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THE
SULTAN OF TURKEY,

ABDUL MEDJID KHAN.

A
Brief Memoir of his Life and Reign,

WITH
NOTICES OF THE COUNTRY, ITS ARMY AND
NAVY, AND PRESENT PROSPECTS.

BY THE
Rev. HENRY CHRISTMAS,

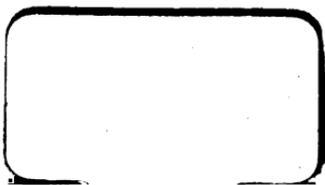
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LONDON:
JOHN FARQUHAR SHAW,
21, SOUTHAMPTON ROW, and 21, PATERNOSTER ROW.

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F.R.S., F.R.A., F.R.G.S.

AUTHOR OF "NICHOLAS I.: A BRIEF MEMOIR OF HIS LIFE AND REIGN."

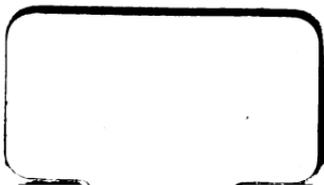
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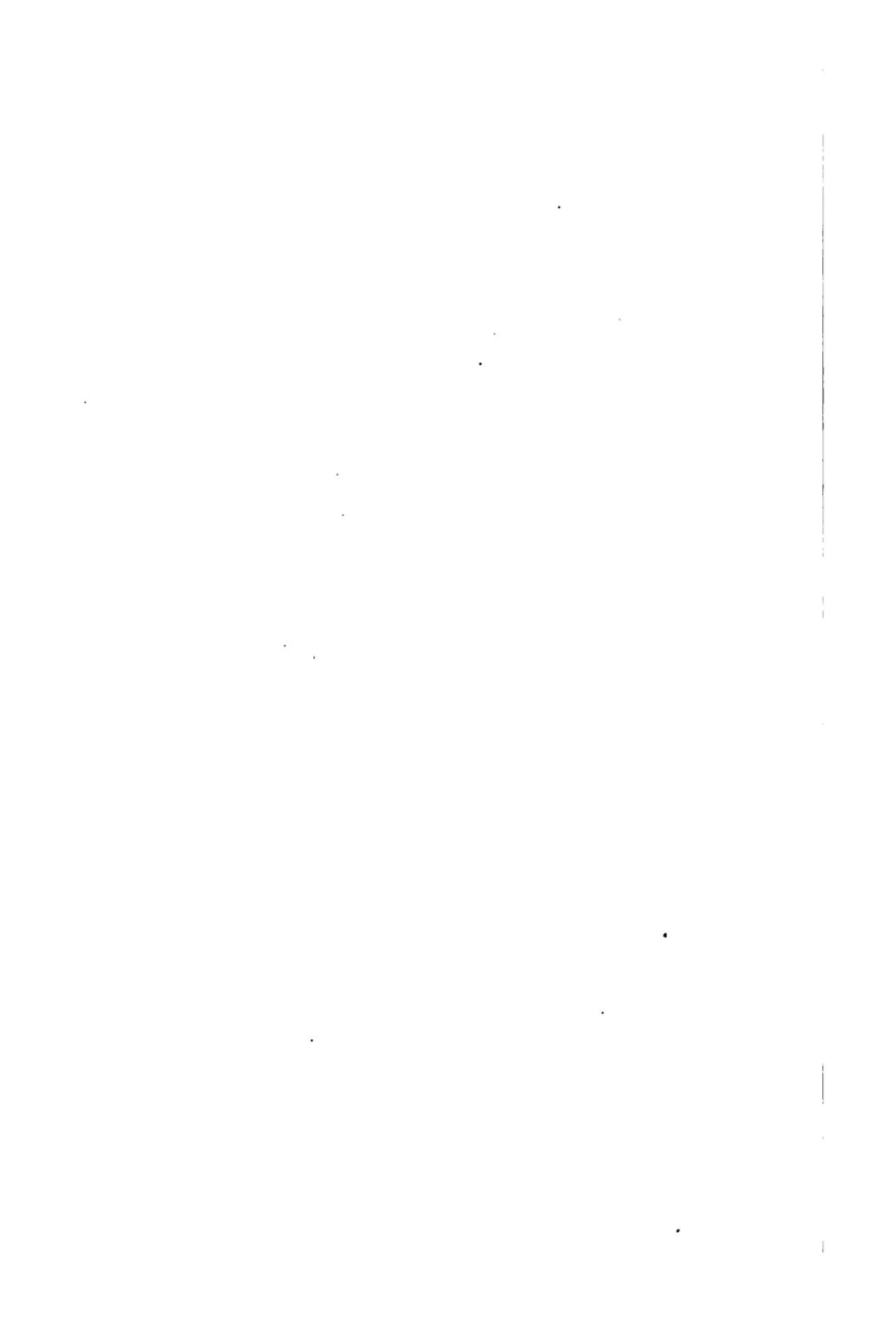
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LIFE OF
THE SULTAN OF TURKEY,
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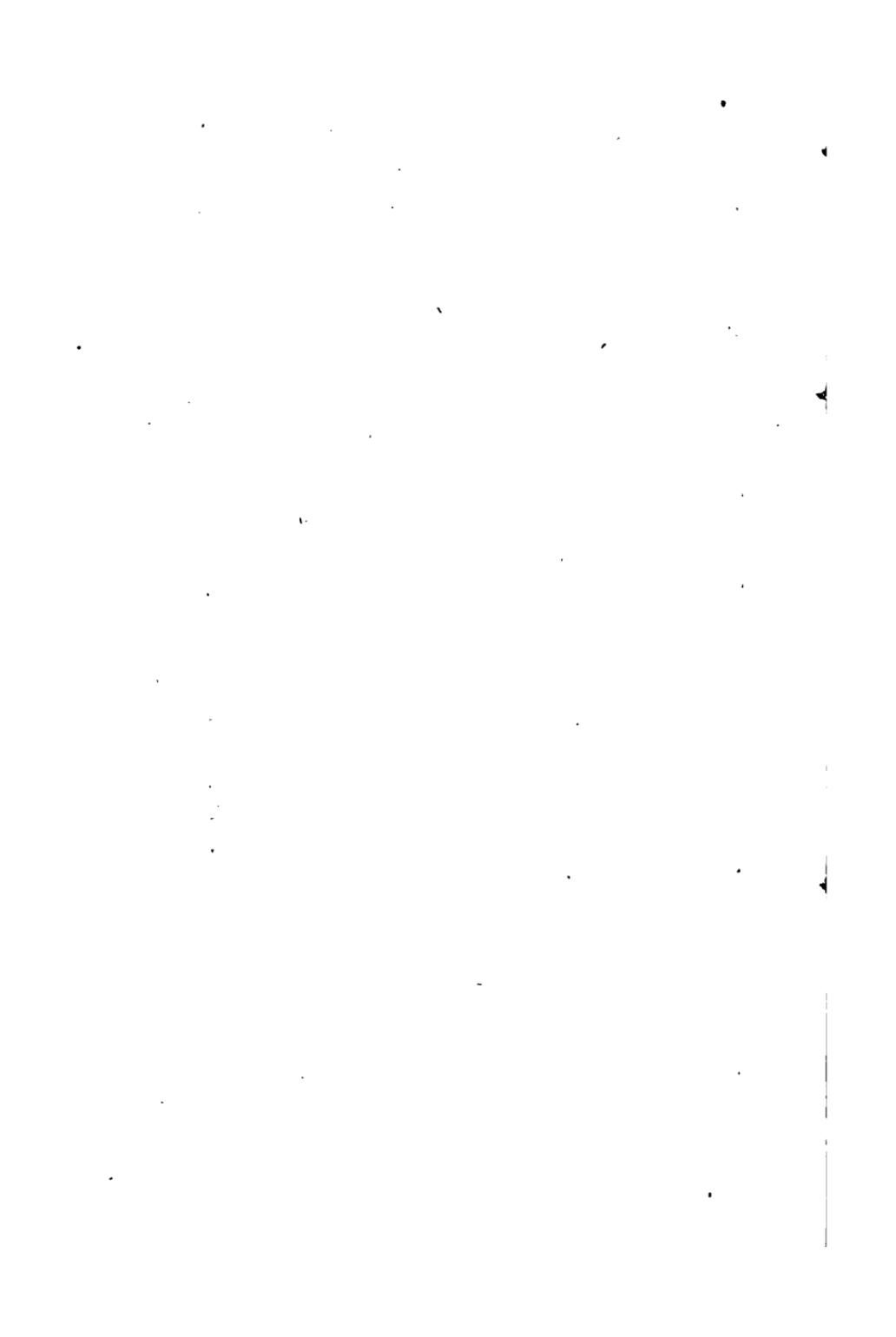
century. The jealousies of ages will disappear, and that "*entente cordiale*"—never really "*cordiale*" when the wily sovereign who first used the phrase sat on the throne of France—will be a potent reality.

The Turks are old and valuable allies; they are pre-eminently faithful to their engagements, and with them is one of the most important branches of our commerce. The Sultan himself may be said, without fear of contradiction, to be the most interesting prince in Europe, and it is hoped that this unostentatious attempt to make him, his country, his power, and his prospects, better known in England, will not be unacceptable to the public.

While I have to acknowledge the favourable way in which the press in general have treated the very unpretending life of the Emperor Nicholas, which formed the last number of this series, I think I am bound to notice one particular charge brought against me by the *Athenæum*. I am described as having given a "*Peace Society's version* of the life of Nicholas," as being a "*peace at all price* advocate," and a "*partisan of the Muscovite*." At the same time the writer considers that my endeavours to whitewash the Czar have been unsuccessful, and states that I express my "surprise" at the fate or treatment of Poushkin. A journal so distinguished for its impartiality as the *Athenæum* could not for a moment be suspected of intentional misrepresentation, and the criticism is therefore to me at least incomprehensible. So far from

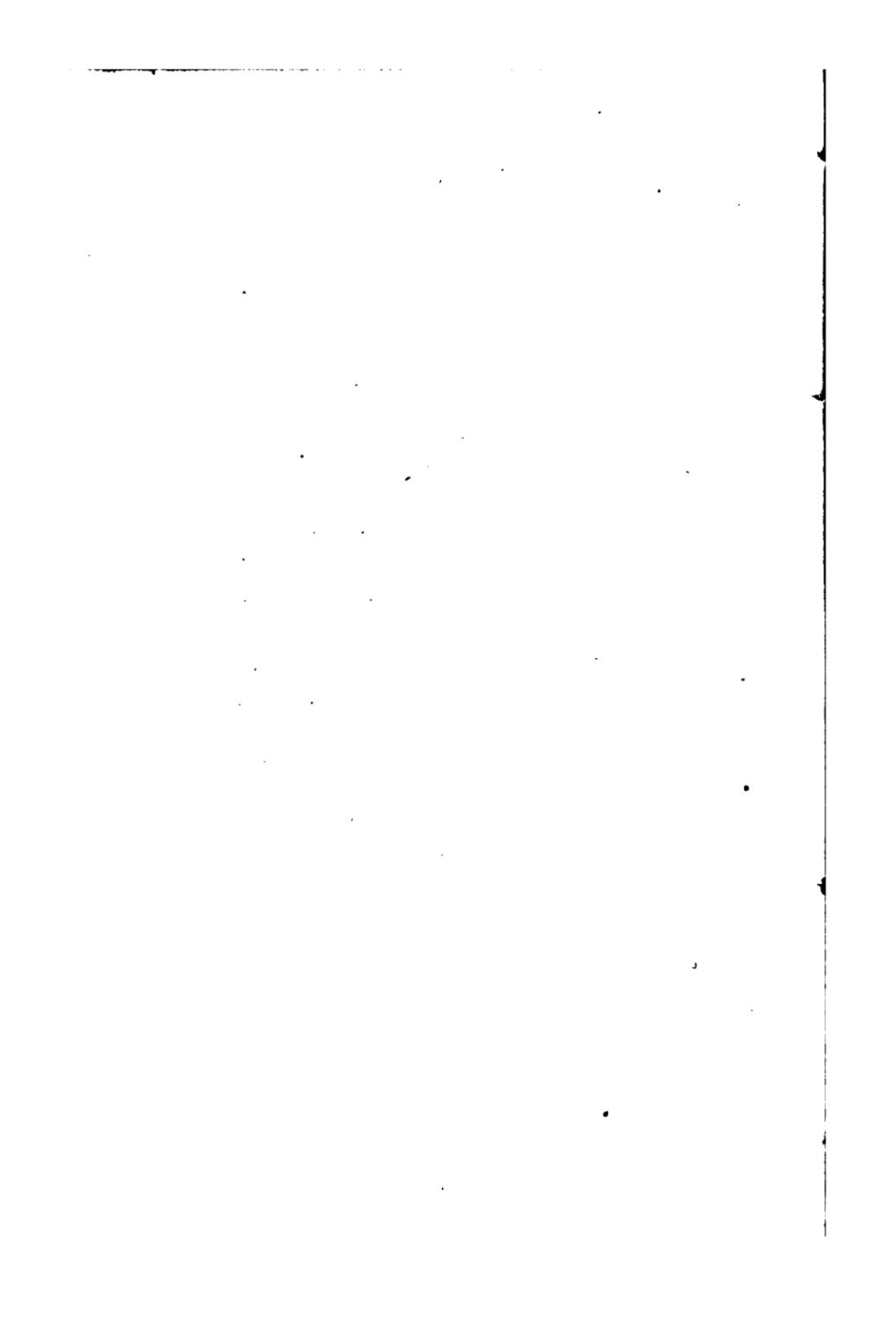
advocating "peace at all price," I scarcely advocate peace at any price: I devote a chapter to prove the war both just and necessary, and deprecate an alliance with Austria, lest the war should be hampered. With regard to the emperor himself I conceal nothing that makes against him—I admit his tyranny, his faithlessness, his injustice, and his ambition; and I should not like to have partisans myself such as I am of "*the Muscovite*." As to Poushkin, I never express any surprise at all on the subject.

Such a book can be little more than a compilation, and as such I described it; but I think if the critic of the *Athenæum* had condescended to read beyond the anecdotes he extracts, he would not have taxed me with partisanship of a prince whom I have unsparingly condemned. To represent Nicholas as a fiend in human shape; to deny the merits, which as a sovereign of Russia he does undoubtedly possess; to ignore the progress which the country has made under his rule, because we are engaged in a righteous war with him, would be serving neither the interests of England nor those of truth.



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LIFE OF
ABDUL MEDJID KHAN.

CHAPTER I.

THE SULTAN—HIS ACCESSION AND ANTECEDENTS.

THE south-eastern extremity of Europe is occupied by a people who have little in common with the habits and civilization of the West. Sprung from an eastern stock, they have long preserved the tastes and manners, as well as the religion of their forefathers. Art, science, improvement have, till very lately, slowly advanced among them ; and now that, under a combination of circumstances, in the results of which the whole world is interested, they have taken a great start in the race, they will probably show they are deficient in none of those qualities which make a nation great.

The Ottoman empire is of vast extent, and though recently somewhat curtailed of its fair proportions by the independence of Greece and Egypt, yet the admirable position which it occupies on the globe, the fertility of the soil, the beauty of the climate, and the great natural resources which it possesses, entitle it to a higher rank among nations than is generally accorded to it. It is, however, by no means homogeneous in

the composition of its population ; the dominant race form a minority, and in Europe a small minority, of the people, and have ever regarded themselves rather as encamped than permanently settled ; yet they have now, for upwards of four hundred years, retained possession of the finest provinces of eastern Europe ; and there seems little prospect at present of their being dislodged.

The Osmanlis, of whom Abdul Medjid is the head and ruler, are of Tartar origin ; and it is impossible to spend much time in Constantinople without being struck with the remarkable likeness which exists between the genuine Turks and the Chinese : the Tartar peculiarities in the latter are more exaggerated, but they are to be found, softened and embellished, in the handsomest Osmanli. Nor is it in person only that this resemblance is to be found ; their style of building is not dissimilar from that of their congeners ; they are characterized by the same gravity of demeanour, the same love of ceremony, the same filial respect and reverence for age ; while the chief point of difference will be found in the unswerving integrity which distinguishes, almost to a man, the whole Ottoman race. The fabled genealogy of the Osmanlis is as wild as most similar myths. They claim to be descended from Turk, a son of Japheth, who built the city of Siluk, and taught his subjects the arts of working in metals, of writing, and computing time. He is reputed to have been the author of that curious cycle, still in use among the Mantchoos, Monguls, and Japanese, which gives to various periods of time the names of animals. The fifth in descent from Turk were the two sons of Alindjah Khan, Tartar and Mogul, who became the

progenitors of nations bearing their names. In the course of time, Kara Khan (the Black Prince) occupied the throne of the Tartars, whose son Oguz introduced monotheism, and established his capital at Samacand. From him descended Togrul or Ortogrul Bey, whose grandson Othman or Osman gave his name to a powerful dynasty, of which Abdul Medjid is the present representative.

The history of the Ottomans, from Osman to Mohammed II., is full of interest ; but space will not allow us to dilate upon it. It is rather with the empire as it now stands that we have to deal, and we shall only touch on those points of its history subsequent to the conquest of Constantinople, which may serve to illustrate its present position. War was the business as well as the delight of the earlier sultans ; and when they found themselves established in the city of Constantine, they seem to have entertained the design of extending their conquests over all Europe. It took two centuries to convince them that this was an idle dream ; but had it not been for the valour of the Poles and Hungarians, and especially the exertions of the great John Sobieski, it is difficult to say how far they might have succeeded. While, however, the Ottoman sovereigns took measures for extending their conquests, they did not neglect the welfare of their subjects, and Solyman, or Suleiman, the Magnificent, as he is generally called by Europeans, is more usually known among Turks by the title of *Kanuni*, or the Lawgiver. Mosques rose, educational institutions were established, justice was equitably administered, and a very large amount of toleration prevailed. On the whole, Turkey may be said to have been as well

governed as any of the Christian states of eastern Europe, and far better than its Muscovite neighbour.

It would be idle to claim, either for these conquering sultans or their ministers, any very high degree of what we now consider to be genuine enlightenment. War and the Koran were all they knew, and all they cared to know ; and the proceedings of the too celebrated Omar, at Alexandria, express with accuracy the general feeling of the Ottoman rulers during the palmy days of the empire. When the fate of the great library, the greatest which the world had then seen, was in his hands, and he was pressed for a reply as to what was to be done with the books, he replied—“ If what is contained in these volumes be contrary to the Koran, they are mischievous ; if in accordance with the Koran, they are superfluous ;—let them be burnt !” The barbarous edict was obeyed ; the books were distributed throughout the baths of the city, and consumed as fuel to heat them ; and the learned world, mourning over the destruction of many illustrious works, which will never be recovered, have identified the name of Omar with all that is most degraded in barbarism, and most atrocious in bigotry.

It would not be fair to conceal the fact that there is still a large party among the genuine Osmanlis who look with favour on this act of Omar. The writing, or even the reading of books—unless books of medicine or astrology, comments on the Koran, poems, or romances—they look on as next to a crime. “ God has been pleased,” they say, “ to reveal to man in the Koran, by means of his prophet (on whom be peace), all that it is necessary for us to know ; and he who attempts to penetrate into hidden knowledge, is but

defiling his own soul and flinging dirt on his own beard."

The exceptions which are thus made show what kind of education we may expect in a "true believer," removed from the influences of western civilization: the imagination is much cultivated, and the intellect but slightly. It is the opinion of most who have had opportunities of observing, that while the domestic character of the Turks, save in the lowest orders of the capital and other great cities, stands deservedly high, they cannot be regarded as exhibiting any remarkable mental development. For ages this condition would not be an unfavourable one contrasted with the rest of Europe: the wild energy of the East still animated the Turkish armies; commerce was but awaking in the West; and the Ottomans, though never peculiarly a commercial people, were equal to, or at least not far behind, the Christian nations of their time. So affairs went on till towards the close of the last century. At this period it struck Selim III., a man of peaceful character and great intelligence, that he would become a reformer. A firm believer in the faith of Islâm, he supposed (and the supposition does credit to his powers of reasoning) that no truth could be contrary to another truth, and that he might, to the great benefit of his subjects, and without injury to his religion, introduce into his empire all the civilization of western Europe. Great roads, postal arrangements, printing-presses, European military tactics, the general education of the people, the lighting, draining, and paving of cities, commercial treaties with Christian nations, all seem to have occupied the mind of this amiable and enlightened prince. But he was not only a couple of

centuries in advance of his age, but he was hardly able to cope with the fierce elements of Mohammedan bigotry by which he was surrounded : the bowstring, administered by the Janissaries, terminated his reign and his reforms together, and it was believed in Stamboul, that the old Turkish Tories would now have everything their own way. But ideas of progress are seeds which cannot be eradicated from the soil in which they have once taken root. Sultan Selim III. might be strangled, but Sultan Mustapha IV. succeeded, and the reforms went on. Inferior to Selim in knowledge and refinement, less amiable and less conscientious, Mustapha was nevertheless a man of power and energy and, had his reign been prolonged, it is probable that he would have been ranked among the greatest reformers of eastern Europe ; but the same turbulent and factious body which had deposed his predecessor, seized upon him also, and he speedily paid with his life for the temerity of attempting to reform an empire virtually governed by a pretorian guard. The sceptre of Turkey now passed into the hands of the late sultan, Mahmoud II., the cousin of Mustapha, and the nephew of Selim, a man whose life and actions, if fairly weighed in the balance, would entitle him to take rank with the best and ablest sovereigns of modern times. He found the Ottoman empire fast falling to pieces ; many of her most important provinces had passed, after unfortunate wars, and still more unfortunate treaties, into the hands of Russia. The Turkish character was but little understood, and did not stand high in the general estimation of Europe. The Greeks were in a state of insurrection, and there was a general feeling of sympathy throughout the West with the insurgents. The

glories of their past history, the deep debt which the world owes to their ancestry, the lustre of their ancient genius, all the classical recollections of our Christian youth, tended to make the Greek cause popular; and Byron was not the only great man who devoted his life and genius to the attainment of freedom for Greece. But it was impossible for this sympathy with the Greek to exist without a corresponding prejudice against the Ottoman, and accordingly for a long, very long period, almost indeed to the close of his reign, Mahmoud had to contend against the general ill-will of Christian Europe. The interior condition of his realm was yet worse than its exterior aspect: a strong government was all but impossible, the Dereh Beys ruled despotically in Asia Minor, the Druse chieftains in Lebanon, Mehemet Ali in Egypt, and the Janissaries in Constantinople. The authority of the sultan was but a name; he might easily be a tyrant, but it was difficult for him to become a sovereign.

Mahmoud, however, was not to be discouraged. He went to work to improve his capital, to reform the laws, to reorganize the army, to put down feudalism in Asia Minor, to repress the great and almost independent pachas, and above all to reduce the unconstitutional and excessive power of the Janissaries; and this herculean task he undertook in spite of a bankrupt exchequer, a disorganized empire, a wide-spreading insurrection, the constant menaces and attacks of Russia, and the general ill-will of western Europe. To undertake a reform so extensive, and to *resolve* its accomplishment, would alone argue an expansive genius and a commanding will. That he was greatly successful, is sufficient to

place him high among great sovereigns. Let us now look at the condition of Turkey, and we shall see that Mahmoud's plans, partly accomplished by himself, are now in a fair way of being completely carried into effect. Asia Minor is entirely under the control of the Sultan, after much resistance and no small amount of bloodshed. The Dereh Beys have ceased to rule, and, for the most part, ceased to exist. Commerce is increasing in Asia Minor ; the land is more extensively cultivated ; travelling is safe ; and the natural prosperity of the whole country is marvellously increased. Constantinople is gradually assimilating itself to the cities of the West. Houses of stone are replacing those of wood ; public buildings worthy of a great empire are rising to adorn its principal quarters ; and, before long, gas and decent paving may be expected to appear together. The laws are revised ; the charter of Gulhane, drawn up by the late sultan, has made all classes and religions alike before the seat of justice. If Egypt be severed, and Greece independent, the remaining provinces—and they form a vast dominion—are beginning to be knit together by a central authority ; and the firman of the Sultan is now respected in regions where, till of late, it was regarded merely as a form. The military and naval forces of the Porte, particularly the former, presented a more difficult problem. The constitution of the army had made it consist principally of the *Spahis*, who were landed proprietors ; and the Janissaries, who were a kind of pretorian guard. Like that ancient body which was long the support and the scourge of the imperial authority in Rome, deposing emperors at their will, and establishing others in their room, the Janissaries assumed to be the virtual deposi-

taries of the Ottoman power ; and while they could not change the line of succession, they nevertheless, within those limits, considered themselves at liberty to choose a sovereign for the Ottoman nation. Experience has taught the historian that a power like this is in no case to be relied on ; and Mahmoud, remembering how many of his predecessors had been removed by the bowstring of their turbulent guard, determined, from the very beginning of his reign, to deliver his throne from these factious and dangerous supporters. To reorganize the army, to make it able to cope with the Russians, to train and exercise it like the great military powers of Europe,—such was the design of the young and energetic Sultan ; and he well knew that every step in the path of military reform would be stoutly resisted by the Janissaries, and would involve his own life in the greatest peril. He proceeded, and the result verified his expectations. Revolt after revolt, conspiracy after conspiracy, cabal after cabal, soon showed him, even if he had ever imagined the contrary, that the struggle between him and his pretorians was become a war to the knife.

