

encies of the Seven Islands—Ruins Prevesa—Receives Artillery-men and Stores from his French Allies—Colonel Vaudoncourt is sent to Ali—His Opinion of the Vizir—Fortifies Prevesa—Joint Insurrection of Tzamouria, Delvino, and Berat against Ali—Reduced by him—Admiral Duckworth's Expedition against Constantinople.

AGREEABLY to the determination of Ali, alluded to in the preceding chapter, he divided his army into five columns, with which he occupied the entrances of the principal defiles leading into the recesses of the Suliot mountains, throwing up, in the course of one night, sixty-four small towers, which were soon afterwards replaced by a smaller number of redoubts or forts, capable of containing from 200 to 400 men. The leaders of the republic were of course necessitated to adopt similar measures of defence; they therefore divided their army into five separate battalions to oppose the enemy, and attached to each a troop of female warriors, who provided them with food, relieved them frequently from the duty of sentinels, and on occasions of attack supplied them with ammunition, or even mingled in the contest. As soon as the forts were constructed, a general assault was made by the vizir's troops, who again suffered a total defeat, and were saved from destruction only by the protection of their new fortifications. Nothing but the oath taken by the beys, previous to the commencement of this war, could have kept them firm in their allegiance. In the mean time a fresh firman was obtained from the Porte, and amongst other beys and pashas who were required to furnish contingents, even Ibrahim Pasha of Berat was obliged to dispatch 2000 men to the assistance of his bitterest enemy and rival: so completely was the Divan deluded by the craft and cunning of this extraordinary man!

To these soldiers of Berat, who are very warlike in their nature, a separate station was assigned at their own request, to give them an opportunity of distinguishing their superior prowess. This station lay oppo-

site to one of the advanced guards of the republic, which occupied a hill called Curilla. Of this hill the Beratians determined to dispossess the Suliots, and prepared themselves for a fierce attack: timely intelligence of these motions being sent to Foto Tzavella, he hastened with a select corps to the relief of his friends, when, after three hours hard fighting, he succeeded in driving the assailants down the heights. In the eagerness of pursuit this young Achilles far outstripped his companions, which being observed by one of the fugitives who was in danger of being overtaken and cut down, he slunk unperceived behind a rock, fired off his musket with deliberate aim, and Foto fell: the man then ran after his companions, who, elated by this event, rallied, and turned their faces again to the enemy, when a fierce conflict ensued over the body of the fallen chief, like that which the poet has described over the corpse of Patroclus: not a musket was now fired, but each party fought desperately with their sharp Albanian sabres. Foto being only wounded, and not dead, earnestly entreated his companions to sever his head from his body, to prevent the possibility of his being carried alive to the pasha; but his gallant comrades replied, that they would carry him back in triumph to his friends; and in this, after the most prodigious efforts, they finally succeeded. Immediately on the fall of Tzavella, a soldier ran off to convey the welcome tidings of his death to the pasha, who rewarded him with a hundred sequins upon the spot, and promised him four hundred more if his news should prove correct.

Soon after this occurrence, and whilst Foto's wound was cured, an ingenious stratagem was played off upon a large body of the new levies, by a Suliote whose name is not recorded. Hearing that they were on their march to join the main army, he concerted measures with his countrymen, and then throwing himself as if by accident into their way, suffered himself to be made prisoner: presently, as they advanced on their route, a sharp firing was heard on a mountain at a little distance, and the Suliote being questioned as to the cause, an-

swered, that a party of the vizir's troops were engaged with those of the republic, and advised them strongly, if they wished to shew their zeal, and gain great honour and rewards from their commander, to run instantly to the assistance of their allies. The infatuated Albanians take his advice, and ascend the hill; in the hurry of this manœuvre their insidious adviser steals away; they soon find themselves placed between two fires, lose half their men in killed and wounded, and almost all the rest in prisoners.

This affair terminated for a short time all active contests between the parties. Ali, despairing to subdue such valiant and determined enemies in open warfare, turned the siege into a blockade, during the delay of which he hoped that famine and treachery might effect what he was unable to do by force of arms. The Suliots however, acquainted with various mountain passes unknown to him, found means to procure food, and in the dark nights they sallied out in parties of fifty or sixty, falling upon the surrounding villages, from whence they carried off corn and cattle, even pillaging the very camps of their enemies, who dared not leave their entrenchments in the darkness for fear of ambuscade. The vizir at length, tired of so protracted a contest, proposed a truce, and demanded twenty-four hostages as a security against the violation of his territory. Strong necessity urged the Suliots to accept his terms, and the hostages were delivered up. Then the deceitful Ali threw off the mask, imprisoned these unfortunates, and threatened them with death by torture, unless the republic should surrender unconditionally. To his perfidious proposals the following answer was returned.

