decided example of all the other high diplomatic functionaries. Indeed, the intervention of Reschid Pacha shewed clearly that this second assertion of his lordship could not be correct. The conduct of his highness towards both myself and Lady Londonderry negatived this plea most satisfactorily.

But, even in Mahmoud's time, the position of ambassadors and envoys to Russia and Persia might require, in a political sense, the sacrifice of their introduction to the Porte, or else the personal objections of Lord Ponsonby might have weighed with them; though, in this latter case, it may be reckoned somewhat hazardous to take one's own neglect of an universally established etiquette as a precedent for setting private convenience above public and national duty.

But the interval I complain of had caused not only this lapse of memory in Lord Ponsonby, but

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also both in him and Lord Palmerston a total oblivion of the untoward circumstance that the motive of personal convenience had been assigned in writing, in the note which I still retained; for no allusion is made by either, apparently, to a discrepancy which must otherwise have struck both.

This difficulty forces me, though reluctantly, to admit Lord Ponsonby's candid confession of his own inability to draw the line observed by all other ministers at all the courts, including the Turkish; the fact of this alleged incapacity being fully borne out, by the somewhat similar inability to discover the common usage of introductions at the court where his lordship had resided so long, and of which all the other ministers were cognizant. So unhappy a state of comprehension, and the absence of memory, are much to be deplored by those who suffer from them.

Perhaps, too, in the consciousness that his presence and recommendation were really not necessary to myself, who was so well known, may be found his lordship's best excuse. On receipt of Lord Palmerston's last letter, I wrote the following

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reply, but withheld forwarding it, in consequence of the change that was about to take place in the government to which he belonged; but, as it exhibits still further my opinions, I think I may annex it here.

Paris, April 10, 1841.

My Lord,

I am honoured with your lordship's letter in reply to mine of the 5th March last, in which you communicate to me the substance of Viscount Ponsonby's explanations as to his conduct towards me at Constantinople, in refusing to present me to his Highness the Sultan; and your lordship proceeds to say, that you consider Viscount Ponsonby's explanations to be entirely satisfactory and sufficient.

I beg to assure your lordship, that was this affair entirely personal to myself, I should feel very reluctant to trespass further on your valuable time by any return to this subject; but, as I must consider it as involving a principle interesting to a great body of my fellow-countrymen travelling

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abroad, I cannot refrain from humbly protesting against the reasons assigned for denying to me and others an advantage which has been accorded to another, upon the sole and exclusive ground that her Majesty's ambassador at Constantinople had been a constant inmate in the house of the father of the noble personage to whom the honour of an audience, " under the auspices of Viscount Ponsonby," was accorded. I can hardly imagine your lordship will hold out a principle so fraught with favouritism and partiality; nor can I believe the people of England would be satisfied that the near friends and relations of ministers abroad should obtain advantages which are denied to others, who, from public services, have equal claims. Although it may be true that the late Sultan did not hold a court, and that every introduction was the result of his highness's condescension to the request of the ambassador, his excellency is surely not justified in using the prerogative he enjoys from his sovereign, exclusively for his own kindred; and if Viscount Ponsonby was really directed in his conduct by *good taste*, or duty to his countrymen, as

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well as the Sultan, this is not the exact course to pursue. Your lordship, however, is misinformed, if you are told the present Sultan either dislikes or is unwilling to receive the distinguished persons of other countries; so far from it, all the foreign ministers at Constantinople introduce the officers of their nation, civil or military, who arrive there. I saw Baron Stürmer, the Austrian ambassador, introduce ten or twelve persons at one audience. Is England, therefore, by Viscount Ponsonby's partiality to his relations (or rather by his inertness and unwillingness to take trouble), alone to be an exception.

Your lordship states that neither Mr. Ellis, Sir John M'Neil, nor Lord Durham, all holding high diplomatic situations at the time, were introduced to the Sultan by Viscount Ponsonby; but your lordship does not say if they requested the presentation; if there were, possibly, not prudent and diplomatic reasons for these high functionaries avoiding it at that period; nor if they were refused (if they did solicit) in the uncourteous manner that I was obliged to submit to. With respect to the

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arguments, that it would be impossible for Viscount Ponsonby to make any distinction among the great number of British travellers who visit Constantinople, who might equally claim to be entitled to be presented; and that Viscount Ponsonby could not draw a line between those whom he should or should not present; and that, consequently, his time would be taken up, to the prejudice of public business.

I apprehend that this same reasoning is equally applicable to every other court in Europe, but less at Constantinople than any where: as it is notorious there are much fewer persons of rank and distinction who visit that capital, and I am at a loss to conceive why it would not be wise and good policy to place our friendly and amicable arrangements with the Ottoman Porte exactly on the same footing as that on which we are in all other courts; and my firm persuasion is, that the just course for an ambassador to pursue is to adhere to the practice hitherto acted upon, viz., not to refuse introduction to British subjects at foreign courts, who have been presented to their own sovereign,

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and against whom no serious objection can be raised. But if your lordship now lays down the rule, that the distinction may be influenced by caprice, favouritism, or relationships, be assured serious dissatisfaction may arise; for it is quite clear, at many courts in Europe, very great advantages accrue to the British traveller from the presentation of his ambassador.

It must also, I should imagine, now be the policy of Great Britain to civilize, or, if I may say, "*Europeanize*" the capital and court of the Ottoman empire of the Sultan, by every aid in our power; and I can imagine nothing that would tend more to accomplish this object, than by encouraging the disposition Abdul Mehjid has already evinced to receive all English as well as foreign visitors, in his court and capital; and by not permitting a reasoning, founded on mistaken statements, and influenced by personal convenience and caprice, to operate in establishing a most inconvenient doctrine, and a far more awkward precedent.

Your lordship may ask, what advantage I propose to myself in renewing this subject, when

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you have already expressed your opinion. To that I can only reply, that, as I never have yet, nor ever will, submit to an indignity in silence, it behoves me, in justice to myself, to show to the public and the world the grounds upon which Viscount Ponsonby has acted, and those upon which he has received the expression of your lordship's entire satisfaction.

I have the honour to be, my lord,

Your lordship's most obedient and

Most faithful servant,

VANE LONDONDERRY.

The following letter was addressed by a distinguished diplomatist to Lord Londonderry, after reading the Ponsonby correspondence.

My dear Londonderry,

I have read with infinite surprise the correspondence you have sent me, the most extraordinary parts of which seem to me to be Lord Ponsonby's first letter to you, and next, Lord Pal-

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merston's last letter, in which he gives his sanction to the official services of Lord Ponsonby being rendered to the Duke of Devonshire, *because* he was a *relation* and *friend*; and being denied to you, because you did not stand in the same fortunate position. I really never heard of any thing more singular than this recognition of the value of private relations, in the conducting of public and official duties. I shall hope to see you soon; in the mean time, I return the papers according to your desire.

Believe me,

Very sincerely,

Yours, &c.

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CHAPTER IX.

Kindness of the Austrian Ambassador—His great influence —Reception by Reschid Pacha—Conference with the Pacha, and Turkish Entertainment—Policy of Turkey in her Alliances —A Visit to the Seraskier—His Palace and Household— Inspection, under the guidance of the Seraskier, of his Military Council and *Chancellerie*—Promotion—Comparative Importance of the Sultan's principal Ministers—Turkish Compliments —General Remarks on the Military System in Turkey—Youthful Appearance of the Troops—State of the Army—Irregular Cavalry of the Koords and other Asiatic Races—Turkish, Russian, Persian, Mameluke, Mahratta, and French Cavalry— Imperfections of an Irregular Force—Turkish Sailors.

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CHAPTER IX.

Although the correspondence, detailed in the last chapter, delayed in some measure my proceedings, it by no means frustrated them. The Austrian ambassador, of whose kindness I cannot speak too highly, perhaps from possessing greater influence with the Turkish government, felt none of the difficulties that had paralysed our own minister, and adopted immediate measures to make Reschid Pacha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, acquainted with my arrival, my services, character, &c., my desire to see him and the other ministers, and my anxiety to be introduced to the Sultan. It was not many days before I received a note from Reschid Pacha, appointing to see me at three o'clock, *trois heures à la Turc;* the Turks, like other Orientals, always count the hour from the setting of the sun; consequently, as the sun

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set at five o'clock, this appointment was at eight in the evening.

Reschid Pacha had, upon my arrival, sent two of the keevoches (Turkish personal guards) to attend on me. These were mounted on hired horses, two attendants followed with flambeaux, and I rode, accompanied by my friends, to Tophana, where boats were waiting; on crossing the water, a new relay of horses was ready at the other side, and we proceeded up the almost impracticable bye-ways to Reschid's palace.

Dismounting, I was surrounded by his followers, guards, &c., and conducted through low ante-rooms to a staircase, at the top of which Reschid Pacha received me; this was a marked honour, as Mussulmen generally think themselves humiliated by shewing much courtesy to Christians. The pacha led me through two rooms to a cabinet, in the middle of which was a brass brazier; and four large wax candles, in tall candlesticks, stood on the floor, as is usual in all Turkish apartments. I was then motioned to sit down, and, waiting due time, according to eastern usage, and to produce an im-

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posing effect, I proceeded, as I had been instructed, to ask after his excellency's health; this being always the preface in every Turkish conference. Another great point is, to be extremely slow, and allow great intervals to elapse, not only between every thing you hear and your rejoinder, but also between every subject that is started and the succeeding. His excellency having replied as to his health, and inquired after mine, we discoursed much at length on common topics, Constantinople, England, the alliance, the war, &c. In about twenty minutes, ten or twelve slaves entered, bearing very long pipes, with yellow tops, and placed before each of us a small box with lighted tinder, in which the end of the pipe reposed. Each of the visitants was offered the pipes in succession. I declined on the plea of my health — a sufficient excuse, direct refusal being considered an affront; such, too, would have been an affront, on the omission, on their part, of this attention to my presumed wants.

When the cabinet was so full of smoke that one could hardly see, the attendants returned, and car-

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ried away the pipes; conversation was resumed, and then more servants entered, bearing in very small cups, placed in an ornamented and costly holder, a few spoonfuls of excellent coffee, already sugared, without cream or milk. The company, just sipping these, returned them, and the servants vanished; shortly afterwards they again advanced with large cut glasses, some filled with red sweetmeat or clear water, and others full of sherbet, perfumed with attar of rose. The latter was particularly good and refreshing; and I considered an ample indulgence in it the most agreeable part of the ceremonial. After an hour's visit I rose, and, saying every thing I really felt of graciousness and kindness to this very agreeable minister, who speaks French admirably, and with whom I wanted no interpreter, I took my leave, being followed out through the rooms by his excellency. We returned on horseback to our quarters in the same order as we had arrived; but nothing could be more disagreeable and fatiguing than this going about and paying nocturnal visits *à cheval.*

I should here mention that I requested Reschid

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Pacha to allow Lady Londonderry the advantage of being presented to his wife, and seeing his harem: he kindly acquiesced, and fixed the following Thursday, the twelfth, for the ceremony. I having had my interview on the sixth, this long period was probably taken to have the harem in the highest order.

Having brought letters for Achmet Pacha, who was in England at the time of the coronation, and subsequently ambassador for some years at Vienna, he being a particular friend of Prince and Princess Metternich, and also speaking French with the utmost fluency, my next visit was to him. He is a younger man than Reschid, priding himself much on his appearance, and had been lately married by the Sultan to one of his sisters. This would seem part of the ancient policy of Turkey, to enrich royalty, by its alliances, for Achmet is supposed to be one of the richest pachas, and gave magnificent *fêtes* while at Vienna; his bridal presents also surpassed any thing ever known before in the country.

Achmet at this moment was in the highest

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favour, as this marriage proved; for the young sultana was stated to be in love with Gustavus Pacha, the seraskier or commander-in-chief; an older man, but possessing far more power, and more character. The Sultan, however, considering his sister's interest rather than her inclination, I suppose, gave her to his favourite, Achmet, who kept her at his country-house, and she had not been seen since her marriage. When asked permission for ladies to visit her, he always deferred it till the next spring, "when," he said, with true Turkish gallantry, "she would be civilized."

My audience with Achmet took place the same day; it did not differ from the one just described. The pacha was minister of commerce, and was evidently vain, while Reschid was modest; he did not inspire the same interest as the minister of foreign affairs.

Achmet's dress was more *soigné;* he wore rings upon his very white hands; and it was clear that, in the apartment, Achmet was the first person. This, generally, is very difficult to distinguish; for, from the pacha to the commonest attendant in his

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household, all are habited exactly alike; the same straight cut coat, buttoned to the top; the same hideous fez or cap, and tassel; the same style of trousers; the same mustachios, and the same pipes.

My next nocturnal interview and conference were with the seraskier. He did not come to the stairs to meet me, as the others had done, but received me at the door of his own apartment. His residence is at the Porte, where he has one of their splendid palaces. You enter an immense court, with his stables on one side, and his harem on the other. A regiment of guards was drawn up at the entrance, and two companies were stationed in the lower court. The staircase was filled with soldiers, slaves, and attendants of different nations. I saw Greeks, Armenians, Sclavonians, Georgians —all in their native costume; and dark as were the corridors and entrance, by the flashes of my flambeaux through the mist, the scene here struck me as much more grand and imposing than the others. The seraskier is a robust, soldier-like man, with a fierce look and beard, but an agreeable smile. His appearance altogether was more

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striking and impressive than the effeminacy of Achmet, or the placidity of Reschid. He did not speak any language but Turkish; and the conversation, consequently, was slower and more laboured. His pipes, coffee, and sherbet, especially the two latter, were infinitely more delicious than at the other ministers, which impressed me with the belief that he was more of a *bon vivant*, and had a better harem: in this, from information obtained afterwards, I found I was not deceived.