To enable the reader to understand the real position of Mahmoud II. at this period, it will be necessary to lay before him some account of the formidable corps which was the great obstacle to all real improvement.

The Janissaries were an order of infantry in the Turkish armies, reputed the sultan's best foot-guards.

Vossius derives the word from *yenigeri*, which in the Turkish language signifies new levies, or soldiers. D'Herbelot tells us that *jenitcheri* signifies a new band or troop, and that the name was originally given by Amurath I., called the Conqueror, who,

choosing out one-fifth part of the Christian prisoners whom he had taken from the Greeks, and instructing them in the discipline of war and the doctrines of their religion, sent them to Hagi Bektasche (a person whose piety rendered him extremely revered among the Turks), to the end that he might confer his blessing on them, and at the same time give them some mark to distinguish them from the rest of the troops. Bektasche, after blessing them in his manner, cut off one of the sleeves of the fur gown which he had on, and put it on the head of the leader of this new militia : from which time, viz. the year of Christ 1361, they assumed the name *Jenitcheri*, and the fur cap. Others ascribe their origin to Sultan Amurath II., in the year 1372 ; others again to the predecessor of Amurath I.

The Janissaries were children of tribute, levied by the Turks among the Christians, and bred up to the military life. They were taken at the age of twelve years, to the end that, forgetting their country and religion, they might know no other parent but the Sultan. However, generally speaking, they were not latterly raised by way of tribute ; for the *karatch*, or tax which the Turks imposed on the Christians for allowing them the liberty of their religion, was paid in money ; excepting in some places where, money being scarce, the people were unable to pay in specie ; as in Mingrelia and other provinces near the Black Sea. Latterly the Turks made no scruple of recruiting their Janissaries with natives ; and as there were some of these troops in the provinces as well as at Constantinople, it was not easy to ascertain their number. At first this military corps consisted of no more than 12,000 men ; and they

seemed to be particularly designed as a guard to the emperor's person : it was afterwards augmented by the successors of the founder to 50,000. Selim, son of Bajazet, reduced them ; but from his reign until the time of their destruction, their number so increased that they composed the principal force of the Turkish army. Their pay was from two aspers to twelve per diem ; for when they had a child, or did any signal piece of service, their pay was augmented. Baron de Tott says that the pay of the Janissaries was duly distributed every three months, and that it had a progressive increase from three aspers to ninety-nine. Their dress consisted of a long gown, with short sleeves, which was given them annually by the Sultan, on the first day of Ramadan. They wore no turban ; but in lieu of that a kind of cap, which they called *garcola* ; and a long hood of the same stuff hung on their shoulders. On solemn days they were adorned with feathers, which were stuck in a little case in the fore part of the bonnet. On occasions of this kind the Janissaries appeared without arms, and with their hands crossed before them ; and except the red shoes, great blue drawers, and bonnet, which they were obliged to wear, they dressed themselves in what colour they pleased ; and their uniform consisted only in the cut of their clothes. Their arms in Europe, in a time of war, were a sabre, a carabine or musket, and a cartouch-box, hanging on the left side. At Constantinople, in time of peace, they only carried a long staff in their hand. In Asia, where powder and fire-arms were more uncommon, they bore a bow and arrow, with a poniard, which they called *hamiars*. With regard to their tactics, they formed their

battalions very deep, and their squadrons very large ; they were exercised in the use of their arms, and to preserve their ranks and files, but with less order and exactness than the troops of the Christians. They never had pikes, their favourite weapon being the scimitar. In former times they fought with darts, arrows, and hatchets ; but latterly the whole of their infantry was provided with firelocks. M. de Boneval attempted to instruct them in handling the bayonet, and formed a small body to the use of that weapon ; but it declined and dwindled away after his death. Their ordinary mode of fighting was to fire their pieces and then fall on the enemy sabre in hand, with very loud shouts, but without any order ; notwithstanding which, their number, their impetuosity, and the weight of their shock, rendered them very formidable, particularly in the first onset : after one or two repulses, their fury abated, and it was not easy to bring them again to the charge.

Though the Janissaries were not prohibited marriage, yet they rarely married, nor then but with the consent of their officers, imagining that a married man made a worse soldier than a bachelor. The Janissaries were at first called *jaja*, that is, footmen, to distinguish them from the other Turkish troops, which consisted mostly of cavalry. Vigenere tells us that the discipline observed among the Janissaries was conformable in a great many things to that used in the Roman legions. And like them, they soon became formidable to their masters. They deposed Bajazet II. in 1512 ; they procured the death of Amurath III. in 1595. Osman II. they first stripped of his empire, and afterwards of his life, in 1622 ; and in about two months

dethroned Mustapha, whom they had made his successor ; and in 1649 they deposed Sultan Ibrahim, and at last strangled him in the castle of the Seven Lovers ; and in 1730 they obtained the sacrifice of the grand vizier, the reis effendi, and the capudan pacha ; they deposed and imprisoned Achmet III., and advanced the Sultan Mahmoud I., son of Mustapha II., from prison to the throne in his stead. The number of real Janissaries has been variously estimated, but the privileges belonging to their order, such as exemption from taxes and the performance of public duties, induced many persons to bribe the officers, in order to be admitted into the number without pay. Baron de Tott says that the number of those who received pay amounted to 400,000. M. de Peyssonel says that the enrolled Janissaries were so numerous as to amount to several millions ; nevertheless, they were only estimated at 40,000 ; on which account they were called the Forty Thousand Slaves ; and though there might have been 400,000 on the pay-list, it is certain that the treasury did not issue pay for more than 40,000, that being only received by the Janissaries of the "odas," or barracks at Constantinople, and those who in the garrisons followed their "kettle." All those who were not with the standard were called "Yamahs," and received no emolument.

Such was the constitution, and such the power of that great but factious body, which was now in avowed hostility to the Sultan. The way in which the rulers of Turkey had been disposed of whenever they stood in the way of their jealous and turbulent pretorians, gave Mahmoud a clear indication of his own coming fate ; and, unless he were inclined to undergo the lot

of Selim III. and Mustapha IV., and many of his and their ancestors, it was necessary that his quarrel with the Janissaries should be brought to a speedy conclusion.

The manner in which the Sultan carried out his design was as follows: he issued an order incorporating the Janissaries with the new troops which he had raised, commanding them to adopt the same dress and arms. This they, as he had expected, peremptorily refused to do. He then plied them with persuasions, but without effect; till, finding that they would by no means be made amenable to law, he ordered them,—that is, those who were actually enrolled at the time,—to assemble in the square of the Atmeidan for the purpose of being reviewed. The sides of the square had been lined with the Sultan's new levies and masqued batteries, and no sooner were the unhappy troops assembled, than the avenues to the square were closed, and the whole body were shot down in one indiscriminate slaughter. It is said that they displayed in this trying moment that heroic valour for which they had ever been distinguished, and that Mahmoud himself shed tears at the loss, by his own order, of so many of his finest and bravest troops. There was, however, no alternative—they must either reign or die; and as the Sultan chose the former for his own part, the latter only remained for the Janissaries.

It is difficult to say how many perished in this frightful massacre. Some say 6,000; but this is probably as much an exaggeration one way, as 500—the number given by Marshal Marmont—is the other. One thing is certain, that the corps was abolished, their privileges resumed, and none ever again took upon them

either to resuscitate the order, or to avenge the fate of their brethren. Some writers have taxed the late Sultan with perfidy and cruelty in this matter ; but had he been held back by feelings of pity, the bow-string would have been his fate ere a year had passed away ; and Turkey in Europe would in all probability have been, by this time, a province of Russia.

The great obstacles to reform were now removed, and from this period, 1826, the progress of Turkey has been wonderful. It was recognised that Mahmoud was a man of an iron will, that he had the welfare of his people at heart, and that neither mufti nor layman might safely thwart his plans. But while the path was clear for reformation, it was evident that a great element of power was removed ; that force to which the sultans had chiefly trusted was no more. The Ottoman army now consisted of raw levies, youths of from sixteen to eighteen years of age, officers without experience, and men without enthusiasm. It was hardly to be expected that a power like Russia, fertile in expedients, and grasping in policy, would lose this favourable opportunity of inflicting injury on the energetic Mahmoud ; and accordingly, in 1828, war was proclaimed, and the Russian troops marched into the Ottoman dominions. We shall not follow here the fortunes of the war, further than to say that it ended disastrously for the Sultan. He lost a further portion of his empire, and was made to feel that nothing would really satisfy his *Christian* brother but the entire absorption of his realm. The time, however, was not yet come for this ; and it may be well to observe, that the Russians lost more men by pestilence than by the sword of Islâm. It is said that 150,000

men crossed the Balkan, and that 13,000 only returned. With a dilapidated treasury, and a defeated and demoralized army, the indefatigable Sultan again proceeded on the path of reformation, and prepared plans for granting to all his subjects such entire liberty, both civil and religious, as is only to be found elsewhere in England and America. But while thus occupied at home, and successfully establishing his power in Asia Minor by overthrowing that of the violent and despotic Dereh Beys, and preparing that country for the charter on which he was at work, Egypt was rebelling, and Greece in a state of insurrection; the last was becoming a matter which was supposed to call for the interference of Christian Europe. France, England, and Russia stepped in to prevent the further effusion of Christian blood; their fleets took possession of the Levant and the Archipelago; and Ibrahim Pacha, who commanded the Turkish and Egyptian fleets; having disobeyed the injunctions laid on him by the European admirals, the battle of Navarino took place, by which the Sultan lost his navy. Shortly after this event, Greece was erected into an independent kingdom, and Egypt became virtually so under Mehemet Ali Pacha.

The spectacle presented by the Ottoman sovereign at this moment becomes truly sublime. His army destroyed, his navy annihilated, his friends and his foes banded together against him, two of the finest provinces of his dominions wrested from him, a despised and detested race enabled successfully to set him at defiance, and to claim an equality with himself, surely these were circumstances which would have excused him had he tamely given way to fate, and indulged in

that resignation which is so pre-eminently oriental. Very different was the conduct of Mahmoud : he continued his reforms, even though they were becoming increasingly unpopular ; he was assured that all the misfortunes which had fallen upon the nation were visitations of the Divine wrath, because he had deviated from the path marked out by the Prophet, he had copied infidel nations instead of destroying them, and had introduced an unhallowed civilization among the faithful. Knowing that this very civilization was alone able to save his country, he persevered ; and though new conspiracies were formed, and the teachers of religion uniformly represented him as a half-infidel, he had the satisfaction of seeing his government increase in power, his army and navy gradually re-established, and the commerce of Turkey more than doubled. At the same time he did not escape unscathed : it is sad to reflect, that, disregarding the precepts of the religion which he professed, he took refuge from his Herculean labours and his colossal misfortunes in intemperance and unbridled self-indulgence : year after year his iron constitution bore up under a weight of labour and an amount of dissipation such as were perhaps never combined before in one person, till at last his bodily strength began to fail, the frightful excesses to which he gave himself up produced their natural effect, and in the midst of his intellectual vigour, with his long-cherished plans just about to receive their accomplishment, Mahmoud II. was hurried away on the 2nd of July, 1839, at the comparatively early age of fifty-four.

CHAPTER II.

THE SULTAN—HIS CHARACTER ILLUSTRATED BY ANECDOTES.

As soon as the active and energetic Mahmoud was removed, his value began to be felt : the new sovereign, Abdul Medjid Khan, was a youth of sixteen, his character was wholly unknown, and the times required both a firm hand and a strong intellect. All that was gathered from those who had previously directed the education of the young Sultan was in his favour : he was said to be gentle, amiable, upright, and conscientious ; but he had succeeded to despotic power, and none could pretend to say how he would use it.

A blank despondency seemed to settle down upon society ; Russia was looked to with terror, and the Western Powers with but little hope ; while those whose malversations had been kept in check by the powerful Mahmoud imagined that they might take free license to do as they pleased under his timid and inexperienced son. His constitution moreover was not strong, and he was said to be affected with epilepsy, while his brother, Abdul Assis, seemed endowed with the constitution of his father ; and it began to be whispered that he would soon be called on to fill his father's throne. Since that period Abdul Medjid has become stronger ; and though his health still continues very precarious, there appears now reason to hope that his life may be spared for some time to come.

While in Constantinople in 1850, I saw the Sultan

repeatedly, and once to great advantage. He was then in his twenty-ninth year, and is of the middle stature, with jet-black hair, beard, and moustache, the latter closely trimmed : it is said, however, that the natural colour is red. His complexion is very pale, and he wears an aspect of the deepest melancholy. There is much kindness of expression in his large, dark, and yet sorrowful eye, and his voice is singularly pleasing and musical. If the moralist wished to show how little the possession of despotic power could do to secure happiness, he need look no further than the countenance of this kind-hearted and most interesting prince. He has been much misrepresented by those who wish to depict the Turks as mere barbarians ; and an impression has been created, that he is deficient alike in intellect and energy. Had he been either the one or the other, he would not—could not, have done the deeds which are related of him. Every anecdote heard in his capital is calculated to exhibit him as a man of much originality and decision ; mild and amiable, but quite capable of insisting on his own way, and of judging very rightly what way he ought to take. That he is enlightened, in the European sense,—that is, actually, practically, with science and literature,—cannot be said ; but he is right-minded and just, and knows well that what is morally wrong, cannot be politically right.

His education has been limited ; for when his father, desirous to secure for him those advantages of which he so keenly felt the want himself, had arranged with a French gentleman of ability and great scientific attainment to become tutor to the young heir, the Grand Mufti, who was necessarily consulted, contrived to

quash the plan. Mahmoud had stipulated that the tutor should live entirely with his royal pupil, and be the companion of his relaxations as well as of his studies; and had this been carried out, Abdul Medjid would, in all probability, have enjoyed a state of health very different from that in which he has now the misfortune to be, and have done credit to his instructor by his progress in learning. When the Grand Mufi was called for his opinion, he issued a fetva, in which he was pleased to observe, that a prince of the Prophet's blood, and who was destined one day to ascend the throne of the caliphs, could not lawfully be educated by a giaour. Mahmoud, though extremely irritated at this absurd proceeding, felt, nevertheless, that to oppose it would be dangerous, and reluctantly consented to abandon his beloved son to the darkness of a harem. However, the Sultana Valide, who was the trusted and favoured wife of Mahmoud, seems to have been successful in instilling good principles into the mind of her son, where they took root, as in a congenial soul; and we can only lament, with Mahmoud, that his intellect was not equally cultivated. As soon as he ascended the throne, he displayed the natural bent of his character; he surrounded himself with Europeans of learning and science; and though he had no peculiar love for reading, he yet contrived to pick up a great deal of miscellaneous and useful information. He is said to labour under a difficulty of attaining foreign languages; and this may be the chief cause of the unfavourable estimates sometimes made of his abilities,—a test, it must be admitted, extremely fallacious. One or two anecdotes will put his character in its true light. During the year of famine in Ireland, the

Sultan heard of the distress existing in that unhappy country; he immediately conveyed to the British ambassador his desire to aid in its relief, and tendered for that purpose a large sum of money. It was intimated to him that it was thought right to limit the sum subscribed by the Queen, and a larger amount could not therefore be received from his highness. He at once acquiesced in the propriety of this resolution, and with many expressions of benevolent sympathy, sent the greatest admissible subscription.

It is well known that his own personal feeling dictated the noble reply of the divan to the threatening demands of Austria and Russia for the extradition of the Polish and Hungarian refugees. "I am not ignorant," was his reply, "of the power of those empires, nor of the ulterior measures to which their intimations point; but I am compelled by my religion to observe the laws of hospitality; and I believe that the sense and good feeling of Europe will not allow my government to be drawn into a ruinous war, because I resolve strictly and solemnly to adhere to them." This is the true spirit of Christianity, and there is more of it in the Mohammedan Sultan of Turkey, than in any or all of the Christian princes of eastern Europe.

We were in Constantinople during the festival of the Courban Bairam, and witnessed the rejoicings on the occasion. A white lamb, fed for the purpose, and chosen for its singular beauty, is slain as a solemn sacrifice by the Sultan; salutes of cannon are fired almost all day and half the night while the festival lasts, and no people on earth are so lavish of their powder as the Turks, while at night the whole city is

illuminated. It must be distinctly understood, that a great illumination in London is one thing, in Constantinople another. There are no principal streets, crowded by pedestrians, and glorified by unbroken lines of coaches, landaus, britzkas, waggons, omnibuses, donkey-carts, cabs, vans, and "Hansoms;" no tradesmen of the imperial family to exhibit stars and royal ciphers; no club-houses to vie with each other in the splendour of their devices, or the beauty of their transparencies.

If the stranger wanders through the streets, he finds some few crowded, but all dark; there is a kind of bright haze above, and now and then a few bright lines of light may be observed. But he who wishes to enjoy the spectacle of a Turkish illumination, must take a caïque, and go on the Golden Horn. There, wherever he turns his eyes he beholds a fairy scene:—the plan of the city is traced out by glittering stars, all reflected in the crystal depths below. Up, like spiral columns of fire, shoot the tall and slender minarets. Here and there the dome of a mosque displays its sparkling outline, while across the glad waters flashes out momentarily, in every direction, the "red artillery," followed by its deep booming roar. All Constantinople is upon the waves. Of the eighty thousand caïques there is not one left unhired; and woe to the pocket of the luckless Frank who has not made his bargain beforehand.

On the last day of the feast the Sultan goes in state to some mosque selected by himself the night before; but it is generally known through the city before morning, as, indeed, it need be, for the visit is paid by daybreak, and all the great vassals of the empire have to accompany their lord. Fortunately for us Franks

at Pera, his highness chose that of Santa Sophia. Sometimes a mosque on the Asiatic side is chosen, and then accommodations are difficult to obtain, and there is no small hurry and confusion. As it was, we were aroused at half-past three, and out by four in the pitch-dark streets, in the midst of a confused multitude, like that of Nebuchadnezzar's subjects, consisting of all people, and nations, and languages, and tongues; some on horses, some on camels, some in carriages, some on asses, and some on mules, with tens of thousands on foot. Every class and condition in life were present, and without any other light than here and there a dull horn lantern, in streets where at every other step you find a great hole in the pavement, and where there is seldom width enough for two carriages to pass easily, up hill and down hill, with regular, or rather irregular flights of stairs to ascend and descend every five minutes, were we for two mortal hours on our way. Yet there was no quarrelling, no tumult, beyond that necessarily caused by so large an assemblage, and, strange to say, no accident.

By the great courtesy of the French minister, we obtained admission to a building within the Mint, close under the windows of which the Sultan was to pass; pipes and coffee were brought, and very glad we were to be out of the crowd. Before us was the gate of the Seraglio, and on both sides of the square were drawn up bodies of the Turkish troops,—the cavalry on one side, the infantry on the other. The morning, though only in October, was raw and cold, and it was pleasant to see that the soldiers were well protected from the weather. The infantry attracted our special attention; for the similarity of their costume with

that of our own troops was very striking. The Turkish colours are scarlet and white, and the infantry wear scarlet coats like our own, with white trowsers and belts ; so that, were it not for the red fez with its blue tassel, which they wear instead of our caps, their uniform would be precisely the same as what we see every day at home. The resemblance is extended also to the grey great-coat, only that their garment has a hood which protects the head.

At one time there was a distant shout heard. Everybody ran to the windows. "The Sultan is coming!" and the troops pulled off their grey coverings and displayed themselves in the scarlet and white. Half an hour passed, and no sultan ; and so the soldiery became grey again, with hooded heads like old monks ; and lo ! while they were in this condition, on came the imperial procession, and the Sultan saw his faithful troops looking very comfortable and very ugly !

It was a very amusing sight to see the many military officers of high rank who continually came to inspect the lines. They rode abominably ! John Gilpin became his charger as well ; but it must 'be remembered that they were not in their native costume, but in European uniform, to which they were but little accustomed. Some had two men—one on each side—holding their skirts, so that they might not sit on them and spoil their embroidery ! The Sultan's following was very splendid, and he himself in his imperial robes. I looked in vain for one piece of state : it used to be the case, that as the Sultan cannot himself return the salutations of his subjects, a high dignitary rode before him with one of his imperial

highness's turbans on a block, which he made to bow right and left in place of the Sultan. This will be intelligible enough, when it is borne in mind that the Sultan is not only the temporal, but the spiritual head of his dominions ; he is the lineal descendant of the Prophet, and is consequently looked upon as a sacred person. He stands towards his subjects in the position of God's immediate vicegerent, and is, by the Moslem law, forbidden to descend from his all but divine elevation. Hence, he cannot bow save to God ; and the absurd device just mentioned was meant to supply that courtesy prohibited to the imperial dignity.

The service at the mosque was long, and the morning was already advanced, when the cortège, returning from Santa Sophia, passed again under our windows. With "all convenient speed" we traversed the court, and presented ourselves at the "Sublime Porte" for admission. With the members of the French legation, we made good our entrance, and saw the Sultan ride through the inner gate, which none may pass on horseback save himself. A considerable delay now occurred. Every minute there were new arrivals in the court. The Grand Mufti, the Grand Vizier, the Capudan Pacha, the Seraskier, were among those who did so, leaving their retinues behind. Within, the Sultan was taking some refreshment, for he was about to go through a most fatiguing ceremony. At length breakfast was over, and amidst the shouts of the assembled grandees, flourishes of trumpets, and the incessant discharge of cannon without, his highness again made his appearance.

A kind of sofa was placed under the canopied

entrance to the inner court, and was covered with cloth of gold. Before this, the Sultan took his stand, and another flourish of trumpets, followed by a proclamation, invited the great vassals of the empire to kiss the foot of their august master. I am sorry to say that instead of the embroidered papouches with which the turbaned Amurath or Suleiman would have received the token of unquestioned obedience, Abdul Medjid wore patent leather boots ! and instead of the orthodox turban, a fez with diamond agrafe and erect plume. First came the Sheik ul Islâm, or Grand Mufti, a tall stately man, in robes of green and violet, with a green turban, indicating his sacred descent. He prostrated himself with a mingled air of grace, reverence, and dignity ; thrice he bowed to the earth before he kissed the foot of the Sultan, and as many times after he had done so. When he retired, the Grand Vizier presented himself ; then the Capudan Pacha, or high admiral ; then the Seraskier, or commander-in-chief ; then the Kislâ Aga, or lord chamberlain ; then a host of others, whose rank and dignity were, to us infidels, mysterious and unknown.

One thing moved me to a continual smile. The Turks are "a good-living people," and prone to become fatter than strict symmetry admits. All the naval and military authorities were attired in tight-fitting uniforms ; and as they made their obeisance one after another, like porpoises in strait jackets, I was in doubt how they would ever again get up ; and, if they had rolled over and over, whether the gravity of Abdul Medjid would have been proof against so ludicrous an occurrence. However, he was not put to

the proof; the affair went off *sin novedad*,* as the Spaniards say.

After the great dignitaries had paid their homage, those of the second order advanced. They were not permitted to kiss the patent leather aforesaid, but an attendant with a stick poked out the edge of the imperial caftan; so that those who dared not kiss the august foot, might at all events salute the hem of the Sultan's garment. This privilege was not conceded to the third rank of those who did homage, for they were only permitted to kiss the top of a sceptre, held out by another grandee for that purpose. This part of the ceremony reminded me of the Ahasuerus of Scripture; and though I should be sorry to insult Abdul Medjid by comparing him to that most contemptible personage, yet the preservation of Eastern customs, unchanged, could not but be striking.

During the whole of these proceedings, the Sultan seemed languid, wearied, and exhausted. "The fixed and melancholy eye" appeared to wish—had it been capable of expressing anything so active as a wish—that all these fat and obedient vassals had been on the other side of the Bosphorus; and it was with something like a momentary look of relief that he saw the last of them scramble up from the ground, and the hedge of military drawup. Then, with a few of his chief attendants, he turned round, and the inner gates of the Seraglio closed upon their mournful-looking master.

While the ceremony had been proceeding, a herald

* "Without novelty." A bulletin runs sometimes—"Su Majestad está sin novedad en su importante salud."—"Her Majesty is without novelty in her important health."

had proclaimed from time to time the high-sounding titles of the Sultan, and each had been re-echoed by a shout within, and by a salute of artillery without ; but I thought that there was something saddening rather than exhilarating in the whole scene ; as though, in the faces of all present, from the despotic master to the meanest slave, there was something ominous of decay. The wild, yet plaintive bursts of Turkish music, had the same effect.