“ Βεζίρ 'Αλῆ Πασᾶ σὲ χαίρομεν.

“ Μὲ τὸς ἀπίστους τρόπους ὅπως φέρεσαι, δὲν κάμνεις ἄλλο, παρὰ νὰ ὀλιγοσεύης τὴν ὑπόληψίν σου, καὶ νὰ αὐξάνῃς τὴν ἐδικήν μας σκληροκαρδίαν ἐναντίον σου. “Ἰξευρε ὅτι ὅπου ἔχομεν δεκαεπτὰ θυσίας τῆς πατρίδος, ὡς γίνων μὲ αὐτὰς σαρανταίνας διὰ περισσοτέραν ἐνθύμησιν· ὅτι ἡ πατρίς διὰ αὐτὰς τὰς θυσίας δὲν παραδίδεται· ὅθεν εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς ἀγάπην πλέον δὲν ἔχομεν, ἔτε τὴν θέλομεν μαζύ σου· ἐπειδὴ ἴσται ἀπίστος κατὰ πάντα καθὼς καὶ παντότε.”

TRANSLATION.

“ Vizir Ali Pasha, we greet you.

“ By such treacherous conduct you do nothing else but sully your own reputation and increase our determined resistance against you. Know this, that we have already lost seventeen victims sacrificed in their country's cause; let these other twenty-four then be added to the number: their memory will live in the breasts of their fellow-citizens. But the republic will not on their account surrender itself. Henceforward we neither desire, nor will we entertain any friendship with you; since in all transactions, and on every occasion, you are a violator of good faith.”

This infamous behaviour of Ali so exasperated the Suliots that they prohibited all correspondence with him and threw his letters unopened into the fire. The hostages in the mean time were sent to Ioannina, where, as it was a custom with the Suliots never to deliver up their arms, and no one was found daring enough to demand them, a stratagem was devised for this purpose. Being all sent to the island in the lake, the hegumenos or prior of a convent there invited them to attend divine service on occasion of a solemn festival: his proposal was unwarily accepted by the Suliots who, according to custom, deposited their weapons in the church-porch under the pledged faith of the hegumenos: one man, however, named Fotomara, retained his arms, and in reply to the remonstrances of the monk observed, “ Whilst my country is at war, caloyer, I lay not down my arms, nor do I commit impiety, in my opinion, by entering armed into the temple of God under such circumstances.”

At their egress out of church they found their arms conveyed away and a party of Albanian soldiers ready to seize and bind them: the

commander then approached Fotomara, and desired him to surrender his weapons. The gallant youth made a motion as if he would have shot the person who made this request, but in a moment the probable fate of his companions flashed across his mind: he restrained himself, and thus calmly replied: "The worthless coward lays down his arms to preserve an ignoble life, the palikar in death alone: see then how a Suliot lays down his arms." At these words he turned the pistol to his own breast and fell shot through the heart. His companions were all kept in close confinement, distributed amongst the different convents of the island.

In the mean time Ibrahim Pasha, disgusted not more at the want of success than of good faith which marked Ali's conduct, withdrew from the confederacy and secretly supplied the Suliots with stores and ammunition: but the conduct of Pronio Agà of Paramithia, who endeavoured secretly to befriend the republic, being disclosed to the vizir, he demanded and obtained the son of that chieftain as an hostage for his future behaviour. During a cessation of hostilities he dispatched his selictar agà, accompanied by Kitzio Botzari, a brother of the late traitor, to Suli, with proposals for the surrender of their mountain citadels for the sum of 2000 purses, with permission to settle in any part of his dominions free from all taxes and contributions. The Suliots, being so often forewarned, easily penetrated into his intentions and returned the following spirited reply:

" Βεζίρ Αλή Πασά σέ χαιρετούμεν"

" Ἡ Πατρίς μας ἔιναι ἀπείρως γλυκυτέρα καὶ ἀπὸ τὰ ἄσπρα σο, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐντυχῆς τόπυς, ὁπῶ ὑπόσχεσαι νὰ μᾶς δώσῃς· ὁθεν ματαίως κοπιᾷσεις, ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἐλευθερία μας δὲν πωλεῖται, ἔτε ἀγοράζεται σχεδὸν μὲ ὅλως τὸς θησαυρὸς τῆς γῆς, παρὰ μὲ τὸ αἷμα καὶ θάνατον ἕως τὸν ὑπερον Σωλιώτην."