When half an hour had elapsed, the seraskier proposed to me to visit his military council and *chancellerie*. I thanked him for his gracious offer, and, willingly accepting it, he rose, and sent for the president of his council. On his arrival we marched in procession from his audience room, through at least hundreds of *employés*, and down long passages, until we stopped before a small *salon*, in which were six or eight large brass lights on the floor. This, I was informed by his excellency, was the room of the chief clerk of the war department. Bowing low to some of its grave occupants, who certainly looked more

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dirty and drowsy than the pacha, we were led on to another room, guarded by Turkish sentinels; and, on removing the curtain over the door, and opening the latter, we found ourselves in a chamber of considerable dimensions, with an oblong table in its centre, round which were seated about twenty-four Turkish officers, seemingly of all ages and stations. They rose at our entrance, and stood all the time. We proceeded towards the middle of the table, when the president harangued them, specifying, I apprehend, who I was, and the desire of the pacha to introduce to them all distinguished English officers who might visit Turkey. It was then my turn to compliment; which having finished, I asked how the council was composed, and found it was of officers of all ranks, and chosen entirely by interest or favour. Indeed, from such information as I could obtain, it seems almost inconceivable how Sultan Mahmoud could ever have introduced any discipline into his army, or how the Turks (brave as they undoubtedly are by nature) could have arrived at any thing like regularity and order. A friend of mine, anxious

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to return a civility to a young Turkish officer, solicited the seraskier for his promotion. Some days after, the officer entered my friend's lodgings before he woke in the morning, and thanked him most cordially for his efforts in his favour, for, although the seraskier had not given him the command of a regiment, he had appointed him to the command of a ship. Surely this anecdote speaks volumes as to the probable instruction of the individuals who are placed at the head of regiments or ships of war.

Another anecdote which was told of the seraskier amused me. A change of ministers was talked of, and it was reported that he was to go to Syria, or even, hereafter, to Alexandria. No sooner was this rumour in circulation, than he rode out, addressing and chatting familiarly with all his common soldiers, ordering them five piastres a piece to take baths, thus endeavouring to obtain favour with them at the moment of his being put aside.

Besides the members of the council around the table, there stood on one side a dervise, or priest, before whom every officer was sworn to decide

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justly, and not from favour, affection, or interest, on the subjects submitted to his consideration. Next to the grand vizier, the seraskier seems the most absolute of the pachas, though, at the moment I write, the minister for foreign affairs during the war, appears pre-eminent. But the grand vizier, holding the signet of the Sultan, commands and enforces every act, and the divan determines on those acts. This body is composed of a certain number of pachas, somewhat like our cabinet; but the majority have the casting voice, and proclaim rewards or disgrace at pleasure.

To return to the council-room. The officers resumed their labours and occupations with their papers, and we visited some other of the bureaus and departments. The clerks appeared to me countless. They stated only seven or eight hundred were employed; but I should have guessed them at many more. There seemed monstrous confusion; and, certainly, the Turks do not understand the advantage of diminishing manual labour, for a dozen men were employed where it was evident one would suffice—at least in any other coun-

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try. After being paraded through all the offices, we were led back to the first audience-chamber; and pipes, coffee, and sherbet were again handed round as the final ceremonial. We were then suffered to depart, the seraskier's *aide-de-camp* attending us to the foot of the stairs, while the minister took leave of us in his ante-room. I was, however, surprised, when we had got to the last steps, to find the (apparent) senior officer had ordered all our bad horses away, saying, "the seraskier had commanded that we should be properly mounted on our return." Accordingly, five or six of his own beautiful Arabs were paraded with his Turkish grooms; and, undoubtedly, we were all carried home much more gallantly and better than on the miserable cattle on which we arrived. I believe, in former times, it would have been consistent with Turkish grandeur and liberality to have left this remount at our disposition; but those days are gone by, and you always now pay much more *bakshish*, as it is termed, for any civility than it is really worth. And, certainly, I found that these visits of ceremony, horses, &c., were not

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to be accomplished or had without handsome payments.

Before taking leave of the seraskier and the horse-guards of the Turkish army, perhaps it may not be superfluous to introduce some general remarks on the state and discipline of the troops, as they at present appear to the eyes of a stranger in a very cursory stay in the country, and certainly not at the seat of war in Syria, where most of their army was collected.

After the anecdote I have given in the foregoing pages, it will not be supposed that I can say much for the general education and knowledge of the officers; although, of course, as in all services, there are exceptions.

The youthful appearance of the troops has been noticed both by Mr. Slade and Marshal Marmont. It may have arisen from the necessity of forming the army of a body of men too young to have been previously imbued with the prejudices formerly existing in Turkey against the military system and tactics of European nations. Marmont, indeed, assigns the causes of the inferiority of the new

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levies to the Russian troops; not so much to their youth, as to the total want of experience in the officers, and the general equality of rank and ignorance among the common people, from whom the officers are chosen — by accident, favouritism, or caprice, so that, he says, the son of the water-carrier and of the vizier have the same education; and, as there is no admitted superiority of intellect or experience, the soldier is indifferent to, and doubtful of, his officer; and thus a total want of confidence pervades the ranks.

Perhaps it is from the same cause that, notwithstanding the care taken of them, the occupation of a soldier is still far from popular, though it is now much more so than when the marshal wrote; and the military begin to feel something like confidence in their foreign teachers, though the native officers are still, in a high degree, defective in the requisites for their station.

I consider the modifications recently introduced into the French system of tactics, which was originally adopted for this army, highly judicious, as new troops are always sufficiently prone to defects

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of order and discipline; and the Turks generally are devoid of the lightness and rapidity which give the *physique* of the French a decided superiority, and render negligences of the kind alluded to less inconvenient than among heavier-bodied men. That the Turks are as brave as their neighbours cannot admit a doubt, since, with all the disadvantages of their army, it cost the Russians two campaigns, and probably 200,000 men, to get to Adrianople, even with disaffection and treachery to aid them.

Still, notwithstanding the training of various foreign military officers, the Turks are very far from having anything like an effective army; and it will probably be long before they possess commanders worthy the name, from talent, skill, education, and experience.

Their engineers are still inefficient, though great pains are taking to acquire science and teachers from abroad.

The landwehr, or rediff, numbers only about 20,000 men.

On the whole, the army must be looked upon at present as but in its infancy, and wanting the mu-

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tual reliance that should give it force, precision, and efficacy — being, from the total change of system, robbed of all old associations, and destitute of new, unless the recent and partial operations in Syria can be supposed to supply them. The cavalry commenced on the French tactical system also.

I cannot help adverting to the singular crotchet of an Italian officer, mentioned by Mr. Slade, and entertained by very many other persons, who thought that the Koords, Asiatics, and other races of the Ottoman empire would form an irregular cavalry, which, with guns, would be found superior to any regulars of this description among the Turks. I am of opinion that the guns would be of much the same efficiency with a regular as with an irregular force; and, however excellent the latter may be for general campaigning, such as scouring the country, foraging, watching and harassing the enemy, still, in the hour of battle, and in the unexpected chances that constantly occur, they are little to be depended upon.

Even the old and famous Turkish cavalry signally failed to make any impression on the Russians

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under Romanzoff, when these had learned the modern system of war; and Suwarrow completed the evidence of their inability to cope with proper adversaries. The Persian irregular horse were no match for the Russian cavalry of Paskevitch, and I have seen at Moscow the marshal's new levies, which are indescribably perfect for covering an army; the Mamelukes also could not stand against the disciplined French, nor could the no less famous Mahrattas against the British and native regular cavalry in India. Perhaps the nearest approach in modern times to this system on the field of battle, was the conduct of the French cavalry—first at the grand redoubt of Mojoisk, or Borodino, and secondly at the battle of Waterloo. But though the former certainly succeeded, the result of the second was not such, as far as I have ever heard, as to render the system general. Besides, if your cavalry is irregular, it often takes the place of infantry, and experience shews, that it is not in the nature of irregular bodies to restrain their ardour, and to exhibit the patience and steadiness of disciplined troops; and, if compelled to remain

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passive for a time, their spirit droops, and they become unmanageable when called upon to act. They are always feeble in the charge, and, from their habitual loose movements, easily disconcerted and routed.

The Turks appear to make tolerable good sailors, and if their government would consent to place them under the instruction and command of such men as Walker and others of our naval officers, they might become respectable. Marshal Marmont has recited their skill and dexterity in gunnery, handling the vessel, manning the yards, &c.; and their conduct at Navarino is on all hands allowed to have been admirable. I speak, however, here from the testimony of others, and not from my own distinct knowledge.

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CHAPTER X.

Introduction to the Grand Vizier—Appearance and Conduct of Reschid Pacha — Admiral Walker and the War in Syria — State of public opinion in Constantinople after the Capture of St. Jean d'Acre — Ali Pacha — Conduct of the Allies towards Turkey—Unfounded Jealousy of Russia—Mr. Slade's Work —Proposal for fortifying Constantinople—Rejoicings and illuminations in the Turkish Capital — Egyptian Regiments — Appearance of Turkish Ladies in Public Promenades — Equipage of the Sultana—Arabas — A Barber's Shop — Beauty of the Turkish Women—Their use of Cosmetics — Refreshment Shops in the Seraskier Platz — A Visit to the Seraskier's Stables—His Stud—Negociations for the Purchase of a Horse —Arrangements in the Harems of the Principal Pachas.

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CHAPTER X.

My last ministerial introduction followed two days after; it was to the grand vizier: Reschid Pacha having acquainted me that his excellency would be very happy to receive me.

Although the general outline of the reception was pretty much like the others, yet there were more attendants, secretaries, clerks, and followers; with courts full of soldiers, and sentinels at every corner. This minister preserves towards the Franks all the cold and distant manners of the Mussulmen of former days. He always receives every body sitting, thinking it demeans him to stand up to Christians. He rose a little, however, to my salutation; which, I understood, I owed to my being a general.

His appearance was stately and full of dignity,

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with a very long milk-white beard, superadded to a countenance of a grave, expressive cast. His age is about eighty, and his general expression recalled to my mind the Duke of Wellington.

The usual invigorating tobacco, coffee, &c., were prepared, and done full justice to; and after an hour's conference I took my departure. The difficulty of interpreting at this meeting was very great, the grand vizier's officers being by no means competent to the task. But I had determined never to avail myself of the services of the English dragoman, owing to the incivility shown me by his chief, the ambassador.

It will be seen by this narrative, that it was during the great interest inspired in Europe by the question of the war in the east, that my stay at Constantinople took place. The news of the capture of St. Jean D'Acre arrived at this time, being brought by Captain, now Admiral Walker, an English officer of much ability and talent. This distinguished man had entered the Turkish naval service, held the command of their fleet, and had been created a pacha of three tails, as well as re-

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ceiving professional advancement. The capture of the celebrated fortress of Acre, and the brilliant manner in which it was accomplished by Sir Robert Stopford, settled at once the war in Syria; and, from all I could learn, if, from the commencement of the disputes, there had been more balls, and less paper, on the side of England, affairs would have terminated much sooner. It was pretty evident from the first, that the Egyptians would not fight. They showed an evident desire to return to Turkish sway; and Alexandria would have fallen, as immediately as Beyrout, or Acre, if it had been attacked. Of course, the general interest of the time at Constantinople turned wholly upon the question, what was to become of Mehemet Ali; for, as the allies had once drawn the sword against a rebellious subject of the Porte, and the Sultan had thought proper to depose him, it was a point of constant discussion in the capital, whether the allies would act in opposition to the Sultan's decree; and also how much power, or what territories, they would ultimately leave to the viceroy; he having refused all the terms that were first offered to him.

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It appeared to me, that after a victory, the relative position of the belligerents was entirely different from what it was when negotiations were pending; and if it was really and *bonâ fide* intended to re-establish the integrity of the Turkish empire, I conceive it should have been accomplished in its entire sense, and not partially, and in order to meet the wishes or political interests of any particular power.

It seemed most probable now, however, that Mehemet Ali would still have Egypt left to him, *en hérédité*.

The consequences, however, of this arrangement are differently viewed. It was argued that, fostered and encouraged by France, as the viceroy is now sure to be, and becoming, as it were, entirely *les grelots* of Alexandria—he would form a continued focus of new treacheries and intrigues. The Turks would be kept always in alarm: France would have a constant *appui* in Egypt for every new outbreak; and were the rebellious pacha reinstated in his greatness, against the will of the parent state, it would form a dangerous precedent.

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The conduct of the allies towards Turkey, during the few last years, holds out a serious warning. They wrested Greece from her dominion, and established it as an independent monarchy; Servia has been likewise taken away. Wallachia and Moldavia have followed. By such consecutive abstractions, Turkey now has scarcely a nominal sway, where she once possessed uncontrolled supremacy. I own I consider the commencement of this unfortunate policy as arising in the establishment "by the great powers" of the independence of Greece, and I look back with no greater satisfaction to any part of my public conduct than having always opposed it, although against far greater authorities.

I think also, now, that further dismemberments must produce further weakness. The successful establishment of smaller states, with their own forces, naval and military, and independent of the great empire, must sap its foundations, and must accomplish its utter fall. The prudent course would rather seem to me to be to replace Egypt once more under the absolute dominion of Turkey, by some wise and proper arrangement.