There is a building lately erected just outside the walls of Constantinople for a barrack, and opposite to this the ministry gave a piece of ground to the French to build a church. Such a thing was never heard of before, and many objections were made to the grant. They were, however, all ineffectual, and the church was built. No sooner was a bell suspended within the steeple, than a deputation of the officers waited on Redshid Pacha, then prime minister, and represented to him the great pain inflicted on their religious feelings by the sound of a Christian bell. "Gentlemen," replied the vizier, "when I had the honour of representing the Sultan at Paris, I found many true believers, Turkish subjects and others, in that great city of the Franks. I asked permission of the king to construct a mosque, and for some little time I could obtain no answer. I submitted plans and dimensions, and after considerable delay, I took the liberty of reminding the king, through M. Guizot, of my former application. I was told that the matter had not been forgotten, and that I should very shortly hear from his majesty. Another fortnight elapsed ; and then M. Guizot took me to a very desirable site, and showed me the shell of a building erected according to

my own plans, which, together with the land on which it was built, the king desired might be considered as a present from himself to my august master. He had left us only to finish the details. I think now, gentlemen, that you will see the propriety of our ceding a piece of ground for the French to build a church."

Within the last two years the Sultan has erected the Protestants into a separate community, and given them certain political rights as a recognised body, by putting them into official communication with the government, and thus placing them in a far more agreeable position than that in which they have hitherto been. Before this, they had some difficulty in obtaining redress for injuries, for they were not recognised as a distinct body, and a Greek or Armenian Protestant would obtain little assistance from his co-nationals, but not co-religionists. I think it extremely likely that the incident I am about to relate may have had some influence with the Porte in causing the firman just mentioned.

Not far from Bebek, a pretty village on the Bosphorus, there lived, no longer ago than the spring of 1850, an Armenian merchant, a man of wealth, and of considerable influence in his community. The articles in which he dealt were principally such as can be deposited in a small space—jewellery, otto of roses, perfumes, costly drugs, embroidery, Cashmere shawls, and the like. Of these he had his house full at the period I speak of. He had been induced to hear the preaching of the American missionaries at Bebek, and the result had been that he left the communion of the Armenian Church, and declared himself a Protestant!

The priests of his former persuasion did all they

could in the way of argument ; they stormed, they threatened, they cajoled, they entreated, but all in vain. The merchant "had bought the truth," and was resolved "to sell it not." The patriarch was applied to. It must be remembered that there is an Armenian as well as a Greek patriarch ; and his holiness tried all the same means over again, and with no better result ; till, worn out with his fruitless labours, he gave commission to excommunicate the unfortunate merchant, and to denounce him as an excommunicated person from the altar. A few days after this, an unruly mob of Greeks and Armenians, but principally the latter, assembled in front of the culprit's house, armed with every species of destructive instrument, dispersed the family, who for the most part ran away in terror before the crowd had reached the building, and then deliberately pulled down the house and made a bonfire of the goods. After this solemn religious duty had been performed, the worshippers returned home, no doubt thankful that while their brother had so awfully fallen from the truth, they had maintained the faith in all its purity.

In the mean time the merchant, houseless and ruined, wandered about from place to place, meditating on what steps he should take in order to obtain redress. To go to a Turkish court of justice is, in the case of a Christian, a mere mockery. The *cadi* hears both parties, and if they be both Christians, and both have duly bribed the functionary, which is not by any means to be forgotten, then the *cadi* will probably be pleased to observe, that it is a great pity that pigs and dogs cannot agree. Forgetful of the more tolerant maxim—

“Let dogs delight to bark and bite,
For 'tis their nature too,”

he objects to dogs doing anything of the kind ; and having decided that both parties are in the wrong, he intimates the number of piastres to which the fees amount. Should one of the litigants have forgotten the bribe, then there is a right and wrong side to the question ; and sometimes an inherent love of justice will induce a *cadi* to decide irrespectively of the amount of the bribe tendered.

“See,” said such a man to a friend of one of the American missionaries, “Demetri Parigopulos has a complaint against Mustapha Ali, and, poor man, he is very much in the right ; but Mustapha has given me twenty purses to decide in his favour, though he is clearly the aggressor. I have told Demetri that if he gives me only ten, he shall gain his cause : he cannot do this, it seems, and you know a man must live by his office !”

Reflections on cases like these induced our now ruined Armenian to eschew Turkish courts of law ; but was he therefore to sit down contented under such an outrage ? A bright thought struck him—in its boldness was his safety—he sought an interview with the grand vizier, and laid before him all his grievances.

He was kindly and attentively listened to.

“I do not see,” said the vizier, “what I can do. If I interfere, it will be an extra-judicial proceeding, and will not fail to be made a handle of by those who dislike what they call innovations. The old Turks call me *Diaoul Pacha*, as it is ; what will they say if I set up to be a judge among Christians ?”

Meantime, it seemed as though the proceeding of the

Armenian had opened a channel of thought in the mind of the vizier. "Come to me again to-morrow; and though I cannot help you myself, I will take you to one who can."

The Armenian imagined, I do not see why, that the vizier intended to take him to the Sheik ul Islâm, and was laying his account with a lecture on the quarrels of pigs and dogs, more racy than any which a cadi would have bestowed; but he felt it was not his policy to refuse compliance with the vizier's orders, and the next day saw him again at the residence of the Turkish prime minister. A caïque was ready, and to the merchant's awe, he soon found that he was to be introduced into the "Sublime Presence." The after-part of the preceding day had been spent in careful investigation, and the minister had laid a statement of the case before the Sultan, who, with a true Harun-al-Raschid feeling, had determined on taking the matter into his own hands.

As soon as the Armenian had paid the customary respects, expressed his delight at beholding the proprietor of the sun and moon, and stated that henceforth his face, and the faces of all his descendants, would be whitened, the Sultan plunged at once *in medias res*.

"I am told," said his highness, "that the Armenians at Bebek and its neighbourhood have pulled down your house and burned your goods: this is wrong, very wrong; but now tell me, what have *you* done? for no man pulls down another's house for nothing. What crime had *you* committed?"

"May it please your Highness, I committed no crime at all: I forsook what they call the faith."

"It is a bad thing," said the Sultan, "to forsake the faith ; but what faith did you forsake ?"

"I forsook the faith which commanded me to bow down and worship the Panagia (the Virgin Mary) and the saints."

"What ! those yellow-painted things that I have been told Christians worship ?"

"Yes, your Highness ; but *Christians* do *not* worship them. Since I have been a Christian, I have not bowed down to the Panagia."

"Well, you are very much in the right ; you have no right to worship their nasty pieces of painted wood ; there is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet !"

The merchant bowed down reverently as the Sultan spoke, but doubtless made a little mental reserve, and no one ventures to contradict the Commander of the Faithful.

Abdul Medjid now began to inquire into the particulars of the transaction, and finding that the account given by the Armenian tallied exactly with that which he had received from the vizier, who it will be remembered had made special inquiries into the truth of the matter, the merchant was dismissed, and an order sent to the patriarch of the Armenian Church to be at Beshektasche the next day about the same hour. In fear and trembling the primate made his appearance. The Sultan was evidently out of temper ; scarcely could he wait till the ceremonial prostrations were over, when he began—

"How is it that your people burn the goods and pull down the houses of my subjects ? Am not I Sultan-ad-deen ? Am I to eat dirt ?" The patriarch was greatly alarmed. He attempted to explain.

"No!" said the Sultan, "I know all about it, and have made up my mind."

"May it please your Highness——"

"It does *not* please me, and that is why I have sent for you. Now hear what I have to say. I persecute no one for his religion, and I will not allow you to do it. God is great; what pigs you are to do such a thing! This man puts his trust in God, and sits down under our shadow: he shall not be robbed. Now listen," continued Abdul Medjid, from whose countenance all traces of anger had passed away; "this merchant must be reimbursed for his losses. (The patriarch began to look pale.) As he has been injured by my subjects, my treasury must make good the damage. No man may pray for vengeance against us for oppression."

His Holiness began to breathe again. "Your Highness is the source of comfort and the rose of justice."

"Yes, doubtless I am. This being the case, I must see to the redress of all mischief committed against those who look to the green banner for protection. Now, if I do no more than this, all true believers will have a right to complain, for will it not be taxing them to make up for the crimes of dogs and infidels? therefore, as I pay the merchant, *you* must pay me!"

All trace of colour had departed from the patriarchal countenance. He opened his mouth, but the words would not come. It was not necessary; the Sultan made him a sign that for the present he might be silent.

"By this time next week the Armenian will have his wrongs redressed; on the corresponding day in the week following, *you* will restore the amount to our

treasury; and then, as soon as you like, you will have our imperial license and permission to make the evil doers, set on, O father of bad advice! by your persuasions, indemnify you in your turn.

"Now I have to state the amount necessary: the merchant says he has lost eight hundred thousand piastres" (about £8,000); "but as in the hurry and confusion of such an event, he has doubtless lost the recollection of many valuable things which he possessed, we will add one-half more, and we will say twelve hundred thousand piastres; and this will repay him in some way for the sufferings he has gone through. Our treasurer will pay him these 1,200,000 piastres next week, and you will repay it to us the week after."

Once more his Holiness attempted to speak, but the Sultan clapped his hands. "It is spoken!" and the patriarch, caught in his own snare, was obliged to obey.

Mr. Aubrey de Vere, in his interesting work, "Picturesque Sketches in Greece and Turkey," relates the following anecdote:—

"An incident which occurred soon after the accession of the present Sultan, shows that in some respects, at least, he is not disposed to follow up the strong traditions of his race. At the beginning of his reign the new Ulema was resolved, if possible, to prevent the new Sultan from carrying on those reforms which had ever been so distasteful to the Turks, grating at once against their religious associations and their pride of race, and which recent events had certainly proved not to be productive of those good results anticipated by Sultan Mahmoud. To attain this object, the muftis adopted

the expedient of working on the religious fears of the youthful prince. One day as he was praying, according to his custom, at his father's tomb, he heard a voice from beneath reiterating, in a stifled tone, the words 'I burn!' The next time that he prayed there, the same words assailed his ears. 'I burn!' was repeated again and again, and no word beside. He applied to the chief of the imans to know what this prodigy might mean, and was informed in reply that his father, though a great man, had also been, unfortunately, a great reformer, and that as such it was but too much to be feared that he had a terrible penance to undergo in the other world. The Sultan sent his brother-in-law to pray at the same place, and afterwards several others of his household; and on each occasion the same portentous words were heard. One day he announced his intention of going in state to his father's tomb, and was attended thither by a splendid retinue, including the chief doctors of the Mohammedan law. Again during his devotions were heard the words, 'I burn,' and all except the Sultan trembled. Rising from his prayer-carpet, he called in his guards, and commanded them to dig up the pavement and remove the tomb. It was in vain that the muftis interposed, reprobating so great a profanation, and uttering dreadful warnings as to its consequences. The Sultan persisted; the foundations of the tomb were laid bare, and in a cavity skilfully left among them was found—not a burning sultan, but a dervise. The young monarch regarded him for a time fixedly and with great silence, and then said, without any further remark or the slightest expression of anger, 'You burn? We must cool you in the Bosphorus.' In a few minutes more

the dervise was in a bag, and the bag immediately after was in the Bosphorus ; while the Sultan rode back to his palace accompanied by his household and ministers, who ceased not all the way to ejaculate ' Mashallah ! Allah is great ; there is no God but God, and Mahomet is his prophet. ' ”

CHAPTER III.

THE PRESENT STATE AND PROSPECTS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

THE Turkish government is a despotism, but the most mildly administered in the world. Its theories are tremendous, but its practice is for the most part gentle and tolerant. The Sultan is nominally the master of the lives and fortunes of his subjects, and he has a constitutional right to put fourteen men every day to death without being called upon to give any reason for so doing. Should he go beyond this allotted number, it must be by way of law; and instances are not wanting of Sultans who have "lived up to" their frightful privilege. The way, however, in which the imperial authority is restrained, is by the principle that the Koran is the law of the land, and a *fetva* or certificate that any proposed measure is in accordance with the word of the prophet must be obtained from the Sheik-ul-Islâm, or chief of the faith, before it can become law. Thus the code of Turkey will be found to consist of a multitude of decrees, professing to be founded on the Koran, or at least to be in accordance with it. The person of the sovereign is sacred; he himself claims to be a descendant of the prophet and the successor of the Bagdad Caliphs, as commander of the faithful; and among his manifold titles will be found those of Supreme Caliph and Emir-ad-deen. In consequence of the exalted notions

thus entertained of the sanctity of his person, he was prohibited from returning the salutation of any living man (this rule is now a little relaxed in favour of Europeans), but while he rode through the streets of his capital, looking straight before him, amid his prostrate subjects, a high officer of his court rode before him, carrying on a block one of the Sultan's turbans, which he made to bow right and left in reply to the reverential salutations of the people. For the same reason a Sultan could not marry: he might have as many *cadines*, ladies, and they might have as many *odalisques*, waiting-women, as pleased their respective tastes; but they were all slaves, and all the absolute property of their sovereign master. On this account the Turks, when their monarch displeases them, do not scruple to call him "*Son of a slave*," which is a term of reproach, perhaps all the more effective for being true. There was one somewhat singular limitation to the Sultan's power of life and death. The Sheik-ul-Islâm is not absolutely exempted from it; but he can only be put to death by being pounded in a mortar! he is privileged against the bowstring, the scimitar, and all vulgar modes of execution. A witty writer once observed, that as the old French monarchy was a despotism tempered by songs, so that of Turkey was a despotism tempered by regicide; and comparatively few of the Ottoman Sultans will be found to have died a natural death. There is a great religious power, but no nobility, strictly so called. It is one of the first principles of Islâm, that all men are alike before God. No man derives any privilege by reason of his birth, save the descendants of the prophet through his daughter Fatima. These wear a green

turban, are called omrah, or emirs, and are free from certain taxes ; but beyond these there can be said to be no aristocracy. The title of pacha is a title of office, and is not hereditary. Thus, there is no *esprit de corps* among the titled persons of the empire ; all hold their authority directly from the Sultan, and may be deprived by him at his pleasure, and cannot act as any check to the imperial despotism. Rich men there are as in other lands, and riches have their weight quite as much in Turkey as elsewhere ; but the effect of their religious tenets has been to create a large amount of social equality, and to prevent that entire separation of society into classes which we see among ourselves. Pachas are divided into three classes, distinguished by the number of their "*tails*." We have pachas of three tails, pachas of two tails, and pachas of one tail. The meaning of this somewhat grotesque expression is as follows :— Turkish standards are horsetails dyed red, and borne on the top of a lance ; the one horsetail like a streamer, the two or three suspended from crossbars. The Sultan bears seven ; their effect is very picturesque ; and the lance, surmounted by its gilded crescent, and bearing its three crimson horsetails floating on the breeze, forms as martial-looking a standard as any warrior might wish to follow. This state of things must tend to throw the whole power of the state into the hands of the sovereign ; and while the Janissaries remained in being, they ruled the Sultan and the empire alike with a rod of iron. It is not to be denied that there are advantages as well as disadvantages connected with a constitution such as this ; lowness of birth keeps no one from the highest

employment, nor does pride of birth on the part of others prevent him from obtaining it. What is often boasted of as being almost peculiar to England is really the case among the Turks ; and Marshal Marmont observed with astonishment, when at Constantinople, a pacha of the highest rank who had been a shoemaker. Other titles are those of bey and effendi, the latter something between honourable and esquire. It is frequently borne by persons of the greatest distinction. The brother of the present Sultan is called simply Abdul-Assis Effendi. The names of Chekib Effendi and Fuad Effendi are well known to diplomatists ; and here I would make one observation on Turkish diplomacy in this country. The notion seems to have prevailed in the councils of the Sultan that it is a compliment to send a Christian as ambassador to a Christian land. There never was a greater mistake. We highly respect the Turkish character, but we look with great contempt on what the Eastern churches call Christianity ; a Greek, too, can hardly be expected to have much at heart the interests of Turkey ; and a Fanariot Greek, especially, imbibes a bitter hatred of the Ottoman from his very infancy. A genuine Moslem, an Osmanli of the old stock, such as Mehemet Pacha, would always be found the best representative of the Sultan at the court of St. James.

To return, however, to our subject. If the Turkish constitution have no aristocratic check, it has a very powerful one in the religious element, for, in addition to the power of veto lodged in the Grand Mufti or Sheik-ul-Islâm, the Ottoman Church, if we may apply the title to the Mohammedan establishment, is very rich. All property belonging to mosques has been considered

more secure than any other, and great numbers of persons, desirous of availing themselves of this security, and of evading at the same time the payment of certain taxes, have made over their estates to the mosques, on condition that they should receive, subject to a small deduction, the fruits of the land. In process of time, as families became extinct, the property in question became wholly that of the mosque, and this practice has gone on till a vast amount of the land has become so appropriated. On these lands Sultan Mahmoud often cast a longing eye ; but he knew well that even in the season of the greatest national distress, no *fetva* could be obtained to apply them to national purposes, and it was by no means clear that their present disposition was not that which their original owners had desired. Now, however, it seems that a strong attempt is made to apply them to the service of the state, and if this be done, Turkey will soon right herself in a pecuniary point of view. There is yet another source of treasure connected with the mosques. The spectator, in looking round the interior of one of these colossal buildings, will notice galleries under the arches which support the dome ; these galleries are full of boxes, bags, bales of merchandise, and all sorts of valuables which have been left there for security, and no man can guess to what extent. It used to be customary for merchants and pilgrims to deposit in the mosques, when they went on a far journey, that which they most prized, and to reclaim it on their return. Of these deposits a large proportion have never been claimed, and have been lying where they are for centuries. It has been proposed that these deposits shall be also taken for the service

of the state, save those which have been placed there within the last fifty years, and that these last shall be subject to reclamation within a certain period, and then be applied like the rest. It is difficult to see any objection to a proceeding such as this; the other, that of resuming the mosque lands, is a bolder step, and may perhaps be attended with some danger.

The population of the empire amounts to about 35,000,000, including the Danubian principalities, which, strictly speaking, ought to be excepted, as well as Egypt.

Turkey in Europe contains :—

Thrace	1,800,000	
Bulgaria	3,000,000	
Moldavia	1,400,000	
Wallachia	2,600,000	
Bosnia and Herzogovina.....	1,100,000	
Roumelia and Thessaly	2,700,000	
Albania.....	1,200,000	
Servia	1,000,000	
Isles of the Archipelago.....	700,000	
		<hr/> 15,500,000

Turkey in Asia contains :—

Asia Minor	10,000,000	
Syria, Mesopotamia, and Kurdistan	4,450,000	
Arabia	900,000	
		<hr/> 15,350,000

Turkey in Africa contains :—

Egypt	2,000,000	
Tripoli, Fez, and Tunis	1,800,000	
		<hr/> 3,800,000

Total

		<hr/> 34,650,000
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Thus the total number amounts to 34,650,000. But if from these be deducted the Danubian principalities, Egypt, Tunis, Fez, and Tripoli, where the Sultan is only suzerain, and not reigning sovereign, there will

remain a population of 27,200,000, where government is actually administered by the Ottoman monarch. Of these there are :—

	In Europe.	In Asia.	Total.
Osmanlis'	2,100,000 ..	10,700,000 ..	12,800,000
Greeks	1,000,000 ..	1,000,000 ..	2,000,000
Armenians.....	400,000 ..	2,000,000 ..	2,400,000
Jews	70,000 ..	80,000 ..	150,000
Slavonians	6,200,000	6,200,000
Arabs.....	In Asia and Africa	..	4,700,000

And the rest are made up of Druses, Kurds, Tartars, Syrians, Turcomans, and Chaldæans. This last computation takes in a large portion of the African Arabs.

Computed with regard to religion, there are in the whole empire—

Mahommedans	21,000,000	
Christians (Greek)	13,000,000	including Armenians.
„ (Roman)	900,000	
Jews	150,000	
Different sects	300,000	
	<hr/>	
	35,350,000	

We come now to the question of education—one of great importance at all times, but especially to an empire like that of the Ottoman, in a state of transition. It would be a great mistake to imagine that the Turks have been, for some centuries, an ignorant people. They have had little scientific enlightenment, it is true ; but they have not been without their fair share of Asiatic learning. Now they are improving in other respects, also. In 1847, the whole educational system of the country was re-modelled, and there are now three classes of schools—elementary, middle, and collegiate. The first teach reading, writing, arithmetic, and the Koran ; to these schools all parents are

obliged to send their children as soon as they attain the age of six years. These schools are mostly endowed, and the instruction is gratuitous ; but, in case of need, government supplies what is required. The next order of schools teaches the Arabic and Turkish languages grammatically ; history—so far as Turkey and the Caliphate are concerned—sometimes going a little further, and touching on French, English, and Russian history ; geography, and the elementary branches of mathematics. These schools, being a new creation, are not endowed, and are therefore wholly supported by government. They have about a thousand pupils at present at Constantinople, in six schools ; but it is contemplated to increase the number of students to 3,000, and that of the schools to fourteen. Here, also, education is gratuitous. Of colleges there are two for the civil service ; one for diplomacy and education—a normal school, to serve as a model for provincial institutions ; a medical school, founded by the late Sultan ; the two imperial military and artillery colleges ; a naval college ; an agricultural college ; a veterinary college ; and the Imperial University of Constantinople. There are upwards of forty public libraries in the capital alone ; many museums—philosophical, anatomical, antiquarian, and industrial ; thirteen newspapers in Constantinople, three of which are in Turkish ; and twenty-one in other parts of the empire. As these means of intellectual improvement do not exist on paper only, but are being carried honestly into execution, it will be evident that Turkey is fast rising in the educational scale, and is entitled to rank far above Russia, with all her pretensions. Of the primary schools there are no fewer than 400 in the

capital alone, containing 23,000 pupils. These schools, as well as the others, are frequently visited by the Sultan, who sometimes takes a part in the examinations.

The commerce of Turkey can hardly be said to be as yet developed. The foreign trade in 1852 was as follows :—

Imports... £11,823,300	Exports... £10,644,450
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Nearly one quarter of this is with England ; viz :—

Imports... .. 252,300,000 piastres, or £2,300,000
Exports... .. 130,500,000 „ or £1,200,000

Commercial legislation is quite in its infancy in Turkey. The general idea seems to be that of free trade abroad, and restriction at home. The commercial portion of the *Code Napoleon* was introduced as law in 1850 ; and tribunals of commerce exist at Constantinople, Alexandria, and Smyrna.

The postal regulations are well managed. Tartars on swift horses perform the internal communication ; and that with foreign lands is carried on by the Austrian Lloyd steamers, those of the Danube Company, the Russian mail, the French "*Messageries Nationales*," and the English Peninsular and Oriental Company. There are, also, Egyptian steamers, and others, to Batoum and Tribezond ; but they are irregular and uncertain. The Turkish coinage is in an improving, though as yet far from satisfactory state. The piastre, or *grush*, worth about 2½d., is the unit. It is a small, ugly piece of copper, poorly washed with silver ; and, in consequence of its low intrinsic value, millions of false piastres circulate through the empire. The new coin is good ; but, as might be expected, it

speedily disappears. And though the circulation or even the importation of foreign coin is prohibited, yet there is not a piece known in Europe which will not circulate in Turkey, and the value is familiar to all the dealers in the bazaars.

Agriculture is at a very low ebb. To this many causes have contributed—want of roads, on which we shall have to speak more fully in another chapter; want of industry, which is not so much to be wondered at, as there are very few motives to its exercise, and in proportion as these exist the people show themselves more active; but, above all things, want of population. I have been astonished in passing through some of the richest districts in Asia Minor, to see how entirely their natural advantages were thrown away. The land is cultivated, where cultivated at all, precisely as it was in the patriarchal ages; there are the same kind of implements in use, and positively no advance has been made. Indeed, on the whole, agriculture is even yet retrograding; and all that can be said is, that the retrogression is in a diminishing ratio.

The same melancholy picture must be drawn of the manufacturing progress of the country, save that this seems to have reached its lowest point of depression, and to be now moving slowly onwards. There are flourishing manufactories of silk at Broussa and Diabekir; and as the Turks are now, for the first time in their history, beginning to make roads, it may be expected that, in the departments just mentioned, their progress will be soon sensible.

Politically speaking, the Turks are an advanced people; they stand second only to England, America, Norway, and Sardinia, in the character of their insti-

tutions. Commercially, they take, as yet, a low rank ; not because, as some say, they despise commerce, and look on war alone as their proper occupation, for this has never been the case. They did, indeed, regard all other interests as secondary to that of the Koran, and conceived it a duty, so long as there were infidel nations to conquer, to propagate Islâmism by the sword ; but it was still as a means, and not as an end. And now that they are awakened from that dream of conquest, and see themselves surrounded by Christian nations far too mighty for them to have any hope of subduing them, they will doubtless give free play to their commercial inclinations.