TRANSLATION.

" Vizir Ali Pasha, we greet you.

" Our country is infinitely more dear to us than your wealth, or

the fine territory which you promise to bestow upon us. You labour therefore in vain. Liberty is not to be bought by all the treasures of the earth. We will fight till there exists not a Suliot to defend his country."

After the failure of these public proposals, Ali turned all his thoughts to excite individual treachery within this brave republic. Accordingly he dispatched a letter secretly to the valiant Captain Dimo Zerva, promising him 800 purses, with all the honours he could desire, if he would betray the republic. Zerva immediately convened the chiefs, read the letter in their presence, and returned the following answer on the spot.

" I thank you, vizir, for the kind regard you express towards me, but I beseech you not to send the purses, for I should not know how to count them ; and if I did, believe me that one single pebble belonging to my country, much less that country itself, would in my eyes appear too great a return for them. Equally vain are the honours you offer to bestow upon me. The honours of a Suliot lie in his arms. With these I hope to immortalize my name and preserve my country."

Ali, fertile in expedients, now tried the effect of hierarchical interposition, and a long correspondence took place between the Archbishop of Ioannina and the Bishop of Paramithia, in whose diocese Suli is situated. This was carried on by means of an infamous monk, called,

for his wicked character, Kako-Joseph (Κακοϊωσήφ): but the good bishop, who deservedly bore the appellation of Chrysanthos, steadily rebutted all attempts to corrupt his principles: he was afterwards obliged, through fear of his life, to escape and fly to Parga. Ali's troops now began to desert: he had lost, it is said, near 4000 in the last nine months of the war, whilst only twenty-five Suliots had perished*. These latter, however became greatly distressed for want of provisions, being closely blockaded by the besieging army and deprived of all their external dependencies: yet never at any period did the flame of liberty burn more brightly in their bosoms, nor did they ever make greater sacrifices for the love of their country. Contriving to send off their useless mouths to Parga and the Ionian islands, they distributed their provisions to the different captains of the republic in proportion to their number of followers.

About this time they received a quantity of arms and other stores from Bonaparte, by the French brig of war, the Arab, which landed them at Porto Fanari, from whence they were secretly conveyed to Suli. This circumstance however proved rather a misfortune than a benefit, since it produced a jealousy of their cause in the minds both of the Russians and the English, who might otherwise have assisted them in their desperate emergency.

After a year's siege their condition became so lamentable that they were obliged to live upon acorns, herbs, and roots, and to grind and mix up the bark of trees with a very scanty proportion of meal; yet under all these calamities their enemies could gain no advantage over them when they came to engage in conflict. In their extreme distress

* I take some of these relations from the work of a Parghiote, published in Venice A. D. 1815, upon the wars of Suli. I have altered many from more accurate information: indeed the writer, though he gives the chief events of the war, seems very ignorant of motives and political causes; and I cannot help suspecting that in many other instances besides the one referred to in the text, he errs greatly in the number of Suliots who fell in different encounters with the pasha's troops. In spite of all advantages of situation or superiority of courage, the difference could not be so great.

the following is one of the manœuvres which they executed to obtain supplies.

Four hundred of their bravest palikars, with 170 female heroines, headed by Mosco, sallied out by night, escaped under cover of the darkness through the defile of Glyky, and arrived in safety at Parga. There they were joyfully received by the compassionate inhabitants, fed for the space of four days, and on the fifth dismissed with as much provision as they could carry for their famished countrymen. One hundred of this troop, with lighter burdens, marched as an advanced guard, to protect the convoy ; next came the women in the centre, and then the rest of the men, each carrying as much as he could possibly support. The Albanians, to the number of more than a thousand, endeavoured to intercept their return, but either through fear of the men, or from that respect towards the women which is carried in this country to such an excess that the soldiers sometimes fire from behind them without fear of a return, they refrained from attacking the party ; its arrival was most welcome to the Suliots, reduced as they were almost to skeletons, through famine : yet even in this extremity their constant cry was liberty or death.