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With respect to the great jealousy entertained of Russian interference, in the Ottoman empire, I am one of those who have always considered the notion exaggerated; nor do I believe, like many others, that if Russia possessed Constantinople, she could long retain it. It would be only a source of weakness to her, instead of power. A friend of mine, who takes very different views, sustained, in conversation with me, that the Russians could make themselves masters of Constantinople whenever it suited them. By collecting a force of fourteen or fifteen sail of the line at Odessa, and entering from the Black Sea with any number of troops, they would soon, he said, be masters of the Bosphorus, and before England or France could hear of the attempt; and then, by fortifying the castles at Anatole, &c., and the Dardanelles, they might retain possession.

I could not follow this reasoning; nor do I see, if the Russians, by strengthening the approaches to Constantinople, could defy the navies of other powers, why the Turks, if well instructed and aided, might not accomplish the same point, and make their city impregnable, with the farther addition

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of extensive fortifications round it. This is the doctrine England should endeavour to inculcate; and it would tend much to our glory if British naval and military officers were afforded to the porte, with a view to effect this object.

Upon this leading subject of interest I have considered, with much pleasure, Mr. R. Slade's book, which is full of information, talent, anecdote, and ability; although I do not quite concur with all his premises, or reasoning.

I entirely differ as to the animadversions he makes on the great Austrian minister, and the policy which has regulated his conduct since the peace of Paris; while I am equally no convert as to the extent of his notions on Russian encroachment and aggrandizement. But I give Mr. Slade ample credit for his apparent desire to re-establish the pristine power of Turkey, though not under Mehemet Ali, or a new Mussulman dynasty; for here I think him quite wrong; but by strengthening the Osmanlis, and placing the capital of the Ottoman empire in a perfect state of fortified defence. The development of the

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advantages this measure would produce are so forcibly pointed out by the author alluded to, that I should feel myself presumptuous in attempting to add to the facts he has adduced.

That the Sultan could resort to the measure of fortifying his capital if he so thought fit is evident, and this without the aid of his allies: the defence of every kingdom belongs to its people and its government. The pachas and rich mussulmen might, by loans and otherwise, enable the divan to raise a million and half, which is the average (according to Slade), that this great work could be accomplished for; and when the example of Paris is before the Turks, they ought to reflect how much more Constantinople is the Ottoman empire, than Paris is France. Turkey, composed of distant piecemeal possessions, has her central dominion and main power on the shores of the Bosphorus; whereas France, extending nearly from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, with all her other fortresses, cannot derive such importance and such advantage from the works of the capital as Constantinople evidently would possess.

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But it would be a proud and judicious achievement for England to aid the undertaking with the skill and the science of her officers, and to connect, by a union of interests, Austria, Turkey, and herself, in order to restore all the former power of the Ottoman empire, and, by thus consolidating her strength, render the balance of power in Europe more secure.

To return, however, from this digression of individual opinions.

It was admitted, by the accounts received of the bombardment of Acre, that the British squadron had done more, in rapidity of action, and in effect in firing, than it was supposed possible for any naval equipment to accomplish; and the respect, admiration, and gratitude of the Turkish ministers were at their height.

The cities of Constantinople and Pera were illuminated brilliantly for rejoicings, in addition to the lighting up of all the mosques, which, however, during the whole month of the Ramazan, have their towers and minarets covered with a profusion of lamps. How these are so admirably contrived and

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displayed at such immense heights it is difficult to say. But neither gas nor oil are used for the purpose, nor any thing, in fact, but paper lanterns, such as are carried in the public thoroughfares.

Besides the myriads of illuminated buildings, a constant succession of guns fired from the batteries, ships, and steamers, during the day, afforded no quiet, by any chance, in the twenty-four hours.

I went up to the bajazet or seraskier's *platz* on a Friday, the day it is always most crowded, and saw two of the Egyptian regiments, taken at Beyrout, defile off before the seraskier. The Turkish bands, in garrison, were assembled at the head of the column; they have all kinds of curiously shaped eastern instruments, and play with much harmony and effect; but the tinkling of cymbals and the sound of bells predominate over all. The miserable Egyptians and Arabs marched in file; and, having just landed from their prison ships, exhibited the picture of starvation and wretchedness. They all had their heads shaved, and wear first a white linen scalp-cap, and over it a red cloth, or kind of woollen bonnet, the white appearing below; both sit tight



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to the skull. Their jacket is made of white linen, buttoned to the top; and their large, cossack-shaped trousers, are of the same material. To a European eye, these creatures, thus dressed, look like an assemblage of bathers or cricketers. Being deprived of their muskets, they all marched, with their hands in the side-pockets of their trousers. Every third or fourth man carried the bundles of his immediate comrade, tied up in coarse canvass bags. The men were universally young, slight made, and active, with sallow cheeks; many nearly yellow, orange, and even black in complexion; still, if well fed and well clothed, they would make, by no means, bad light troops; and the mode adopted by the Turkish government was to arm and clothe them forthwith, and decimate them throughout the other regiments of the Turkish army.

After they had marched by, I returned to the promenade of carriages, where the Sultan's women and the pacha's harem were exhibiting their lovely but concealed figures, and, although I never had an opportunity of verifying any thing like Miss

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Pardoe's anecdote of the "sentries being ordered to face about when presenting arms, rather than be permitted to gaze on the tempting and forbidden fruit," and, on the contrary, witnessed soldiers escorting all the sultana's carriages, it is, nevertheless, quite true, that a gruff attendant attacked and found fault with me, for daring to raise my eyes to a beautiful Turkish woman, whom it was quite impossible I could admire beyond her forehead, and two large black eyes, eyebrows and lashes, which glanced from under the yashmac.

The sultana is a person of the highest consequence at the present juncture, she having much influence generally, and especially with her son. Her equipage was somewhat European. It was a chariot, with hammercloth, (apparently lately received from Long Acre). The Turkish coachman had four large bay horses, with a plurality of reins, which he guided from the box. There were attendants, running Turks, and guards before to clear the way. Two open barouches, ornamented after the manner of the country, followed; and the rear of the sultana's procession was closed by arabas full of women and slaves.

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These arabas, or carriages, which Lady M. W. Montagu describes better than I could, are "made a good deal in the manner of Dutch stage-coaches, having wooden lattices, painted and gilded, the inside being also coloured fantastically with baskets and nosegays of flowers, intermingled with little poetical mottoes. They are covered all over generally with scarlet cloth, and richly embroidered with silk. This covering entirely hides the person within them, but may be thrown back at pleasure, and thus permits the ladies to peep through the lattices. Four people are held conveniently on cushions not raised."

There is another peculiar sort of waggon, carrying the women of an inferior class. It is mounted on high wheels, and drawn by two or four oxen, all covered with tassals and ornaments. In these waggons are seen Greeks, Armenians, Circassians, Georgians, or Frank women, squatting, or lying at full length, and mostly with uncovered faces; the Turkish ladies likewise use these conveyances.

On the side of the drive is a long colonnade of shops, and at the bottom of it a *barber's*, in which all

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the ministers of the divan and of the pacha assemble. They sit on cushions in grand conclave and conference; and, while affecting to discuss the affairs of the state, the direction of their eyes, and their signs to the recumbent houris in the carriages that pass, show their thoughts to be directed to far other objects.

The Sultan also is usually present, seated in his kiowska, which is at the other extremity of the drive. At the lower end of the colonnade there is a kind of market for Turkish women and slaves of the inferior order. They are collected here on foot, and each young person has with her a duenna, under whose *surveillance* she passes and parades, casting her languishing eyes on all sides through the files of lounging Turkish officers and merchants, who surround this part of the public promenade.

As far as I could pronounce on the general beauty of the Turkish women, although but partially seen, I should say, though not generally handsome, they are all well built, and well grown, strong, and apparently healthy. Their eyes and eyebrows are invariably fine and expressive; and

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their hair is beyond measure superior to that of other nations. The thickness of its braidings and plaids, and the masses that are occasionally to be seen as by stealth, leave no doubts of this. Their eyelids are painted, and, I believe, in many cases, the eyebrows also; throwing a shade over the orb, which is thus softened into a more luxurious expression. The tincture for the eyelids is of a black hue; and the nails of the hands, which are singularly small and delicate, are generally dyed *red*.

As to feet and legs, one can scarcely pronounce upon them, the former being always hidden by large high yellow slippers, or half buskins, and the latter covered by such long drapery and petticoats, that no eye can pierce the enclosure.

The Armenian women are distinguished by red slippers: many of these, and also the Circassians and Georgians, however rarely met with, are very beautiful, and their wild head-dresses, of all colours, and winding their fine hair in folds of gauze variegated as the rainbow, and decked with all sorts of flowers, gives their appearance a singularly romantic effect.

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The strictest propriety of conduct is always observed in all the public promenades and streets by day; and after seven o'clock in the evening no person at Constantinople is seen out of doors, and the women are totally invisible.

The refreshment and sweetmeat shops abound at the Seraskier Platz in particular. In Turkey these shops are of a very superior description, and pre-eminent for their luxurious supplies; all sorts of preserves, liqueurs, sherbet, ices, &c., being in the greatest perfection. Round these and all other establishments of eatables, beggars and miserable objects, the halt, the lame, and the blind, flock in profusion, and next to the dogs, are the greatest pests in Constantinople.

From the promenade described above, I proceeded to the Seraskier's stables, he having ordered a parade of his stud for my inspection. The stables and harem appeared united in the same grand court of the building, as if to denote that the Mussulman's whole existence, after his pipe, centres in these two great departments.

The horses were placed without stalls or any

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litter, in a dark, ill-paved, barn, and tied by their feet, as well as their heads. They were covered with a multitude of coarse cloths, or rugs. The head groom brought out fourteen in succession, mounted by light Tartars, in order to show them off to the best advantage; three or four were Arabs of a very superior breed, and of rare power, symmetry, and beauty, but the far larger portion were of Turkish blood, heavy, with large heads, lopped ears, and thick necks, of indifferent action, and by no means desirable in any shape. With regard to the first class of horses, which, I believe, only the Sultan and the most powerful of the pachas possess, they are extremely difficult to obtain by purchase; and this is attended with all the higgling, chicane, and diplomacy of a long negotiation for a peace or an armistice.

As an example, Achmet Pacha had a horse, which I much coveted: a friend of mine asked his price. The pacha, after a week's deliberation, replied: — "He would rather separate from his choicest and dearest slave." Some few days more passed by, and the chief of the stables came to my

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friend to know what he would be disposed to give for the horse. He was replied to by another query, "What price the pacha was disposed to put on him?" The chief answered, "Possibly ten thousand ducats, or five hundred louis."

My friend then declared he was not prepared to offer more than two hundred louis. Another considerable interval ensued, and then the head of the stables came again to inquire if more would not be given, while at the same time a Turkish aide-de-camp was sent to inform me that the pacha had, to his knowledge, paid twenty-five thousand piastres, or one thousand louis for the animal, and that he knew positively he would not take less for it. This is a sample of the species of dealing that prevails in Turkey, from objects of value, down to mere trifles.

While my own time was occupied in audiences and visits as narrated, Lady Londonderry was appointed by Reschid Pacha to visit his lady and his harem, and on a subsequent day, she was not only presented to the wife of the Seraskier and all his ladies, but it was also proposed to her to partake

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of a Turkish dinner. All the great Pachas have their separate harems, but they have generally a declared wife, who takes precedence; and there is a certain decorum preserved towards this chosen female, though otherwise there may be many indiscretions. It is a rule that the favourites in the seraglio should be concealed from the wife, they being nominally, at least, her slaves. And when the pachas visit the harem accidentally, they fly from him as if from a scourge. Some pachas are also more particular than others, as to their wives. Reschid Pacha and the seraskier had no scruple in introducing theirs, but Achmet and others refused; the former ladies, however, I must add, being notorious as not possessing much beauty, whereas the latter were said to be quite divine creatures.

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CHAPTER XI.

Expeditions to the neighbourhood of Constantinople—Description of the author's visit from Pera to the Winter Palace —Furniture of the Royal Apartments—Appearance of Abdul Mejdid during a private audience—Courtesy of Reschid Pacha —Speech of the author to the Sultan—Account by Lady Londonderry of her audience with Abdul Mejdid—Her journey to the palace, accompanied by the Lady of Admiral Walker—Frank Ladies at Court—Inspection of the Apartments—Discovery of a trap door affording a view of the sea rolling beneath —Interview with the Sultan—The conversation that passed between his Majesty and Lady Londonderry during her audience—Departure from the Palace—Constantinople and its *désagrémens*.

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CHAPTER XI.

Some days were taken up in visiting the hills surrounding Constantinople. We went first to the arsenal, where there were a few old hulks and toy ships for the Sultan's amusement, then proceeded to the Sweet Waters, at the top of the Golden Horn, a favourite place for Turkish ladies in summer; and we rowed down to the Sultan's palaces, afterwards examining the exteriors and general aspect of the place from the waters that surround it. Brilliant, indeed, however flimsy, are the terraces, the white domes of the mosques, and numerous high white towers, with tall groves of cypresses above, and waves of the bluest water spread below, while we were blessed with the most delightful weather, and the most refulgent rays of a bright sun.

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But, as I have said before, and as I must now again repeat, all is not gold that glitters; too often, on approaching objects which, viewed from afar, seem vested with enchantment, the delusion vanishes, and, in their place, natural deformity becomes apparent.

It was on the 15th of October I received a letter from Reschid Pacha, announcing that the Sultan would give me an audience, and sending carriages and horses to convey me to the Winter Palace. I did not think it correct to take any but my most intimate friends with me—Captain Lyon and Dr. Forbes were, therefore, my companions. We set out, at six p.m., in carriages, preceded by an officer of the Sultan's guard, with our keevoches, our flambeau-bearers, and led horses, which last I had no suite to ride.