The finances of the empire, however embarrassed at the present time, are in a condition rather improving than otherwise, and probably, in a few years, may exhibit a satisfactory aspect. The total national income is about seven and a half millions sterling, and the expenditure rather more ; but the ancient corruption is still only partially removed, and the pay of the public functionaries alone amounts to nearly £2,000,000. The revenue is chiefly derived from three sources—tithes, land-tax, and indirect taxes ; each of the former produces about £2,000,000 annually, and the latter a million and a half. The *haratch*, or poll-tax, produces another half million ; the customs nearly another million ; and the rest is made up by the tribute from Egypt and the Danubian principalities.

The tithe is the most productive of all the above impositions ; and as it is farmed out, as is also a great part of the customs, a comparatively small portion reaches the Sultan's treasury. The *haratch* is only

levied upon Christians, and is accompanied by an exemption from serving in the army.

While, however, little is done to make the present taxes productive, and agriculture and commerce are so decidedly neglected, there are yet one or two considerations which, under favourable circumstances, may much ameliorate the financial condition of the Porte. One is, that the abolition of the old practice of confiscation will greatly decrease the tendency to make land *vakouf*; and, by increasing the owner's actual interest, will induce him to bestow more care on the cultivation; this will increase both tithes and land-tax. The next is, that the military feudalism being now abolished, the fiefs are becoming the property of the Sultan, and the indemnities granted, decreasing year by year, will soon disappear from the budget. These items, at present, amount to rather more than half a million per annum. Of debt, strictly speaking, there is none; but the bad metal money entails an actual deficiency of nearly nine millions sterling.

It will now be well to lay before the reader the text of the Turkish *Magna Charta*, the great bulwark of Ottoman liberty, the Hatti Scheriff of Gulhané. On the 2nd of November, 1839, this celebrated charter, which the late Sultan had prepared, was solemnly read by Redshid Pacha, in the presence of the Sultan, before all the great vassals of the empire, and the foreign ministers, deputies also being present from the Greeks, Armenians, and the Jews, subjects of the Sultan, in the kiosk of Gulharé, in the Seraglio. The Sultan, and the high dignitaries of the empire, took the oath of fidelity to the new charter, and Abdul Medjid became a constitutional sovereign.

“The assessment of regular and fixed taxes is a consideration of vital importance, since the state, having to provide for the defence of its territory, can only raise the means necessary for the maintenance of the army by contributions on the people. Although, thanks be to God, the inhabitants of this country have lately been freed from the curse of monopolies, formerly improperly looked upon as a source of revenue, a fatal practice still remains in force, although it cannot fail to give rise to the most disastrous consequences—it is that of venal corruption, known under the name of *Htizam*. According to this system of civil and financial practice, a district is abandoned to the arbitrary rule of one individual, but too often notorious for his rapacity and the most cruel and most insatiable disposition; for, should this farmer of the revenue not be a virtuous man, he will have no other care but that tending to his own advantage.

“It becomes, then, necessary for every member of the Ottoman society to be taxed according to a fixed rate, in proportion to his means and circumstances, and that nothing further should be exacted from him, and that special laws should also fix and limit the expenses of our army and navy.

“Although we have already observed the defence of the country is a most important consideration, it becomes the duty of the inhabitants to supply soldiers to that object: it becomes essential to establish laws to regulate contingents which each district is to supply, according to the urgency of the moment, and to reduce the time of the military service to four or five years; for it is at the same time doing an injustice, and inflicting a mortal blow on agriculture and industry,

to take, without regard to the respective populations of each district, from one more, from other fewer men, than they can afford to provide; and it is also reducing the soldiers to despair, and contributing to the depopulation of the country, to retain them all their lives in the service. In short, without the different laws of which the necessity has been shown, there is neither strength, riches, happiness, nor tranquillity for the empire, and it has to expect these blessings as soon as these laws come into operation.

“ It is therefore decreed, that in future the cause of every individual shall be tried publicly, according to our divine laws, after mature inquiry and examination; and till a regular sentence has been pronounced, no one shall have it in his power, either secretly or publicly, to put an individual to death, either by poison or by any other means.

“ It is not permitted to attack the honour of any individual, unless before a court of justice.

“ Every individual shall be allowed to be master of his own property, of whatsoever kind, and shall be allowed to dispose of it with full liberty, without any obstacle being offered by any one. For instance, the innocent heirs of a criminal shall not forfeit their right to his property, nor shall the property of a criminal be any longer confiscated.

“ These imperial concessions extend to all our subjects, of whatever religion or sect they may be, and these advantages they shall, without exception, enjoy.

“ Thus we grant full security to the inhabitants of our empire of life, honour, and property, as we are bound to do, according to the text of our holy law.

“ As to the other subjects, they are subsequently to

be regulated after the decision of the enlightened members of our Council of Justice, the members of which will be increased according to necessity, which is to meet on certain days, which we shall appoint. Our ministers and dignitaries of the empire will assemble to establish laws for the security of life and property, and the assessment of taxes, and every member of these assemblies shall be free to express his opinion and to give his advice.

“Laws concerning the regulation of the military service will be debated at the military council, which will hold its meetings at the palace of the Seraskier.

“As soon as one law is settled, in order that it may be for ever valid, it shall be presented to us, and we shall honour it with our sanction, and to the head thereof we shall affix our imperial seal.”

Since the above Hatti Scheriff was issued, the following statement has appeared in the Turkish Gazette :—

“The Sultan, ever since his accession, has most ardently desired to signalise his reign by the re-establishment of the Ottoman power on the basis of the common well-being of his subjects. His efforts have on various occasions been crowned with the most signal success : but one fundamental reformation was requisite to crown his labours, and to assure to his people the benefits which he sought to confer upon them. The collection of the revenue has remained up to the present time laden with abuse, oppressive to the subjects, and detrimental to the state. Numerous firmans have been issued—inquiries have taken place ; but the Sultan, during his late journey through the provinces, having employed himself in examining into

the state of the administration, has been convinced that no sensible improvement has been effected, and that more decisive measures are required.

“ In order to proceed methodically in this reformation, his highness has ordered an extensive inquiry to be instituted, so as on the one hand to ascertain the amount of the contributions actually paid by each district, and, on the other, to ascertain the actual disbursements for the army, the marine, the arsenals, and the other military establishments.

“ The council of the Porte has therefore been assembled in presence of the high functionaries of the state, to deliberate on the best means for carrying the intention of his highness into execution ; and after a long debate, it has been resolved as follows :—

“ That a table shall be constructed, exhibiting the sums received—1st, for the treasury ; 2nd, for the Vallis and Voivodes ; 3rd, for the expenses of travelling functionaries ; 4th, the amount of contributions in kind to different departments, paid in saltpetre, corn, timber, &c. ; 5th, the value of labour to which certain towns and districts were liable, under the denomination of *Angaria (corvée)* ; 6th, the sums paid for local police, judges, &c.

“ That an exact statement or balance-sheet be prepared of the whole revenue, fixed and casual, of the state.

“ Henceforward every tax unauthorized by the ancient canon shall be abolished.

“ The properties of the high functionaries of the state, whether military or civil, and the persons attached to their services, shall be equally assessed with those of the nation.

“ ‘ Every exemption from taxation, and every privilege through which the common burdens were avoided, shall cease.

“ ‘ The imposts shall be imposed with complete impartiality, at a rate of so much per thousand, which shall yearly be settled in the month of March, according to the new ordinance.

“ ‘ Each individual shall receive a ticket bearing the seal of the community, stating the amount of his contributions, and these sums shall be entered in the public register of each municipality.

“ ‘ Men of recognised probity and intelligence shall be commissioned, at the public expense, to prosecute the necessary inquiries throughout the empire.

“ ‘ The above regulations shall immediately be carried into execution in the two provinces nearest to the capital, Broussa and Gallipoli, so that the effects and advantages of the change may be observed, and with the least possible delay extended to the remainder of the empire.

“ ‘ From the date of the execution of this order, the two provinces designated shall be exempt from the payment of the impost termed ‘ Ichtisab ’ (internal customs).

“ ‘ The confiscation of private property shall in no instance be allowed. The government shall in no case appropriate to itself the property of individuals, except on the death of persons who have no heirs.

“ ‘ The government will reserve to itself the right of previous liquidation in the case of a holder of government money dying without sufficient effects to cover his debts.’

“ These regulations, fixed by the Council of the

Porte, have been confirmed by the High Council, and sanctioned by the Imperial Firman.

“ As these present institutions have for their object to cause the religion, government, nation, and empire to flourish, we solemnly bind ourselves to do nothing in contravention to them. As a pledge of our promise, it is our determination, after having them deposited in the hall which contains the glorious mantle of the prophet, in presence of all the ulemas and dignitaries of the empire, to abide by these institutions in the name of God, and then order the ulemas and grandees of the empire to take the same solemn oath. After that, he who shall violate these institutions shall be liable, without any regard being paid to his rank, consideration, or credit, to corresponding punishment to his faults, after once it has been made clear.

“ A penal code shall be drawn out to this effect.

“ As every functionary receives at present a suitable salary, and as the pay of those who are not yet sufficiently rewarded is to be subsequently increased, rigorous laws will be promulgated against the sale of patronage and places under government, which the divine law reprobates, and which is one of the principal causes of the downfall of the empire.

“ The above resolutions being a complete renovation of ancient customs, this imperial decree shall be published at Constantinople, and in all the provinces of our empire, and shall be communicated officially to all the ambassadors of friendly powers residing at Constantinople, in order that they may be witnesses to the granting of these institutions, which, if it may please God, are to endure for ever.

“ May the Almighty God extend his protection to

us all. Let those who may presume to violate the present institutions be the object of divine malediction, and be deprived of happiness now and for ever ! Amen."

The preface to the charter sets forth the mischief which has arisen from the non-observance of the laws of the Koran, and the principles of justice and mercy, on which the conduct of states as well as of individuals should be regulated.

In addition to this charter, there is also the "tanzimat," a collection of reforming statutes, which have been enacted from time to time, and to which every session of the great council makes additions ; these are called *tanzi mat i hairigi*, salutary regulations, and may be said to be the beginning of a statute law for the Turkish empire.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TURKISH ARMY AND NAVY.

IF we consider the races of Russia and that of Turkey, we shall find much resemblance between them ; they are both children of the steppes of Asia, whether the Tartarian family which is still powerful in Moscow, or the Osmanli which bears despotic sway in Constantinople. The present Russian empire is externally more European ; but its servile obedience to the will of a despotic master, and his general style of government, remind us powerfully of the Asiatic empires of old. Russia has made progress during the last century in extent as well as in civilization ; while, on the contrary, Turkey has lost many of her finest provinces. It was thought, too, by some, that the fiery spirit by which her soldiers were once distinguished, had died out ; but she has proved to her assailants, that if they imagine this still, they may find themselves mistaken, to their cost.

The ancient Turks, who were natives of the high steppes of Asia, being poor, and accustomed to a life of hardihood, good horsemen and dexterous archers, were a nation of soldiers, brave, though rude ; and for centuries they acted as mercenaries in the armies of Asia, and sometimes even of Africa. At last the more northern and eastern Tartars, equally children of the steppes, turned their arms against them ; and, being

more powerful, overcame them. And then these retreated to Asia Minor, some of them as mercenaries combating the Tartars, while the others laid the foundation of the Turcoman empire in the countries of Asia nearest to Europe. By degrees, they mingled the civilization of Europe with the bravery of their fathers. The Tartars, who still remained a rude, uncultivated people, were driven from Asia Minor, and the Othman race became the inheritors of the magnificence, the science, and the military renown of the once-famed sovereigns of Bagdad.

In those times, their war-tactics resembled those of all the eastern nations. A vast collection of fighting men, without regular military order, were forced upon the field of action ; the horsemen, intrepid natives of the steppes, forming the van, harassed the foe without waiting for his attack ; and if, unfortunately, the Europeans pursued them with too much impetuosity, they would suddenly turn and rush upon the enemy, who, thus surprised, was very often overcome. Thus did whole armies combat in retreating. They had a saying, "In the evening the prophet conquers ;" and therefore, when they had exhausted their foe by useless attacks, they took advantage of the moment, and formed a few deep columns, the rear force the foremost, and dashed upon the enemy with their wild cries and crashing Asiatic music. If by this rushing the foe were thrown off his guard, then they succeeded. But a firm reception by bayonets and lances soon repelled them, and they could neither be rallied nor stopped in flying from the field. Thus far the regular Asiatic cavalry may still be relied on. They are cruel in victory ; and, even in retreat, they are

destructive. However, when once their manner of fighting is known, they can rarely stand against the compactness and manœuvres of European soldiery.

When the Mahommedan power was founded, to fight the "Infidels" was, with them, religion; and the surest passport to their paradise was to be killed on the field :—

"Who dies in battle 'gainst the Giaour
Is worthiest an immortal bower."

This powerful sentiment led to those conquests which finally placed Constantinople in their hands; and then the Sultans perceived that, to continue their career, and to be victorious in Europe, it would be requisite to have European organization and European science in war.

They were most deficient in infantry and the art of fortification. A standing corps of infantry of Asiatics was speedily formed, and instructed in the Greek tactics and the Greek art of fortifying; but these corps began to form conspiracies, and the sultans resolved to engage Europeans in the service of conquering Europe. And then was formed the celebrated Turkish infantry, called the Janissaries. These troops, the history of which has been given in a previous chapter, were formed, at first, of Christians; and afterwards of the sons of Christians brought up in the Moslem military schools. These Janissaries were the first great standing army of Europe in the middle ages. The troops of tyrants require to be well treated; and, as a symbol that it was so, the Janissaries wore a spoon in their caps. Leaving this spoon untouched for a single day—a sign that they had lost their ap-

petite—has, under certain political circumstances, cost many a grand vizier his head, and many a sultan his throne, during the decline of the empire.

Still, the principal part of the Turkish armies were levied on the same plan as those in the feudal ages. The Spahis, the most distinguished cavalry regiments, were rewarded with rich tracts of land ; and besides these, were the wild hordes from Asia, the Bashi Bouzuks, who seem to have been something like our "free lances," with many other corps, differing in arrangement and efficiency : and as the great bulk of the army of Turkey served without remuneration, simply being exempted from taxation, these soldiers were regarded by the Janissaries as merely instrumental in protecting themselves from the enemy's fire, or to fill up the trenches. As their own subjects had little talent for science or invention, the Sultans attached to their service foreigners of ability, and by that means gradually introduced innovations into the Turkish army. They had, in the conflict with Timour, discovered the terrible effect of a powerful artillery ; and thus we see them, earlier than any European power, remarkable for their use of that arm, —their sappers, miners, and waggon-train. Such a military force as this, so remarkable in the history of those ages, might well become the dread of other countries in Europe, then torn by civil and religious dissensions. At that time their campaigns were models of strategy.

But in these armies alone consisted the strength of the Ottoman despotism. They gave themselves no concern respecting the organization of the empire, and left the happiness of the subject to the Koran ;

in fact, the will of a despotic master, of whatever degree, was the rule of government, aided by the bowstring and the bastinado. As despotism is always alarmed should a subject win a name and power, it was requisite to arrange such a system as should invest the sultan with power to rid himself of any one whose ability and influence might become too potent, and this was to be done with some appearance of justice. It was also the custom of the Turks to declare all territory acquired by conquest the property of the sultan, and all the inhabitants slaves; and as from indolence much power was left in the hands of the oppressed or revengeful, and they were allowed to possess municipal administration, such a government could not be durable. It has been said of Mohammed that he made converts with the Koran in one hand and the sword in the other; and this seems to have been literally followed up by the Mohammedans, "Whoever becomes a convert to Islâm has the same rights as true believers:" if the vanquished foe accepted the condition, well; if not, slavery or extirpation ensued.

It is impossible not to be struck with the resemblance between the two empires in the system, whether of government or warfare, in those early times. In Russia, came foremost in battle the hordes of the steppes, the feudal cavalry as it were of Tartary, which made the best part of the army; then the infantry, which was far from efficient, attacking in deep columns, and strictly observant of the Asiatic principle of ravaging every country they had to abandon to the foe.

However, as long as wise and energetic leaders conducted the military despotism of Turkey, as long as

her forces were not brought into opposition with greater skill in military tactics, her empire augmented both in power and extent. But after the invention of printing, many works on the subject of war were published in France, Germany, and Italy ; and by the end of the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth century, war was again carried on in Europe on scientific principles, and now the Turks discovered that they must either reform their own tactics or yield to the Germans in the field.

The Janissaries and the Spahis, who were the flower of the Turkish army, never exceeded in number more than 100,000 effective men, while the number of Janissaries actually employed varied from 10,000 to 40,000 ; these corps were generally scattered in different points, making each but a small portion of the army. At the commencement of a battle the Janissaries and Spahis would drive the infantry before them to the field, and then endeavoured by their own might to decide the fortune of the day, while the main body of the army would remain idly looking on, safe beyond gun-shot, but intending, in case of victory, to rush forward and aid in destroying the enemy, or, in a reverse case, to leave the Janissaries and Spahis to their fate, and rush away, cursing their chiefs, and inflicting ravages even on their own provinces. By degrees these masses in the rear of the Turkish army ceased to be considered as formidable ; and Sobieski, having acquired the Swedish and German tactics, soon formed some corps on their principle, and thus with these and his Polish hussars, he, with 10,000 or 15,000 men, often scattered hundreds of thousands, and victoriously cleared whole provinces of the foe. About that period also an

army of 160,000 Turks was defeated on the Raab, by 60,000 men under Montecuculi; and at Vienna, where they were so superior in numbers, they suffered a terrible defeat; and this was followed up by the successes of Prince Louis of Baden, and of Prince Eugene;—Sophia in Bulgaria, and Belgrade, were taken.

From the time of the defeat at Vienna the Janissaries began to decline in power, and the government became that of a "*camarilla*." Victory, that auxiliary of a despotic power, had forsaken the standard of Mohammed, and a defeat on the frontier was responded to by a victorious revolt in the realm. The ministry could no longer recruit the army as of old, the Janissary corps was composed of poor tradesmen, and from a body of able warriors, it became a band of mutineers. These troops were for a long time a source of disquiet; from the death of Selim III. many attempts were made to dissolve them, and to form an army on European principles,—with what success has been seen in the first chapter.

Having thus as succinctly as possible shown the elements of the Turkish army in former times, we must consider her present capabilities, and review her condition as it has been of late years.

The Turkish empire, as far as natural advantages are concerned, is one of the finest in the world, comprising the beautiful country which is washed by the waters of the Mediterranean, the sea of Marmora, and the Euxine; whether in Europe, Asia, or Africa, they have everywhere possessed the means of a civilization and improvement, which the Koran has cramped their power of employing. The Turks have not till

recently kept pace with the progress of ages, but should it be mercifully permitted them to survive the present contest, into which Turkey has been forced by an encroaching and ruthless foe, it seems probable that the reforms already begun in that country will be continued with spirit. The question now is, her resources in the present emergency. By some the standing army is said to amount to 150,000 men; the *redifs* or reserves, 150,000; the auxiliary troops, number unknown, and the irregular troops in the same category.

The present organization of the standing and reserved army, is a mixture of the Asiatic customs and ideas as of old, and the modern European military system. Of the six ordous or divisions, two are generally stationed in and around Constantinople, while others are placed on the banks of the Danube, and near the Balkan, whose passes it is so important to guard; and two more, in Mesopotamia and Syria, to guard the provinces. It is known that the guards are well trained, well clothed, and armed, but such is not the case with the provincial corps. To these six bodies of the army, as they are termed, may be added a few troops, independent, but not so powerful; as, for instance, the brigade at Candia, and an independent body of police and artillery.

The *redifs* comprise the soldiers discharged from the standing army. Their officers receive half-pay, and reside in the villages to which the men belong. The men themselves are exercised for one month in every year, during which they receive pay. The whole number of the *redifs* may amount to 150,000 men, and they are believed to be in a condition of considerable efficiency. As to the *auxiliary* troops, it so

entirely depends on the pachas in the provinces how many they will send, or whether they will send any at all, that the Sultan is obliged to be thankful for any aid from those quarters ; and this explains, probably, the marriage of four of the very youthful daughters of Abdul Medjid to some of the powerful pachas, just before the commencement of the present contest.

As to the *irregular* troops, or Bashi Bouzuks, there is much difficulty in ascertaining their exact number, only it is believed that it exceeds that of the Russian auxiliary troops, and being better mounted, they may be regarded as superior ; but as they come for booty alone, they retire to Asia as winter approaches. Omer Pasha is now engaged in the arduous attempt to bring this wild soldiery under European discipline.

The *Albanians* are very brave, and provided they do not side with the Greeks, may render efficient service in the field as good infantry ; but the Turkish government fears to trust them, for their habits are lawless and predatory ; but when attached, they are to the highest degree brave and faithful.

When the Turks last encountered the Russians in war, they brought into the field an army which fluctuated from 75,000 men to 150,000 men, in Europe and Asia ; and though there were times when the main body amounted to 100,000, yet, being scattered in small divisions, occupying false positions, it showed the want of skill of its leader ; and the Russian artillery everywhere surpassed that of the Turks. These latter fight with determination when defended by walls and moats ; but the Russian bayonet gained the advantage in the field. The Turks, however, were superior in cavalry.

It was in 1843 that the existing military system in Turkey was organized, and the army "remodelled upon a European pattern;" and it consists—that is, the effective army of *Nizam*—of six divisions or camps, the Turkish name for which is *ordou*. So much has already been written on this subject, that we need not enter into more than a few general particulars which we have not yet noticed. The term of active service is five years, when the men retire to their homes to form the *redif*, in which they remain seven years, and are liable to be called upon for their services, if required. This has been the case of late; a large body of *redifs* has been summoned, and they have joined the troops of Omer Pasha.

Thus the Sultan has an effective force of at least 150,000 men, and this could be doubled immediately by assembling the reserves. Then, we must not forget the irregulars, which in case of necessity could be made eminently useful in desultory warfare, and the reinforcements from the tributary provinces, among which must be especially noticed that of Egypt. It is pleasant to know that the Turkish troops are well kept. A contemporary asserts that they are "well found and well treated in every respect." A writer in the *United Service Magazine*, says: "Taking into consideration the relative value of money in the different countries of Europe, no army is better fed or clothed than the Turkish." Officers of distinction, who recently visited the head-quarters at Schumla, speak highly of their discipline and military efficiency.

The division of the regular army is as follows :—

Six <i>ordous</i> or camps, each containing 11 regiments—			
Infantry	6	regiments of 2,800 men ..	16,800
Cavalry	4	740 ..	2,800
Artillery	1	1,300 ..	1,300
			<u>20,980</u>

Total, 126,080.

The Ottoman navy received many successive blows some years ago : in the battle of Navarino the fleet was reduced from near seventy vessels to about thirty, and those disabled ; when the kingdom of Greece was formed, Turkey lost Hydra, Ipsara, and Spezzia, three islands which had furnished her with some of her best sailors ; this, of course, was another disadvantage ; but the Admiral Takir Pacha, in the ten years that he was in power, from 1829 to 1839, found means not only to repair the disastrous losses in the battle of Navarino, but he also succeeded in giving the Ottomans a place among the second-class maritime powers. In the period between 1840 and 1850, the naval power was effectively increased, especially in steam-vessels ; about fifteen years ago the naval force of Turkey was of seventy-four vessels, sixteen of which were first and second rate ships, and carried from seventy-four to 130 guns each. But those vessels cannot now be considered as of any use in such a contest as the present ; some are under repair, and must, of course, have been damaged, and others are entirely disabled.

At the beginning of the present war Turkey was considered to possess a fleet of seventy vessels ; but the terrible affair of Sinope has reduced, though to no great extent, the number. There are 34,000 sailors in the Turkish navy ; these crews are divided into companies,

whose officers receive the same pay as those in the army. There is also a corps of marines of 4,000 men. And it is unanimously agreed both by French and English officers, who have had opportunities of judging, that they have for some years made great progress in nautical knowledge ; their vessels are well built, the machinery is of English construction, and according to the principles received as the best.

Sinope, the scene of an unexpected and murderous attack, is a place of the greatest importance in the present, or indeed any, war with Russia : it is situated on the coast of Anatolia, on the southern shore of the Euxine or Black Sea, and it is a point which, should the war continue, it will be important for the Porte to fortify ; as could Russia obtain possession of it, she would render it impregnable by the Turks, and thence could disembark her armies, and pour them into Asia Minor—by which means the Turks in Asia would be exposed to the assaults of an enemy both in front and rear. When Nicholas attacked the Turkish fleet in the bay of Sinope, he well knew the advantages that would accrue to him from its conquest. Not only is Sinope a fine roadstead, but the town is imposingly situated in the midst of a boldly projecting isthmus ; and the houses are, some of them, surrounded by gardens, which bring to the remembrance of those who have seen it, the beautiful site of Damascus ; these, however, are not the recommendations coveted by the Autocrat ; in consequence of the oaks which abound on the mountains near Sinope, it is adapted to become a building arsenal ; ships of the line and other vessels are being constructed there, and, from the excellence of the wood, are justly celebrated as the best in the

Turkish navy, while the shipwrights are principally Englishmen. It is easy to imagine that Nicholas was anxious to secure such a prize before the fleets of France and England made their appearance in the Black Sea.

