

The just complaint made by Professor White, at the conclusion of his *Ægyptiaca*, of the want of evidence respecting the real situation of the ruins which surround the pillar, which has been usually called Pompey's, and the reproach which he has cast on the Institute of Egypt, for having so ill employed their leisure, and having added so little to our knowledge of that country ; determined me to avoid a like censure, by using my utmost exertions to elucidate the geography of this ancient capital of the Ptolemies. Mr. Salt immediately commenced a survey, the result of which is given to the public in the accompanying map, which not only shews the present situation of the city, but, I trust, will enable us to ascertain the position of most of the great edifices mentioned by the ancient geographers.

The re-formation of the Lake Mareotis, by the English, has thrown great light on the extent of the city on the southern side, as it was known from the account of Strabo, that it was bounded by it, and had a port on it, which was even richer and more frequented than that toward the sea. The chain of hillocks, which is covered by the French lines, limits the extent of the ancient city towards the east. The sea still marks the northern boundary, except where the accumulation of sand on the Heptastadium has formed an isthmus instead of a causeway ; but the division between the town and the Necropolis, towards the west, it is now hardly possible to discover, though I am inclined to place it near to the spot where the Calish enters the sea. Strabo states that the length of the city was thirty stadia, and the breadth about seven or eight, giving a circumference of eighty stadia, or eight miles, which very well agrees with the plan of the ruins, supposing the tower at the

extremity of the Calish to have been the boundary of the city on the shore of the Old Harbour, or the Eunostus. The assertion of Pliny, that it is fifteen miles round, is totally impossible within the bounds of the sea and lake ; but the form which he has described, as having been given to it by Dinochares, is probably more correct, though some latitude must be allowed to the expression of its resembling a Macedonian mantle. It probably ran nearly in a straight line along the sea shore, from the spot in the Eunostus where the Calish enters, to the French lines, where the angular extremities might be supposed to end. The regularity of this line would be alone interrupted by the projection of the little Pharos, for the isthmus on which the new town stands was not then in existence. The curve at the corners, which Pliny mentions, is more difficult to ascertain, as Strabo mentions that the length towards the lake was thirty stadia, or the same as that towards the sea, while the sides were seven or eight. It can at any rate have been but small, and probably included the Serapeum ; and after running along in the direction of the Calish, turned up rapidly towards the sea, leaving on the outside, the S. E. heaps of ruins, which were covered with fortifications by the French.

The city is described by Strabo as having been laid out in regular streets, passable for horses and carriages, two of which were particularly large, and crossed each other at right angles. Of the actual position of one of these, which extended from the gate of Canopus to the port Eunostus, there can be no doubt, for the vacant space still remains, and is easily to be traced in the map, from the letter F to G ; and it appears probable, that the street which crossed it extended from C to H. When, under the Mussulmaun government,

Alexandria had gradually fallen from its former splendor, and one half of the city had ceased to be inhabited, it was thought advisable to lessen its extent. The old walls were destroyed, and the new ones were erected within. On this occasion, it is but reasonable to suppose, that as the streets continued in the same line, the new gates would be placed where they ran, unaltered except by a curtailment of their length, and if so, it is only from C to H, that the street we are enquiring for could have been; for at B alone, within the whole extent of the southern wall, is there any gate; and another exists in a direct line with it at C, which probably opened on the Heptastadium.

The following is the account which Strabo has left us of the Palace.* "At the entrance of the great harbour is an island, and on it the Pharos; on the other side are rocks, and the promontory of Lochias; on this is a royal palace. To those entering, on the left are other royal buildings, communicating with that on the promontory before mentioned, having various banquetting rooms and gardens. Contiguous to these is a private and inclosed port, accessible to the sovereign only. There is also the island Antirrhodus, near the artificial port, having a royal palace and a harbour. It has its name from a supposed resemblance to the island of Rhodes." He also adds in another place, "that the public buildings, which are very splendid, and the royal palaces, occupy a fourth, or even a third part of the city. Every succeeding prince was desirous of making some ornamental addition to the religious edifices, as well as to improve and adorn his own particular residence, as the poet says,

Some from one and some from another.

* Book xvii, p. 1127. Oxford, 1807.

All these structures communicated with one another, as well as with the harbour and with the buildings beyond the harbour. One part of the royal edifices is the Museum, which has a walk, benches, and a spacious apartment, in which those persons who study there, take their repasts. Another part of the royal edifices is that called "Soma," which is inclosed, and contains the tombs of the kings and of Alexander."

The ruins, at present remaining, along the shore of the greater, or, as it is now called, the new harbour, are sufficient to prove the accuracy of this description of Strabo. The land which gradually rises from Cleopatra's Needles to the spot, marked by the letter D, may be considered as the promontory of Lochias, on which the first royal palace was naturally built, as it was by far the most conspicuous and elevated station within the walls. Hence to the level ground at No. 1, the whole surface is covered with masses of brick mixed with small pieces of differently coloured marbles, porphyrys and jaspers cut into figures, which evidently shew that they were formerly used in the rich mosaics of the royal apartments.

The slight projection of No. 4, probably marks the spot opposite to which the small island of Antirrhodus formerly existed, as there can be little doubt, from the shape of the ruins at No. 5, that there was the private port appropriated to the use of the sovereign alone. The recesses for the reception of the galleys are still sufficiently distinguishable. The ruin No. 4 is the most considerable on the shore of the harbour; it extends above one hundred feet into the sea, and beneath the water the foundations are visible still farther. The lower story was built on arches of stone, but the second story, of which a part remains, was of brick. Pipes of burnt clay are

inclosed in beds of a mortar, harder than the bricks, which lead to a supposition that the royal baths were here constructed; nor would it be easy to account in any other way for the smallness of many of the rooms, the dimensions of which can still be ascertained. No. 7 marks the foundation of a round tower, and No. 16 and 18 of two small square buildings, whose use it is impossible to conjecture. Beyond the Pharos, are very extensive ruins of buildings, to which, probably, Strabo alludes as being beyond the harbour, although they were connected with the palace.

From the account above quoted, it is evident that the palace, with its numerous additions, and public buildings, must have covered a very large space of ground; and I am inclined to believe, that it was only bounded on the south by the great street, and on the east by another, which I conceive to have extended from D to E on the west. I should hardly suppose it descended the high land connected with the promontory of Lochias. Strabo, who goes on gradually along the shore of the harbour, says, after having spoken of the palace of Antirrhodus, "Beyond this is a theatre, then the Posidium running out in a kind of elbow, from what is called the Emporium. Here is a temple of Neptune. Here also are seen the Cæsarium, the Emporium, and the Apostases." The theatre may be considered as within the royal quarter, as may also the Posidium, which took its name from the Temple of Neptune, and which seems to be pointed out by the bend in the shore at No. 1, as having been in that spot; but if the Emporium were a public mart, as its name designates, it must be believed to have been beyond the bounds of the palace.

That I am correct in the position I have given to the Posidium,

is still more conclusively proved, by the Cæsarium being next mentioned, which was undoubtedly so named from the Temple of Cæsar, which stood in it, and before which, according to Pliny,* were two obelisks, a fact which precludes the possibility of our going to the west of Cleopatra's Needles for the site of the Cæsarium.

It was from the Posidium that Antony carried out a mole into the harbour, at the extremity of which he erected a palace, which he named Timonium, and to which, when deserted by his friends after the battle of Actium, he retired with a determination to spend the remainder of his life in solitude. The mole and palace are no longer distinguishable, but the harbour is in this part considerably filled by heaps of stones, among which some blocks of marble, and broken pieces of columns, are visible at low water.

From the manner in which Strabo mentions the Emporium, it was probably west of the Cæsarium; the temple of Cæsar may therefore have possibly formed a part of the palace; but if so, I conceive it must there have ended, and the public part of the city begun; for beyond it, to the Heptastadium, we only hear of the Apostases and the naval arsenals.

I have before observed, that the Heptastadium itself most probably commenced at the extremity of the street which ran from near the pillar of Dioclesian, by the present gate to an ancient square tower near the letter C, which the French have included within the lines that defend the new town of Alexandria. From that spot, therefore, the port of Eunostus must have commenced, although, now, the sand has much narrowed its limits. Of the buildings on its banks Strabo gives no account, but mentions the

* Lib. xxxvi. cap. 9.

small artificial harbour called Kibotus, whence a navigable canal extended to the Lake Mareotis. This appears to have been the same as the modern Calish, and at once points out its position, which is still more confirmed by the line of the great street ending at that very place, and by the numerous heaps of ruins which are discoverable there, though under the water. The tower at G has every appearance of having belonged to the original walls, and I am inclined to think, that the town extended no farther on the banks of the port, from the expression used by Strabo, that "without the canal, was a small part of the city." Beyond was the Necropolis, and still farther at a distance of thirty stadia, or three miles, was Nicopolis, which, at the time of Strabo, had drawn from Alexandria many of its inhabitants who attended the amphitheatre, the stadium, and the celebration of the five years games.