The descent from Pera to the winter palace, the place appointed for the audience, is quite perpendicular, positively fearful. The ascent and descent are now performed by Pachas of all tails; such is Turkish apathy and obstinacy that they will not employ a few hundred men to level the hill and make

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it practicable; a specimen of the bigoted barbarism with which this country perseveres in retaining things as they are! Descending this mountain for nearly an hour brought me to the palace a little after seven. A grove of flambeaux lighted us to a detached building, where the ministers assemble. A crowd of the usual Turkish officers surrounded us on our arrival, and there was a considerable embarrassment as the pacha of the palace (the same as the lord chamberlain with us) was not present to receive me. We were ushered into and through two or three small rooms with bad French carpets and furniture, and directed to seat ourselves on divans round the room until the pacha should arrive; which he did speedily, and made numerous apologies through the interpreter. Pipes and coffee were brought, and soon after Reschid Pacha made his appearance, wearing his crescent of diamonds and the rich sword and belt of the order. The pacha of the palace now vanished, but presently re-entered, decorated with the same order (Nishan Iftikar) and sword.

There appeared no hurry with these grave minis-

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ters; they deliberately finished smoking their pipes, and then rising said they would conduct me to the presence of his majesty. A procession was formed, consisting, first, of attendants two and two, next of four men, bearing long paper lanterns, four feet high. Then walked the two ministers, and lastly ourselves. We passed one court, and were escorted across a terrace to the gate of the Sultan's palace. I looked up, and by the moon and lights, saw an open lattice window, at which stood the sovereign gazing down on our approach, as if it had been a magnificent ceremonial. We came to a large hall, with carpets hung before the doors, as in Spain and Portugal, and a flight of steps was before us.

I now expected, from notions of oriental grandeur, great pomp and state, surrounding ministers and guards, &c. But my surprise may be imagined when, on entering a common French-carpeted room, I perceived, on a little ordinary French sofa, under the window from which his majesty had seen our advance, the sovereign of this great empire sitting cross-legged, without a single individual

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near to him, but those who preceded our approach. Two small sofas, half-a-dozen French chairs, and several wax lights, were all the ornaments of this very plain *salon*.

The Sultan was covered with a very full cloth mantle, of a dark blue, or probably green colour, clasped at the collar by a superb aigrette of diamonds. Under the mantle, and on the chest, he wore a very brilliant and sparkling order of the crescent, which was also in diamonds; but surpassing all in matchless size and beauty was the sword which his majesty held in his hand. On his head was the usual unbecoming common caftan or fez, which sat so ill upon him that he could scarcely keep his hand from arranging and pushing it back and forward every moment.

This was the whole extent of the state exhibited by Abdul Mehjid. As to his person, he is a tall, sallow youth of nineteen or twenty, with a long visage, but possessing fine eyes and eyebrows, so that, when his face is lighted up, it is agreeable and spiritual. He has a facility in conversing, a pleasing voice, and an action with his right hand while speaking, which is peculiar and

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characteristic. I was desired to come without an interpreter, Reschid Pacha having kindly informed me he would undertake the office. Indeed this minister's active courtesy supplied me with the means of accomplishing every thing I desired far better than if I had procured all the assistance the ambassador could have afforded. The Sultan did not move from his position when I made my advancing bows to him, but, when I had approached, his majesty said he was extremly happy to see in his dominions an English officer of whose reputation he had heard.

Waiting the usual prescribed time, and collecting myself to address his majesty, I spoke in French nearly to the following effect; the speech, I apprehend, judging from the time it occupied in Turkish, and comparing it with my quarter of an hour's delivery, must have been fully interpreted.

I assured his majesty that it would at all times have given me the sincerest pleasure to visit a part of the world so renowned as his dominions; but it was more peculiarly gratifying to me to come at a moment when it appeared that, under the auspices

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of so young and interesting a sovereign, and so able a minister as Reschid Pacha, Providence was restoring the Ottoman empire to all its former greatness and glory. That the news just arrived of the victory of the allies at Acre had given proofs of the bravery of the Turkish soldiers and mariners, and there was no doubt that, by a continuation of his majesty's firmness and wise councils, the war would be shortly brought to an end, when the alliance with Great Britain would be, if possible, more strongly cemented.

I added that I had now been serving my country thirty-five years, long before his majesty was born, fighting always for legitimacy against revolutions and rebellious subjects: that I had always deprecated the dismemberment of any part of a great empire: and hoped Turkey would take an example from what was now occurring, and determine not to lay down her arms until she had re-established her empire: that the party I belonged to in England shared in the liveliest manner the deep interest that his majesty's cause inspired; and that the facilities which were now afforded to visit Constantinople

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would bring, no doubt, numbers of my countrymen annually to witness the beauties with which nature had crowned the Bosphorus.

In conclusion, I stated again to his majesty how much I was beholden to him for honouring me with this special favour of a private audience, unaccredited as I was in any manner but by my name and humble character, and that it was a mark of condescension which I should never forget.

The pacha having touched his breast, his lips, and his turban, as every Mussulman does before he addresses and when he concludes his speech to the Sultan, his majesty made, through Reschid Pacha, a most gracious reply, dwelling much on his anxious desire to cultivate good relations with England. I then begged to present Captain Lyon, of the Merlin yacht schooner, and Dr. Forbes, observing that the latter had served in Egypt, and had the decoration of the Crescent. His majesty replied he was glad to see English officers, especially those to whose services Turkey was in any manner indebted.

I then begged permission for an audience for

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Lady Londonderry; this his majesty not only granted, but seemed pleased with the request: and, after some more general remarks, Reschid Pacha gave me a sign, which I supposed was a hint to take leave. I retired bowing to the door, and was conducted thence to the minister's apartment, and, while seated on a sofa, pipes and coffee were brought once more, with which all things begin and end.

It was late before I returned home, having the perpendicular height to ascend; but, with the pacha's fine horses and light carriage, there was neither jibbing nor stop, for they seemed well accustomed to the mountain.

I here annex an account, by Lady Londonderry, of her audience with the Sultan Abdul Mehjid.

"I was desired to find myself at the Ischeragan Palace, for my audience of the Sultan. Some difficulty arose as to who I should select to accompany me. Madame Franchini was objected to by my Austrian friends, as too great a proof of the Court arrangements being under Russian influence; Reschid Pacha undertook to interpret, and it was

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suggested that I might go alone. This, however, seemed inconvenient; I therefore proposed to Mrs. Walker, the wife of Captain Walker, the Turkish admiral, to go with me: she gladly accepted; and at eleven o'clock, on a cold snowy morning, we packed ourselves into a small close carriage (the first covered one I had seen in Turkey), which Reschid Pacha kindly sent; and we set out, preceded, as usual, by guards and *keevochees*, whose business it is to be always in attendance, armed with swords and pistols, to keep off the crowd of true believers that fill the streets, and press with eager curiosity to gaze on the Franks.

"The road, like all others in this country, was dreadful, and we were shaken to pieces; but after a long descent down a steep declivity, we found ourselves at a palace, presenting a long *façade* to the sea, on the Pera, or European side: here we were shown through an open court, the guard being turned out. In Turkey, the outward slippers are left at the door, the floor being covered with the finest mats, the rooms carpeted, and not a speck or particle of dust is to be seen.

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"We entered a small waiting-room, where we found some Austrian officers also expecting their audience. They informed me of what I had not discovered, that, for some reason, the place named had been changed; and that I was not, as I imagined, in the Ischeragan Palace, but in the Beschititasche; that they had already gone to the former, and found no one there, and that there appeared to be a singular confusion in all the arrangements. Coffee was then handed to us in tiny cups, not containing above a thimbleful, but placed in the most beautiful little jewelled stands, or egg-cups, of pink enamel and diamonds. A large brasiero stood in the middle of the apartment, and a low embroidered divan ran round it.

"At length the Maréchal du Palais came in, and some attendants. Coffee was again served, and soon after Reschid Pacha appeared. He speaks French perfectly; and having been ambassador in France and England, has become quite European. We waited some time; coffee was once more brought; and much whispering, confusion, and embarrassment followed. At length they all went

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away, leaving us with the Austrian strangers, who were much amused at the sensation produced by the apparition of Frank women within these walls. The Turks occasionally lifted up the curtain over the entrance into the room, and peeped in to gaze at us. I was *en grande tenue* as to toilette, and this added to their astonishment; Madame W——, the only lady who was ever received before myself, had gone in a hat, and without her jewels, having unfortunately left them at Odessa; her audience, however, had been less *en règle* than mine, and had more the character of an accidental *rencontre*. A great step has been made, and probably this approach to civilization will continue to advance; and perhaps, in a few years, ladies will be received at this court as they are at any other.

"At last Reschid Pacha, the Maréchal du Palais, &c., returned, having put on their diamond decorations, and, after waiting again some time, for nothing in Turkey is ever done in a hurry, we were requested to follow them. I expected to enter some adjoining room in which the Sultan would be; but, to my surprise, I was desired to put on

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my furs, my clogs, and my cloak, and we followed the attendants down stairs, crossed an open court, and arrived at a long terrace, or garden, at the end of which was the palace. Luckily it had ceased snowing, but the cold was intense; I was then informed that the great officers of the palace had received orders to show us the apartments, and we were first conducted into a Kiosk, or Pleasure House, of great beauty.

"The courts of the palace were paved with marble, and a great room, 150 feet long, with a large bow in the centre, the whole covered with the finest matting, fitted up in the oriental taste, with a long line of lattices to the water, must be a delicious resting-place during the summer heats. While I was shivering with cold, and gazing on the Asiatic coast, and the lovely view which even in that bleak and dreary month lay before me, a large square trap-door in the floor was raised, and I heard a voice say, "*Violà la mer, madame!*" scarcely believing my ears, I advanced, and, *effectivement*, the deep green sea flowed under the splendid eastern gallery. A shudder came over me as I thought

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how readily that trap-door could close over any of its victims, and my blood ran cold as my imagination made the mute inquiry, who can tell on whom that barrier has shut for ever? I recalled these lines—

> 'When weary of these fleeting charms and me,
> Here yawns the sack, and yonder rolls the sea,'

and I turned away, and gladly obeyed the summons to proceed. Such is the influence that the country one is in has over one's thoughts. In England I should have thought only of the delicious coolness of this invention during summer. In Turkey, the mind wanders over fields of romance and of imaginary horror.

"Following the officers of the court, we crossed another flight of steps to the palace. The hall and stairs were matted, and lined with attendants in fez and caftan. We were then ushered through long suites of apartments, expecting every moment to enter the presence of the Sultan; and, at length, on being shown into a small side ante-room, where I was the least prepared for the meeting, he walked quietly in and suddenly stood before us.

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"The usual fez was on his head, a large military cloak hung round him, clasped at the throat with a magnificent agraffe of enormous diamonds; a large solitaire was on his little finger. He is tall, pale, sallow, and slight, with fine eyes, a sweet smile, and amiable expression of countenance. He is only eighteen years of age. It is said he is learning French, and is much more *au fait de tout ce qui se passe* than is generally imagined. The Prince de Joinville, when here, saw and conversed much with him; and, lately, a good deal has transpired as to his manner and ideas from a Russian painter who has just finished his picture, and with whom he had much conversation during his several sittings.

"He did not bow, but immediately began talking to Reschid Pacha, who, having paid his homage, which is done by gracefully *faisant semblant* to pick up the dust from the feet, according to the expression, "*Je baise la poussière*," interpreted to me the Sultan's words. He expressed his pleasure and satisfaction at seeing me, and his hope that I had recovered from the fatigue of my journey; to this I

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replied. He then inquired if I had been at all rewarded for what I had suffered, and for the deprivation of the comforts and luxuries of England. I then requested Reschid Pacha to express my admiration of Constantinople, my gratification at my visit and reception, and my gratitude at having been allowed to see every thing that was curious and interesting.

"The Sultan inquired if I had visited the Tsche ragan Palace, and on my answering in the negative, he desired orders might be given for it to be shown to me. He then inquired who the lady was who accompanied me, and on being told her name, he desired Reschid Pacha to express the pleasure he felt at having an opportunity of telling her how highly he valued her husband's services. After a happily-worded reply from her, to the effect that she had equal delight in being able to assure his majesty that he had not now a more faithful servant than Admiral Walker, the Sultan expressed his regret at my intention of leaving Constantinople so soon, and then suddenly vanished.

"I was re-conducted to the door of the palace by

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Reschid Pacha and the Maréchal, who eagerly inquired what I thought of their imperial master. They seemed pleased with the praise and approbation I bestowed, and Reschid Pacha interpreted to the other all I said, and told him also of my having twice seen the Sultan dismount from his horse on the Constantinople quay, and enter his beautiful caïque, and return to his palace on the Pera side. I then took leave of Reschid Pacha, endeavouring to express my gratitude for all his kindness and attention.

"The troops lined the courts, and were all under arms as I passed. Orders were given to conduct us to the other palace, but, being chilled and ill with the cold, I excused myself, and desired to be taken back to our wretched abode at Pera, which we were to have left by the Seripervas steamer on the first of December; but we were prevented from doing so by the non-arrival of the Crescent, another Austrian steamer, which was due from Trebizonde on the 30th of November, and was to have sailed on the first of December with five hundred Turkish troops and thirty officers for Egypt; and, owing to

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her not arriving, the Seripervas was despatched on this service in her place, which prevented our going by her on the first; a most fortunate escape for us, as we afterwards learned—she was wrecked that night in the Gulph of Modania. A fearful hurricane came on, and a heavy fall of snow. Our small wooden abode shook and rocked; the little panes of glass danced and rattled; aud the wind and storm increased tremendously: houses were blown down, and many unfortunate creatures perished from cold and exposure to the inclemency of the weather.