Odessa, a beautiful and interesting town, reminding the traveller of an oriental city, is now much shattered, through the wanton aggression of the Russians, in firing on a vessel under the safeguard of a flag of truce ; and for this cowardly act the lives and property of thousands of unoffending people have been placed in jeopardy. Some have regretted that the town was not taken ; but it stands on Russian territory, and even if safely guarded by sea, would require immense resources to defend it on land, as the Russians could attack it from the country, and prevent any supplies from entering.

Turning to the Danubian provinces, we find before the onset, that Schumla was strongly fortified ; for being so important in guarding the pass of the Balkan mountains, 80,000 of the regular troops, and 30,000 of the irregular, were assembled in Schumla ; Varna, Ruschuck, and Silistria, were also cared for, while along the frontier of the Caucasus many detached forts had been erected.

We come now to a question of great importance—the admission of Christians into the Ottoman forces. The Slavonians number some eight or nine millions of Turkish subjects, naturally brave and warlike, but by no means disposed to submit to Russian autocracy. But if they eschew Russia and her offers of present protection, will they, in hope of future advantages, support the Ottomans in their hour of need ? Many

recent events and their apparent tendency induce us to cherish such an expectation. The early efficiency of many of Sultan Mahmoud's changes was impeded and impaired by the prejudices of the older Musselmen; and Europe, as if through an envious spirit of detraction, began clamorously to deride the reforming Sultan's failure. It was jeeringly said, that the attempt to engraft European civilization upon the old Mahometan stock, was an absurd whim which must end in disappointment; the bulwark of the Ottoman Porte was thrown down with the Janissaries, and the reformed Nizam were simply good Turks spoiled by European dress and drilling. Thus jeered old Mussulmen and impatient or interested foreigners, at Sultan Mahmoud's honest and painstaking endeavours to develop the native capabilities of his people, and place them upon a footing with contemporary powers.

We call the foreign detractors of Mahmoud's reforms either impatient or interested, for they were either those superficial and hasty mortals who expect everything to be done at once and off-hand, or else Russians solicitous to ensure the failure which they took such pains to announce. The decree which the Czars of Russia would stereotype, if they could, respecting the Turks, is—"*Sint ut sunt, aut non sint.*" But thanks to Sultan Mahmoud's daring enterprise, and the successor's calm perseverance in the path chalked out for him by his father, the Turks have *not* stood still, nor taken a retrograde step in obedience to the Russian adjutant's fierce command,—"*As you were.*" They have steadily progressed; while the inattentive surmised that they had been standing still, they have renewed their strength like eagles, while their insidious foes have

been representing them as grovelling on the ground in helpless, hopeless, careless imbecility.

One obvious element of defence for the Ottoman empire was neutralized, if not rendered positively noxious, by that old Mussulman fanaticism which it was Mahmoud's incessant endeavour to eradicate, or at least abate—we allude to the exclusion of the Christian population of Turkey from the Ottoman army. The four principal stocks inhabiting European Turkey are the Osmanlis, the Greeks, the Roumanians of Wallachia and Moldavia, and the Sclavonians. Of these, the Osmanlis amount to about 1,100,000, the Greeks to 1,000,000, the Roumanians to 4,000,000, and the Sclavonians alone to nearly eight or nine millions. Upon the attitude of this latter race, let it be observed in passing, depends, in a great measure, the future condition of the Ottoman empire and the world. This warlike race, however, were scarcely regarded by the early Mussulmans in the light of defenders of the Ottoman throne; they were more frequently watched as its nearest foes. A more enlightened view of his Christian subjects was taken by Mahmoud and his successor, but owing to one obstructive cause or other, the amalgamation of Christians in the Ottoman army has only practically, and to any considerable extent, taken place within the last year. Various suggestions have been made, and some important ones adopted, with a view to overcome the difficulties which must beset the entry of any recruit from Europe into an army organized on Asiatic principles. Implicit obedience to a commander-in-chief—to the leader of an army, a division, or a regiment—is readily paid; but the utility—nay, necessity for the efficiency of Euro-

pean discipline, of serjeants and corporals, is either derided or disregarded. Most of the recent mishaps of the Turkish forces in Asia are assignable to the deplorable inefficiency of the subaltern officers, and the all but absolute neglect of the details of command. The Lacedæmonian mora owed its pre-eminence among the contemporary armies of Greece to its minute but nicely-adjusted graduations of commands ; and, by a like organization, the Macedonian phalanx scattered the myriads of Darius—individually, perhaps, as brave and as strong as their Hellenic conquerors.

To introduce this vital element into the Turkish army—an element so simple and comprehensible by ourselves that we cannot conceive the stolid repugnance of Asiatics to its reception—it has been suggested to allow each Christian contingent from Bosnia, Servia, or Bulgaria, to have its own colours in camp as in their own country, and its own non-commissioned officers to drill and command it in its own language. The secret of creating an imposing army in Turkey would be to make each people—Bosniaks, Serbs, Bulgarians,—interested in it on its own account ; organise warlike tribes like the Prussian *landwehr*, but drill the levy of each province, as much as possible, at home, that they may feel a military pride in the midst of surrounding relatives and friends, instead of merely the bitterness of a conscript's farewell. Let these levies, of course, be mobilizable at need. We know the tenacity with which the Slavonic tribes have clung, through stormy centuries, to their national institutions, habits, manners, and traditions ; and if once a Bosniak, Servian, or Bulgarian local militia felt that in defending the Sultan's throne they were

defending their own hearths and usages, they would shed their heart's blood, with Spartan firmness, in the Sultan's defence. Nor is a long introduction of particulars, drawn from recondite annals, required to justify this anticipation, for successive events of recent date have demonstrated that wherever the Ottoman government has removed abuses—and it has frequently, and honestly, and effectually done so—or strengthened the internal independence of its subject states, the Russian Czar has lost his influence, and been detected in his fraudulent aims. The Sultan, once dreaded as a master, has been cherished as a true and beneficent protector. The form of Pansclavonism we are inclined to advocate is, we think, more feasible and useful than any other, and may be designated a Sclavo-Ottoman federation. We would express ourselves with diffidence on a confessedly difficult question; but on one, and that the most vital point, we are quite decided in our judgment, and that is, that the cause of genuine Christianity would be better promoted by the continuance of Servia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, and the Moldo-Wallachian provinces, under the mild sway of Abdul Medjid, than under that of Russia.

In conclusion, we would offer a few words upon a subject on which the Czar Nicholas has profanely expended many. We allude to his allegation, that England is preparing to fight the battle of the Crescent against the Cross. This is a very grave charge, but so unfounded that much argument is not required for its reputation.

In the first place, and without arrogating exclusive enlightenment to our days, we may observe, that the

time has passed when it can be contended that the faith may be lawfully propagated by the sword. Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics cannot be converted by force, nor must they be exterminated if they refuse conversion. But in our judgment many a sober Turk is nearer heaven than a multitude of nominal Christians such as the Czar worshippers of Muscovy. The Turk loves and exercises mercy, justice, and truth ; can as much be said for the Russian ? And in our opinion, not hastily formed, the cause of Christianity will be more effectually promoted by the conservation of the dominion of the gentle, tolerate, and amiable Abdul Medjid, than by the substitution in his stead of the intolerant, domineering Nicholas. The juxtaposition of Christian races to Islamism has already penetrated it in every part. We do not mean by that phrase the Christian religion, nor would the words culture, civilization, fully convey our idea ; but Islamism itself is being enlightened by the genius of the West—by that spirit which transforms wild hordes into disciplined armies, that traces roads, cuts canals (why does Russia thwart every effort to effect a canal from Rassoava to Kustendji, which would open the trade of Hungary and the interior of the Austrian empire to Western Europe ?), covers all seas with fleets, and converts them into its own property ; which fills remote continents with colonies ; that has taken possession of the domains of knowledge, and cultivates them with unflagging industry ; which maintains order and law among men, in spite of the diversities of their passions. Within the last ten years it has made prodigious advances in the Ottoman empire ; it has created sources of diffu-

sion for itself in Greece and Servia, Egypt and Constantinople. We have already alluded to the incorporation of the Christians into the ranks of the Nizam—the regular Turkish army—and in this we recognise the germ of renewed strength to the Ottoman empire. Unfortunately, until quite recently, these levies of Christians took place with violence, after the manner of the Russian recruitings in Poland, and the incorporation of the vanquished Italians and Magyars in the Austrian army.

But after all, the secret of creating an imposing army for Turkey is to make each people interested in it on its own account; and above all, to organize among the warlike tribes of the mountains a *landwehr* like the Prussian. If the young men of each province were organized as national guards, mobilizable at need, they would, in case of invasion, furnish the governors of the Ottoman citadels with expeditionary corps admirably adapted for harassing the enemy. Left in their own provinces in all time of peace, these civic forces should be called out, as in Prussia and Switzerland, at the first sound of war, and placed at the disposal of the central military authority. Once trained and disciplined, they will desire to enforce their rights. The question of nationality will then be practically revived in its fullest extent, and the Ottoman empire may be re-organized in renewed vigour on the basis of federalism. Federalism has undoubtedly every chance of success in its favour. Since 1848, the parts played by Russia and Turkey have been completely reversed. The Turk has ceased to be the oppressor, the Russian to be the protector. No Moldo-Wallachian would

now dream of going to St. Petersburg to complain of the Porte. All the true patriots of the Danubian principalities agree in their endeavours to make their respective countries resume their ancient attachment to the cabinet of the Bosphorus, by the bonds of a common destiny. The Bulgarians, too, feel that their nationality has no more dangerous enemies than those instigators of revolt who come to them from St. Petersburg. The aspirations of all those people, Serbs, Bulgarians, Bosniaks, and Moldo-Wallachians, towards a political existence will not die out. They begin to perceive, clearly enough, that no expectation but that of national extinction, impends from Russia ; and if Turkey will satisfy them, as the present Sultan evinces every disposition to do, the Porte may, for many a year to come, count upon enthusiastic auxiliaries. The principle of political equality between nations as between individuals, will develop a new life in all the races of Turkey. Even should the emancipated Christians obtain the larger share of influence in the empire in proportion with their activity and their numbers, Turkey would not the less be secured for ever from attacks from without ; she would defy the Muscovite, and have no longer any fear of being effaced from the map. By uniting with the Christian genius, the Mussulmen genius may drive back Muscovite centralization to its steppes ; but only on condition that she opposes to it, from the Danube to Egypt, a federation of peoples founded on principles directly antagonistic to those of Czarism. "Then," to use the glowing words of Ranke, "would that classic region, the most beautiful in the world, and so long the most sterile,—then would

that privileged land, the cradle of philosophy, of Islamism, and of the Gospel,—at last behold those ancient races embrace each other under the shadow of a civilization truly hallowed because it would be truly universal.”

CHAPTER V

THE RELIGION OF ISLAM.

As the religion of Islâm is founded on the Koran, which is at once the law and the creed of all Mahomedan nations, it will be essential, rightly to understand the Turkish character, that we should have a clear conception of the nature and tendencies of their religious faith.

It was on the twenty-third night of the month Ramadan, according to his own account, and the belief of his followers, that the angel Gabriel came down from the presence of God, and opening the breast of Mohammed, took therefrom his heart, wrung out of it the black drop of original sin, washed it with pure water, and restored it to its place. This night the Koran, or, as it is very improperly called, the Alcoran, came from the highest to the lowest heaven, that it might be ready for revelation to the prophet, as the exigencies of the world might require.

We can hardly too much admire the consummate skill displayed in this arrangement. Had the Koran been published all at once, the author would have had to trust to his own authority for answers to all objections ; circumstances might arise, which might have rendered part of the previous revelations inexpedient, and finally he would have had to wait a long time before the book appeared, and he obtained the cele-

brity which it procured him. As it was, all these inconveniences were provided against ; he was able always to appeal to divine authority to justify any doctrine he thought proper, to promulgate any measure which he determined to adopt. He made a natural infirmity, to which he was subject, serve the place of a miracle ; he kept up the attention of his followers by a continuation of revelations ; and he obtained immediately the glory of being the sole depository of God's will to man, as displayed in this new institution.

The Koran thus revealed, generally by a few verses at a time, deserves much of the encomiums it has received.

Its beauties are, much sublimity whilst speaking of the Divine Being, a great deal of elegance in its composition generally, and a system of ethics and jurisprudence, much better and purer than Christians are generally willing to allow. Its defects are, a great want of arrangement and order, a barefaced plagiarism of the most extravagant tales of the Talmud, and many absurd and minute observances commanded, which were copied from the traditionary law of the Jews.

The Mohammedan opinion of it is, that it is of divine origin ; that it is eternal and uncreated, and that the first transcript is by the throne of God, on a table of vast dimensions, called the Preserved Table. On this are also written the divine decrees, past, present, and future ; and if any one object to the eternity of the Koran, that much of it was adopted to the circumstances of Mahommed's times, and not a few passages to the gratification of his private wishes, it is

answered that these things were predestinated from all eternity.

The revelation, or pretended revelation of the Koran extended over a period of twenty-three years, during which time, as soon as a chapter had been collected from a number of separate revelations, which were taken down by amanuenses, it was read over by the followers of the Prophet, till the whole was committed to memory; the original was then thrown without order into a chest, called the Chest of Revelation, and committed to the care of Haphsa, one of the wives of Mohammed: it was, however, they say, by the direction of the angel Gabriel, that the arrangement of the verses in each chapter was made. The great table which stood by the throne of God, was not that which came down to the lowest heaven, but a copy on paper, bound with gold and adorned with pearls. This precious volume was shown once a year to Mohammed, but in the last year of his life he saw it twice.

The words first revealed are the first five verses of the ninety-sixth chapter, and run thus:—"Read, in the name of thy Lord who hath created all things, who hath created man of congealed blood. Read, by thy most beneficent Lord, who taught the use of the pen, who teacheth man that which he knoweth not." The meaning of this phrase "congealed blood," after which the chapter is named, refers to the tradition that all human beings, save Adam, Eve, and Jesus, were so created. The next chapter is entitled Al Kadr, and the whole is subjoined. "In the name of the most merciful God, Verily we sent down the Koran in the night of Al Kadr (the night of power).

And what shall make thee understand how excellent the night of Al Kadr is? The night of Al Kadr is better than a thousand months. Therein do the angels descend, and the spirit Gabriel also, by the permission of their Lord, with his decrees concerning every matter. It is peace until the rising of the dawn." This night, the twenty-third of Ramadan, is holy on another account than the descent of the Koran; for as the chapter informs us, the divine decrees for the year following are on this night taken from the preserved table, and given to the angels to be executed. The Koran, as we now have it, is divided into one hundred and fourteen chapters, called each after the first word of note which it contains; and because some parts were revealed at Mecca, and others at Medina, this circumstance forms a part of the title of each chapter.

Such care has been taken to keep pure the text of the Koran, that the number of words and letters has been computed,—the former amounting to 77,639, and of the latter, 323,015. They have even calculated the number of times each particular letter occurs; in this imitating the Jews. After the title come the words called the Bismillah, which are, "In the name of the most merciful God;" and then comes the chapter itself. There are twenty-nine chapters of the Koran which have this peculiarity,—that they commence with certain letters standing alone, some with a single letter, others with more. These are by many Mohammedan doctors thought to express the most profound mysteries, which have been fully revealed to none save the Prophet.

With regard to the style of this extraordinary book,

it is generally beautiful and fluent ; and though written in prose, yet the sentences conclude with a long-continued rhyme, which is to this day the most popular ornament of Arabic composition. The book now extant was compiled from the existing copies in the reign, and by the order of the Caliph Othman, in the thirtieth year of the Hegira, by four of the most learned Arabs then living ; they reconciled the various readings, and the old copies were then burnt and suppressed. The Koran is held in the greatest possible respect among the Mohammedans. They never touch it without being first washed, or legally purified ; and lest they should inadvertently do so, they put an inscription on it, "Let none touch it but those who are clean." They swear by it, consult it on weighty occasions, by dipping into it, and taking as an omem the words that first occur ;* carry it with them to war, write sentences of it on their banners, adorn it with gold and precious stones, and suffer it not knowingly to be in the hands of an infidel.

The first chapter is esteemed as one of the most holy ; and as it is very short, it is subjoined. The Arabs call it the quintessence of the Koran, and repeat it often at their devotions, whether public or private : "Praise be to God, the Lord of all creatures, the most merciful, the King of the day of judgment. Thee do we worship, and of thee do we beg assistance. Direct us in the right way, in the way of those to whom thou

* Al Walid, the caliph, who was a person of no religion, dipping thus into the Koran, found the words, "Every rebellious, perverse person shall not prosper ;" whereupon he stuck the book on a lance, and shot it to pieces with arrows, saying, — "Dost thou rebuke every rebellious, perverse person ? behold, I am a rebellious, perverse person."

has been gracious ; not of those against whom thou art incensed, nor of those that go astray."

The first principle of Mohammed's religion was one which argued a truly philosophical mind, and which was based upon a solid and important truth. It was, that there was, and had been, but one religion given to the world under the various dispensations which God had at different times promulgated. This religion he called "Islâm," which signifies obedience to the divine rule ; and this is the name peculiar to his own dispensation. They divide Islâm into two parts ; viz., faith and practice : the one referring to a correct belief in the six tenets ; viz., the being of God, of his angels, of his scriptures, of his prophets, in the resurrection and day of judgment, and in predestination. This faith is called Imân, and the practice Deen ; this has respect to prayer, alms, fasting, and the pilgrimage to Mecca. They believe that there were one hundred and four books containing the revelation of God's will, and given to several prophets. That these were delivered to the patriarchs in the following manner : ten to Adam, fifty to Seth, thirty to Edris or Enoch, ten to Abraham ; and that these are all entirely lost. That the next three are still in existence, but too much corrupted to be useful ; these are the Pentateuch to Moses, the Psalms to David, and the Gospel to Jesus. The last revelation which is to be expected is the Koran, which was given to Mohammed ; and the list of prophets is now closed. They speak of 224,000 prophets, of whom 313 were apostles sent to recover mankind from their ignorance and depravity, and six, viz., Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed, were founders of new dispensations. The

Koran insists on a firm belief in angels, of whom Gabriel, the angel who gave the Koran to Mohammed ; Michael, the guardian of the Jews ; Azrael, the angel of death ; and Israfil, who, at the day of judgment will sound the trumpet, are the chief. It also speaks of devils, whose chief is Eblis, and of Genii, or Gins. These beings, who are somewhat between men and angels, are in a state of probation like men, and therefore Mohammed claimed to be sent for their conversion, as well as that of the human race. These spirits are supposed to have inhabited the world many ages before the creation of Adam, and to have been governed by a long succession of princes, who all bore the name of Solomon ; but at last a general profligacy obtained among them ; and Eblis, before his fall, was commissioned to drive them into a remote corner of the earth. Some who remained were made war upon by Tahmuras, one of the ancient monarchs of Iran, and these wars and successions form the subject of many legends among Mohammedans.

Peris, Dives, who were gigantic beings hostile to man, and Tacwins, spirits like the Valkyruir of the northern mythology, made a great figure in Oriental romance. The Gins were driven into the mountains of Kâf by Tahmuras. An opinion prevails among the disciples of Islam that every man has two guardian angels, who watch over him and write down all his actions : these, which are changed every day, are called Moakhibat ; and they pretend that the same opinion is expressed in the New Testament, in those words of our Lord, " For in heaven their angels do behold the face of my Father." In addition to these topics, the Koran contains the moral, civil, and cere-

monial law of Islâm, provisions for many cases of difficult determination, and for the peculiar circumstances of the author and his disciples at the time of its publication. The doctrines taught in the Koran, concerning death, the resurrection, and the judgment, are as follows:—When the body of man is laid in the grave, the Moslem doctors say that he is received by an angel, who gives him notice that the two examiners, Monkir and Nekir, are approaching. These are angels of dark and terrible appearance, who command the deceased to sit upright, and then question him concerning his creed. If he reply, “There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet,” they suffer the airs of Paradise to blow on the body, and leave it in peace: but if the man hesitate or prevaricate, they beat him on the temples with iron maces, till he cries out loud enough to be heard by all beings save men and genii. They then press the earth upon the corpse, which is gnawed and stung, till the resurrection, by ninety-nine dragons, having seven heads each. Some say that the sins of the wicked will become serpents and scorpions, and will come and torment them while lying in the grave. These, however, are subjects upon which all the Moslems are not agreed, some rejecting altogether the examination in the tomb. But in the eight chapter of the Koran occur these words, which seem to refer to it: “And if ye did behold when the angels cause the unbelievers to die, they strike their faces and their backs, saying unto them, ‘Taste ye the pain of burning; this shall ye suffer for what yours have sent before you, and because God is not unjust to his servants.’” Those who believe this examination, suppose that the souls of the wicked remain united to their

bodies. Others distribute these and the souls of the righteous in various places of abode.

The day of judgment, which, according to one passage of the Koran, is to last one thousand years, and, according to another, fifty thousand years, is to be preceded by many greater and lesser signs, but the time of its approach is known only to God. The lesser signs are, the decay of faith among men, the advancement of mean persons to dignity, great sensuality, tumult, and sedition, distress, famine, and rebellion.

The greater signs will require to be more particularly described. The first of these is the rising of the sun in the west. The second, the appearance of the beast which rises out of the earth, but the learned are not agreed as to the particular spot. This monster, whose head alone will fill the space between earth and heaven, is described as composed of the parts of many beasts. She has the head of a bull, the eyes of a hog, the ears of an elephant, the horns of a stag, the neck of an ostrich, the breast of a lion, the colour of a tiger, the back of a cat, the tail of a ram, the legs of a camel, and the voice of an ass. This creature, which is to surpass all created beings in swiftness, will bring with her the rod of Moses and the seal of Solomon, and, appearing in three several places, she will mark believers and unbelievers in the forehead, so they may at once be distinguished. One great object of her coming will be to demonstrate the vanity of every religion save Islâm, and of all other languages save Arabic.

The third sign will be a war between the Greeks and the Jews, and the taking of the city of Constantinople by 70,000 of the latter people, who shall cease

from dividing the spoil at the coming of Antichrist. This coming will be the fourth sign. He will be followed by 70,000 Jews, and will continue on earth one year, one month, one week, and thirty-seven days. During his continuance in the world he will lay waste all places but Mecca and Medina, which will be guarded by angels, and at last will be slain in battle by Jesus, who will encounter him at the gate of Lud. The fifth sign will be the coming of Christ, who will descend at Damascus, embrace the Mohammedan religion, marry a wife, and have children. In his reign, which will last forty years, there will be perfect security and peace, from the time that Antichrist has been killed to the death of Jesus himself. The sixth year will be a war against the Jews, who will nearly all be exterminated. The seventh will be the irruption of Gog and Magog. Their armies will be so vast, that their bows, arrows, and quivers will be fuel for the faithful for seven years. Then comes the smoke, which shall fill the whole earth, and be the eighth sign of the approaching judgment. The ninth sign will be a wonderful eclipse of the moon; and the tenth, the return of all the earth to idolatry. The eleventh, the discovery of a vast heap of gold, by the reflux of the Euphrates, which will be the destruction of many. The twelfth, the demolition of the Caaba, or temple of Mecca, by the Ethiopians. The speaking of beasts and inanimate things. The fourteenth, the breaking out of fire in the province of Yaman. The fifteenth, the appearance of a man of the descendants of Kahtau, who shall drive men before him with his staff. The sixteenth, the coming of Al-Mohdi, or the Dictator. Mohammed prophesied that the world

should not have an end till a descendant of his own should govern the Arabs, whose name should be the same as his own, and their father's name the same. The person answering this description was born at Sermarai, in the two hundred and fifty-fifth year of the Hegira ; he is believed by the Shiites to be still alive, but concealed ; and from this tradition arises the report among Christians that the Mohammedans expect a return of their prophet. The seventeenth, a wind which shall sweep away the souls of all who have but a grain of faith in their hearts.