In the mean time the vizir was constantly at head quarters with the army, except when his presence was required in his capital ; nor did he omit any of those allurements and seductive arts which he so well knows how to apply, for bringing over some of the Suliot captains to his interests. Among these, two only were found capable of listening to his promises and of preferring the favour and money of a tyrant to a sense of honour and patriotic devotion. These two, viz. Cuzzonica and Diamante Zerva, held frequent interviews with the common enemy, and carried messages and proposals from him to the council of the republic : these were all indignantly repelled by the strenuous exertions of Foto Tzavella and Dimo Draco, or by the patriotic exhortations of Samuel the caloyer, to whom the Suliots paid the highest reverence. These brave captains took a solemn oath, in which they

invited many of the citizens to join, that they would war with the tyrant till victory or death should release them—they dared all dangers in defence of their country—they animated the brave—they encouraged the timid—and by their experience, sagacity, and courage, fully justified the implicit confidence reposed in them by their countrymen.

In the mean time Diamante Zerva repented of his conduct, and broke off all connexion with the enemy: he endeavoured to persuade the Suliots that his motives for engaging in it, were to gain money for the public service, and to procure the release of their hostages from Ioannina. Notwithstanding this he was never able to regain the confidence or good opinion of his fellow-citizens. The worst horrors of famine now began to appear again at Suli: but the misery of the people made them ingenious, and many stratagems were executed for procuring food even from their besiegers. Amongst these, the contrivance of one Gianni Strivinioti is particularly recorded. This man having received intelligence that the Turks had lately procured a large supply of cattle from the neighbouring pastures, dressed himself in his white capote and camise, and concealing himself till the shades of evening had descended, walked out on all fours from his lurking place, and mingling with the herds, entered together with them into the stalls when they were shut up. In the dead of night he arose silently, opened the doors, unloosed the oxen, and drove them towards a party of his friends, who were in waiting to receive them. The Albanians heard the noise, but were so alarmed by suspicion of an ambuscade, that they lay still, and preferred the loss of their cattle to the danger of their lives. At another time some troops of the vizir took an ass belonging to the Suliots, which had strayed near their camp. At the earnest request of the latter by a flag of truce, it was restored under promise of an equivalent, when one of their Mahometan prisoners of the highest rank was in consequence released, with an intimation, that if the exchange were

not thought equal, the Suliots were ready to make more ample compensation. When the vizir, enraged at their obstinate defence, offered, by proclamation, a reward of fifty piastres for every head of a Suliote, they in return, by a counter proclamation, made light of this reward, and proposed ten charges of gunpowder to every citizen who should bring in the skull of an enemy.

About this time a bright speck appeared in the midst of that political gloom which hung over the crags of Suli. The ambitious and exterminating designs of Ali became apparent to many other states, and they hastened to form an alliance, offensive and defensive, with this intrepid republic. Amongst these new allies were numbered Ibrahim Pasha of Berat, Mustafà of Delvino, Pronio Agà of Paramithia, Mahmout an independent bey of Tzamouria, and Daliani Agà of Konispoli; and thus the whole coast, from Avlona to Suli, was now engaged in arms against the tyrant. Against this torrent he opposed the invincible force of gold: by vast largesses, distributed among the independent beys, he soon excited a civil war in the states of Ibrahim, and drew him into his own dominions: by opening a secret communication with its governor, he introduced a large body of troops into the fortress of Delvino, carried off some Suliote hostages from thence, and obliged Mustafà to make a separate peace. The other allies however continued true to their engagements. The Suliots, in order that the zeal of these might not have time to cool, planned an immediate attack, in concert, upon the Albanian outposts: in the execution of this they partially succeeded, taking a considerable number of prisoners, whom they disarmed and released, telling them to go home, provide fresh weapons, and then return, for that the Suliots still wanted arms. Soon after this attack Ali sent a large force against Paramithia, which would probably have succeeded, had not Travella and Dimeo Draco poured down with their troops like a mountain torrent upon the invading enemy, whom they totally defeated, and liberated their ally from his dangerous situation. Ali, in

revenge, cut off the heads of all the Suliote hostages which he had taken at Delvino, except two, the brother of Tzavella, and the son of Draco, hoping, by this reservation, to bring the characters of these chieftains into suspicion amongst their countrymen. In this however he failed. They called together the people, and after a most animated harangue, in which they declared that they considered these dear relatives as victims sacrificed upon the altar of their country, they persuaded the Suliots to arm and follow them against the foe, where, by a terrible slaughter, they took ample revenge for the innocent blood which had been shed. Whilst Ali was preparing a blow of retaliation for this disgrace, he suddenly received orders from the Porte to lead his contingent to the army of the grand vizir, which lay before Adrianople, against the rebel Paswan Oglou. These orders he did not think fit to disobey. During his absence the Suliots laid in stores of provisions and arms, and by the advice of Samuel, greatly enlarged the strong fort of Agia Paraskevi, upon the hill of Kunghi.