"As the loveliness of Constantinople (*bien entendu* at a distance) is undisputed and unrivalled, when

'Skies are blue and earth is gay,'

so does it become absolutely hideous, when the summer colouring has passed away, and winter brings a change over the scene. Miss Pardoe may talk of its ermine mantle; but with a deep covering of snow, the Bosphorus boiling and smoking, and the Black Sea coming down, any thing more desolate and uninviting than the aspect of Constantinople cannot well be imagined, while the misery

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and barbarism of its interior defy description. The want of pavement; the sloping, pent roofs which pour deluges of rain over the unwary passenger, who, in fishermen's boots, may be attempting to thread his way through hills of snow and ice, falling over dozens of wretched, houseless curs, that are lying curled up at every step, and hardly able to keep his footing up and down the rugged ascents and descents; the miserable habitations, precluding all possibility of comfort, wretched wooden buildings that afford no protection from noise and cold, and the difficulty of moving about, render Constantinople a most undesirable abode."

I have already remarked on the dogs which are peculiar to this place; none are suffered to enter the houses, and all are without owners; yet the streets are filled with thousands that howl all night, and attack any one not provided with a stick: they exist on charity, have their own police arrangements and districts, and will not suffer an intruder. They are ugly, rough, reddish beasts; half wolf, quarter jackal, and quarter dog; and this tribe add considerably to the *désagrémens* of Constantinople.

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CHAPTER XII.

The Author determines on trying a Turkish Bath—Entrance to the Bathing Rooms at Galata—Disagreeable Attendants—Opinions of this Turkish Luxury—Slave Market at Constantinople—Slavery in Turkey—Negresses—A bad Bargain—Circassian Slaves—Black Slaves—Mahmoud's Tomb, its extraordinary splendour — Therapia — Ambassadorial Residences—Excursion to Scutari—Magnificent Prospect.

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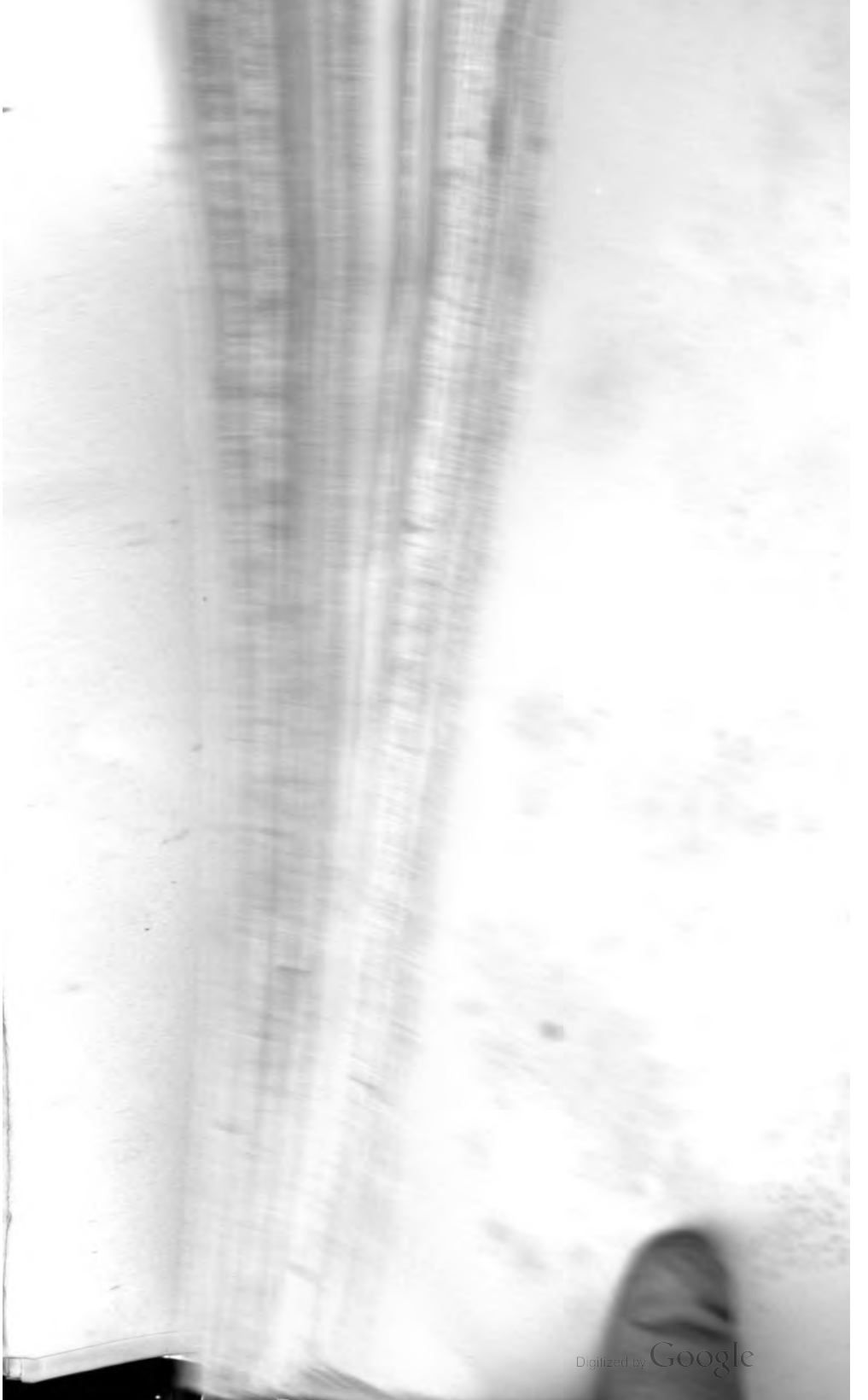
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CHAPTER XII.

The following day I could not resist the curiosity of trying a Turkish bath; and, as it was the first, so, most assuredly, will it be the last time that I ever shall be in one. As I really believe a true description has never been given, by any of the various writers, of the whole ceremony of the bath, I shall endeavour to detail it accurately.

It was the Galata bath I entered from the street, with my dragoman, who was stopped and separated from me at the door. The spacious arched room, or hall, was surrounded with several compartments, resembling large boxes at the theatre. On each side was a high staircase, leading to the second range of these separate enclosures. The floor was of stone, or marble. A hot vapour issued from the room, but it was not overcoming.

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I was conducted by an attendant up to a corner box. This person helped me to undress, stripping me to the waist, and baring my legs; then, making me stand up, he placed a double-folded napkin on the top of my head. He next led me forth down the steps, and, on the threshold, delivered me over to two men, the bathers I may call them, whose appearance was perfectly disgusting, they being naked to the middle, with bare legs and feet; their beards were shaved, but the large mustachios and black tufts of hair left at the top of their heads, their skins of a perfect olive colour, and their large brawny arms and sprawling hands, made me shudder and shrink back from their grasp. But it was vain.

They thrust my feet into two large wooden sabots, or clogs, but, if meant to prevent slipping on the pavement, it had not this effect to those unaccustomed to their use, for they evidently occasioned them to slip much more. Held up by my unwelcome supporters, I was forced forward through three successive rooms, the first having a temperature of about 80, the second 100, and the third 120 or

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130. In the last square bath-room, as these I believe are denominated, there are four marble cisterns for hot water, with a turn-cock to each. The vault and floor of this place are of marble, and so managed that the waters, flowing in, run off immediately. There is a low stone seat round the room, and upon this I shortly found myself squatted down, with my two persecutors in front, gazing on their victim.

In a few minutes I began to perspire in so unusual, and to me alarming a manner, that I became faint, and felt most uncomfortable. We continued, however, until I felt as if I had been completely immersed in water, and, growing annoyed, I made all the signs I could to be led out of the bath. Such, however, alas! was not my fate. One of my keepers disappeared; and the other coming up, seized my neck and shoulders, and commenced inflicting heavy pinches, which he dexterously continued all over my body; and when I flinched on one side, he sprang to the other, got round me, and pinioned my elbows so as to make them meet, cracking the bones of my back, squeezing my hands, and pulling my fingers simultaneously.

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It was useless for me to cry out, because three or four other human creatures (Turks) were suffering the same with the greatest apparent delight: but, if my physiognomy could express anger, annoyance, and disgust, I think this bather must have seen it. The first fellow now reappeared, carrying a bowl, with a square piece of soap in it, with which he made a great lather; and approaching my head, and removing the napkin, soaped it all over, eyes, ears, and all, and my eyes especially smarting most confoundedly. Then, with a sort of swab, such as is used for ships' decks, he covered my entire body with soap-suds; helping me next to stand up, he took a basin, and, dipping it into the hot-water cistern beside me, he sluiced me from head to foot for several minutes, just as a coachman throws pails of water over a carriage-wheel which he wishes to clear from the mud.

After this, the napkin was again folded on my head, loose clothes were given me to throw round my body, and my two attendants bore me—for I was much weakened by the operations—into the next room, which was of more moderate tempera-

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ture. Delaying me there for eight or ten minutes, they then led me into the first *salon*, surrounded by divans; and here, clapping their hands, they, to my great joy, disappeared. A tall, decent-looking Turk, with a long beard, entered — his shoulders covered with hot linen towels, &c.; these I used in succession, until I was entirely dry, and afterwards was shown up stairs, to my first place of undressing; a bed and sofa were prepared for me to recline on, and coffee and pipes offered.

Finding myself, however, once more with my dragoman, and free from the disagreeable harpies who had surrounded me, I dressed myself as quickly as possible, refusing bed, pipes, and coffee, and, jumping from my room, made a vow never to set my foot in a Turkish bath again. That my condemnation of this luxury may be peculiar, is possible; that you should do at Rome as is done at Rome, is often repeated; that custom reconciles you to every thing; and, that my countrymen, in hundreds, enter these public baths, bathing with many others, Turks and Christians, is all perfectly true; but I defy any one who reads what I have

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written, and has himself gone through the operation of the bath, to say that I have exaggerated one iota in its description, or that he felt otherwise about it on the first experiment. Let all those who read it, judge and decide for themselves.

The next revolting, but curious place I saw, and it comes well under review after the bath, was the slave-market. Although Great Britain has given twenty millions in the West Indies to abolish this abominable traffic, it continues and rages in full force on the northern coasts of Africa as elsewhere. The Algerines bring in numbers of slaves to Turkey, and, unless Her Majesty's ships of war are constantly on the station to seize and confiscate every ship of all nations that has slaves on board, our twenty millions and example will go for nothing in the Mediterranean, and the traffic there will proceed as freely as ever.

At the door of a great court, near the mosque bazaar, stands the head slave-master, by whom you are admitted. Around the court are cells, in which the negroes and negresses, as well as all white slaves, are deposited; and where they eat, drink, sleep, and

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cook. Before each miserable abode is a square or oblong raised wooden platform; on which, in the day, the slaves are ranged and seated. It is impossible to imagine so ugly a race of human beings as the negresses: they are divided from the men, and each section or division is under a slave-master; while the proprietor, Algerine, Moor, or Jew, sits on benches below and surrounding the cells—the dirt, filth, and abominable stench of this place savour of the abodes of beasts rather than of the human species.

I was witness to a singular scene of barter and sale which my dragoman interpreted for me. A portly Turk, with a very full beard, fell foul of one of the slave-dealers for selling him a negress as but eighteen, when she was at least six or eight years older. The Turk insisted on being off his bargain, and receiving back the money, which was 3,500 piastres, or about £35; but the proprietor was by no means disposed to admit that the slave was older than he had stated, and, bringing her forward, he opened her mouth and counted her teeth, as you would those of a horse; by which process, he said, he proved his facts, and farther insisted on the

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great brute of a Mussulman handling the unfortunate creature as a farmer examines cattle, the slave submitting to every thing without altering a muscle of her face. After half an hour's squabbling, affirming, and denying, the quarrel was settled by the Turk receiving back 500 piastres, and carrying off his negress. A European could hardly imagine such a scene occurring in these days, unless he witnessed it himself.

Yet, with all this painful, and loathsome, and demoralizing exterior, travellers agree that slavery in Turkey appears in its mildest form, and is by no means the fearful thing avarice and cruelty have rendered it among Europeans and Americans. The women of Georgia and Circassia exult in the hopes thus afforded them of an improved condition, and an advancement in life which could never be anticipated for them in their native soil. The last Sultana Validé, the mother of Mahmoud, was said to be a Frenchwoman, taken by a Barbary corsair, and sold to Constantinople. The wives of the Sultan and his officers, and, indeed, of most Turks of wealth and station, are thus obtained.

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One of the grounds of complaint against the Russian domination in Circassia is said to be the loss which the natives sustain in having the market at Constantinople closed thus to the importation of their daughters; and they lose a double advantage, since the sale enriches the parents at home, and opens a door of advancement for the children abroad. They are considered by their purchasers as the children of the house; and, in Turkey, the house, that is, all down to the lowest slave, have but one interest and one feeling. The males are brought up to offices of trust, and act as the men of business, confidentials, and secretaries of their master: the females are his wives, and, treated as such, become the mothers of men who often achieve distinction. Kosrew Pacha, Halil Pacha, and Hafiz, with a crowd of others (including Reschid), are the offspring of the white slaves.