The ruins at 9, 10, 11, and 12 are by no means considerable, nor would it be easy to conjecture for what purpose they were intended. Some of the spaces were too small for a human body, even of an infant, but others were evidently intended for sepulchres, and were lined with a very hard plaister, of a red colour. The ruin at No. 10, was a single room, one hundred and five feet long, divided in the centre by a row of square pillars, and had been originally arched ; it had no connection with the water, but extended farther inland than we could trace the foundations.

According to Strabo, Alexandria was in breadth seven or eight stadia, which will preclude the idea of its not having contained the vast piles of ruin around Dioclesian's pillar, as any line drawn from the sea to the Calish within them, must greatly exceed that distance, nor could, in that case, the figure of a mantle, rounded at the

corners, be preserved. In defiance therefore of the weight which Professor White gives to the assertion of Macrobius, "that no town of Egypt had received within its walls a temple of Saturn or Serapis," I must believe that the original wall of Alexandria began near the tower at G, and extended in a gradual sweep, till it joined the Calish at the hills near A, which is kept along till it again bent up towards the Canopic gate at F, leaving without it the Hippodrome, which, Strabo says, with other buildings, extended from it to the Canopic canal. Of these very considerable remains are distinguishable on the map; and an open line by the letter B, parallel to the great street, seems to mark the street also mentioned by Strabo, as going from the Necropolis to the Canopic gate.

The real position of the Panium, with its lofty, conic form, and spiral staircase, or the Gymnasium celebrated for its porticos, I cannot venture to conjecture. The very foundations of the greater part of the ruins are now concealed by heaps of broken brick and mortar, which are only removed by the natives for the sake of procuring the broken marble columns, which they burn to lime, without any regard to their beauty or rarity.

Of the splendid buildings which once decorated the great street, a few columns only remain; two, near the gate of Rosetta, were of granite, with white marble capitals and pediments. At K was a very large brick building, which had formerly a colonnade in front, of yellow marble, with white capitals and pediments, one of which was uncovered by the native workmen while we were making the survey, and at S, three massive columns of red granite, with pediments and capitals of the same, have resisted the ravages of time, and of the still more destructive caprice of the present masters of the country.

The hills of rubbish undoubtedly conceal many fine remains of ancient art, and every day a few are brought to light. I observed a very beautiful sarcophagus of red granite, highly polished, lying level with the surface, near to the spot where the two great streets crossed each other. It was Grecian, ornamented with festoons of flowers, and perfect ; I therefore sought out the owners, and purchased it from them for one thousand paras, although without any hopes of being able to carry it with me to England, but trusting that, on some future occasion, I might be more fortunate. The Turks and Arabs have no attachment to any of the splendid objects which still adorn their country, and excite the admiration of strangers. The French, had they been able to gratify their national vanity by carrying off, as they wished, the column of Dioclesian, would not have excited a single regret in the breast of any inhabitant of Alexandria ; and they observed, with similar apathy, the preparations made by the English army, to remove the obelisk of Cleopatra to their native country, where it would have remained a perpetual monument of their victories. Knowing, as I well do, the indifference of the natives on this occasion, I cannot but regret that the plan was not carried into effect. Had they prided themselves on the possession of such a monument, the affair would have been different, and the reproaches cast against the French for their universal system of rapine, would have justly deterred the English army from doing any thing which could lead to a comparison between them.

Strabo only says of the Serapeum, that it was included within the canal that united the Kibotus and the Lake ; but Professor White has, perfectly to my satisfaction, proved from the Grecian and Arabic authors, that the second library of Alexandria, which

was founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus, was called the Serapeum, and formed a part of that edifice; that this library, when destroyed by the orders of the Calif Omar, was near to the column of the pillars, and that this column of the pillars was no other than the column formerly designated Pompey's, but now known to have been erected in honour of Dioclesian.

The extent of the ruins justifies us in believing the accounts which Rufinus and Ammianus Marcellinus have given of the splendor of the Serapeum. The elevation on which the pillar stands is not natural, but raised on arches, now filled with earth and rubbish, but altogether so hard, that I laboured in vain, with Arab workmen, and their imperfect instruments, to penetrate to any depth. Here might well have been the one hundred steps which led to the temple of the deity, and in front of which, in all probability, the column reared its head in unrivalled splendor, long before it was dedicated to a Roman emperor by a servile governor of Egypt. The temple was destroyed by Theodosius in the year 389, but the palaces and other buildings which were contiguous, still remained in the time of Edrisi, who, in 1153, speaks of a palace situated in the southern part of Alexandria, which was of an oblong square shape, having sixteen pillars at each end, and sixty-seven on the sides, the columns of which were still remaining, and at a northern angle, one of much greater magnitude than the others, which had a capital and pediments. This noble building, for whatever purpose it may have been destined, whether for the residence of the priests, or for the reception of the second library of Alexandria, augmented by the gifts of Antony to Cleopatra, at present can only be traced by the foundations or rather the rubbish of bricks and pottery which covers

them. Yet it may be no very hazardous conjecture to fix the site of it in the open space that is marked No. 2, 3, in the plan of the ruins. It is indeed possible that here may have been the temple of Serapis, and the palace may have been close to the column, but the descriptions of the Greek and Arabic authors are so vague, that it is impossible to do more than conjecture on the subject.

The column of Dioclesian has been described by every author ; but the French, while in possession of Alexandria, at length ascertained its dimensions ; to the English, however, they left the honour of decyphering the inscription, and of proving beyond controversy, that Dioclesian was the emperor to whom it was dedicated, and whose statue, on its summit, must have formed a most conspicuous object from every part of the country, and served as a still better land-mark than the pillar alone, which, nevertheless, is now a most useful guide to navigators approaching the low, sandy shore of Egypt. For several days Mr. Salt occupied himself in copying the inscription, giving the true shape to every letter, and marking its relative position to the others. This was done with less difficulty than we expected, for by applying chalk to all the rough indents, and then wiping over the whole lightly with a wet sponge, the white remained on the letters, but was washed from the polished surface, and the smaller hollows formed in the granite, by the wind from the sea. It is a most mortifying circumstance, that after having completed the work, I should not be able to present it to the public ; but the paper is mislaid, nor can all my researches discover it. I can therefore only state, that in the last line the name of the exarch of Egypt was not Pompeius, for that the third letter of his name was undoubtedly a sigma. I cannot but express my astonishment

that so many learned men, who have visited Egypt, should have failed in making out the inscription. Pococke alone attempted to give any part of it, and was right in the two first letters of the name of Dioclesian, and the three first in the name of the dedicator. From the position of the pillar with respect to the sun, the inscription is sufficiently distinct for four hours each day, and the name of the Emperor is more perfect than any other.

The Circus, marked 6, 7, 8, is in length above seven hundred paces, the upper circular division is cut out of the solid rock, and has in the centre an elevation with a hole at one end. This was filled with sand, but I employed men to clear it out in hopes of finding some subterraneous chambers; but after descending gradually to the depth of about twenty feet, in a passage cut out of the solid rock, sufficiently spacious for a person to pass freely along it, I had the mortification to find my farther progress opposed by the natural barrier of rock. We examined the end, the top, bottom, and sides, with the greatest care, and were at length convinced that we had reached the extremity of the passage, and could only wonder, for what purpose it had been intended. The hill marked 9, seems to be in part a natural elevation, and may have given rise to Rhacotis being called a promontory. It is of nearly the same height as the spot on which Dioclesian's pillar actually stands.

Modern Alexandria is by no means an ill built town, and its situation is extremely pleasant between the two harbours. The trade is still considerable with the Levant, and hardly a day passed during our stay, without the arrival of a Greek vessel. The New Harbour is indeed nearly useless; and instead of the largest ships being able, as in the time of Strabo, to approach the steps, and

unload close to the wharfs, it is only in a small part of the harbour, near to the causeway of the Pharos, that the little vessels of the Turkish empire can find a shelter from the northerly winds, in from two to five fathom water. The climate is by no means unpleasant, as the heat is tempered in summer by the strong gales, which almost constantly blow from the north, and carry with them the thick black clouds that, after breaking on the mountains of the interior of Africa, return in the floods of the Nile to fertilize the plains of Egypt. It is only a knowledge of this that can reconcile its inhabitants to seeing them constantly pass over their heads without once falling in a refreshing shower.