These seventeen signs shall indicate the approach of the day of judgment, but shall not make certain the precise time of its arrival ; this will be done by three blasts of the trumpet, each of which will take place forty years after the preceding. The first is called the blast of consternation ; then the earth shall be shaken, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and men shall forget their riches, and women their children, and all the beasts of the earth shall be congregated together. All this is magnificently described in the eighty-first chapter of the Koran. Then comes the second blast, the blast of examination, at the sound of which all beings save God alone, shall perish, with paradise and hell, and their inhabitants ; the throne of glory and the preserved table and the pen with which it was written, will be also among those things exempted from the common fate. Azrael, the angel of death, will be the last who will die. At the third blast, called the blast of resurrection (to blow which Israfil shall be raised, who at the second blast had died with all angels), the dead, small and great, shall stand before God, Mohammed himself rising first. The pious shall

find white winged camels, with saddles of gold, prepared for them to ride on ; the less worthy among believers will walk on foot, while unbelievers will appear with their faces on the earth, grovelling in the dust, blind, lame, and deformed. The great multitude of the dead shall assemble on the earth, renewed to receive them ; they will be judged one by one, and while the judgment is going on, the angels will keep them in their proper ranks and orders. All this time, the pains of hell are already beginning to take hold on the wicked, light, however, in comparison of that which they will have to undergo.

When the risen have waited a certain time, God, say the Mohammedan doctors, shall appear in the clouds, and surrounded by angels. Then the books will be produced, and the office of mediator, successively declined by Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, will be undertaken by Mohammed. All will then be strictly judged, save seventy thousand of Mohammed's first disciples, who will be permitted to enter Paradise without examination. Then the good and bad deeds of each individual shall be compared ; a portion of his good deeds attributed to each person whom he has injured, and of his bad actions to each who has injured him. If there remain the weight of an ant in good works over evil ones after this, the person is admitted to Paradise, and the wicked are punished according to the measure of their iniquities.

They then pass over the bridge Al Sirat, in their way to the bliss or torture to which they are doomed. This bridge, which is laid over the midst of hell, is said to be finer than a hair, and sharper than the edge

of a sword, so that it seems very difficult to imagine how any one can stand upon it ; but yet, though some few reject it, or consider it as allegorical, the greater number firmly believe it in a literal sense. This bridge is beset with briars and thorns, but these will not hinder the passage of the faithful ; for they, headed by the prophet himself, shall pass over with wonderful rapidity, whereas the wicked, embarrassed with the difficulties of the path, and the want of light, shall fall down into hell, which lies stretched out beneath them. Those who aver the literal truth of this article of their creed, contend that Mohammed's words are all literally true, for that he could not tell a falsehood.

On passing the bridge Al Sirat, the road divides, one path leading to the right, which is the celestial road, and one to the left, which goes to the abodes of perdition.

Hell is divided, according to the Mohammedan doctors, into seven regions, one below another, and appropriated to sinners of various grades. The first is called Gehenna, and is the receptacle of those who acknowledged one God, but whose wicked works prevail over their good ones : these are all Mohammedans, and they are to be released from their sufferings when, by their torments, they have expiated the crimes they committed upon earth. The second, called Ladha, is assigned to the Jews. The third, named Hotama, to the Christians. The fourth, Sair, to the Sabians. Sakar, the fifth, to the Magians. Al Iahim, the sixth, to the idolaters ; and Hawiyat, the lowest and most dreadful, to the hypocrites, that is, to such as have

professed religion, of whatever sect, and have not really possessed it.

Hell having seven gates, one to each division, a company of angels will be placed as a guard over each gate, to whom the damned will acknowledge the justice of God, and whom they will pray to intercede with God for them, that they may be released or annihilated.

The punishments of hell are rather alluded to than fully described in the Koran ; but in the traditions they are depicted very much in detail, and certainly display some ingenuity. The praise of much invention cannot, however, be given to them, as they are very closely copied from similar traditions in the Talmud. The lightest punishment consists in wearing shoes of fire, the heat of which causes the skull to burn like a caldron. Here, in a state not properly either of life or death, must the infidel remain for ever, but the Moslem only a certain limited period. When the skins of these persons are burnt and scorched black, then they shall, after a punishment in ice or freezing water, be admitted to Paradise ; but the inhabitants of that blissful region will receive them with contempt, and call them infernals, till God shall, on their prayers, take from them that odious appellation. Some believe that while those persons remain in hell who have embraced the true faith, but who act wickedly, they will be deprived of life, and so lose their consciousness. Such shall continue in hell not less than nine hundred, nor more than seven thousand years. The angels who will be sent to deliver them from hell will know them by the marks of prostration on those parts

of their bodies which used to touch the ground in prayer, for these the fire had no power over ; these will therefore remain white when the flames and smoke of hell hath blackened all the rest ; so when they are released by the angels at the intercession of Mohammed and the faithful, they are plunged in the river of life, which makes them whiter than pearls.

Between heaven and hell is the wall Al Araf, which is very broad, and upon it are placed those in whom good and evil so exactly balance each other, that they are worthy neither of heaven nor hell. At the last day, however, they shall all go into Paradise, for they shall then perform an act of adoration which shall be considered as meritorious, making the scale of their good works preponderate. This wall, Al Araf, is not so broad as to hinder the blessed and the damned from talking one to the other.

Those who go by the other path, and are permitted to enter Paradise, will be refreshed by drinking at the pond of the Prophet, which is an exact square of thirty days' journey in compass ; round it are cups, seventy thousand in number, like the stars of heaven ; and whosoever drinks of this water shall never thirst again ; its taste is sweeter than honey ; it is more odoriferous than musk, and whiter than silver ; it is supplied from Al Cawthar, one of the rivers of Paradise, and is the first taste the righteous obtain of the delights that await them.

Paradise is, according to the orthodox, placed above the seven heavens, and immediately under the throne of God ; its soil is of musk and saffron, its pebbles are gems, its buildings are enriched with gold and silver, and the trunks of its trees are of gold. Among these

trees, the most remarkable is the "tuba," the tree of life and happiness. This grows in the palace of Mohammed, but a branch of it reaches into the pavilion of each believer ; it is loaded with every kind of fruit, of surpassing size, and of tastes unknown [to mortals ; indeed, if a man wish for any particular description of fruit, the bough will bend down and present it to him ; nay, should he chose flesh, it will be brought ready dressed, and in dishes of gold, according to his wish. More than this, costly robes, and horses ready saddled, will issue from the fruits, if it be desired ; and so large is the tree, that a horseman mounted on a fleet horse could not ride round it in a hundred years.

There is another legend, which is given merely on account of its absurdity. The fruit of this tree, say some, is of ten thousand different sorts, and the leaves are like elephant's ears ; the shape of the fruit is that of a waterpot, and so vast is its size, that the smallest will be sufficient for the food of all living beings for ever.

The rivers of Paradise are among its greatest beauties : some of these rivers flow with water, some with milk, some with honey, and some with wine ; there are a great number of fountains and springs, whose pebbles are rubies and emeralds, their earth camphire, their beds musk, and their sides saffron.

But all these delights are insignificant when compared with the beautiful Houris, or Hûr-al-ayûn, the dark-eyed damsels of Paradise. These were created not of clay, but of musk, and are free from all the defects of earthly women. They are secluded from sight in pavilions of hollow pearls, each of which is sixty miles long, and as many broad.

As soon as a believer arrives at the gate of Paradise, he is met and saluted by the beautiful youths appointed to wait upon him. Angels will come also to serve him, one running forward and acquainting his wives, one bearing the presents sent him by God, one putting a ring on his finger, which is to point out the happiness of his condition, and one investing him with a garment of Paradise.

When the blessed are all received into Paradise, then the earth will become one vast loaf of bread, which the hand of the Almighty will hold out to them like a cake. For meat, they will have the Ose Balam, and for fish, the liver of the fish called the Nun, which will be sufficient for seventy thousand men; this latter is intended only for those who entered Paradise without examination. Tents of pearls and emeralds, wines of the most delicious flavours, and without any inebriating properties, magnificent garments and furniture, crowns and bracelets of unrivalled beauty, are to be also the lot of the faithful; their wives are admitted to the same felicity; and in addition to these, they will have seventy-two of the girls of Paradise, and eighty thousand servants.

The music of Paradise is much spoken of in the Koran, and we are told that the angel Israfil, who has the most melodious voice of all created beings, will sing praises to God in Paradise; the houris will also be gifted with sweet voices, and will play on many instruments; but, besides these, the very trees, with their pearly fruits and golden trunks, will celebrate the divine praises with a harmony beyond the conceptions of mortals. But though this be the only view of Paradise which the common people take, there

is yet a higher and more spiritual view in which the more devout receive it, deeming all these descriptions of felicity to be mere figures of speech. It is said that they shall behold the face of God morning and evening, and this is the additional or superabundant recompense promised in the Koran, which will give so exquisite delight, that all the other pleasures of Paradise shall be little thought of in comparison ; and this, say they, is but reasonable, for every other enjoyment is equally tasted by the 'brute who is turned into an abundant pasture.

This is a full confutation of the commonly received opinion, that Mohammed admitted no spiritual pleasures, but made the happiness of the blessed to consist wholly in corporeal enjoyment.

There is another common opinion which needs to be refuted, which is that Mohammed did not acknowledge the souls of women. It will be seen by the fact that the wives of believers accompany them to Paradise, that the contrary is the case ; and the common notion is also confuted by the reply which he once made to an old woman, who asked him how she might be admitted into Paradise ; to which he replied, that no old woman should go there at all. Seeing, however, that the old woman was much grieved by this, he explained himself much to her satisfaction by declaring that God would restore them all to youth.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE TRADITIONS OF ISLAM.

THE most extraordinary of all the traditions connected with Mohammed is the Mesra, or Night Journey to Heaven, which is thus related. It is alluded to in the seventeenth chapter of the Koran ; but the whole history is preserved in the *Sonna*. The account here given is taken, for the most part, from *Prideaux*.

As he lay in bed, one night, the Prophet heard a knocking at the door, where on arising he found the angel Gabriel, with seventy pairs of wings expanded from his sides, whiter than snow and clearer than crystal, and by his side the beast Al Borak, which they say is the beast on which the prophets used to ride when they were carried from one place to another in the execution of any divine command. Mohammed describes it as a beast white as milk, and of a nature between the ass and a mule, and of a swiftness equalling that of lightning ; and hence it is that it is called Al Borak, that word signifying lightning in the Arabic tongue. As soon as Mohammed appeared at the door, the angel kindly embraced him, and, with a sweet and pleasant voice, saluted him in the name of God, telling him that he was sent to bring him unto God in heaven, where he should see strange mysteries, which are not lawful to be seen by any other man ; and then bade

him get on Al Borak. But it appears that Al Borak had been idle from the time of Christ till that of Mohammed,—since there had been no prophet in the interim,—had grown restive and unruly, and would not stand still for Mohammed to mount. But when Gabriel told him who it was who was about to ride, and said that for his reward he should have a place in Paradise, Borak was quiet ; and having taken the prophet on his back, the angel took the bridle, and in the twinkling of an eye the party found themselves at Jerusalem.

As soon as they arrived at the temple, they found all the prophets and saints of time past, who came to salute Mohammed ; and having accompanied him into the principal oratory, there left him, begging him to pray for them. Mohammed and the angel Gabriel having departed thence, found a ladder of light prepared for them, which they immediately ascended without the least fatigue, leaving Al Borak tied to its foot till they returned. This ladder reached to the first heaven, which, when they had attained, Gabriel knocked at the gate, and being answered from within, and asked who he was, and whom he brought, he replied that he was Gabriel, and had brought Mohammed, the friend of God, and that he had done this by the divine command. While this was being done, Mohammed looked around, and saw the stars hanging from this heaven by chains of pure gold, each star of the bigness of Mount Nobo, in Arabia. In the stars he observed angels watching, as the guard of heaven, to prevent the devils from approaching, and overhearing what was done there.

On first entering into this heaven, which was com-

posed entirely of fine silver, he met a decrepit old man, who told him that his name was Adam, tenderly embraced him, and gave God thanks for so great a son, fervently recommending himself to the prayers of the prophet. As he advanced, he saw a great number of angels, in all shapes, some in those of men, others in those of birds, others in those of every species of quadrupeds. Amongst those which appeared in the shape of birds, was one in the appearance of a cock, white as snow, and of so prodigious a size, that though his feet stood upon the first heaven, his head reached to the second; which, according to human computation, at the rate men travel at on earth, was distant five hundred years' journey. There are not wanting those, among Arabian divines, who make this cock much bigger, and say that he reached from the floor of the first heaven to the top of the seventh, which would be a distance of three thousand five hundred years' journey, and give a very magnificent description of him; saying that his wings are all glittering with gems and carbuncles, and he stretches them, one to the east and the other to the west, proportionally to his height.

When Mohammed asked who were all these creatures, and what was their office, he was told by the angel that they were mediating angels between God and the creatures whose shapes they bore: that those who interceded for men had the shape of men; those who interceded for beasts, the shape of beasts; and those who interceded for birds, the shape of birds, according to their several kinds. That the great cock was the angel of the cocks, and every morning when God sung a holy hymn, the cock instantly joined in it

by his crowing, which is so loud, that all creatures in the universe hear it, save men, genii, and fairies. Gabriel also informed him, that when this cock crowed, then all cocks on earth crowed also, and all angels bearing that shape in heaven. But when the day of judgment draws nigh, then God shall command him to fold his wings, and to crow no more : and this shall be a sign of the coming of that great day, only men and fairies, who hear not the crowing, will not be sensible of the silence from it.

This cock is reputed to be in such high favour with the Supreme Being, that it is a common saying among the Mahommedans, "There are three voices to which God ever inclines his ear : to the voice of him who is constant in reading the Koran ; to the voice of him who early, every morning, prayeth for the pardon of his sins ; and to the voice of the great cock, which is ever most acceptable to God.

From the first heaven they proceeded to the second, which is distant from it five hundred years' journey. Here he saw many wonderful angels, and their number was twice that in the first ; and among them one of a size so prodigious, that, standing as he did upon the second heaven, his head reached to the third. When the gates were opened to him, which they did of their own accord by the divine command, he was saluted by Noah, who greatly rejoiced at seeing the last of the prophets, and recommended himself to his prayers. This heaven was made entirely of pure gold.

From hence they ascended to the third, which was composed of precious stones, and in which he met Abraham, who, like Adam and Noah, recommended himself to the prayers of the Prophet. Here he saw

twice as many angels as in the second, and among them one so great that the distance between his eyes was seventy thousand days' journey; "in which," Prideaux observes, "Mohammed was out in his mathematics, for the distance between a man's eyes being, in proportion to his height, but as one to seventy-two, the whole height of the angel at this rate must have been nearly fourteen thousand years' journey, which is four times as much as the height of all the seven heavens together, and therefore it is impossible that such an angel could ever stand in any of them." To which a Mahomedan would reply, that it is not said he was contained in any one; but as the cock lifted his head to the top of the seventh heaven, so did this angel also, and much higher. This hugest of created beings was Azrael, the angel of death, and before him was a tablet, in which he was continually writing and blotting out. On Mohammed asking what was the meaning of this, Gabriel informed him he was writing the names of those who should be born, and when they had fulfilled the number of days allotted to them he then blotted out their names, and they died.

After observing thus much they again proceeded, and ascended to the fourth heaven, where they found the number of angels still progressively increasing. In this heaven, which was composed of emerald, they found Joseph, the son of Jacob, who, like the rest, recommended himself to his prayers. The only angel which here attracted his notice was one whose head reached to the fifth heaven, and who was continually weeping and making great lamentation and mourning; and this was, as Gabriel said, for the sins of mankind,

and the certain destruction which they were bringing upon themselves thereby.

In the fifth heaven, which was made of diamond, he found Moses, who recommended himself to his prayers, and a number of angels, still increasing.

The same was the case in the sixth heaven, which was composed of one perfect carbuncle, and in which John the Baptist recommended himself to the prayers of Mohammed.

In the seventh heaven, which was composed entirely of divine light, he found Jesus Christ, who, saluting him, Mohammed recommended himself to his prayers, thereby reversing the style which he had hitherto used. In this heaven there were twice as many angels as in all the heavens beside ; and one, perhaps the most extraordinary creation of fancy that the realms of fiction can show. This angel had seventy thousand heads, in each head seventy thousand faces, in each face seventy thousand mouths, in each mouth seventy thousand tongues, and with each tongue he spoke seventy thousand languages at once, with which he praised God day and night.

So far did Gabriel bring Mohammed ; but now he told him that he must leave him, and that he must go the rest of the journey by himself to the throne of God. This journey, he says, he performed with great difficulty, passing through waters and snow, and many dense clouds, till at last he came where he heard a voice say to him, " Mohammed, salute thy Creator ! " Ascending a little higher, he saw a vast expanse of light, of so vivid a brilliancy that he could not bear to look thereon. In this light was the habitation of the Deity, and in it his throne was visible ; on the right

side of this awful throne were the words, in Arabic, "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet." These words form the creed of the imposter's followers, and these were also written on the gates of the seven heavens through which he passed.

Being now advanced into the divine presence as near to the throne as two bow-shots, he says that he saw God sitting on his throne, with a covering of seventy thousand veils before his face, and then the Supreme Being put forth his hand in token of his great favour, and laid it upon Mohammed, and it was so cold that he could not bear it ; he then declares that God entered into familiar converse with him, and showed him many mysteries, and made him understand all his law, and gave him many things in charge concerning the new dispensation, of which he was the chief ; and in conclusion, endowed him with many great and important privileges. These were, that he should be the most perfect of God's creatures, that at the day of judgment he should ride on the beast Borak, and be much distinguished beyond the rest of mankind ; that he should be the redeemer of all who believed in him ; should have the knowledge of all languages, and the spoils of all captives ; that he might take women as wives and concubines as many as he pleased, and under whatever circumstances ; that he, with seventy thousand of his people, should enter Paradise without having a question asked them ; and lastly, that the angel of death should not take away his soul without first asking his permission. He also says that he saw on the right hand of the throne of God, the lote-tree, beyond which none ever passed but himself ; and under it he saw all the host of angels wor-

shipping. Some writers apply to this tree the extravagant description given of the tree of life in Paradise, namely, that one of the smallest of its fruits would be amply sufficient for all the living beings in heaven and earth for ever, and that this wonderful fruit is shaped like a waterpot.

While Mohammed was engaged in surveying these wonders, a hand came from the cloud and proffered to his choice two cups, one filled with milk, and one with wine. Mohammed took the former, on which a voice exclaimed "O Mohammed! thou hast chosen wisely; now shalt thou prosper in thine undertaking, whereas, hadst thou taken the wine they would assuredly have all come to nought." This was the reason for which some say that he forbade wine to his disciples. But the most extraordinary part of his conversation with God is, that he was told to command his followers to pray fifty times a day.

When he had got as far on his return as the third heaven, and was relating to Abraham the wonders he had beheld, and among other things repeated this command, Abraham objected that it was impossible that it could be fulfilled; and Mohammed says that he went back into the divine presence to complain that an impossibility had been commanded him. The impossibility was acknowledged, and the number of prayers reduced to five.

Returning to the seventh heaven again, he found the angel Gabriel waiting for him, and they traversed together once more the seven heavens. When they reached the first, they saw the ladder of light by which they had ascended, and making their descent the same way, the prophet mounted *Al Borak*, the angel took

the bridle, and at once, in the twinkling of an eye, the trio were at Mecca.

By way of showing the extreme rapidity with which this journey had been performed, it is said that on his return to his chamber door, Gabriel pointed out to Mohammed a pitcher which Al Borak had kicked over when they started, and the water was not yet all run out of it. The more sober writers who record this marvellous transaction, say that it occupied the twelfth part of the night, while some put it altogether as a vision ; but the orthodox understand that this, as everything else which their prophet spake, is to be taken literally, and accordingly they firmly believe it.

Mohammedanism is to be viewed not only as a scheme of religion, but as a civil code ; for the laws of all countries professing Islamism are referrible to the Koran as the source from which they are all taken, and to which there always lies an appeal. The civil law, then, which Mohammed propounded, law by law, at various times, and at considerable intervals, was one which has many excellencies, and, comparatively speaking, few defects. There are few countries in which justice is more rigidly administered than in those which profess Mohammedanism ; and, making due allowance for the indulgence granted to his conquering Arabs, as a lure to the acceptance of his doctrine, it may be said that he looked to the interests of posterity, and gave them a system of jurisprudence which was well calculated to promote their happiness. That this is the case is evident from the long continuance of his system, the vast countries in which it prevailed, and the mental as well as the political prosperity enjoyed by many of them. It is but to

refer to the princes of the caliphate, to the Abencerages in Spain, and to the empire of Saladin, to convince the most prejudiced that Islamism did not necessarily foster ignorance. Poetry, painting, the mechanical arts, architecture, medicine, astronomy, and mathematics, were understood by these people far better than by the Christians of their time; the germs of romance, properly so called, and the rudiments of a better school of poetry, were brought back by the crusaders on their return from the East; and if Europe did lose some thousands of men who would otherwise have perished in petty quarrels among their own princes, she gained, in return, arts, sciences, military tactics, a high chivalrous feeling, and a knowledge of the world at large, which would have remained shut up among their eastern possessors.

But though the effect of the crusades might be to disseminate good in Europe, it does not therefore follow that the effects of Mohammedanism were also permanently good. It is true that a valuable code of laws was given, and after a while the throne of the caliphate was filled with a succession of active and enlightened princes; but though their reigns were, without a doubt, immediately beneficial, the system of which they were the supporters was only calculated for the beginning of mental cultivation. The tales which the Mohammedan doctors told their disciples had been before published by the Talmudists; and Mohammed, when he acknowledged the truth of the Mosaic dispensation, added weight and authority to his own. That which men have believed in times past, they will be willing to believe again; and, while the Jews were attracted by finding the mission of Moses declared,

and the traditions of the Talmud repeated, the pagans were induced to look on the Prophet only as a reformer of that religion from which themselves had but half departed.

To a nation warm, impetuous, and highly imaginative, the circulation of legends, poetical in character, and clothed in the most sublime and nervous language, must have been peculiarly pleasing; it would be exactly in accordance with their tastes, for the barbarity of a nation has never been a bar to the production of the most finished poetry, or to its favourable reception when produced. Homer lived when the first rudiments of civilization were scarcely known, and he has never been surpassed, perhaps never equalled, by the poets of a more polished age. Accordingly we find the Koran read with avidity, and its author implicitly obeyed; but an age like that of which we have been speaking, will ever be void of reflection, more prone to act than to deliberate, and totally averse from abstruse metaphysical speculations. To men of this class, and to such an age as this, was the Koran addressed. Its author was noble, popular, fascinating in manner, rich, and endowed with talents the most splendid and the most consummate; he had travelled and thought much; and though, in the usual acceptance of the word, unlearned himself, he knew how to use the powers of others who were not so. He adapted his scheme for the people to whom he offered it. He called an active, ardent nation to war; he proposed an exaggerated, but poetical picture of religion, to an imaginative race of men. They were unreflecting, and he required no study; they were voluptuous, and he promised them an eternity of

sensual pleasures. He flattered their prejudices ; he allowed them to retain the most popular parts of their pagan ceremonies ; and, since there was nothing in his system to disgust them, and everything to allure them, he boldly demanded an implicit faith and an implicit obedience from his followers.

Conquest to an Arab, under the command of Mohammed, was not an empty glory ; a due share of the spoils and the persons of all his female captives was a bribe strong enough to induce the most undaunted perseverance ; and when to this was added the certainty of Paradise to all who fell in battle, we need no longer wonder at the spread of Islâm. The more obvious objections to his scheme he contrived to answer in his life by the successive revelations of his Koran ; and the more abstruse ones, which would require a deeper examination or more attentive thought, his immediate followers had no time to make. But the system of implicit faith, as well as implicit obedience, making the mind, as it were, stationary, could only act beneficially for a certain time. So long as the revelations of Mohammed were beyond his æra, or rather in advance of the conceptions of his followers, the result was beneficial to their social and political state ; but directly they arrived at that period of civilization when the powers of abstract reasoning become drawn out, and men contemplate the nature, bearings, and metaphysical results of every question laid before them, then they felt that their reason or their religion must one of them be wrong ; or, at least, the aspect of the case gave them a yet undefined suspicion that it might be so, while the awful denunciations of the Prophet upon those who doubted, recurred

to their minds with all the prejudices of habit and education, and to escape the dilemma, they determined not to reason upon it at all ; but he who reasons weakly, or refuses to reason at all on one point, is but too likely to do so in others ; and if we take that for granted, of the truth of which we have misgivings in one case, we shall soon lose the power of resistance to prejudice, and our mind will become little better than a mere memory of events.

Under circumstances such as these, it is fortunate for a nation when the power of imagination is common among them. Poetry, romance, and the fine arts, but especially the former, may perhaps flourish while philosophy lies in the dust ; and if commerce and war be successful, the start which such a nation has taken before others may continue even when those other nations have begun steadily to act upon a more rational and a more intellectual system. This has been the case with the Mohammedan countries ; they advanced almost at once to a pitch of refinement which made them the wonder and envy of their Christian contemporaries ; but, when arrived there, they remained stationary, while those whose religion would bear the test of reason were encouraged to use that reason in other pursuits. Among them, science and philosophy are in the same state in which they were ten centuries ago ; among us, they are being still further prosecuted, and it seems as though it were but just discovered to what a boundless treasury of knowledge the human mind may have access.