The black slaves, chiefly from Abyssinia, are, in point of appearance and features, a very fine race. They, too, are kindly treated, fed, clothed, paid and trusted as domestics. They may claim their right to be transferred by open sale in the market,

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if dissatisfied with their actual condition; and this is said to impose a check upon the behaviour of their masters towards them, which is therefore seldom violent, but, on the contrary, generally mild and paternal. Instances of violence doubtless occur, and death is inflicted for some faults; but this is the condition of society in every barbarous age and country, and is not confined to the slave alone. Life in the East is, or at least was until lately, deemed of little account in society. All this, however, its best advocates must confess, while it mitigates the horrors of slavery, does not by any means abolish them, especially in the Barbary regencies, Egypt, and other parts of Africa, still less known or watched over by civilization at present. And nothing, of course, can reconcile such a system with humanity or religion.

From this most abject degradation and misery of the living human species I turned to the pomp, magnificence, and gorgeous display over the dead.

Mahmoud's tomb stands not far off from the slave-market. A blaze of gold and jewels surrounds the sarcophagus, and Cachemire shawls of the rich-

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est hue are thrown over its top ; as offerings, I conclude, to the manes of the dead, rich Turkish and Persian carpets surround it. The dome is of carved marble, as likewise are the sides and doors ; and the fretted gilt windows give it the effect of enclosing the riches of Peru. Yet the whole heart and soul are but the more deeply impressed with the reflection, that if the millions of piastres such useless symbols of vanity have just cost had been only lavished on the poor slave-market, eaten up as it is by squalid want and filthy misery, much more good would have been done, and more honour resulted to humanity, while Constantinople would not have been the worse for missing one out of the many magnificent but extravagantly absurd monuments raised to her dead despots. I must not forget to state, before quitting the subject of Mahmoud's tomb, that the flag taken at Acre having arrived, Abdul Mesjid placed it with his own hands on the tomb, and added to it, in Turkish, the following filial remembrance :—

" What Mahmoud my father acknowledged he could not accomplish *I* have achieved, and I dedicate this first trophy to his memory."

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The tables on which the beautiful illuminated korans are placed round the tomb are of inlaid ivory and ebony; the large candelabras, not for candles, but for flambeaux of gigantic size, are of the brightest gold; the silver, ivory, gold inlaying is of surpassing beauty; and, as a modern erection, the building is the most splendid in Constantinople; and, so far, does the Sultan infinite credit. How it could have been erected in so short a time is incredible.

A few days after, I turned my steps to other scenes; and, taking advantage of our friends' yachts, we sailed down the Bosphorus to see Therapia, the country residence of some of the ambassadors, but, as it appears, the constant dwelling of ours. The morning being beautiful, the wind fair and light, the panorama was exhilarating and brilliant to the greatest degree; and, the palaces of the various pachas being pointed out to me as we passed, occasioned a more favourable impression as to their extent and splendour than on the first evening I landed.

The French embassy has a large, handsome house;

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the English, some few yards distant from it, is distinguished from far by its numerous iron pipe funnels, which issue out of every window, and is known, I believe, by nothing else. The outside is poor and mean; and few can speak to or say what the inside is composed of. I passed both these ambassadorial tenements, sincerely rejoicing that I inhabited neither, and sailed down further by the famed building where the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi was signed, paying a visit at both the Russian and Prussian embassies. Before the latter very commodious and strikingly convenient habitation, lay a man-of-war steamer, and a pleasure yacht, which were entirely under the orders of the ambassador. There was nothing to remark in the Prussian quarters; but near it is a meadow, resorted to for the pleasure-parties and pic-nics of the Turkish ladies in summer; and to this place I went and landed to see a most remarkable plane-tree, with a stem which measures 105 yards round.

After dining on board the Dream yacht, and viewing the Sweet Waters, we anchored off Pera, and got on shore in the evening. A day or two

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subsequently, we had an excursion to Scutari, going there in a boat; then mounting the Rosinante at the stand, and riding to the top of the high mountain above the town, which commands the most splendid and extensive prospect I ever beheld, we witnessed, at the extreme summit, the sun descending into the west with all the rainbow beauties of a Mediterranean sky. On one side spread the sea of Marmora, and the numerous and far outstretching islands of the Archipelago; on the other, the prospect led our eyes down the Bosphorus, to its entrance into the Black Sea; and below us, in front, we had the splendid panorama of Constantinople and Pera, with all their gorgeous natural advantages.

The road from Scutari up the mountain is infamous, and occupies above an hour in passing. We were late, and did not see the mosque and the burying-ground here, which is generally highly spoken of.

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CHAPTER XIII.

Kindness shown to the English in Constantinople by the Austrian Ambassador—Apprehensions of the Plague exaggerated—Custom of strangers at Constantinople uninvited to join every party of travellers who obtain a firman to view the public buildings—The author receives a special firman from Reschid Pacha — Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's description of Turkish manners—Interior of St. Sophia during the Ramazan—Gigantic candles—Want of decorative comforts among the Turks—Dancing Dervishes—Constantinople devoid of evening amusements — Opinions of the Turkish ministry — Intellectual amusement out of the question at Constantinople.

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CHAPTER XIII.

The Austrian internuncio, or ambassador, invited us on the 16th to join a numerous party, and partake of a very handsome dinner; nothing could equal his kindness, urbanity, and attention, and his charming wife was no less desirous and anxious to be of service to us. Indeed I must say this most able and amiable minister always conducted himself in this manner towards all the English in Constantinople, who were strangely and unaccountably neglected by their own ambassador. However, I will not dwell longer on the personal qualities of our kind friends, which have been sufficiently dilated upon by Miss Pardoe, who has given the world a picture of the *salons* of Baron Stürmer, including the diplomatic characters who frequent them. How far these portraits have gra-

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tified or annoyed those who are the subjects of them, it is not for me to pronounce; I have only to add, that during our stay at Constantinople we lived with the Austrian ambassador in the most friendly intimacy.

Our mornings were now usually passed in the mosques, bazaars, and the Seraskier Platz; the former is the place for bad bargains, the latter for gaping and staring. I made every effort to find and buy a very clever Arab horse, but in vain. The most entertaining and busy of all the bazaars, where each has its separate commodity, in ranges of rival shops, and shopmen to press every article upon your notice, is the Arms' Bazaar. This is not only a mart for every species of weapon, but it forms many alleys and streets of one running auction-room, where each article of luxury or use you can imagine can be obtained, from the jewelled amber pipe-mouth, to the buffalo-hide, which is hawked and carried about, by pedlar Turks, for sale, as an object of general use. Hours are passed by loitering travellers in this strange place. It seems that every thing from all parts of the

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world is to be got here, and may be procured by the best bidder.

I consider the histories of the plague to be very much exaggerated; and, although the quarantine laws exist, and perhaps wisely, there is evidently a great deal of useless nonsense in their provisions, which are continually evaded. For my own part, I lived in Constantinople, as I should do in London, without the smallest apprehension of any contagious infection; dreading much more being burnt in the wooden houses, which form a continual cause for alarm. It is certainly strange that some severe laws and measures are not taken against the ravages of fire, which often lays whole districts of the town in ashes.

On the 23rd November we received from Reschid Pacha the special firman to visit the mosques, imperial palaces, the seraglio gardens, and other objects of interest belonging to the Sultan. It has been the practice, when any one of distinction receives this firman, which, if you go through all the mosques, comes to an expense of one thousand piastres, or forty pounds, for the travellers and

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strangers resident at Constantinople to assemble and rush to the mosques, in order to push and squeeze themselves in with the pass of permission accorded to a few, and highly paid for. Nothing can be more indelicate than the extent to which this is carried. The *lacquais de place* and interpreters at the various lodging-houses announce the receipt of the firman by the favoured individual; they get bribes for their information, and the assembling of a *posse comitatus* of strangers follows. Notwithstanding my precautions, we were sadly beset by a large crowd, beyond those I had permitted to join me.

The Turkish officer and *keevoches* were ordered to meet us, at St. Sophia's, by 12 o'clock, and we proceeded with our party in carriages round by the bridge and harbour. We were met at the entrance of the mosque by ten or twelve Austrian officers, and some three or four in a Wirtemburg uniform; and when the doors were opened for our party, these all pushed by the Turkish guards, and forced themselves forward. After this all arrangement was useless; but, if the

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Turkish ministers wish better order, they should enforce it.

What shall I say of St. Sophia? After Lady M. Wortley Montagu's description, it would be presumptuous in my pen to paint it. *Par parenthèse*, I cannot agree with the writer of the "Spirit of the East," that all her descriptions of Turkey and Constantinople are so completely perfect as to render other observations or sentiments insignificant; and the reason given for this excellence is, that her ladyship lived as an inmate in a Turkish family. Now fully admitting the clearness, conciseness, point, and interest of many of the details, I own I think them all meagre and barren, when Lady M. W. Montagu had such a field before her, and opportunities that no other person ever possessed.

What struck me, however, as very peculiar in her book is, that she, moving in the sphere she did, should have been able, or have even thought it necessary, to state so much at large the progress and modes of gallantry and seduction among Turkish women; this a male pen would hardly be excused

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for recording; and I frankly own I consider it as unbecoming in a female. It was unwarranted, I believe, by the manners of that time; and a reference to the particular letter to which I allude will determine how, in our days, such a publication would be received.

St. Sophia stands unrivalled at the first *coup d'œil* of its inward magnitude, and the vast circumference of its immense dome. Although really inferior in size to St. Peter's, or St. Paul's, and I believe it only ranks third, it unquestionably, in the visitor's eye, surpasses both.

You enter up a wide and spacious corridor, from the side of which the stupendous dome, under which the entire edifice is placed, expands to your wondering gaze.

It seems all the more vast for having no divisions or separations of any kind, such as seats or pews. The verd-antique columns, which support galleries of marble, and the colonnades below, uphold the dome. They exceed the ablest description: all the stairs and interior are of marble, while the roof is of cemented mosaic; and this,

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as it moulders, is given or bought as relics of the shrine.

We were carried first up a winding staircase to a gallery, at one corner of the mosque, to look from the top on the multitude below. The mosque, it being the Ramazan, was crowded with myriads of Turks, with turbans and dress of every colour in the rainbow: these were not only on their knees, or squatting with their legs under them, but were prostrating their heads and bodies towards the east with breathless eagerness and rapidity; they appeared like swarms of Dutch tumblers, and, from the distance we were at, mere pigmies in size. But, taking the spectacle as a whole, I consider it undoubtedly the grandest my eye ever beheld.

On the marble pavement of the mosque, rich Turkey carpets are spread for devotions; and in different niches along the wall, the particularly devout Mussulman shuts himself up in a square compartment, made of white linen curtains, which conceal him and the ardour of his devotions from public gaze. In different quarters of the mosque were small raised pulpits, where dervises or learned

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doctors sit explaining the Koran, and each has his own little audience.

Here is to be visited the tomb of Constantine, though the modern one of Mahmoud is more magnificent.

In entering into all the mosques you must put on slippers, and take them off on going out; and to facilitate this imperative religious observation, Turks stand at the steps of the mosque, who furnish the slippers for the ceremony.

The next mosques, in point of grandeur and beauty, are the Solimanie, Achmet, and Bajazet. All differ in their space and interior, in their marble columns and ornamental appendages; but, as Lady M. Wortley says, When you have seen one, you have seen all; for it is only a repetition of what the perfection of art, in solemn temples, can accomplish.

One curious feature of the mosques is the magnitude of the wax candles that surround the altars or shrines. These are as thick and as tall in some places as poplar trees, and have a singular effect.

Having visited five or six mosques, we proceeded

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to the mint, the arsenal, and the seraglio palace. At the mint they were coining bad metal in huge fires. The arsenal, of modern structure and organization, contains nothing of note but old Turkish suits of armour, and many Damascus blades: and in the palace, except the mosaic ceilings and the oriental architecture, I find little to particularize. We returned late in the evening to the hotel, greatly fatigued; and having seen quite enough of these species of lions, we avoided visiting the other palaces of the Sultan, they being in no way remarkable but for an immense number of rooms, large and small, badly or indifferently furnished. The Turks are centuries behind the lands of luxury and decorative comforts; and we certainly saw no Fatimas or their attributes in the Turkey of 1840, whatever it might have had in 1716.

One morning was taken up in visiting the dancing dervises at a mosque at Pera. Miss Pardoe has a long description and an engraving of this mummery of an exhibition, which no common sense comprehends. There are seats round a circular room in the mosque, where the spectators sit. In the centre

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of it, twenty-five or thirty of these ill-conditioned priests, with long, brown, sugar-loaf caps on their heads, and in tight vests and large petticoats, all of black or brown colour, are assembled; their first prank is to march solemnly round the room to slow music, the head dervise whirling at a particular spot, and bowing low to the one behind him, and so on in succession until the music quickens. Then they commence, singly and separately, turning themselves round, with both arms extended, as if they were so many windmills, their large petticoats filling out, and their heads on one side, making grimaces of the most hypocritical devotion. They often go round till they drop; and this is called the excitement of religion! Nothing ever impressed my mind with a more contemptuous notion of superstitious mockery than this absurd spectacle.

Constantinople is entirely devoid of evening amusements: indeed, except in the Ramazan, where day is turned into night, Christians never visit this city after dark; and, from sunset, patroles and military parade the streets, and take up every Turk found in them. At Pera, there may be

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occasionally passing companies of players and itinerant conjurers, such as we met in the person of Mr. Bosca, well known as having visited all the countries and capitals of Europe, to display his magic arts; but, generally speaking, there are no theatres or places of public resort. However, there is a sort of casino, or room of assembly, for the more sober business of reading the newspapers, &c.