The consuls of the European powers live together in tolerable amity, except when a war between their masters reduces them to the necessity of not visiting in public. The British and French Consuls General are indeed the leaders, and the rivalry between their countries rages with full force at Alexandria. Major Missett is a man admirably adapted for his situation. He is well acquainted with the chiefs who rule over the different parts of this once flourishing, but now distracted, country, knows their wants and wishes, and by a firm, but conciliatory, system of conduct, has baffled all the projects of the French, who still look back on Egypt with the steady determination of seizing on the first opportunity of re-conquering it. For this they have employed their emissaries in instigating the Beys against each other, and the Pacha against them all, and have thereby prevented tranquillity from being restored, which would, they justly think, preclude the possibility of their return.

At the convention of El Arish, they prepared to leave a force

in the country, by reporting that numbers had deserted into Upper Egypt: General Dongelet with the 22d and 85th demi-brigades had, in fact, retired thither without any intention of departing, and a whole train of artillery was buried in the sands of the Faiume, to be employed on a future occasion. The victorious army of Abercrombie secured a faithful evacuation of the country, but though their troops were driven away, their arts and intrigues remained. Sebastiani was first sent there, and the report he made of his success is so curious, that I have inserted it in the Appendix; but as it is nearly one tissue of falsehood, I have thought it right also to give a true account of his adventures, and I request the reader will compare them together.

Towards the latter end of October, 1802, the French frigate *La Corneille*, in company with a brig, entered the old port of Alexandria, and shortly afterwards Major General Stuart, the commander in chief of the British forces, received a letter from Sebastiani, expressing a wish to have an interview with him, in order to deliver a message from the First Consul. The General returned no written answer, but sent Major Missett, his secretary, to congratulate Colonel Sebastiani on his arrival, and to know at what time it would be convenient to him to land, as, in compliment to him, the quarantine regulations should not be enforced. The hour having been fixed, Major Missett, with an escort of dragoons, waited at the landing place for the Colonel, whom he conducted to head quarters. The customary honors were paid to him at every post near which he passed. The message from the First Consul to the British commander in chief was a demand that, in compliance with the treaty of Amiens, he should evacuate Alexandria: to which General Stuart replied,

that he had no orders to that effect from his government. Sebastiani then observed, that the General ought to consider the consequences of its being refused, as he must be aware of the inferiority of the British force in Egypt, and the consequently precarious safety of the troops in Alexandria, several of the forts being in the hands of the Turks. Justly irritated at so indecorous a behaviour, General Stuart abruptly put an end to the conversation, by declaring that were his force reduced to fifteen men, he would keep Alexandria, till ordered by his Government to evacuate Egypt. That day Colonel Sebastiani dined with Major General Stuart, and the conversation having naturally fallen on the antiquities of Egypt, the General observed, that the inscription on Pompey's pillar had lately been made out by some British officers; on which Sebastiani requested that Joubert, who acted as his interpreter, might have a copy of it. This was complied with, and some months afterwards, a paragraph appeared in the French papers, stating that Joubert had brought from Egypt an inscription which would determine at what period Pompey's pillar had been erected; but no notice was taken of the manner in which Joubert had obtained the inscription.

During his stay at Alexandria, Sebastiani received the most marked attentions from General Stuart: he was every day supplied with saddle-horses, and permitted to visit every spot within, as well as without the garrison, unattended by any British officer—a liberty of which he proved himself unworthy, by meanly holding private conversations with different soldiers of the foreign brigade, exhorting them to desert.

Soon after his arrival, Colonel Sebastiani had his audience of the Governor-General of Alexandria. General Stuart directed his in-

terpreter, Mr. Reggio, to mix with the crowd, and learn what passed. Fortunately, Mr. Joubert was so little qualified for the office of interpreter, that he could not translate the first compliments. The Governor, distressed, called out aloud, "Is there no one here who speaks Franks?" Reggio immediately stepped forward, and acted as interpreter to the French agent, who began by assuring the Governor of the First Consul's high regard for his nation, that he was extremely afflicted that the English continued in Egypt contrary to its desire, but begged him to rest assured that the French would soon oblige them to retreat. Sebastiani was perfectly satisfied with his interpreter. It was only when speaking of Reggio to the French at Cairo that he discovered the trick that had been played him.

Sebastiani had brought with him a large collection of the First Consul's portraits, which he sent to the different Arab Schechs in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, with the same message to each, "that the First Consul continued to have the most affectionate remembrance of the poor Schechs of Egypt, and particularly of the person to whom he sent." The Schechs, who detested the French, and cared nothing for the present (a most ridiculous one certainly, and the sending of which shews a strange ignorance of their manners and prejudices), in general, returned no answer. One, however, replied, that it was impossible that the First Consul could have sent such a message to him, or have any recollection of him, for he had retired into the desert the moment the French arrived, and had not returned till the English landed.

At Cairo Sebastiani never visited a single Schech, nor did one visit him. Schech Abdallah Scherkowie, of the great mosque, never



was attached to the French, nor were any of his brethren, except Schech Soolimaun-el-Faiume. Sebastiani sent to this man to say he would pay him a visit ; but the Schech, terrified lest the government should consider him as a friend of the French, sent to Mr. Rosetti to conjure him to induce the Colonel to keep away. So much for " the enthusiasm excited among the Schechs by the view of the portrait of the First Consul ! " The account of the insult offered to him at Cairo, is equally false and ridiculous. Sebastiani was riding through the streets, with a Chaous of the Pacha before him, when he was met by Mustapha Aga, Akil, or Agent of the Porte in Egypt (*procureur de la Porte*). This man reproached the Chaous for being such a wretch as to ride before a Frenchman, who had brought so many evils on his country ; not, as Sebastiani says, for marching before a Christian ; and made his people beat the Chaous. Sebastiani instantly returned to the house of Mr. Rosetti, who was absent at Boulac, and sent, in the most pressing terms, to desire him to come to town. Rosetti, on his arrival, found Sebastiani pale as death, and excessively alarmed. He told Rosetti how he had been insulted, and said that he suspected it was a plan of the English to have him assassinated. He was therefore determined to depart instantly, and that he had sent to the Pacha to inform him of what had happened, but to declare that he did not wish any steps to be taken on the occasion. Rosetti blamed him for this, and said it was a business that ought not to be passed over : that Mustapha was a friend of his, and he would settle the business. Sebastiani still hesitated, and said that he feared the consequences. At length it was left to Rosetti, who saw the Pacha and Mustapha : it was agreed that the latter should make an apology to the Colonel, who was to

receive him graciously. Sebastiani on this became valiant: he wished to resent the affront on Mustapha's appearance, but Rosetti insisted on his keeping the terms agreed on, and they parted excellent friends. Nothing more passed.

Sebastiani never saw the Pacha, except in the presence of Mr. Rosetti. He never made any offer to him of mediation with the Beys; nor did the Pacha shew him his powers, nor enter into any political conversation with him. The usual compliments passed; but when Sebastiani said that it was his wish to visit the Beys in Upper Egypt, Mohammed Pacha most positively refused his consent, declaring that, in the present situation of affairs, it was a thing he could on no account permit; and insisting that he should pledge his word of honour to him, that, during his stay in Egypt, he would have no communication with them by letter, nor otherwise. With this Sebastiani complied; but on his return home he informed Rosetti that he had the First Consul's orders to offer the Mamelukes his protection, and that, therefore, as he could not go, he must write to them on the subject, and desired Rosetti to get it done. Rosetti, astonished, asked him if he had forgotten his honour so recently pledged: and finding that his argument had no effect, declined having any thing to do with a business which might end in the destruction of them both, should the letter be intercepted. This alarmed the Colonel, and the business was dropped for the present. When, however, Sebastiani arrived at Damietta, knowing that he should be safe before any thing could happen, he did write to the Beys, and sent the letter to Madame Murad Bey, who being afraid to meddle with the business, sent it to Mr. Rosetti, in whose possession it now is.

The assertion, that there was an attempt to excite the Albanians against him, is equally devoid of truth. There certainly was a report current, that the French were seen off Syria, and were coming to Egypt ; but it was invented by the French themselves, and, Rosetti believes, by the orders of Sebastiani. This report was, at least, spread by him at Alexandria, where he officially notified to the Christians who waited on him, that they would not much longer be under the oppressive government of the Turks, for the French would soon be in Egypt. No letter was received from Rosetta on the subject ; no person was summoned before him, nor was any communication made to the Pacha on the occasion.