Another principle which was necessary at the time for the existence, and has since been eminently serviceable in the propagation, of Islâm, is the fatalism which

it avowed. The baneful effects of this belief were not felt while each man thought himself predestinated to conquer, and felt only anxious to distinguish himself; but now that those ages of excitement have for the most part passed away, that the arms of Islâm are as often unfortunate as prosperous, it has induced an indolence of body and mind which is the melancholy characteristic of the Mohammedan nations in general. Their seclusion of women has greatly tended to encourage this state of mind. There is perhaps nothing so likely to enliven the faculties, and to polish the mind, as cultivated female society, and to this the Mohammedan nations are almost totally strangers.

It is a very curious fact that some of the doctors of this religion say that its efficacy is at an end,—that the external observances remain, but there is no longer any power; and, indeed, when we see the improvements which are being now introduced into Turkey, and will be from thence disseminated into other countries professing the same creed, we may give credit to the doctors who thus speak; for the improvements and institutions of a Christian country, which arise from, and stimulate in return a free use of the reasoning powers, cannot consist with the earnest and ardent belief of a religion which suppresses them. Mohammedans may remain such in name, under new and intellectual institutions; but, like the Jews who were of the sect of the Sadducees, the name will be all of their religion that they will retain.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

THOSE who have read the letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montague, which she addressed to her sister from Constantinople, will be struck with the truthfulness of her descriptions, even now ; Byron made the same remark, and in spite of all the innovations of Mahmoud and the present Sultan, in some points, in other respects things go on very much as they used to do : the waters are as blue whether they bear an old Turkish galley, or a modern steam vessel ; the sky boasts the same deep azure, arching over the English-built mansions at Pera, and the Turkish seraglio in Stamboul, while the same bright sun darts in golden rays alike on the flowing robes and turbans of the old orthodox Mussulmen, and on the coat and fez of the Sultan's introduction. Among other things in the East which remain *in statu quo* are the baths. These are usually considered very luxurious, though perhaps some part of the ceremony of bathing is more agreeable in its result than in its performance ; and before I had taken a bath at Constantinople in the true Oriental fashion, I was rather perplexed to account for the ecstasies with which the "delightful baths of the East" have sometimes been described. To follow the customs of the country you are in, is the best way to travel agreeably, provided those customs can conscien-

tiously be complied with, so I determined on taking a bath at the first establishment of the kind in Stamboul ; being already familiar with those in the provinces, and imagining that the capital must produce something superior. I went with a friend, and on entering we found ourselves in a large marble hall, surrounded by couches, on which some of the bathers were reposing, some were smoking, others taking coffee, and others asleep. Having thrown off our clothes, we were arrayed for bathing in a very primitive style, and when we got down from the divan we were desired to put on a pair of clogs, higher than any pair of ring-pattens ever heard clicking over our streets at home. By dint of looking carefully to our ways we contrived to reach the door of another room, though not without casualties, and then we were introduced, when supposed to be capable of bearing the temperature, into another hall, where the heat was intense. The arrangements were excellent : there were tanks of marble, with taps for hot and cold water, and the floor is irrigated with channels for carrying away that which has been used. Two persons then laid us down on the heated floor, and we were made to undergo sundry performances of pulling and rolling, until the operators considered we had been sufficiently stretched ; we were conducted to the tanks, rough dried, rubbed with gloves made of horse-hair, and treated with a shower-bath of warm water ; after which, wrapped up in towels after the fashion of an Egyptian mummy, we returned to the couch in the room we had at first entered, and then, and not till then, we began fully to appreciate the delights of an Eastern bath : the rolling, pulling, and scrubbing with horse-hair, were all compensated by

the dreamy sensation of repose that took possession of us, as for some time we laid listlessly on the couch. Lady Mary describes the baths for the ladies of a similar kind, as far as the couches and the coffee are concerned.

Another point, too, in which Constantinople has undergone no change since her time, is the fearful injury done by fires, and their frequent recurrence, which she attributed not merely to the habitations being constructed principally of wood, but to the carelessness of their owners; for these latter would often fall asleep with a large chafing-dish at their feet, which by some involuntary movement they overturned, and their dwelling was thus set on fire. This evil as yet has not been cured; many most destructive fires have occurred; and not long ago there was one in Pera, though in that part some improvements have been recently made. Here and there European houses appear, which being built of stone offer some protection in case of accident. It is said that many fires are purposely caused to bring the Sultan to the spot; for when a fire has been three times proclaimed, he is expected, no matter at what cost of trouble or inconvenience, to be present, and occasion is then taken to offer petitions to him, which otherwise might not be so sure of reaching the imperial eye.

The mosques of Constantinople are the chief structures of the city of the Sultan, as our churches are in England, only with this difference, that it is necessary to obtain a *firman*, or permission, before any of the principal mosques, or buildings of consequence, such as the Sultan's palace, and a few others, can be visited. Many Englishmen have perhaps been debarred

the pleasure of inspecting these edifices, from the idea of the expense incurred for the *firman*, but as one firman admits an unlimited number of visitors, the usual way is to join a party, by which means that which would have been a great expense is reduced to a trifle. The traveller, before he goes to any of these places, should control his imagination, and not rely too much on elegant sketches and vivid descriptions. Visit the far-famed mosque of St. Sophia with an excited idea of its beauty and grandeur, and you will probably be disappointed; but go to the sacred edifice with the sober thought that you are going to see a very fine building, which was once a Christian church, but now changed into a Mohammedan temple,—that, though splendid within, and imposing without, its internal splendour is out-done by many Roman Catholic cathedrals on the continent, and its pillared dome cannot vie with that of Milan, and then, perhaps, you will be pleased with what you behold, and idealism will not obscure the magnificent reality. The Turks say, that 100,000 persons can conveniently worship in the mosque of St. Sophia at the same moment, but as they are not given to much counting, their opinion must not be relied upon. This is only one of the many fables current about St. Sophia,—such as that the gilded crescent which surmounts the dome can be seen 150 miles off at sea. About 25,000 persons can stand within the mosque. Besides this fine building there are several other mosques,—those of Suleiman, Achmet, Bajazet, and many others: the mosque of Suleiman, called the Suleimanje, is by many architects considered superior to that of Santa Sophia; and that of Achmet, with its six minarets, and its magnificent situation, is

preferred by many to both. When the traveller has seen one he has seen all, for the great attraction all over the continent, of fine paintings, is wanting here. Abdul Medjid has the habit of going to a different mosque every Friday, by which means he sees, and is seen by his subjects, and probably he thus gains a little insight into various matters which would otherwise remain unknown to the sovereign of Turkey.

It is in a courtyard next to or belonging to the mosque of Suleiman, that the market for black slaves is now held ; but the regular slave-market of by-gone ages is done away, and the beauties of Georgia and Circassia, who people the harems of the great men, are consigned by their friends, like any bale of merchandise, to the houses of the merchants who dispose of them, and of these no stranger can possibly obtain even a glimpse ; consequently you may visit the slave-depôt of Constantinople, but if you go with a heart full of commiseration, come away with a singular revulsion of feeling, for you will have seen, instead of fair, graceful, and weeping Circassians, a number of uncouth women and children, some conversing cheerfully and others laughing, and here and there crouched in a corner, some poor object, more stupid-looking than the others, enveloped in a blanket. These poor people seem to be gainers by their bondage, for they are then properly dressed and well fed. Of course, slavery, like many other evils, is on the decline in Turkey.

From the slave-market to the seraglio is an easy transition for any one who has read the "Arabian Nights," where fair slaves as sultanas, and black slaves as guardians, are all jumbled together : to the seraglio,

therefore, we will go. I saw it to great advantage immediately after the Sultan had left, and had an opportunity to examine all the apartments of the ladies, many of which were very sumptuous.

Before we left, we were permitted to inspect the imperial library, which consists of some seven or eight thousand volumes, all Turkish or Arabic,—principally the latter. We saw there the pedigree of the Sultan, on parchment, with portraits of his illustrious predecessors, from Mahomet II. This was the work of a Greek, for it is a violation of the Moslem law. However, this prohibition is becoming obsolete; Abdul Medjid sat for his picture to Sir David Wilkie, and I saw busts of him in plaster of Paris, both in Constantinople and at Smyrna, and now I wish very much that I had brought one over with me. He is said himself to be partial to the fine arts, and to encourage them as much as lies in his power. In an apartment of the seraglio to which we were subsequently admitted, stands a small book-case, containing a few books, some in superb binding, and with diamond clasps; and this, we were told, was his private collection. It is well for him that he does not look to reading as the means of improving his mind.

In the inner court there is a small pavilion, the interior of which is sumptuously adorned with precious stones, and costly, but now faded tapestry. There is in it a four-post bedstead, of colossal dimensions, covered with rich silk, and adorned with gems. Here, in the old days, before Selim III., the Ottoman monarchs used to sit and receive ambassadors, not condescending to show the envoys of unbelieving powers the sublime countenance, but waving at a window the sleeve of

the imperial robe, at which many prostrations were expected, and the plenipotentiary was then dismissed to his hotel, highly edified by the solemn recognition which had thus been given to his ambassadorial position.

The interior of the palace has some good rooms, but is undignified and ill-arranged. The picture-gallery contains only a few coloured French prints, enough to break the command of the Prophet, but not enough to excite the smallest interest. The armour is alone worth seeing, of the treasures ; and the baths, of the structure itself. These last are magnificent, small, exquisitely-carved chambers of white marble, with domed roofs, pierced like honeycombs, and lighted by innumerable lenses from above ; they have all the effect of ivory cupolas filled with windows of sapphire. In these baths hot and cold water are always ready for the Sultan, though he rarely visits the serai-bornou, yet may require, when he does come, a bath at a moment's notice.

The above description will not tally with any romantic ideas of the Sultan's abode, and the harem to boot.

At the beginning of this century two Englishmen risked their lives by concealing themselves among the lofty and magnificent trees of the gardens : their object was to obtain a view of some of the inmates of the harem. Three of the ladies came into the gardens and passed near where they had hidden themselves ; two of them were dark-eyed, but one was a tall, fair, beautiful girl, with a profusion of long bright hair of a rich sunny brown ; it was fortunate for the Englishmen that they were not discovered, or the black slaves in attendance would have immediately slaughtered them.

On Fridays and Tuesdays the dancing dervishes perform their singular ceremonies. Dancing it is not, but merely turning or whirling. Miss Pardoe describes them admirably in her "City of the Sultan," and I prefer rather to refer to her graphic sketch, than to put in other words the same scene. One of those whom I saw had a most malignant countenance, and much of the wild fire of insanity about his appearance. They have a convent on the road leading from Galata to Pera, and any one who chooses may witness their exhibition. To those who do not understand their religion, their actions appear absurd ; but if sincere, they are pitiable in supposing that such worship can be acceptable to God. The howling dervishes are another set of religionists, suffering under a similar delusion.

From howling dervishes to howling dogs, the transition is prompt and facile, at Constantinople, where they say eighty thousand of the canine species are domiciliated in the different quarters of the city. They are fierce and quarrelsome, and it would seem, troublesome as they are, are tolerated as city scavengers, for they clear away the offal like the hyenas at the Cape : does a horse, a camel, or even one of themselves, die in the open street or road, the carcase is not left to taint the air, but in a very few hours these animals have eaten all the flesh, leaving only the bones, picked to perfection. They are, as we said, a fierce race, but if unmolested will not attack you, in Constantinople at least, though dangerous to meet in the open country, if you have no stick to defend you ; but from a stick or a stone they will fly, knowing the effect of both by experience. An English traveller some years ago had strayed from the city where he was—either Adrianople

or Constantinople,—and was enjoying his classical stroll exceedingly, when he found his progress suddenly interrupted by a pack of dogs, all barking at once, and making a dead set at him ; he quickened his pace, and they tore after him ; he stopped and faced them, then they halted too, and then again the pursuit recommenced, until, quite exhausted, he sunk on the ground to rest for a moment ; the dogs immediately sat down in a semicircle before him, left off barking, and patiently awaited his rising, and then the hunt recommenced until he sat down again, when his canine foes very gravely did the same. Provoking as it was, he could not help laughing, as it recalled a similar circumstance in the “Odyssey,” which he had regarded as a poetical fiction : however, most luckily for him, a shepherd came in sight, who seeing his dilemma, called off the dogs, and told him how dangerous they were ; indeed, as he justly observed, the story of Actæon, who was devoured by his own dogs, might not be all a fiction.

But the most agreeable among the many novel objects which attract the attention in Constantinople, are the bazaars : here you find every article of elegance or luxury that either sex can desire,—from jewelled pipes to morocco slippers for gentlemen,—from cashmere shawls to otto of roses for ladies. Perhaps the long vistas and the variety of splendid articles displayed in that fairy-like creation, the Crystal Palace of 1851, will convey the best idea of the interesting but heterogeneous assemblage contained in an Eastern bazaar : here you may pass hours most pleasantly, amused by the rich profusion which glitters around you,—of sparkling diamonds or shining arms,—and

enticed by one beautiful object after another, until miles have been traversed unconsciously. But one thing must be borne in mind,—these bazaars are open alike to horses and carriages, as well as pedestrians; and as these carriages are the most lumbering vehicles ever seen, they take up much room, and the loungeer must not let his admiration absorb his prudence. However, in these crowded avenues you may pass much time in the pleasant occupation of admiring; and the more agreeably, that unless you really wish to buy, you are not teased to do so; your speculations are not interrupted, whether they turn upon amber mouth-pieces and embroidered slippers, or the handsome young merchants, who used to receive with so much hospitality their beautiful customers, as it is recorded in the "Arabian Nights."

The pavement of this romantic city is not one of its recommendations—it is rough, and rudely put together; the pedestrian hobbles, the equestrian stumbles, unless he goes very cautiously. In regard to lighting, the small number of oil lamps swung across the streets, make a kind of darkness visible, which renders it necessary that you should carry a light for your own comfort and protection; for independently of the objects you might stumble over, the watchmen will take you up for a thief if you have no light, and the dogs will attack you with great ferocity. These lamps are only to be found in the European suburbs of Pera and Galata. In Stamboul and Scutari, where only Turks reside, lamps are unknown. A genuine Osmanli thinks nobody ought to be out of his own house after night-fall. At Galata—which is a quarter of the city that reminded us of Wapping, from the quantity of

ship-stores and sailors, altogether very dirty and very crowded,—is a fine old Genoese tower, now rendered serviceable as a watch-station, whence fires can be announced, and the alarm instantly given ; it forms a grand object in the view from the Golden Horn. Through Galata you must pass over the bridge to Stamboul or Constantinople Proper, on the opposite side of the Golden Horn. The bridge of Galata is a very amusing point, not merely from the bright and beautiful view, but from the variety of costume and feature which you may there behold.

Tophané is the general landing-place ; the place is so named from a cannon-foundry, which is established, and where some of the largest cannon are made that have ever figured in a battle.

Pera, the suburb where the European ambassadors reside, is situated on an eminence, to which the ascent is by a very steep lane : here the Franks dwell, and the population is consequently most amusingly mixed—English, French, German, Russian, Italian, all the foreign ambassadors and their suites ; all these are on the European side, and only divided from old Constantinople by the Golden Horn ; but Scutari is in Asia, and you must sail across the Bosphorus to reach it. It is from Scutari that the caravans depart for the Desert. The tower at Scutari, called Leander's tower, and by some the Maiden's tower, is a picturesque object ; it has a legend attached to it which is perfectly oriental. One of the Sultans had a lovely little daughter, of whom he was so fond that he anxiously desired to know what Fate had in store for him as regarded her ; the nativity was cast, and the reply was that if she survived her sixteenth birthday, her

life would be long and happy,—but she must beware of a serpent. On hearing this, the Sultan caused a tower to be constructed, in which was centred every accommodation and delight that he could procure his child ; but she was never to leave it till the prescribed time should be past ; the eventful moment arrived, the princess was dressed and awaiting the arrival of her father, who, with a glittering train, was to come and release his child from the prison in which paternal love had immured her ; she was lovely, gay, and happy ; soon the beautiful gardens and groves, on which her eye rested, would be trodden by her feet ; she would be at home beneath the roof where she was born. A pretty small garden had been contrived for her, latticed and secure, with a ledge outside, on which she often found fruit and flowers as offerings from people who felt interested in her fate. She was looking out for the Sultan, when she perceived a small basket, covered over with fresh leaves, and standing on the ledge ; with girlish pleasure she ran to fetch it, and then sat down in her luxurious chamber to examine its contents. Soon the Sultan came,—he rushed up, surprised at not being met by the princess,—and he found her evidently arrayed for the occasion, but seemingly asleep. “ My child ! ” No answer ; an asp, which dropped down as he took her hand, revealed that hers was the sleep of death : hidden amongst the flowers and fruits, *the serpent* had bitten her,—and thence was this edifice called “ The Maiden’s Tower.”

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CHRISTIANS IN TURKEY.

AT a moment like this, it is of the utmost importance that Turkey and her sovereign should be clearly understood; so much artifice on the one part, so much prejudice on another, render it an imperative duty to lay before the reader a clear and impartial statement of facts. First, then, in regard to religious toleration, let us see how the matter stands. When the Ottoman empire was first established, the Greek Church alone existed there,—for the schism between Rome and Constantinople had already taken place many years; and when Constantinople was taken, the Mohammedans showed themselves merciful to the Christians in general, but being exasperated against the Romanists, they would have killed the legate of the pope, had he not escaped their fury by a stratagem; and the Greek communion, with its head, the patriarch of Constantinople, was alone recognised. The patriarch was considered as the representative of the civil, as well as religious rights of the Christians in Turkey. At first he was the head of the whole Greek Church, which communion was subdivided into four patriarchates,—Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem; and, indeed, at that time all the Christians in the Turkish empire were under the rule of the patriarch of Constantinople; but by degrees this was altered,

and the government permitted different ecclesiastical arrangements.

At present, every one of the different Christian sects in Constantinople is under the control of a head, by whom the whole number is represented, and who can exercise, in particular cases, both civil and criminal jurisdiction. They keep registers of births, and can pronounce a divorce between man and wife, but they cannot decide in cases of litigation concerning patrimony. The patriarch of the Greek Church is styled "Your Holiness," and in the four patriarchates he has eighty-six metropolitans: independently of him are the four archbishoprics of Cyprus, Litidsha, Scarpato, and Mazzovo. The Armenian Church owns four patriarchs, —the principal at Constantinople, the others at Sis, Achtamar, and Jerusalem. These have altogether seventy bishops under them. And the Catholic Armenian Christians have their patriarch at Constantinople; he governs the Syrian and Nestorian branches of his church, and has twenty-two dioceses under him. Nor is this all,—the Roman Catholic Church is likewise represented and governed by its patriarch, who has under him three archbishops, as many metropolitans, besides pontiffs, bishops, and priests. Besides this, all foreigners who are Catholics, but who have become subjects of the Porte, have their own officers to superintend their civil affairs; since 1850, when they were first recognised, the Protestants have been allowed their own representative. And finally, the Jews have in Constantinople their high priest, with seven arch-rabbis, and ten rabbis; this sect numbers about 170,000.

And this is the calumniated Ottoman empire; few

and atheism. And, alas! the careless and worldly lives of the few foreign Protestants resident there at that time, gave too strong a confirmation to this calumny,—originally a Jesuit invention. In this respect, also, there has been a very pleasing change; and we have now serious-minded Christians living in Turkey, from England and America, and from various parts of the continent, letting their light shine on all around. How encouraging the following comparative statistics:—

Number of Protestant clergymen labouring in Constantinople and its suburbs in 1830.....	0
Ditto ditto 1854.....	19
Number of Protestant sermons preached on every Sabbath, in different languages, in ditto in 1830.....	0
Ditto ditto 1854.....	26
Number of Protestant schools in ditto in 1830.....	0
Ditto ditto 1854.....	14

These statistics refer to Constantinople and its immediate environs alone. In the whole Turkish empire (including Constantinople), there are at the present time not fewer than sixty-five Protestant preachers! Although among these there are representatives of several different branches of the Protestant Church; yet, so far as is known, they are all labouring harmoniously for one and the same great object. For example, at the metropolis, among the nineteen ministers mentioned, there are Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Lutherans, and one Waldensian, and yet but one spirit seems to pervade them all; and they often come together for prayer and conference, in regard to the great work in which they are engaged.

We may add, that not long ago a Protestant library

was opened in Constantinople, and that last year ten thousand copies of the Bible were sold, translated into different languages, and also many other Protestant publications. The Bible Society is suppressed in Russia, and, as we well know, all freedom of intercourse or of publication. In addition to many excellent things which he has done, Lord Shaftesbury has thrown additional light on the subject of late.

When we reflect on the manner in which the Czar has dealt with all who dare to prefer the faith in which they were brought up, to the religion that he calls *Orthodox*—which means the Greek Church in Russia,—we may imagine the fate that would await all those who fell into his power, if he could gain a footing in the Turkish empire. Let us next examine the *Christianity* which is practiced in the East, and show the mummery which is even now kept up in the “Holy Places,” concerning which a pretence for the mighty quarrel, which has involved all Europe in warfare, first arose.

The “Holy Places,” as is well known, are situated in and near Jerusalem,—though whether those now assigned as such are really on the true spots where the events they commemorate occurred, is more than doubtful. Be that as it may, the Mohammedan power allows the Christians, no matter of what denomination, to resort thither freely ; and there, on the very ground where the great Redeemer lived for our edification and died for our salvation, such scenes now pass as bring a mingled glow of shame and indignation to the cheek of the Christian who reads of them. The recollection of the Divine Founder of our religion ought to quell every ungentle, every unholy feeling in the mind of those who

repair thither ; but what do the Mohammedans behold ? Instead of the mild, the upright, the pure religion, which our Saviour made so attractive to "the multitude," the Turks who are present witness such scenes as the following, which is described by a traveller from the United States, who was at Jerusalem in 1840, and on his return published an account of what he had seen. They represented the Crucifixion by scenes in the "Church of the Holy Sepulchre," and this is the account given by Dr. Olin :—

"Many of those who assisted at the pageant appeared, as I was told, to be deeply affected ; the mass of spectators, however, and many of the monks evidently regarded it as an idle and trivial affair, while a rabble, always attendant on such exhibitions, indulged in all kinds of disorder, and frequently compelled the Turkish police, who were stationed in different parts of the church, to interfere with heavy blows, for the preservation of order. The Musselmen look upon these scenes with undisguised and bitter contempt, and evidently use their batons with hearty good will. The Resurrection was celebrated by the Greeks ; the Armenians, Copts, and native Christians take part in the services. The Greek ecclesiastics are always less solemn and decent in the performance of their functions than the Catholics, and on the present occasion they were guilty of practising upon the ignorant multitude a gross and palpable fraud, which it was not easy to witness without an entire loss of all respect and confidence. I was present during a part of this mortifying exhibition. The pretension is that fire is miraculously kindled within the Holy Sepulchre. The high ecclesiastics of this sect, I believe, after some religious

exercises in the chapel, entered into the sepulchre, the whole body of the church being crowded with pilgrims and less-interested spectators, and those about the sepulchre provided with torches, wax candles, and tapers. All eyes were intensely fixed upon the sepulchre, when, after a brief delay, a brilliant light appeared, and was raised to a small aperture in the western wall : this produced a strong sensation in the multitude, who rushed forward, with frantic eagerness, to light their torches by the celestial flame. The confusion and tumult that ensued are indescribable ; the Turkish police were on the alert, to restore order by the usual expedient of beating the people over the head and shoulders with fists and clubs. Such are the means employed by bishops and archbishops, the professed successors of the apostles, to promote piety, and inspire devotion among the people. Such dishonour is poured upon the adorable Saviour in the house of his friends—on the very spot where, according to their tradition and assured belief, ‘ he was delivered for our offences, and rose again for our justification.’—Vol. ii. pp. 109-10.

And these are the people with whom a section within our own Church calls upon us to “ fraternize ;” it is in defence of these practices that we are to establish a crusade against the devoted and self-denying Bishop Gobat ; and this is the form of Christianity which we are to abstain from meddling with, lest we should rend the seamless robe of Christ. Our chance of converting the Turks is to begin by converting the Christians ; and when we can show to the Mohammedan a pure and honest body of men who call themselves by the name of Christ, then, and not till then, shall we

have a fair opportunity of inducing him to accept the truths of Christianity.