The best society at Pera is confined entirely to the diplomatists; of this and its *agrémens* Mr. Slade has given a full account, and I need not follow. The other assembly is composed of those who are not so fortunate as to get footing in the diplomatic circles; of occasional visitors to the place; resident merchants, artists, and individuals employed in commercial speculations, who take up their abode in this city. And this more confined circle is, as has been elsewhere described, the focus of all the gossip, intrigue, and scandal that can be imagined.

Our resident consul, a most excellent, invaluable public servant, has been twenty years at Constantinople. After fourteen or fifteen years' service, the Whigs came in, and were about to eject him

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nothing in return. Mr. and Mrs. ——, the former in the banking-establishment of Sorel and Black, are excellent, worthy people, and we experienced great civility from them.

From the intimacy of the British embassy, owing to the circumstances that occurred, we were wholly excluded, except in the cases of some of the *attachés*, who occasionally dined with us. This, however, was difficult for them to accomplish, as their chief prohibited (as I understood) their leaving Therapia without previous permission. Intellectual amusements and evening society is thus out of the question at Constantinople.

Association with the other sex is upon a footing not only more confined, but, as far as the Turkish ladies are concerned, out of the question; except, indeed, under such modifications as other writers have delineated.

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CHAPTER XIV.

The materials for living at Constantinople—The city is ill-provided with the comforts and luxuries of European Society —Baron Stürmer—English hospitality found at his house— Negociations for the purchase of an Arab—A Turkish stable— Turkish Etiquette—Conduct of Emir Pacha and his Physician —Arrangements for Lady Londonderry's audience with the Sultan — Lady Londonderry received at court under circumstances differing from those which marked the Sultan's audience with the Countess Woronzow—Prospect of the Sultan's receiving distinguished persons of both sexes as is customary with other sovereigns — Abdul Mehjid and his harem — The Sultan's brother — The divan — Turkish overreaching — The sapphire ring and the Sultan's portrait — Desirable objects at Constantinople.

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CHAPTER XIV.

The living, or rather the materials, which form the gourmand's larder at Paris, London, and Vienna, are all bad at Constantinople, or, at best, indifferent. Meat, of all sorts, inferior; only young white beef, poor mutton, no veal or pork. Fowls, half-fed, hard, and bad tasted. Butter, none to be had, nor tolerable milk, and this mostly from goats. Bread, from there being no yeast from breweries or distilleries, is universally sour and nasty. There is no wine but what is imported; and, as great profit is made upon it, it is every where bad. The water at Pera is also brought from tanks, and, unless filtered, is most disagreeable.

The vegetable and fruit-market may be good in their season, and the fish in the Bosphorus is of va-

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rious kinds and excellent; the sword-fish is particularly esteemed. A certain fish, with a black streak down its back, is curious, but I did not think it good. Small gudgeons, mullet (red and grey), white bait, and lobsters, all capital. There is game, especially woodcocks and hares; but, except this one luxury of the table, this vast city is so unprovided that the great houses are actually obliged to import from other places every article of excellence, or that is usually found furnishing good tables elsewhere.

The pleasures of exercise are reduced to pedestrian perambulation on an infamous *pavé*, or riding the streets on the horses that offer. There are no riding-schools, tennis-courts, or other manly exercises of any kind.

How then is the life of man accustomed to European tastes to be passed, or rather spun out, at Constantinople? He must sink into the indolence and *insouciance* of the Turks; turn to the fumes of tobacco, to sherbet, and coffee; and be satisfied without the harem, which seems the natural prerogative of the Mussulman.

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In the chief street of Pera there are goods from England, France, America, and Holland, sold by Jew dealers; and all things can be procured, though at extravagant prices. But the Turk contents himself with what his own country affords, and, beyond his every day enjoyments, is naturally and habitually abstemious.

I have already mentioned my deep obligations to Baron Stürmer. His deservedly acquired diplomatic reputation, his extreme suavity of manners, the extent of his learning, and his being also a professed linguist, render him one of the most agreeable companions of the age. In his house alone there is real English hospitality exercised. Baron Stürmer's great dinners are served like Prince Esterhazy's in London, and at the Austrian palace I was introduced to all the diplomatic corps.

Much might be said here by way of description of persons, and reports of interesting conversations; but, as I heard the lady renowned for the "City of the Sultan" strongly censured, both for remarks, and for repeating conversations too completely of a private nature to be criticized in pub-

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lic, I feel it most judicious not to follow Miss Pardoe's example in my journal.

Turning now from the society of the place, I must relate an instance of the extreme sensitiveness of the Turks, if, even through mistake, you fail to conform to their social *ordonnances*. I was desirous of purchasing an Arabian horse, which I saw at Mehemed Pacha's, whose palace is near the summer residence of the Sultan. This horse I had twice been after, but could not get a knowledge of his price. He was a flea-bitten grey, rather more Turk than Arab about the head, but a splendid beast; of much strength of bone, a proud crest, open nostril, fiery eye: in short, a complete hussar.

The stable, however, in which this perfect creature was kept, like all others in Turkey, requires a particular description. It was as dark as a cellar, and dirtier than any pigsty. The various horses in it, some twenty or thirty, stand all with their heels tied by ropes to the ground. They are kept excessively hot by a multitude of coverings, and the grooms sleep upon carpets spread on flat boards

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near their heads. In a Turkish stable you may distinguish colours, but nothing further. There are no veterinary surgeons or horse doctors, the grooms being supposed sufficiently scientific. Their horses are shod with round, clumsy shoes, and the art of farriery has never raised its head among them. The chief food for the horses is Indian corn and very bad hay.

As to the Arab, fifty thousand piastres was at length stated as his value by the head director of the pacha's stable. The process of bargaining then began, and my first offer was thirty thousand. At this period I took Lady L. by water to see and admire the animal. The evening was cold, and we were late; I proceeded to the stable, and the horses were brought out by the attendant. During this, the pacha, hearing I had arrived with a lady, sent one of his officers down to beg me to enter his palace. I sent word that I would do so the moment I had seen and examined the horse. Here was my first offence: delaying when an invitation came from a pacha, "and that for the sake of a horse." In due time the horse was seen, and

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I proceeded to the pacha's *salon;* but, unfortunately, Lady L., being much tired, went to the boat: when the pacha found this, here was another slight. I made every apology in my power, and sat on the divan for some time; but, at length, unwilling to inconvenience what I was most bound to look after, I rose, and took my leave of the pacha, just as an attendant appeared with pipes, coffee, and a very gorgeous display of sweetmeats and sherbet.

These were presented to me even as I was standing and making my last reverence. The pacha appeared certain I should be reseated, but, seeing I persevered in departing, his brows lowered, and his face became violently red at my last obeisance.

After my departure, a friend of mine, undertaking the negociation for the horse, saw the pacha, who detailed with indignation my (as he alleged) contemptuous treatment of him, and fancying his house and himself degraded, and that I wished him to eat dirt, as I had gone to other pachas in great state and great civilities. My friend in vain tried to ex-

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plain that our customs in England led us to suppose there could be no possible offence in so short a visit, when I was neither invited nor expected; and assured the pacha that it was the last thing I intended to show any want of courtesy. All, however, would not do; and, when my friend returned, the pacha's answer, sent through the agent in the negociation for the horse, was, that he would sell it to any other Englishman, but I should not have it for 500,000 piastres (or £5000). Thus did I suffer seriously for ignorance of the usages of Turkish society: and I finally left Constantinople without having accomplished one of my principal objects in going there, viz., the purchase of an Arab.

Among the friends who visited us after our arrival at Constantinople, we were somewhat surprised to find that Emir Pacha, with whom we had been so intimate on the route from Vienna on board the Pannonia steamer, never came, notwithstanding so many promises of doing every thing in his power to serve us. It is true that the doctor, Duronil, often called, but always said his pacha was ill or occupied. We saw the latter afterwards, towards the close of

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our stay, but he met us with extreme coolness, and seemed rather to avoid us. I mention this as this pacha's manners were very prepossessing, and we were not prepared for his giving up our intimacy. The doctor professed a great deal, and accompanied us on various expeditions. He pretended to interest himself about buying horses for me, but, after all, I fear he did not care very much about serving us. His object at this time appeared to be to ingratiate himself with the ministers, in order to be again employed at Paris as physician to the Turkish embassy, the post he filled when Achmet Pacha was ambassador.

The Ramazan being at an end on Thursday, the 26th of December, I wrote to Reschid Pacha to learn when Lady L. would have her promised audience of the Sultan, as we did not wish to prolong our stay, and encounter the bad winter in the sea of Marmora and Archipelago. I had fixed my departure for Tuesday, the 1st of December. The minister, in the most flattering terms, appointed the audience for Monday the 30th, the earliest possible day the Sultan could name, as the three days

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succeeding the Ramazan, viz., the 27th, 28th, and 29th, are dedicated to the Sozims Beiram. During this period, the cannon at Constantinople and Pera roar from morning to night, shops are all closed, eating and smoking go on all day, and no one thinks of any other object.

At the time named the carriages of the minister, Turkish officers, and attendants, were sent for Lady L., who had her audience of the Sultan at twelve o'clock in the day, at the palace where I had been received. There was some difficulty as to her being accompanied, or going alone. It is true that Reschid Pacha might have performed the office of interpreter, which was all that was especially required; but, on the other hand, she, being only the second Frank lady that ever entered the Sultan's palace for a regular appointed audience, her going quite alone, and without another lady, might have been a subject of animadversion. She at length decided, with much propriety, to ask Mrs. Walker, the wife of the admiral (now in the Turkish service, in which he has lately so much distinguished himself) to accompany her; and this turned out

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both agreeable to her and acceptable to the Sultan, who expressed, in very flattering terms, to the admiral's lady, his satisfaction with her husband's services, a compliment to which she replied with much good taste and feeling.

Lady L. went in a regular court-dress, wearing a profusion of jewels. Mrs. Walker was in a morning bonnet, the same style as that adopted by Countess Woronzow. However, I was rejoiced that Lady L. showed this mark of respect; and I understood it was highly appreciated by the Sultan. I will not here, by stating any thing I may have heard of what passed, detract from the interest of Lady L's. memorandums of the interview; and it will be a curious fact, in after times, if this presentation and introduction of an English lady of rank, at the Ottoman court, refused by the English ambassador, and granted by Abdul Mehjid Khan's own commands, should be the forerunner of one step in civilization, approximating Turkey to the other courts of Europe; namely, that of receiving distinguished persons of both sexes.

This audience is the more to be noted, inasmuch

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as it was granted in an official form, which was not the case with the Countess Woronzow's. She went nominally to see the palace, and the Sultan was to arrive while she was passing through the rooms, as if by accident. Whereas, Lady L. had a regular procession of ministers and attendants, and a formal ceremony in all its parts. The Sultan repaired, on the departure of the ladies, to the windows of his saloon, and remained looking after them until their carriage disappeared. This is a pretty good indication that Abdul Mehjid will not oppose a repetition of such visits.

There is a singular amiability in the manners of this young monarch, which strikes every body. But this trait of character is deteriorated by habits of indolence and luxury, too eagerly adopted by every young man at his age, and in possession of all that his taste or imagination can fancy. His ministers, also, rather pander to his will and passions than attempt to restrain them. His harem consists of three hundred women; and, young as he is, he has two sons, princes, and three princesses, with the almost certain prospect of very many more. It

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has been thought advisable that the different diplomatic agents at the porte should refrain from notifying to their governments these constant births, which formerly was customary.

The Sultan's brother, a few years younger than himself, is a clever and high-spirited young man: and though, during Mahmoud's life, these two princes lived altogether like brothers, since Abdul ascended the throne, the prince has been shut up and confined, though in a palace, and is no longer seen in public. This measure is to prevent the possibility of any movement in his favour arising from his popularity. He would succeed Sultan Abdul in preference to the latter's own sons; such being the Ottoman law.

The ministers now in the divan, and especially Reschid and Achmed, are much more disposed to introduce European liberal institutions than any of the other pachas; and while these last plunge the Sultan into all the labyrinth of his harem — and he has, it is said, no other taste or occupation but his ladies — they will continue to rule the government as they think fit. But there

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is a strong prepossession in the minds of all in favour of Reschid Pacha, who is, in fact, the first minister; the nominal Grand Vizier is merely a sleeping partner. The divan consists of fourteen or fifteen great ministers, and somewhat resembles our English cabinet. They decide by a majority of votes; and the ministers are retained or overturned by intrigues within this body — a sad system for any government whatever.

The last days of our stay at Constantinople were employed in collecting purchases and *souvenirs* of this extraordinary city. Two examples may suffice to show the style of Turkish bargains and honesty. Lady L. desired to purchase a sapphire ring; the dragoman, on inquiry, learnt the price was 8,000 piastres—eighty pounds. He was ordered to offer 6,000; it was indignantly refused. The dragoman came the following day with the Armenian, lowering his terms to 6,500. After great debate the ring was carried away. At the moment of our going on board ship, however, our ring-merchant again appeared, and consented to take the 6,000. There was a great deal of trouble, at

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the last moment, to procure and count out these piastres; but, at length, it was accomplished, when the Armenian turned round and said he had changed his mind again, and he must have his 6,500. This deep fellow, doubtless, relied upon our yielding rather than suffer an inconvenient delay. He was, however, mistaken; and Lady L. packed up her money again, and we were off the bargain; but, when we were entering the carriage to go to the place of embarkation, the Armenian squeezed the ring into Lady L's. hand, and begged the sack of piastres.