General Stuart did indeed write to the Pacha, warning him not to credit the assertions of Sebastiani, that the English had hostile designs against Egypt, and apprizing, him of the real designs of France as exemplified by Bonaparté's proclamation. It was his duty so to do, as the representative of the British nation in Egypt, and consequently, the guardian of its interests and character : nor could any thing, except the habit of contemplating crimes, have led to an idea that this was "an attempt to instigate assassination." Had General Stuart been the dupe of Sebastiani, he would not have been thus accused, nor have been reported to the First Consul as a man of mediocre talents. It was wounded vanity, and bitter disappointment, which instigated both assertions ; assertions which General Stuart has, I think with propriety, considered as unworthy of reply, for no one who knows him, even by the report of his whole conduct in Egypt, can believe him capable of the one, or deserving of the other.

In May 1803 the French establishment in Egypt was organized

under Mr. Lesseps, who succeeded in creating a mortal enmity between Osman Bey and Elfi Bey, by exciting the former to assassinate the latter, on his return from England, under an idea that he was come with a sufficient European force to place him at the head of the government. On finding afterwards that Osman Bey was inclined to throw himself upon the protection of the English, he bribed Mohammed Ali and Achmed Bey, two Albanian chiefs, to revolt from the Beys, and to drive them from Cairo. This scheme proved successful, and Egypt became, as the French government wished, divided under three masters. A detail of all the events which led to this, and of the different intrigues by which the revolutions were accomplished, would occupy a much greater space than my limits will allow. The result has been, that one of the finest countries on the globe is sinking under the severest oppression.

Mohammed Ali Pacha rules over lower Egypt from a little above Cairo to the sea, including the Delta, Damietta, and Rosetta; he is, decidedly, a man of talent, but is necessarily the slave of the undisciplined freebooters whom he ostensibly commands, and is obliged to plunder the defenceless natives, to gratify their rapacity; for his revenue is by no means equal to his expenditure, even with all the additions which requisitions from the Arabs, and exactions from the merchants, can bring into his coffers. The trade that was formerly carried on, through Egypt, with the interior of Africa, is now at an end, and even the commerce with Jidda is greatly diminished from the dread of the immoderate extortion under which the merchant labours.

Upper Egypt is in possession of the Beys, nominally under the command of Ibrahim Bey, to whom the title of Schech el Belled

belongs, but really under the influence of Osman Bey Bardessi, who is a man of talent, and the representative of the famous Murad Bey. As the government of the Beys was ever much more mild than that of the Turks, this province does not suffer so much from oppression as from the deprivation of every article which they were accustomed to receive from Lower Egypt, all trade with which has been cut off by Mohammed Ali.

Elfi Bey has possession of the Faiume, a fertile province, over which he tyrannises, and has extended his incursions to Damanour, which he might easily take, were he not afraid of sacrificing his Mamelukes in the assault, and thereby of comparatively diminishing his consequence with the other Beys. Many Albanians have deserted to him, and he has a very large Arab force, which he has influenced by the assurance that he is closely connected with England, and expects a large army from that country, to place him at the head of the government. Were Damanour to fall, Alexandria would be at his mercy, as he commands all the supplies of provision which come in from the desert. He, at one time, stopped every thing at the Peninsula, and obliged Emim Aga to consent secretly to his sending his officers into the town, to purchase cloth and other articles, for which he was in the greatest distress.

Excepting from the alarm excited by the plans of Elfi, Alexandria is in perfect tranquillity. The garrison consists of the Turkish soldiers, disciplined after the European manner, who are, in general, reasonable men. The export of such articles as Lower Egypt produces, still keeps the town and harbour alive, and a Christian can walk about the town, without fear or danger of insult. It is here alone that the Grand Signor can be said to reign.

How long the present system can be carried on, it is difficult to conjecture; poverty has already reduced thousands to the necessity of emigrating into the desert, and sacrificing every remnant of property for the chance of saving life itself. The Copts are earnestly looking forward in the hope of England's assistance, to liberate them from as dreadful an oppression as the children of Israel groaned under, in the same country; and even the Mussulmauns, of high rank, join them in their wishes, in defiance of the arts employed by Bonaparté, during his command in the country, to persuade them that he was the favourer of their religion, and the instrument of destiny, to liberate them from all their oppressions.*

Schech Soolimaun el Faiume, a descendant of Mohammed, a priest of one of the mosques of Cairo, and who, before the arrival of the French, had a revenue of above one hundred thousand pounds sterling per annum, arrived at Alexandria in the end of May, and requested I would call on him, which I immediately did. He represented to me, in the strongest terms, the sufferings of Egypt, and conjured me, by those feelings of compassion, which the view of oppression must have excited in my breast, to state what I had seen on my return to England. His feelings so far overcame his prejudices, that he obliged me to dine with him; and on taking leave he embraced me, and with tears in his eyes, again besought me to recommend him and his unfortunate country to the protection of the English.

The most powerful Schechs of the Desert, the chief of whom is Chedid, are closely attached to the English nation, and avow their

* As a proof of this, I have given in the Appendix, two interesting extracts from the *Courier de l'Egypte*.

destestation of the French, but, at the same time, declare that, if we will not protect them, so unsupportable is the yoke of the Albanians, that they will submit to any European power to get rid of it. The Beys have frequently offered either to hold the country subject to Great Britain; or, if we will assist them in driving away the Albanians, and placing them at the head of the government, that they will grant us such immunities and privileges as will, by placing the whole trade of the country in our hands, repay any expense we may incur. No answer has as yet been given, and the Consul General is obliged to act according to his own judgment, without having received a single instruction from home, by which he might regulate his conduct.

It is painful indeed to me to add, that the popularity of the English name has since vanished in Egypt, from the result of our late fatal expedition to that country; that, instead of the tranquillity which Alexandria then enjoyed, it is now a prey to the extortions of the Albanians; and that our friends the Arabs, instead of wishing for our re-appearance, are lamenting over the loss of their habitations levelled with the ground, of their wives and parents massacred in cold blood, and of their children sold to perpetual bondage. Deep, undoubtedly, were the curses with which we were followed from that shore, on which we were received with acclamations, and indelible is the disgrace which has fallen upon us for having abandoned our friends to ruin and destruction: yet the whole business has been passed over in England with indifference, and no inquiry has been instituted to ascertain to whom the blame of failure ought to attach, and on whom ought to alight the deep obloquy of having sullied the British arms, and disgraced the national character.

On the 4th of June we celebrated the King's birth-day with the greatest festivity, and with all the splendour that Alexandria could afford. A royal salute was fired at sun rise, at noon, and at sunset, from brass pateraroes in front of Mr. Briggs' house. The British flag was hoisted, and the populace were liberally regaled with coffee and sherbet, in the street before the door of the Consul General, while paras were thrown in profusion from the windows.

On the 5th I paid a farewell visit to Emim Aga, and in return for the numerous attentions I had received from him, requested his acceptance of a pair of richly ornamented pistols. I heard, in the evening, of the death of Signor Filippo Agnelli, at Rosetta. He was a very worthy man, and particularly skilful in preserving specimens of fish and birds. The composition he used was a mixture, in equal proportions, of white and yellow arsenic, and allum. He died of a fever brought on by imprudently bathing in cold water, after having fatigued and heated himself by dissecting an ostrich. I greatly regretted that the entire collection of Abyssinian birds would probably, by his sudden death, be lost to the public, as there was little hope that they could reach Vienna in a state to be preserved. I, however, wrote to Mr. Rosetti, as Consul General of the Emperor of Germany, requesting that he would lose no time in forwarding them, and the other things which I had entrusted to the care of Signor Filippo, to be presented in my name to his Imperial Majesty.

June 11.--In consequence of intelligence received by Major Missett, of a war being probable between Russia and the Porte, in which England would be involved, we were impatient to escape, and only waited till the northerly winds enabled us to do so. Our

friend, the Surbaje, meant to accompany us, as his declarations "that no man who had once been in the English service, would ever quit it," might call down on him the resentment of the Turkish government, should hostilities actually take place. In the morning, for the first time, we found that the climate of Alexandria could be oppressive; a sultry air came over the desert from the S. E. and warned us to depart. We took an early dinner with our amiable and able friend, the Major, and were afterwards accompanied by him, and the other Europeans, to the Old Port, where Emim Aga was in waiting to take his leave. In the course of the night every one got on board, and at three we sailed with a moderate breeze.