All that has just been described, corresponds with the fraud practised every year on Whitsunday by the Roman Catholic priests at Tarascon, near Beaucaire, in the south of France, where the Holy Spirit *descends in the form of a pigeon, trained for the purpose*; and the emotion of the "*fideles*" is very great on the occasion; indeed, any one who spoke slightly of the miracle, would be in danger of rough usage from the deluded peasantry. But to return to the Holy Places. It is remarked by another traveller, Constantine Tischendorf: "The worst part of the affair is not the manifest fraud practised in the pretended miracle of the fire, but the general dissoluteness which this nightly ceremony veils, and which borders on that of the heathen orgies. Greek priests forget themselves even to descend to sympathy with Turkish dervishes, setting morality and decency alike at defiance. One day Ibrahim Pacha, as master of Syria, played in this fire prodigy the part which Napoleon Buonaparte played at Naples. In Naples the blood of St. Januarius was unwilling to become liquid; thereupon arose great excitement among the people. Buonaparte commanded that the blood *should* become liquid—liquid it became! In the same way did Ibrahim act with the dilatory fire, while he sat looking down from the gallery on the ceremonies of the Greeks."—Vol. ii. pp. 45, 46.

These instances would of themselves almost suffice to show cause why the Turks have bestowed contempt on Christians; but as the falsehood of the Greek Church, as it now is, cannot be too well understood in

England, we will give a passage from Dietrici,* a wanderer in the East. In addition to the above, he says, "The pacha's interference nearly cost him his life, such was the frightful fanaticism of which the priests made it the occasion. The whole ceremony is, as may be supposed, an object of derision with the Mohammedans. Such scenes are not at all uncommon in the Holy City. Very often does there arise a conflict between Latins and Greeks respecting the employment of an altar. The sacred ceremonies often end with clubs, and even firearms; and not long since, two men were severely wounded in a quarrel in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Yet these public offences are not the worst. Worse than they are the divine services in the dark, at the festival of the Communication of the Sacred Light, as an image of the gift of the Holy Ghost. Then, the entire church lies, from evening to midnight, in the thickest darkness; the veil of silence must remain over the gross and sensual multitude. It suffices to state that the superstition of the Greeks openly proclaims in Jerusalem, that a man whose birth stands connected with the church of the Holy Sepulchre, is endowed altogether with special ability."

* This evidence, like that of the last cited, is more convincing, since it comes from a member of the Greek communion.

CHAPTER IX.

THE WAR AND ITS PROSPECTS.

AND it is for such sectaries as those described in the last chapter, that all this tumult has arisen ; and in what manner has the Moslem Sultan conducted himself while Latins and Greeks were striving which could be most ridiculous and contemptible ? It is not from any fault of his own, from any treacherous or oppressive act, that he and his subjects have been involved in a contest which, in fact, he did everything he could do with honour to avoid. Abdul Medjid has unfortunately endeavoured to make a peaceable arrangement between two obstinate opponents, and, as it too often happens, the peace-maker has received the hardest blows. He has been tolerant and impartial,—it is his only crime ; but of course that, in the eyes of a bigot, is a crime of double dye ; and the Sultan of Turkey, for showing kind toleration to his Christian subjects, is assailed with virulence by the sovereign of a so-called Christian state.

And what is it all about ? Merely that both the Emperor of France and the Czar of Russia claim certain protectional rights over the Latin and Greek communions in the empire of the Sultan ; and the latter was induced by Louis Napoleon to show some additional favour to the Romish Christians in Palestine ; and this favour was merely a concession of *equal*

rights to the two churches, but the Czar flew into a rage and demanded precedence for the Greek Church. Abdul Medjid shines out amidst this humiliating squabble as a man of honour and a gentleman ; and humiliating is it indeed to see the peace of Europe disturbed by such low and petty squabbling among Christians ; while, in fact, not one religious feeling is mixed up with the dispute. Russia, as usual, has shown herself deceitful and violent : Prince Menshikoff, plenipotentiary from the Russian court to the Sublime Porte, on the 16th of March, 1853, sent in a note complaining that his emperor felt himself aggrieved, and the rights of Russia injured by the late concession to the Latins ; nor was that all : the Czar demanded a separate treaty of recognition of the rights and privileges of the Greek Christians in the Ottoman empire ; that such injury might not occur again, the Czar demanded to be empowered to interpose as their protector from time to time if necessary. And on the 19th of the next month another note was presented by Menshikoff, in which the Czar makes a stride, and not confining his demand to Syria, requires power of interference throughout the whole empire of the Sultan. But this was going too far,—to concede this, would be to yield up Turkey to the iron rule of Russia. Abdul Medjid, though mild and reasonable, has proper spirit ; the Turkish government saw clearly the aim of Russia, and did not yield to the Czar's demand for power to interfere in all parts of the Ottoman dominions, but he did, on the 5th of May, give two firmans to the Russian envoy, intended to arrange every difficulty in Palestine. Still Menshikoff insisted on total compliance, and granted a few more days, but on the 10th expected a

satisfactory reply, and demanded a treaty of which he even sent the prescribed copy, by which the Sultan was to be bound, by promises to the Czar, in no way to diminish the various privileges of the Greek Church, through the extent of his empire. The Sultan, on the day named, gave his reply to Prince Menshikoff, and a noble reply it was. Abdul Medjid declared that he would willingly comply with anything which did not assail his honour and independence, but to conclude such a treaty, conferring a power of interference on a foreign power, would be to aim a deadly blow at his own sovereign rights; but he promised to support the liberties of all professing the Christian religion in his empire, and especially the Greek Church. The Sultan now hoped the question would be settled, but Menshikoff persisted in his demand, and on the 14th the ultimatum was to be given. But it is needless to recapitulate what has been so long before the public. After a change of ministry in Constantinople and a delay of six days, Redshid Pacha, the new minister for foreign affairs, placed before Menshikoff a proclamation addressed to the Greek patriarch of Constantinople, promising, that no future changes regarding the "holy places" in future should be made without the united agreement of Russia and France thereto; permitted the erection of a Russian church and an asylum in Jerusalem, and even offered a formal act for the ratification of these promises: thus meeting all demands, except the treaty which was to confer on the Russian Czar the right of interfering in the government of the Turkish sovereign. And the Russian ambassador returned home.

: From that moment all has been turmoil and dis-

turbance. First, Nicholas invades the principalities, taking them *merely* as guarantees that what he exacted should be done; from that he goes on to filling his own treasury with other people's property; and on the 31st of May, Redshid Pacha was informed by Count Nesselrode, that the Czar considered himself insulted by being refused the treaty. There never was so just an exemplification of the fable of the wolf and the lamb; hitherto the parallel has been perfect, but we may hope that the result will be different. We do not pretend to say that there is not official corruption in Turkey, neither do we disown the fact, that in parts of the empire distant from the seat of government, wrong and oppression at times take place; but amidst all this, and other difficulties arising from the custom of polygamy and the restrictions of the Koran, the character of the Turkish nation is noble and manly, and far superior to that of their opponents. Here again we may rely not upon hearsay, but upon personal knowledge. We are told by the author of "A Year with the Turks,"—"The injunction to 'do unto others as you would they should do unto you,' is not considered an idle form of words by the Turks, but is carried into practice." Again he says,—“Only one little trait of Turkish honesty may I introduce, as it happened to fall under my own observation. A friend of mine wandering through the bazaar, wished to buy an embroidered handkerchief of a Turkish shopkeeper; he asked the price. 'Seventy-five piastres.' 'No,' said he, aware that it is usual among all the traders, whatever their creed, to ask more than the value, 'that is too much; I will give you seventy.' And as the dealer seemed to nod assent, he counted

out the money. But his surprise was great when the bearded Osmanli, gravely pushing him back twenty piastres, observed, 'This is more than the just price ; it is always the custom here to bargain over a thing down to its fair value ; and as fifty piastres is my proper price, those twenty belong to you.' Not a few among our professing Christians might take a lesson from the believer in the Koran."

The same author also says, "I must, however, do them justice to observe, that I saw with them none of that oppressive and overbearing manner towards the *rayahs*, or Christian subjects, so often imputed to the Turks, and which, indeed, in theory, is one of their duties as true followers of the Prophet. They always entered just as familiarly into conversation with the Bulgarian peasants as with the Osmanli, inquired into all the particulars of the state of their *bareket* (blessing or harvest), and supplied them with a pipe of good tobacco. It is true they always called them *giaour* ; but as the word is commonly used, there is nothing in it implicative of insult, and it is only employed to distinguish those who are not Mohammedans."

The prognostications of the war are far more easy to Turkey than for her gigantic assailant. I endeavoured in the sketch of the life and reign of the Czar which appeared in this Series last month, to point out the consequences which the emperor's ambition would probably entail on Europe, and while defending the war, on the grounds both of its justice and its necessity, I did not attempt to underrate the power of Russia, or her influence in the councils of Europe ; but the effects which it is likely to produce on the Ottoman empire are patent. She cannot, according to all

human probability, succumb ; and though her resources may be drained, and her financial prosperity retarded for a while, yet the latter will soon recover itself, while the moral influence gained by the Sultan's government by the open sympathy of the Western Powers, and the prestige which his forces will obtain by coming victorious out of a contest with Russia, will give him a new lease of power, enable him to turn his undivided attention to the internal prosperity of his empire, and will attract Christians from all parts to settle in his dominions. Were its resources fairly developed, the Turkish empire would become the mightiest in the world ; and though it would take centuries to do this, yet there is no reason why the process should not commence at once, and be carried on vigorously, as much for the benefit of the rest of the world as for that of the empire itself. Asia Minor was once the most densely-peopled spot in the world ; the traveller every two or three hours comes upon the ruins of mighty cities, which show by the splendour of their remains—their baths, their theatres, their temples—how magnificent they were in the period of their prosperity. It is said that some of these have been abandoned by reason of the frequency of earthquakes ; but the climate has not changed, nor have the geological conditions of the country suffered any alteration. If there were a population, they would be rebuilt and reinhabited. Ephesus is now an unwholesome marsh—even a visit to it at some seasons entails the risk of a fever ; yet it was once the most populous city of the Lesser Asia, the queen of the East ; and there are hosts of situations where the ancient cities of the Greeks might be rebuilt in the midst of a fertile soil, and

under a splendid climate, if there were but men to build them.

It is, or rather it seems, improbable that railways will ever be extensively introduced into European Turkey, still less into Turkey in Asia ; a line may be expected from Vienna to Constantinople, though hardly without a break ; but Asia Minor is one vast mountain broken into pieces, and the engineering difficulties it would present may be considered all but insurmountable. Those who travel in Turkey must do so on the old patriarchal plan : they must take their tents with them, and all they have need of. The foreigner must have his dragoman or interpreter too ; and if he desires only a moderate portion of comfort, he will do well to take an English saddle. Inns or hotels, save in a few great towns, there are none. The khans are built round a square court, and consist of a range of buildings of two stories : the lower is used mostly as stables for horses and mules, the higher for their masters. The khangee or innkeeper causes one of these upper rooms to be swept out, and gives the traveller the key ; and the latter thus finds himself the lord of an unfurnished chamber immediately over that occupied by his horse ! he lays down his rug, spreads his moveable table, hangs up round him the articles which he most needs, arranges his camp-stool, sends out one of his servants to the bazaars for provisions, and his cook prepares it on the spot. If he take up his abode in a village, it will be well if he have brought his own provisions with him ; and if he has to bivouack in the open country, an event which will be of frequent occurrence, he then pitches his tent

like the patriarchs of old, and commends himself to the God of the patriarchs for protection.

There is very little danger in travelling : now and then we hear of a casualty ; but few travellers look back otherwise than with delight to their wanderings through these romantic regions, which acknowledge the sway of Abdul Medjid.

It is worthy of note, that no one who has travelled among the Turks speaks otherwise than well of them : prejudices vanish, even though deeply rooted, before their unimpeachable integrity and their genuine hospitality. One of the most remarkable instances of this is to be found in the diary of Sir Charles Fellows. When he set foot on the soil of Asia Minor, he was a decided Philhellene, and as decided a Miso-Turk. He relates this himself with the most perfect frankness ; everything around him took its colour from his cherished prejudices ; but at the close of his diary he reverses his previous judgment, speaks in the highest terms of the Turks, and is almost willing to say, with Piscatory of the Greeks : "*Monsieur, c'est la même canaille qu'au temps de Thémistocle.*" I had constant opportunities to endorse this opinion : I found trickery inherent in the one race, and integrity in the other ; nor could I refrain from thinking that the simple and severe religion of Islâm approached nearer to true Christianity than the picture-worshipping and superstitious Church of the Greeks.

The practice of polygamy is undoubtedly an evil, and the seclusion of women which it enjoins ; but before we hastily condemn the Moslem on this account, we should consider two things : first, from whence

they derived it; and secondly, to what extent they carry it. That the most eminent saints of the Old Testament indulged in a plurality of wives, and that they had the divine sanction for so doing, needs no assertion, neither can any reason be shown why this privilege, if privilege it be, was peculiarly adapted to their age and circumstances. We are not told of there being then any disproportion between the numbers of the sexes, any more than at the present time. So that if we vituperate the Turk on the ground of polygamy, our vituperations may light on those whom we do not wish to regard save with reverence. The Prophet Turk was a child of Abraham, through Ishmael, and maintained that he had a right to follow the example of his great ancestor. But when we come to inquire how far this practice prevails, we shall see reason to pause again in our condemnation. A rich pacha will have perhaps his four wives, more usually two; and now there are many who are wise enough to be content with one; but when we come down to the generality of the nation, we find polygamy the exception and not the rule. The numbers of men and women throughout the Ottoman empire are about equal, and he must be an expert arithmetician who could show how polygamy *could* become universal. The Turkish peasantry are to a man "the husbands of one wife;" they are domestic and virtuous; their wives share their labour, and the seclusion which prevails in great towns is unknown amongst them. Sometimes I believe there is a little hesitation about unveiling their faces before an unbeliever; but usually there is not so much reserve as this, and the domestic conduct of the whole

class would bear a very favourable comparison with that of our own agricultural labourers. I have thought it well to say a few words on this subject, because it is held by many that polygamy is one of the chief hindrances to the spread of Christianity. I think, on the contrary, that it is fast diminishing; that the Gospel will not find any insurmountable obstacle to its progress from this cause, and that, if the Greek and Armenian Churches could be reformed, Christianity would soon spread among the Moslem population of the Turkish empire.

It will perhaps be thought that I have spoken with unnecessary sharpness of the Greek communion, and many attempts have been made of late to palliate its corruptions, and to represent it to English eyes as a comparatively pure Church. This has been sometimes done in ignorance, and with the idea that certain formularies and catechisms handed about in England as exhibiting the tenets of that Church, are *bonâ fide* in use in the East; and sometimes it has been done out of love for Rome, and because to deny or to justify corruption in the one, is almost the same thing as to deny or to justify it in the other; but any person who has seen the effects of the Greek Church where it has free course, will confirm the statements I have made. At the same time there is one very important difference between the two Churches; the Eastern Church is capable of reformation; it has never claimed to be infallible; it professes not to have a visible head who is God's sole vicegerent upon earth, and therefore it does not present the same political difficulties with that of Rome.

It may seem strange that I introduce this subject

into a chapter on the war and its results ; but I do so because I trust that this war will be the means of making Protestantism more known in Turkey than it has ever been before. If the Gospel has a fair chance, it will make great progress among the "rayahs," or (so called) Christian subjects of the Porte ; and when once a true Christianity is sufficiently prominent to attract attention, then, under so mild and tolerant a government as that of Turkey, it will doubtless have great success. With a free circulation of the Scriptures, the protection of the state, and judicious missionary exertion, there is reason to believe that in a few years' time Turkey may become virtually a Christian land. It is said that the late Sultana Valide, the mother of Abdul Medjid, was a Christian, and implanted in the mind of her son a favourable idea of her religion. This may or may not be the case ; but that the favourable idea does exist has been proved by the memorable fact that his highness condescended to be present at the marriage, according to the rites of the Greek Church, of one of his Christian subjects. Who can say what the result might be if the pure and simple forms of Protestant worship were brought before his notice ?

But the progress of genuine Christianity in the East would prove the best means of developing its natural resources. Turkish fatalism has tended more than anything else to cripple the energies of the country ; and the just contempt with which the Osmanlis have regarded the Christians around them, has indisposed them to adopt even improvements which came from so questionable a quarter. It must be our task now to convince a noble people that there are

Christians whose motives are higher than those of the Czar of Russia, and Churches more pure than the Greeks or Armenians can exhibit.

A few words, by way of conclusion, about the wild dream—for it is in reality nothing more—of a restored Greek empire. That the Emperor Nicholas should desire to re-establish it, with a view of placing his son Constantine on the throne, and thus rendering Turkey, under another name, and with the shadow of independence, a province of Russia, is no more than might be expected. That the Greeks, devoured by national vanity, and imagining that they could treat Europe as their fathers treated Persia, should long for empire again, is matter neither for blame nor astonishment ; but that statesmen in England or France, or even in Austria or Prussia, should fancy such a scheme practicable, is indeed strange. Let us look at the case as it stands. We hear it said that the Turks are but strangers in Europe, and that of the genuine Osmanlis there are no more than three millions on this side the Bosphorus. On this ground it is contended that their dominion cannot and ought not to be permanent. Let this argument go for what it is worth, and add to it the more valid one, that they are not only strangers in race, but also in religion. But over whom do they rule ?—over some six or seven millions of *Slavonians*—eight or nine if we take in the Danubian provinces—over four millions of Roumelians, who are not Greeks and never were Greeks, and over a mixed and motley multitude beside. Of Greeks properly so called, there are about one million in Turkey, and two millions in the Greek kingdom, and another in Asia ; so that to form this proposed Greek empire, the three millions of Osmanlis

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THE WAR IN THE EAST

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are to be displaced to make way for three millions of Greeks. We omit those in Asia Minor, for it has never been contended that the Greek empire was to include that region. The numbers then of the dominant race are to remain equal ; but by what fairness could the Roumelians and the Sclavonians be made subject to the small minority of Greeks ? or what reason is there to suppose that they would or ought to acquiesce in such a state of things ? Panslavism is quite as much a reality as Panhellenism, and the war in which we are now engaged is likely to do fully as much for the one as the other. The Austrian Sclavonians and the Poles have not forgotten their nationality ; and all Europe would understand that a Greek empire, established at Constantinople, would be but a tool in the hands of the Russian autocrat.

The experiment of a Greek kingdom has produced, in many respects, a failure : it would be perhaps premature to lay the blame of this on the Greeks ; they have had an incompetent king, and bad ministers,—one is the fault of Europe, the other, in some degree at least, their own. It is not improbable that Otho will be called upon to resign his uneasy throne, and some new arrangement be entered into with regard to independent Greece. One thing is certain, that that petty kingdom must not be allowed to counteract the working of the maritime powers. It can do little good, and may do a considerable amount of mischief ; and if Greece be to continue a separate and independent state, means must be taken to repress piracy and brigandage, and to develop the resources of the country, so as at least to enable it to pay its debts.

THE FAMILY OF THE SULTAN.

SONS.

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------|-------|-----|------|
| 1. Mehemed Morad, or Muzad.... | <i>born</i> | Sept. | 22, | 1840 |
| 2. Abdul Hamid..... | | Sept. | 22, | 1842 |
| 3. Mehemed Rechad | | Oct. | 4, | 1845 |
| 4. Abwed Kemaladdeen | | July | 16, | 1848 |
| 5. Buraweddeen | | May | 23, | 1849 |
| 6. Mehemed Reshid | | March | 31, | 1852 |

DAUGHTERS.

- | | | | | |
|------------------|--|------|-----|------|
| 1. Fatima..... | | Nov. | 2, | 1840 |
| 2. Refidja..... | | Feb. | 7, | 1842 |
| 3. Alidja | | Oct. | 20, | 1842 |
| 4. Djemila | | Aug. | 17, | 1848 |
| 5. Munira | | Nov. | 9, | 1845 |
| 6. Behija | | Aug. | 26, | 1848 |

Two more princes have been born since this last period.

The brother of the Sultan, Abdul Assis, was born February 9, 1830; and his sister Adileh, married to Mehemet Ali Pacha, was born May 23, 1823. She was married in her 19th year.

The Sultan is the 31st sovereign of the family of Osman, and the 26th since the taking of Constantinople. He was born April 23, 1823, or, according to the Era of the Hegira, the 19th day of the month Reby-al-akhir, 1255.

NOTE.

ON THE POSITION OF CHRISTIANS IN TURKEY.

A newspaper which prides itself on its superior accuracy of information, assumes, in most of its arguments, Turkish intolerance to be an incontrovertible fact, and speaks of its being "impossible for a foreigner to have any interest in Turkish soil." We extract this assertion from a leading article which appeared on January 30th; and on the 31st of the same month, at the opening of parliament, Earl Grey coolly asserted in the House of Lords, that he "knew that to this day the Christian subjects of the Sultan were labouring under an oppression as severe, and in some respects more so, than that of the negro population in our colonies." Without wasting words upon Earl Grey's want of temper, we will observe that his knowledge of Turkey, presuming that he speaks what he knows, and that his words were correctly reported, is upon a level with that of one who draws his ideas of Islamism from such a source as "Bajazet, or the Raging Turk." We will oppose to Earl Grey's rash and splenetic statement the deliberate declaration of one of the Sultan's own Christian subjects. Risk Allah, an educated Syrian, an *attaché* of the Turkish embassy in this country, and also an associate of King's College, in his admirable book entitled "The Thistle and the Cedar of Lebanon," observes: "It is difficult to satisfy Europeans, especially Englishmen, that they can make safe investments in the Turkish dominions; but it is only requisite to inquire into the tenure of all sorts of property, as held by Europeans in all parts of Turkey for the last two centuries and upwards; their vested rights have never been questioned, and, when any injury or loss was proved to have been sustained to any such property, the official representative of the owner had only to submit his claim, and in every instance full and satisfactory redress was instantly afforded." Risk Allah fortifies his assertion of the security of property invested in Turkey by Europeans by many cases, of

which we can make room for only one, and that an amusing one ; but

“ Ridentem dicere verum quid vetat ! ”

“ The alarm,” continues Risk Allah, “ entertained by Englishmen with regard to the insecurity of property, and the absence of all redress, is wholly imaginary. In proof of this I shall quote merely one instance, that of Mr. Goodall, an American missionary, who was plundered by the soldiers during the Greek piratical invasion of Beyrout in 1829. As soon as quiet was re-established, the Consul applied to the Pacha for a restitution of the stolen property, or a tantamount value. A list was made out, and so punctilious was the Pacha for a restitution, that even a fowl that had been ready trussed for roasting was included among the missing articles, and every farthing was paid down out of the government treasury. And this is the case in all instances where a European is the aggrieved party ; the Pacha of the district will be sure to see justice done him ; and the treasury is entitled to collect the sum disbursed from the heads of the villages in the immediate neighbourhood where the theft was committed. This answers a double end : it satisfies the injured party, and insures almost to a certainty the capture of the felon, for all the villagers are on the watch to discover the rogue that has brought on them such a taxation.”

In what point is this Turkish system inferior to our own remedy against the hundred ? In none ; while it has the signal advantage of being available at the present day, while our much-vaunted Anglo-Saxon enactment is obsolete, or at any rate so operose as to be practically useless. These facts are perfectly familiar to the Russian press in London, which, however, never scruples to ignore whatever does not suit the argument of the hour. But it is lamentable, it is disgraceful, that falsehoods such as these, representing the intolerance of the Turks, their oppressions, &c., should be uttered uncontradicted from his place in Parliament by a peer of the realm. The lies vended for Russian gold by the Fanariot Greeks, and circulated among the gossips of Pera—the most gossiping place in the world—are often amusing, though framed for a bad purpose. To give a few examples, it was circulated and believed that the French ambassador had had a lady who disturbed him put

in chains and sent to Algiers ; and, better still, that Lord de Redcliffe, while Sir Strafford Canning, had caused some English chartists and Irish refugees to be dyed black and sold as negro slaves ! These stories are at least laughable, but Lord Grey's are dismally grim. Where was the historical knowledge of either mediæval or modern times among the lords, who listened in silence to Earl Grey's monstrous mis-statements ? The tolerant spirit of the disciples of Mohammed was conspicuous at the time when Popery sent forth its Alvas and Granvilles to burn, ravage, and destroy its adversaries in such torrents of blood as flowed on the eve of St. Bartholomew. When Protestantism represented the nationality of Hungary, they who supported the long struggle for civil and religious liberty, sought the alliance of the Ottoman power. Wherever the Ottomans have ruled they have been remembered with regret, on the soil that no longer re-echoed to their retreating steps. Patriots have turned from oppressed nations towards the Eastern crescent. Servia, Moldavia, and Wallachia, repeat in our days the experiences of Hungary in the 17th century ; and long before the Russian outcasts, who dare to deny the godship of the Czar, found refuge in Turkey, a host of Protestant Magyars fled from the fury of the Christian government to the protection of the Porte.

THE END.

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