Again, a merchant brought a portrait sketch of the Sultan for sale. He asked 250 piastres; 100 were sent down to him: he took it, but sent up an inferior picture, and went off. A few days afterwards he brought the original drawing again, asking 250 piastres for it, as before. Though indignant at his impudence, and at being cheated in the first instance, still I wished for the best portrait I could get, and, by dint of bullying, obtained it for 150.

These instances prove that dealing is a complete

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system of deceit and cheating, backed by the dragomans, towards all foreigners in Turkey.

These, after all, may be confined to a very few articles. Shawls are better bought in Russia or Persia; Arabians more easily procured at Alexandria, or in Egypt. Valuable, coloured precious stones may be had here, reasonable enough, but the diamonds come from England. Antique arms and good sabres are numerous: I doubt if any other objects are worth looking after.

The Turkish character appeared to me to be very much disposed to receive every thing that could be got, but very loth to give.

As I had now a few leisure days, I was anxious to place in an official form before Prince Metternich my views on the present state of the navigation of the Danube. I wrote his highness, therefore, the annexed report, which I delivered to Baron Stürmer to send him. My employment as British ambassador at the court of Vienna for ten years, I thought, justified my taking the liberty of this proceeding, although not strictly in character with my actual private position.

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APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX.

Report to Prince Metternich of the Navigation of the Danube.

Pera, November 14, 1840.

Mon cher Prince,

I feel it almost a duty, as well as a sincere pleasure, to address a full report to you of all details of our voyage from Vienna to Constantinople, by the Austrian Steam Navigation Company's ships on the Danube.

In the first place, I believe Lady Londonderry and myself are nearly the only English of rank or note who have yet undertaken this expedition.

In the second, we are aware of the infinite pains the directors have taken, under the orders they

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have received, to render our accommodation as perfect as circumstances would admit.

And lastly, as we are in no way engaged or interested further than as "*des voyageurs*" in the splendid enterprise that Austria has now undertaken, anything that falls from my pen cannot be characterized as emanating from partiality on the one hand, or prejudice on the other.

You have, undoubtedly, embarked in a gigantic effort; no less than to unite the commerce of the capital of your Empire with that of the City of the East; and, Herculean as the project may seem, I may fairly congratulate you that it will be fully and admirably carried into effect, provided that public spirit, and the means hereafter placed at the disposal of the company are such as the magnitude of the advantages *still to be derived* require.

My remarks are naturally divided into two heads.

First: The earlier navigation reaching as far as Pesth, and from thence to Drenkova; where I consider the greater and more efficient arrangement ceases; and,

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Secondly: That part of the line from Drenkova to Galatz and Braila, which is yet evidently far behind the other division of this voyage.

I understand the first boats have been in operation ten or twelve years, but it is only about four or five, since steamers have plied the whole way to Constantinople.

From inquiring of the different authorities throughout the line, and contemplating the stupendous works undertaken at Pest and in Hungary, especially the suspension bridge (which certainly appears to me to rival our celebrated Menai), I could not but be alive to the feeling every where entertained for the singular public spirit, talents, and abilities of Count Stef^ae Zécheny, to whose zeal and ardour (I am told) belongs the chief merit of these noble institutions and achievements. Of this, however, you must know much more than myself. But thus much I am not afraid to proclaim, that if one half of what I hear of this nobleman's patriotic energies is true, few subjects deserve higher encomiums or rewards from their sovereign and their country.

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To return to the Danube; it appears to me that the undertaking will pay largely in due course of time, provided it is carried forward on a sufficiently grand and liberal scale.

I do not deny that at present your capitalists may be timid, as your line of navigation is little known to Europe. But it becomes your enlightened and fostering government to render, by every possible effort, this channel of communication quite perfect for the whole civilized world; and the prosperity of your empire will rise from this noble enterprise so as fully to repay all present sacrifices.

Two great points to establish in your steam navigation are,

1. The conveyance of your commerce and merchandize.

2. The safe, prompt, and convenient accommodation of the passengers. The latter, doubtless, is the more laborious and difficult object to accomplish.

The question arises, especially along the Danube, whether you should not separate the two objects; I feel sure you ought.

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In England, innumerable railways carry goods, for they are not sent from the Thames by the steam-boats, to the interior of the coast. On your Danube navigation, the whole heavy commercial goods of your empire will go to the east by steam-boats; and, if these are crowded up by goods, together with passengers, it will always be inconvenient to the latter. I own I should humbly recommend an immediate separation of the two.

Let all your trade go by ordinary steamers, and keep a better description of these for passengers, their personal luggage and effects, and their carriages.

I will now speak of our voyage in two divisions, and presume to suggest what appear to me improvements, and which might be made with no additional expence to the direction, and with advantage to the passengers.

First, as to Drenkova. We were embarked and re-embarked four times before we left that place: 1st, in the "Galatea" at the Prater; 2ndly, in the "Zrynyi" at Pesth; 3rdly, in open boats, or but partially covered, at Drenkova; and again, in other

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smaller boats, without covering, till we reached Skela Gladova.

We did well enough in the "Galatea," the accommodation being very clean, fair, and all that could be desired. The captain most civil and obliging — so indeed they all are; and in this respect the company is well served.

At Pesth we stopped all night, and at an admirable hotel. Possibly the delay may be necessary when there is no moon; but why is the steam-boat changed, and all the inconvenience of shifting carriages, baggage, &c., to be endured?

If the direction established and built at once a class of iron steamers, drawing the average depth of water the Danube affords as far down as Drenkova, these multiplied changes would be avoided, as creating dissatisfaction and annoyance.

In the "Zrynyi," from Pesth to Drenkova, the accommodation was likewise unobjectionable; but, between Semlin and Belgrade, we ran upon a sand-bank, and, after remaining three hours, got off by the great exertions of the captain and crew. We had hardly, however, proceeded a few miles fur-

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ther, before we drove on another bank, where we were deposited so long that our vessel, which should have reached Drenkova in the evening, did not get in until late on the following day.

Now it is quite evident that these sand-banks are formidable: why, then, should steamers be exposed to them?

It occurs to me that a few boatmen, employed in those parts of the river where the sands are known to shift, and provided with small craft, might be continually kept sounding and marking the river with buoys. Thus, by care, foresight, and due precaution, the annoyance of running on these banks would be mainly if not entirely avoided.

One word more as to the two steamers that carried us to Drenkova; a very little exertion would much improve the arrangements in both. The direction should increase the number of separate cabins for those who like, and will pay for, the accommodation.

The officers and *employés* of the boats and engines ought not to have the best births allotted to

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them. In the gentlemen's saloon below, instead of the small, miserable tickings drawn out from the sides of the sofas, and to which a mattress only two feet wide, a pillow, and a coverlet are attached, let arrangements be made as usual for cabin births. Provide also proper sleeping-places for the ladies, who are actually far worse off. In their saloon, in the after-part of the vessel, there are absolutely only the bare seat-cushions for beds; and at night they lie all *pell-mell* together, which is equally unbearable and unwholesome.

These points are of some importance for the direction to attend to and correct, if they are desirous that their steamers should be frequented by the natives of civilized Europe, or the families of my countrymen.

I come now to the second division of the route, and, in candour, cannot report so favourably of the management there as of the foregoing, which, really, considering the difficulties surmounted, deserves high praise.

The boats at Drenkova are very small, but are proof against bad weather; not so the Wallachian

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open barges, in which you pass through the rapids, and the iron gate of the Danube, to Skela Gladova. Into these boats you are transhipped at Orsova, a small town, the little inns of which are tolerable, and where the administration seem to be erecting offices, and a handsome establishment and bureau.

The road constructed from Drenkova to Orsova is a splendid work, and deserves the greatest praise.

I should strongly recommend the direction to close up the sides of the Orsova boats, which now admit chill and every discomfort in bad weather, though you are only two or three hours in them.

At Skela Gladova we were again removed into the Pannonia, a small steamer of thirty-six horse power. I know not if directions were given there to attend to the passengers from Vienna, but, previous to our arrival, the vessel was loaded with eight carriages, and so much merchandize, that you could scarcely stand, still less walk, on the deck. I represented to the agent that my carriage must be taken in the boat. He replied that then he must

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unload the whole ship. I was unwilling to compel this; and so he procured for the barouche another large, flat-bottomed boat. But of this he also took every advantage, stowing it so full of goods and heavy bales, that it retarded the Pannonia at least two hours out of six.

Nothing could be worse than the crowded inconvenience, inordinate loading, confusion, and bad arrangement of this vessel from Skela Gladova; and the agent of the direction deserves to be strongly remonstrated with. The extreme parsimonious avidity shown in sending such quantities of goods on board, when there is actually no sufficient stowage for them, should be checked at once.

We sailed on the evening of the 23d from Skela Gladova, but had not got half way to Giurgevo and Rutzchuk, on the 25th, the day we were taught to expect we should arrive there. A little below Widdin, this day, we were again stranded on a bank of sand, suffering another long delay of several hours. The accommodation and fare in the Pannonia are indeed very indifferent; neither is

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the vessel adapted and fitted up for the proper accommodation of passengers.

The direction at Vienna should either regulate and apportion the passengers and stowage at the different stations, under care of the respective resident agents, and not engage the births in the capital; or else that direction should prevent the agents at the stations from so loading the vessels, before the arrival of the convoy from Vienna, as to leave no room or accommodation for them when they arrive. Some new and very stringent regulations should be enforced on this head.

We arrived at Giurgevo and Rutzchuk late on the 4th, instead of the 2nd, as I have already said. At this station there is no accommodation whatever on shore, beyond a mere barn or large building for the merchandize; no inn, or even cabaret, in the place.

Fortunately, we ourselves were very kindly and hospitably lodged by Mr. Staut, the agent director; but every one else remained on board, where, from bad management, and the delays already specified, provisions were absolutely scarce.

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Experiencing so much inconvenience, I made inquiries here if I could get from Choumla, across the Balkan, to Adrianople and Constantinople, or else to Varna, and so rejoin the steamer there. However, both routes were impracticable, as no English carriage at that season can pass the mountains. Besides, I was told the journey would take a month, and that Varna could not be reached by the time the steam-vessel touched there; so I gave up both projects.

We sailed again on the 27th, and arrived at Galatz the night of the 29th, where we were taught to expect that the Ferdinand steamer would be ready to receive us, and cross the Black Sea; this vessel being of one hundred-horse power. However, we had to wait four days in anxious and most unpleasant suspense. No lodgings or means of getting quarters on shore are found in a place which has now a considerable resident population and commerce. The Austrian director's house was not here open to us, and our own consul had fever and sickness in his wretched hovel. We should have been in the greatest distress, but for the hos-

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pitality and kindness of the Moldavian Major Skeletti, commandant of the place, who most hospitably and kindly gave us two rooms.

The want of good reception-houses at the stations where steam-boats are compelled to leave their passengers, is, undeniably, a serious drawback all along this route.

The Ferdinand at length appeared on the 1st of November, and, after her going to and from Braila for goods and passengers, we sailed on the evening of that day. On the 2d, at night, we were off the Sulineh Point; but the wind being strong, and the weather bad, the captain would not pass the bar, so he anchored at the mouth of the Danube.

On tho 3d we had a prosperous wind for the Bosphorus, and cast our anchor off Pera, the evening of the 4th November.

The Ferdinand is neither large enough, nor in any way adapted for carrying passengers across the Black Sea.

I have now, mon cher prince, given you this

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hasty detail, unsolicited and perhaps with presumption. However, my object has been to render service to a government and to a country in which I must ever feel the deepest interest.

END OF VOL. I.

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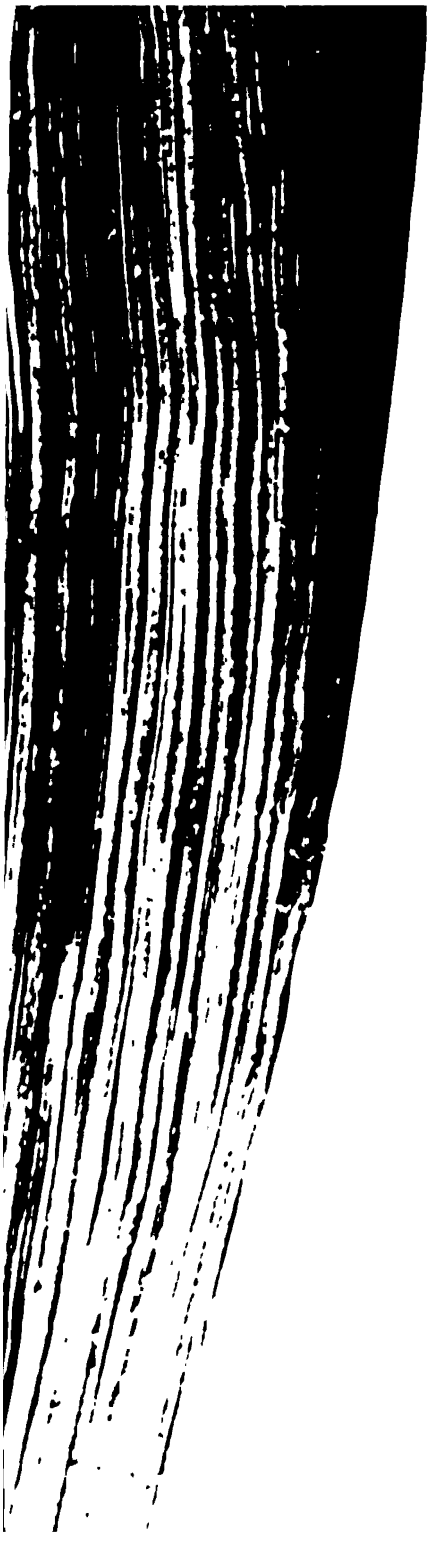

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