June 22.—Our fair wind continued only two days, when it came round to the west; and, as the Queen was a very bad sailer, uncoppered, and her masts too small, we made four points of lee-way and were even rejoiced in the evening, at finding we had made good a northerly course, by coming in sight of the mountains of Caramania, instead of Cyprus. Our stock of water was so short, that we determined to put into some place for a supply; this was chiefly owing to the number of passengers which the Captain had taken on board, consisting, besides my party, of Turks, horses, ostriches, antelopes, monkeys, jerboas, and parrots. These, with the live stock, consumed a great quantity of water, and rendered the ship very uncomfortable, though the Captain was a good creature, and would have kept them in better order if he could.

June 23.—Though we stood in for the land, during the night, we were in the morning twenty miles from it. A Neapolitan cook, whom I had hired at Alexandria, was alone acquainted with the

coast, and asserted, so positively, that the bay of Finica was to leeward, that the Captain, believing him, stood away for it, and got safely to an anchor by three o'clock in seven fathom. The bay is a good one, and was much frequented by the Russians during their last war with the Porte, in consequence of the facility with which water could be procured from a small stream, running into the sea, with a rapid and deep current. It is distinguishable, at a great distance, in consequence of the lofty hills which rise above it, the centre one having a sugar loaf point, rising out of a gradual swell. This marks the centre of the bay, and had still snow on its summit. To the eastward are some lofty, rocky islands, apparently two, which separate it from the gulf of Satalia: these lie more south of Cape Cheledoni than Heather has placed them in his chart of the Mediterranean. According to our observation, he has also laid down the bay twelve miles too far north, and the anchoring ground too near the islands, from which, in fact, it is distant about twelve miles. We sent on shore my servant and a Turk to visit a village, at a small distance, beautifully embosomed in trees, and to report what could be procured. They procured only a tunny fish and some unripe pears, but many promises were made for the morrow.

June 24.—We began early in the morning to take in water, which was done by floating the casks over the bar at the entrance of the river, and there filling them. The wind became south, for the first time, the moment it was of no use, and considerably alarmed us lest we should be imprisoned in the bay; for the Queen made four points, at least, of lee-way, so that to work out would be impossible. In the evening, however, we were relieved from our fears, by a regular land wind.

I was unwell, and therefore staid on board; but the rest of the party set off, after breakfast, for another village at the distance of four miles. On their return they reported that they had found the natives extremely civil, but averse from their seeing or speaking to their women; that their dress was Grecian and picturesque, their houses small and wretched: that the head man received them into his house, which consisted of one room only, and procured for them fowls, at twenty five paras each, goats at four or five dollars, and a buffalo and calf for ten dollars: honey, butter, eggs, clouted cream, apples, and apricots, were in abundance and reasonable; that the harvest was not got in, and that no grain was to be procured.

The jerboa which I had purchased with her young ones, a few days before I left Alexandria, escaped in the night soon afterwards, but I preserved two of the little ones till yesterday, by feeding them with milk; it is singular that, although at least twenty-four days old, their eyes had not then opened.

June 25.—Early in the morning a man came on board, who informed us that he belonged to a town, within sight to the eastward, whence grain and every article we wanted could be procured. Mr. Salt and the whole party determined to go with him there, and accordingly set off, but found the distance so great that they abandoned the journey, and reached the vessel about midnight. They met several parties of armed men, but received no molestation.

I landed myself towards evening, and visited the ruins of a Turkish fort that extend for a considerable distance, on a hill which forms the western side of the bay. Above it, I discovered the remains of a small temple, about twenty feet square, built of stones very neatly worked, but without any ornament that I could

discover. The door faced the sea, and in front of it was the pediment of a single column; the others might have been carried away to be employed in the erection of the fort. The side of the hill was covered with tombs which had been broken open in search of treasure. The inscriptions were in Greek characters, but most of them totally illegible. The scene must have been very beautiful when the small temple was uninjured, and the sarcophagi were probably shaded by lofty trees; at present the brow is nearly naked, except where a few stunted shrubs find nourishment in the crevices of the rock.

We next visited the vale below, where the soil was a black loam, on which the myrtle and oleander grew in the greatest luxuriance, but instead of the rich fields of grain which might be produced, were the country in tranquillity and properly protected, so far as I went inland, I could perceive nothing but a coarse grass except on the banks of the stream, where rushes grew.

July 29.—On the evening of the 26th of June we quitted the Bay of Finica, and kept close to the shore, to have the benefit of the land breeze. We passed Rhodes on the 2d instant, and Scarpanto on the 4th, between which and Gozo, we found the passage to be much wider than is laid down in Heather's chart, and the latter a much larger island. On the 5th we sailed along Candia in a smooth sea, being protected by it from the N. W. wind which prevailed. The snow still lay on the summits of the mountains, whence squalls came down occasionally, with considerable violence. On the 7th we lost sight of Candia, and the Captain persevered in running south, although we made but little westing, and there was every appearance of a gale of wind setting in from the

northward. On the 10th the gale came on, when we were in sight of Derna head, and obliged us to bear away N. E.; but for two days, in consequence of her sailing so ill, the Queen made only one mile of northing. When the gale abated, we got again in sight of Candia and of Gozo, distinguishable from the higher land behind it, by the difference of colour, which is of a reddish cast, while the mountains are of a deep blue, nearly approaching to black. After escaping from the narrow part of the Mediterranean, between Cape Derna and Candia, we found ourselves in a different climate: heretofore we had, invariably, winds from the north to west, but never, for above ten minutes at a time, did they come from the eastward. In fact, as regular a monsoon blows in the Levant during the summer months as in any part of the ocean. A gale of wind was generally foretold, as in the Red Sea, by a heavy swell and by some small black clouds, which rising visibly in the horizon, passed rapidly over the vessel. It always came from the north, and gradually veering to west, in about twenty-four hours subsided into a calm, when the swell became extremely disagreeable. On reaching the more open sea, the wind was more moderate, and the sky appeared dappled with many light coloured clouds, which were more stationary, and brought no wind with them. The weather became extremely pleasant, and on the 26th, for the first time, the wind came round to the eastward, and by ten o'clock this morning conveyed us to the port of Malta. Soon afterwards a boat was sent along side, empty, attached by a cord to another, in which were four men. We entered the former with our baggage, and were towed by the latter to the Quarantini, where we took up our abode in several very lofty stone apartments, with large windows looking

over the harbour. The whole building is of the same materials, and surrounds a quadrangle; it is built on the solid rock, with a flight of steps down to the water, and is kept exceedingly clean. The lower story is used to receive goods that are unclean.

August 11.—In consequence of its being known that no plague had existed in Egypt for three years, it was only for the sake of form that we were obliged to perform quarantine. Had a King's ship arrived under similar circumstances, she would have been immediately allowed pratique, or free access to the town, but this indulgence is under no circumstances granted to a merchantman. The Board of Health met, and sentenced us to confinement in the Lazaretto, for twenty days; but, in consideration of our clean bills of health, and long voyage, gave us two days of grace, and left it to the discretion of the captain of the Lazaretto to give us two more, if we all continued well. Our imprisonment was by no means a punishment after having so long been confined to a merchantman; the Governor, and many other gentlemen, paid us visits in the presence of an officer, whose duty it was to take care that they did not touch us, nor any article belonging to us, that could communicate infection. With books and newspapers we were plentifully supplied, and the luxuries of ice and fruit, to which we had long been strangers, assisted in consoling us for the want of permission to visit the town. This morning Sir Alexander Ball sent to inform me, that as the fleet would shortly sail for England, and as he understood that Captain Rudland wished to go in it, he would procure pratique for us in a few hours. This he did, and we immediately hastened to the Palace to return him thanks, and then took possession of some excellent apartments belonging to

Mr. Roviére, who obligingly lent them to me during my stay at Malta.

June 18.—Sir Alexander Ball exerted himself to shew me every thing that was interesting in the island. I attended him to the races, where the horses were ridden by boys without saddles and bridles, but the crowd was great, and the spectacle altogether gay and interesting. I also visited with him Citta Vecchia, in the middle of the island, which has a handsome cathedral, shining with gold and painting, but without a picture of any merit; and afterwards, a hunting seat of the Grand Master's, now used as a prison for the French officers. It is in a castellated form, and commands an extensive view of the island, broken into undulations, but ugly and unpleasing to the sight, from the want of timber. Near to the castle is a deep glen, which formerly was covered by a forest, but the French destroyed it, and a few ancient orange trees alone remain in the garden. The soil is a rich red clay, which would well pay the cultivation.

The knights of Malta, when sovereigns of the island, were as willing to keep it dependent on other countries for its supplies, as they were for their revenues; they consequently discouraged agriculture, and even looked with a jealous eye on the commercial attempts of their subjects, whom they were willing to feed well, that they might increase in numbers, but whom they by no means wished to become affluent. Malta produced a supply of grain for three months only, the residue was imported, and the Order had always sufficient for the consumption of a year, in their granaries.

Since the expulsion of the French, by the exertions of the natives, assisted by a British force, every thing has been greatly changed,

Barbary being now in friendship with the inhabitants, affords abundant supplies; and the impossibility of a Turkish siege, or of the policy of foreign states inducing an attempt to starve the island, precludes the necessity of great magazines. From Sicily small vessels arrive daily with the produce of that island; but the most valuable article procured from it, is snow from mount Etna, which not only is a luxury to the rich, but an invaluable medicine in the hospitals. The Maltese, under the protection of the British flag, are rapidly rising in prosperity, by the success of their commercial speculations, and every inch of their little island will soon be cultivated like a garden. Sir Alexander Ball has wisely established a botanic garden, and actively exerts himself to procure every article which he thinks will flourish, and add to the comfort or luxury of the inhabitants. He, at the same time, conciliates the minds of the higher orders, by those attentions, which the suavity of his manners renders still more irresistible; and he attaches to his government the lower orders, by a proper attention to their innocent prejudices.

The French name is held in universal detestation on account of the severities they exercised, after the island was blockaded. On one occasion they made a sortie from Citta Vittorioso, and surprised the inhabitants of a neighbouring village, in the market place. They immediately put to death, men, women, and children; but a few who escaped, gave notice to the surrounding villagers, who intercepted them in their retreat, and put them all to the sword. After this, the indignation was so great throughout the island, that Sir Alexander Ball was obliged to offer a reward for every Frenchman brought in alive, to prevent their being put to death.

Towards the land, La Valetta is perfectly impregnable, and

justifies the observation of Bonaparté, when he entered it, "that it was fortunate there was some one within to open the gates for him." In the hands of the masters of the sea, it is an invaluable possession. Its harbours afford protection from every wind, and its dockyards furnish supplies for a fleet, at a smaller expense than they can frequently be procured in England; while its fresh provisions, fruit and vegetables, insure health to the seamen. As a naval station it protects the trade of the Levant, and renders the secret approach of a hostile squadron towards any part of the Turkish dominions, nearly impracticable; and so long as Great Britain preserves it, the gigantic plans of Bonaparté in the Mediterranean can never be carried into effect, nor can he impress, on the Barbary Powers, that idea of his importance, which is necessary to induce them to abandon all connection with us. As trade increases, the island will become a depot for the woollens, cottons, and hardware of England, which will be thence carried away, to all the surrounding coasts, by the vessels of the inhabitants. This will greatly increase the revenue, and soon render Malta a profit instead of an expense; even at present the necessary civil expenses are but small, and but little, if at all, exceeding the revenue. Malta requires only four thousand men for a garrison, but that number has generally been exceeded, not for the use of the place, but as a valuable and healthy depot, whence they could be removed to any place where their services are required. This cannot be considered as part of the expense of Malta.

I was very much struck with the magnificent church of St. John, which still preserves the monuments of the illustrious Masters of the Order. The silver rail of the altar, and the lamps have, indeed,

disappeared, the invincible Bonaparté having carried them with him to Egypt. The pavement is nearly covered by a beautiful mosaic, composed of the arms of the different knights who lie underneath. The revenues of the church are still continued to it, and its splendour must remain stationary, a monument of the power of the Order, and of its having passed away for ever.

The library is a handsome building, and has a very valuable collection of books. It was accumulated from the private libraries of the different knights who died on the island, to whom the Order was heir. It also received, as presents, most of the splendid works which were published by the Catholic sovereigns of Europe. It contains about eight thousand volumes, and is chiefly deficient in English literature. It would be politic, as well as liberal, to appropriate a moderate annual income to remove the deficiency. The Maltese should not be permitted to discover, in any one respect, an inferiority in their present sovereign to their last. The splendor of their capital should be, by every means, increased, and not diminished. The present arrangements for the use of the books is inconvenient, access to them being allowed only from nine to twelve, during summer. There is a small collection of medals annexed to the library, and some antiques of value, which are the more interesting, from having been found on the island. These, as well as the furniture of the palace, and every other article of value, would, probably, have been carried to Paris, had it not been for the closeness of the blockade, which precluded all retreat, till the capitulation put an end to the power of plundering.

The Maltese are frugal, temperate, and industrious. They proved themselves brave soldiers, during the blockade of La Valletta, when

about three thousand of them were under the command of Sir Alexander Ball. They are as good seamen as any in the Mediterranean, and are rapidly improving by their connection with the English. During the voyage, I found them lively and good-humoured, and was frequently entertained by the different games which occupied their time in moderate weather: they did not often quarrel, and when they did their shirts suffered more than their bodies. Their attachment to their religion is bigotted, and, consequently, their reverence for their priests. It was by plundering their churches, that the French roused them to resistance, after they had quietly submitted to the yoke which the treachery of their Grand Master had brought upon them. If this should prove a warning to Great Britain, she runs no risk of losing the island. The priests, indeed, are, doubtless, some of them attached to the French, and would wish a Catholic to possess the island; but, in general, they are satisfied with the respect with which their religion is treated, and would hesitate to accept a nominally religious despotism, when united with civil slavery, which they have too much reason to believe would be the case, were they again to become the subjects of Bonaparté.

August 24.—A fleet of transports having arrived from Sicily, where they had landed troops, and being about to return, nearly empty, to England, Sir Alexander Ball procured for me the cabin of the *Diana*, Captain Lamb, and an order for the conveyance of all my baggage. She was said to be the best sailer among them, and the Captain was a very civil, worthy man. My preparations were soon made, and this day we all embarked, after having parted with regret from Sir Alexander, who had, by his uniformly kind attentions, added greatly to the satisfaction I experienced at again finding

myself in a civilized country. The fleet was convoyed by Captain Mowbray in the *Active* frigate. It was an additional pleasure to me to discover, that he was brother to my friend, Captain Mowbray, whom I had known at Ceylon, as aid-de-camp to Mr. North. I dined on board his ship, as we were obliged to lay to, all day, for some transports which were not ready for sea.

September 17.—After a pleasant passage, we on this day reached Gibraltar, having on our way seen Sicily, Sardinia, several of the capes of Africa, and, at length, the coast of Spain, along which we ran from near Carthagera. On the 1st we had a stiff gale from N.W. but in general, the weather was fine, and the *Diana* sailed so well, that we had the pleasure of being always near to the *Active*, and frequently went on board her, while both vessels lay to for the rest of the convoy to come up. On the last day we had a fine breeze from the eastward, which lasted us till we got round Europa Point late in the evening, when it died away.

September 26.—Early in the morning, after my arrival, I landed, and went to pay my compliments to General Drummond, the acting Lieutenant Governor, who very politely offered me the use of the Convent, which is the official residence of the Governor, an offer which I willingly accepted, for Gibraltar is too crowded to afford much accommodation for strangers. I was considerably indisposed, and unable to visit many of the works, but, occasionally, rode with the General to view the different spots which have been cultivated by the garrison. The extent of ground, laid out in gardens, excite d my surprise, and the beauty of several of the country-houses well repaid the labour of getting at them. The most beautiful belongs to the Navy Commissioner, Captain Middleton; it is situated on the

southern part of the rock, and is embosomed in a grove of large trees.

The intercourse between the Spaniards and the garrison is permitted, in consequence of the advantages which both receive from it. The Spanish officers obtain permission, daily, to come into the town, to purchase articles which are contraband, particularly tobacco, of which the King of Spain has a monopoly, and which, in consequence, sells at ten shillings a pound. The Governor of Andalusia himself, sometimes comes in to pay his compliments to the General, when he always requests permission to take a walk in the town unattended, confessing that he and his party want to make some purchases. Even a relation of the Prince of Peace condescended to come in, on the same errand, a few days before I arrived. The trade between Algeziras and the garrison is carried on with the connivance of both parties, and the boats from the former arrive every morning with fruit, vegetables, and fresh meat; they are supposed to carry back money, but, in reality, their cargo consists of British manufactures and colonial produce. It is said that Bonaparté has taken offence at this amicable arrangement, and the Spaniards have hinted, that if the present negotiations do not terminate in a peace, they shall be obliged to put an end to it.

A perpetual war exists in the bay, between the Spanish gun-boats and the English ships of war; not that the former wish for fighting, but they are perpetually attacking the merchant vessels, and Barbary boats which are, of course, protected, but frequently the current carries them across to the Spanish coast, where they become a sure prey to the enemy's small craft, or to the batteries which line the shore. Some gun boats had even the impudence to attempt to

cut a merchant vessel out of the harbour, while I was there. The garrison consists of six thousand men, who would be healthy, were it not for the cheapness of wine, which leads to a perpetual state of intoxication. By the regulations of government, spirits are scarcely procurable for money. The Spanish army is said to be in the greatest distress, for want of pay, but they bear it admirably.

In consequence of the wind coming round to the east, I was obliged to hurry on board the *Diana*, which soon afterwards set sail, with the rest of the fleet, under convoy of the *Athenienne*. We passed the Straits before it was dark, with a stiff gale from the eastward, and as we kept close to Africa, had an opportunity of admiring its beautiful hills covered, in part, with woods, beyond which were lofty mountains.

September 27.—By day break we were up with Lord Collingwood's fleet, off Cadiz. The *Neptune*, Captain Fremantle, was appointed to convoy us to England; and the Captain was so obliging, on my stating to him that I was severely indisposed, as to give me a passage in his ship, where I experienced every kindness from him, and every medical assistance from Mr. Nagle, the surgeon.

On the 24th of October, after a tedious passage, with frequent gales towards the latter end, we came to an anchor at St. Helen's, but, notwithstanding our impatience, we were not permitted to land till the 26th, when I went on shore at Portsmouth, after having been absent from England, four years and four months.

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APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

I.

Report made to the French Consul by Colonel Sebastiani, extracted from the *Moniteur* of the 30th of January, 1803.

ON the 2d of October I set out from Tripoli, and on the 16th arrived at Alexandria: the same day I waited upon General Stuart, commandant of the English forces by land and sea. I communicated to him the order of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, which enjoined me to proceed to Alexandria, and if the English still occupied that place, to demand a speedy evacuation, and the execution of the treaty of Amiens. General Stuart then told me, that the evacuation of the place would shortly be effected; but seeing that I insisted, and that I desired an answer less vague, he declared to me, that he had no orders from his Court to quit Alexandria, and that he even believed he should pass the winter there. General Stuart is a man of *mediocre* talents: he has for his aid-de-camp a French emigrant, called the Chevalier de Sades, a man of talent, and an enemy of France, who has much influence over the General. I went the same day to see Khourchid-Ahmid, the Pacha of Alexandria, and the Capitan Bey, commander of the forces of the Ottoman Porte. After the customary compliments, and some language agreeable to the Sublime Porte, I announced to them, that the agents of French commerce would assemble in Egypt. This communication gave them the greatest pleasure, and they did not con-

ceal that they saw with grief the stay of the English in the country. I told them, that their stay could not be much longer, and that the general peace left no doubt of their approaching departure. On the 17th I visited the Cheik El-Messiry. The same day I also visited the Cheik Ibrahim Mufti. On the 18th I visited the Coupure du Khalidj, which has formed the lake Mareotis. The current of the waters of the lake Madie is still very strong, and if the Porte does not make haste to re-establish this important canal, the overflows which take place on the little tongue of land that separates the two lakes, will render the opening so considerable, that it will be impossible to travel. I do not think that the Swedish engineer sent by the Porte to direct these labours, has the necessary talents. The formation of the lake Mareotis appears to have contributed to the salubrity of the air. The city has no other water than what it draws from the wells of Marabouf. This little fort I found guarded by an English and Turkish garrison, in order to protect the inhabitants who came to draw water. I employed the day of the 19th in perambulating the town, and receiving different individuals who came to visit me. On the 20th, I set out for Cairo, escorted by two Turkish officers, and six French soldiers, whom I had taken on board the frigate, but contrary winds obliged me to return to the port. The next day I was at Aboukir, where I passed the night. I profited by this opportunity to visit the fort, which is in a very ruined state. On the 22d I arrived at Rosetta, after having visited the fort Julien; I saw the same day Osman, Aga and Duvanny of the town, as well as all the Christians who reside there. The 23d I was at Faone, where I visited the Commandant of the place, the Cadi, and the Cheiks; I received from the latter, and from all

those whom I entertained, protestations of attachment to the First Consul. I passed the next day at Ralimanie, where I visited the Cheik Muhammed Abou-Aly; the fort of the town is almost entirely destroyed. I visited on the 25th, at Menouf, the Cheik Abdin, whom the First Consul had appointed Cadi. The other Cheiks of that town who came to visit me, held the same language as those of Faone. I said to them, 'The First Consul loves your country much, he speaks of it often; he interests himself in your happiness; he did not forget you, and recommended you to the Porte. He has made peace with Europe, and this country will feel the interest which he takes, and the recollection which he has preserved of the poor Cheiks of Egypt.'—Muhammed Kachef-Zourba Matzellem, who commanded at Menouf on my journey through that town, has been beheaded in consequence of being accused of communications with the Mamelouks. The two forts of Menouf are destroyed. I arrived the same day at Boulak. I sent immediately Citizen Joubert to inform the Pacha of Cairo of my arrival. The next morning, the 26th, the Pacha sent three hundred cavalry and two hundred infantry, commanded by the principal officers of his household, to accompany me to him, amidst a great many discharges of artillery. Having arrived at the Pacha's, I said to him, 'Peace has been concluded between the French Republic and the Sublime Porte: the ancient relations of amity and commerce have been re-established, and I am charged by the Great Consul Bonaparté, to assure you of his benevolence, and to announce to you the arrival of commissaries of the French commerce in Egypt.' The Pacha answered me, 'the benevolence with which the First Consul has honoured me, penetrates me with gratitude, and his

commercial agents shall meet here the most friendly reception.' I proceeded then to the house which the Pacha had prepared for me. I received the same day the visits of all the principal men of the country, and of the Copt Intendants. On the 27th I again repaired to the Pacha, with whom I had a long conference. I spoke to him in these words : ' the First Consul takes in you, and the country you govern, a very lively interest, and desires to contribute to your happiness ; he has charged me therefore to offer you his mediation, in order to make peace between you and the Beys.'

The Pacha thanked me warmly and sincerely for the interest which the First Consul took in his behalf, but he protested to me that he had the most positive orders from his Court to make a war of extermination upon the Beys, and not to enter into any arrangement with them. I observed, that the unfortunate circumstances which had happened to the Ottoman troops (they had been beaten five times successively by the Mamelouks), rendered their position very critical, and that obstinacy exposed them to the loss of the province. He then communicated to me the order of the Porte, and I saw beyond a doubt that it was not possible for him to enter into any accommodation. I informed him that I intended to visit the different Cheiks of Cairo, and also Madame Murad Bey, and to inspect the environs and fortifications of the city. He ordered immediately that the guard which he had sent should accompany me wherever I wished to go, informing me, that he would use every means in his power to render my stay at Cairo agreeable.—The same day I commenced my visits, beginning with the Cheik Abdallah-el-Sherkowi, of the great mosque. As I was expected by him, he had assembled a considerable number of Cheiks. The conversation

turned upon the interest which the First Consul took in Egypt, on his power, his glory, and on his esteem and benevolence for the learned Cheiks of Cairo. Their answers expressed their attachment to his person. He must have been a witness like myself to the enthusiasm excited at the view of the portrait of the First Consul, to form an idea of the exaltation of their sentiments. I have given it to all the principal Cheiks of Cairo, and of the towns where I have travelled.—On the 28th I invited the Cheik Omar El-Berky, Prince of the Shiriss; he was ill, and I saw only his son.—The Cheik Suleiman El-Faiume received me with much friendship, and assured me of his boundless admiration for the First Consul.—The Citizens Joubert and Beye have certified to me that the inhabitants of Cairo never testified so much attachment to France as on my arrival.—When we pass along the streets, every body salutes us. Their astrologers make predictions every day as to what concerns the First Consul.—On the 29th, I went to visit Madame Murad Bey: her intendant had already prayed of me that I would grant her an interview. I informed her, that the First Consul had charged me to interpose my mediation, in order to make their peace with the Sublime Porte; but that the Pacha had ordered that no negociation should be entered into.—I employed that day and the following in visiting the citadel, the Isle of Roda Gize, Boulak, and all the other little forts which surround the city. The Turkish soldiers murmured to see me visit their forts, but I feigned not to hear them, and continued my course and my observations.

On the 29th, in returning to Fort Dupuy, a soldier menaced me with his attagan; but as the inhabitants of the city testified highly their indignation against him, I did not stop at his menaces, and

continued my route. A moment afterwards Mustapha Oukil, one of the chiefs of the city, passed before me on horseback. In passing, he reproached my guides with marching before a Christian, and above all, before a Frenchman, and menaced them with the bastinado after my departure. I could not be silent under such an insult; and upon my return I sent Citizen Joubert to the Pacha, to make my complaint, and demand a prompt redress. I declared to him that I expected this man would come publicly to me to ask my pardon, place himself at my disposal, and implore my pity. He found that Mustapha was greatly protected by the Pacha, and wanted to arrange it otherwise; but I persisted by declaring formally to the Pacha, that if this reparation was not made in the manner in which I demanded it, I should instantly depart, and immediately write to Paris and Constantinople to state my complaint. This declaration produced all the effect which I expected; and Mustapha, alarmed, came on the following day to me, conducted by Rosetti, and he publicly asked my pardon, and put himself at my disposal. I told him that my first intention had been to cut off his head, and that I only gave him his life at the solicitations of the Pacha and M. Rosetti; but if in future he should ever insult the French, or those in their suite, his destruction would be inevitable. This affair, which was instantly spread throughout the whole city, produced the best effect.—The same day an attempt was made to excite the Albanese against me. Two letters from Rosetta, written by English protégées, declared that there had been seen upon the coasts of Natolia a French fleet of three hundred sail; that we were marching against Constantinople, and that my visit to Egypt had no other object but to deceive them, and blind them to their danger. I made the merchant

come to me who had received the letter; I made him give it me—I instantly sent it to the Pacha himself, telling him that this absurd news was spread to occasion disorders, and to endeavour to alter the good understanding which existed between France and the Sublime Porte; and I guaranteed the falsehood of it with my head. The Pacha had discovered the snare, and did not fall into it. He even communicated to me a letter from General Stuart, which he had just received, and to which was joined an order of the day, of the First Consul, when he commanded the army of Egypt; this order of the day was dated in August 1799, and recalled to the recollection of the Egyptians, that Constantinople was tributary to Arabia, and that the time was now come to restore Cairo to its supremacy, and to destroy the Eastern Empire of the Ottomans. General Stuart begged the Pacha to consider the spirit of that order, and to judge from it of our attachment, and of our peace with the Turks. I was indignant to find that a soldier of one of the most polite nations of Europe should degrade himself so far as to instigate assassination by means of such an insinuation. The Pacha treated me with the greatest politeness, and the English at Cairo were witnesses of the attachment of that city to the French.

I received a deputation from the monks of Mount Sinai, whom I recommended to the Pacha: I wrote to their Superior, to assure them of the friendship and protection of the First Consul. The monks of the Propaganda at Cairo, whom I placed under the national protection which they enjoyed before the war, celebrated a *Te Deum* for the prosperity of the First Consul. I assisted at this ceremony, at which all the Christians at Cairo were present. The evening before my departure (the 2d of November) I had another

interview with the Pacha, and recommended all the Christians of Cairo to his protection, as well as the Turks who, during the residence of the French in Egypt, were connected with them. He not only promised to respect them, but even to treat them with bounty. On the 3d, I set out in a conveyance of the Pacha's, in order to repair to Damietta. The Pacha ordered me to be escorted to Boulak, with the same honours that I received on the day of my arrival. I had written to Captain Gourdain, to repair to Damietta with the frigate, in order to convey me to Syria. On the 5th I stopped a short time at Sinenoud, and afterwards at Mansoura, where I saw the Commandant of the city, and the Cheik Esseid Muhammed el-Chenaoni, who came to see me, as well as all the other Cheiks. I spoke to them in the same manner as the other Cheiks of Egypt, and received the same promises of attachment. The tower of Mansoura is destroyed. The same day I arrived at Damietta. The next day I went to Ahmed-Pacha-Behil, a creature of the Grand Vizier's; he returned my visit the same day. He conducted himself perfectly well to me during my stay in that city.

On the 7th I went to visit the fort of Lesbé, and the towers of Bogaz. They have not continued the works of that fort, which is in a bad state: those of Bogaz are in a good condition. There is a garrison of two hundred men in the fort and in the towers. On the 8th I received the visit of Hassan Toubar: his influence over the inhabitants of Menzalé is still the same. On the 9th I went to Seninie, where I saw the Cheik Ibrahim-el-Behlout, he who behaved so well to the French under the orders of General Vial, when they were taken and imprisoned. The First Consul had exempted his village from all contributions. I saw all the Cheiks at Damietta,

particularly Ali Khasaki, whom the First Consul had invested with a pelisse: he is possessed of great credit, and is much attached to the French. There are at Damietta two Christians, who are men of merit, and may be very useful to us: they are M. Bazile and Don Bazile. They are possessed of good information, have very considerable fortunes, and are very highly respected. In Egypt, chiefs, merchants, people, all like to talk of the First Consul—all offer up prayers for his happiness. All the news which concerns him spreads from Alexandria or Damietta to the pyramids and the grand cataracts with astonishing rapidity. On the 14th the frigate arrived at Bogaz from Damietta: I immediately set out for Acre, at which place I arrived on the 19th.

II.

Extract from *Le Courier de L'Egypte*, No. 21. 25 Frimaire,
7 Année de la République.

ON dit, parmi les Musulmans du Caire, qu'un saint personnage a été informé par une révélation d'une conférence qui a eu lieu entre Mahomet et le Destin. Le crédit qu'a obtenu le récit de cette révélation nous détermine à le consigner dans cette feuille.

Lorsque Mahomet vit la flotte Française approcher les côtes de l'Egypte, il alla chez le Destin et lui dit : *ô Destin, tu es ingrat, je t'ai fait souverain arbitre du monde, et tu veux livrer aux Français la plus belle des contrées soumises à ma loi. Le Destin lui répondit: ô Mahomet, le decret est porté ; il faut qu'il s'accomplisse ; les Français arriveront sur la terre d'Egypte, et en feront la conquête, je n'ai plus le pouvoir de l'empêcher: mais écoute, et console toi, j'ai décidé, que ces conquérants se feront Mahométans.* Mahomet, pleinement rassuré par cette réponse, se retira très-satisfait.

Il se trouve dans la ville du Caire huit devins de réputation. Les habitans du pays les consultent souvent et reçoivent leurs réponses avec une foi entière; on a remarqué depuis quelque temps que toutes leurs prédictions sont favorables aux Français.

III.

Extraet from Le Courier de l'Egypte. No. 23. 9 Nivose, 7 Année
de la République.

Proclamation du Général Bonaparté aux Habitans du Caire.

DES hommes pervers avoient égaré une partie d'entre vous; ils ont péri. Dieu m'a ordonné d'être miséricordieux pour le peuple. J'ai été clément et miséricordieux envers vous.

J'ai été fâché contre vous de votre révolte, je vous ai privé pendant deux mois de votre divan; mais aujourd'hui je vous le restitue: votre bonne conduite a effacé la tache de votre révolte.

Schérifs, Ulemas, Orateurs des Mosquées, faites bien connaître au peuple que ceux qui de gaité de cœur se déclareroient mes ennemis, n'auront de refuge ni dans ce monde ni dans l'autre. Y-auroit-il un homme assez aveugle pour ne pas voir que le Destin lui-même dirige toutes mes operations? Y-auroit-il quelqu'un assez incrédule pour revoquer en doute que tout dans ce vaste univers est soumis à l'empire du Destin?

Faites connaître au peuple, que depuis que le monde est monde, il étoit écrit qu'après avoir détruit les ennemis de l'Islamisme, fait abattre les Croix, je viendrais du fond de l'Occident remplir la tâche qui m'a été imposée. Faites voir au peuple que dans le saint livre du Koran, dans plus de vingt passages, ce qui arrive a été prévu, et ce qui arrivera est également expliqué.

Que ceux donc que la crainte seule de mes armes empêche de

nous maudire, changent ; car en faisant au ciel des vœux contre nous, ils sollicitent leur condamnation ; que les vrais croyans fassent des vœux pour la prospérité de nos armes.

Je pourrais demander compte à chacun de vous des sentimens les plus secrets de son cœur ; car je sais tout, même ce que vous n'avez dit à personne ; mais un jour viendra que tout le monde verra avec évidence que je suis conduit par des ordres supérieurs, et que tous les efforts humains ne peuvent rien contre moi : heureux ceux qui de bonne foi sont les premiers à se mettre avec moi !

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THE END.