Ali, at his return, began his usual arts of negotiation, endeavouring to impose upon the Suliots with a false and treacherous proposal of peace, under condition of their allowing him to build and garrison one tower in their district, and banishing from their territories the brave Foto Tzavella, as the chief impediment in the way of tranquillity.

His ambassadors on this occasion were Kitzo Botzari and Cuzzonica, who, by dint of threats and promises, hopes and fears, prevailed upon the republic to request the secession of their bravest captain from those mountains of which his valour was the noblest ornament.

Foto, like an ancient Roman in the early times of the republic, addressed the assembly on this occasion in a speech full of dignity, as well as of compassion for his deluded countrymen; he exhorted them to beware of their inveterate enemy's insidious designs, but disdained to plead in behalf of himself. After the council had broken up, he proceeded to his dwelling, and taking a torch in his hand, he set fire

to the roof, and waited till it was burnt to the ground; declaring, that no enemy of Suli should ever cross the threshold of the Tzavellas: he then buried his sword, and taking an affectionate leave of his friends and family, bid adieu to the mountains which his valour had so long defended, and left his countrymen much in the same state as the silly sheep who were persuaded by the wolves to dismiss their guardians.

The vizir now set every engine to work that might bring Foto into his power, and the reader will be able to form some idea of the artifice and cunning of this man when he learns that success attended his endeavours. Tzavella however did not proceed to Ioannina before he had made the offer of returning to his country, upon condition that certain traitors, whom he named, were banished: this being negatived, he went to the desired conference upon the most solemn protestations of Ali's good faith: he soon however found upon what a frail foundation he had built his hopes, for when he refused to enter into the tyrant's views of enslaving his country, he was thrown, in spite of faith and promises, into prison.

May 12th, 1803.—About this time the Suliots, having received some supplies, made their last attempt against their besiegers. The most important post occupied by the Albanians was that of Villa, where they had built a large square fortress with a strong tower at each angle, and a lofty central one in the area, which served as the principal magazine for the vizir's army. This fortress it was determined to attack, and 200 picked men set out upon the expedition in a very dark and windy night. Having made their approaches unperceived by the enemy, one of them, named Metococcales, took a spade and pick-axe, with which he worked patiently and perseveringly until he had excavated a large hole under the foundation of a corner tower. In this he deposited a barrel of gunpowder, lighted a slow fusee, and returned to his companions who had concealed themselves behind a rock. They then set up a tremendous shout which brought the garrison quickly to the suspected place of attack, where they had scarcely arrived before

an explosion took place which buried them beneath the ruins of the angle. The Suliots then rushed like a torrent through the breach and gained possession of the great central tower; this they emptied of all its stores, which they delivered to their women and children, who arrived in great numbers, and the whole time till the dawn of day was occupied in their removal. That part of the garrison which escaped the effects of the explosion had retreated into the three remaining angular towers which they strongly barricadoed. In the morning they were summoned to surrender, and required in token of submission to cast down their arms at the foot of each tower. This the Albanians pretended to do, but when the Suliots came to pick them up, they were fired upon by a reserve and great numbers killed. This want of faith so enraged them that they sent for a large reinforcement of their countrymen, upon whose arrival they applied a vast heap of pitch and other combustibles to the entrances of the towers and burned alive or suffocated these perfidious enemies.

This however was the last action of any consequence that they performed and the evil star of Suli now began to predominate. The vizir in the fury of his indignation sent forth proclamations calling upon every Mahometan throughout his dominions and amongst his allies, in the name of their great prophet, to avenge this slaughter upon the heads of the Suliots. Having by these means collected a large army, he placed it under the command of his son Vely, who encamped in the neighbourhood of Glyky. Besides these, 5000 troops were stationed under two distinguished captains named Mezzo Bonno and Agho Mordari, at Villa; 4500 at Zabruco under Hassan Zapari and Ibrahim Demi; 3000 at Syritziana under Bekir Giogadurus, and 4000 at Tzecurati under Usuff Agà surnamed 'The Arab.'

Even against this overwhelming force the Suliots did not despair, but engaged bravely in conflict both day and night, and by the most daring stratagems and surprises reduced their enemies to such a pitch of despair that they began to consider them as invincible and to desert

in considerable numbers. At last however Kitzio Botzari by large bribes and larger promises prevailed upon Cuzzonica and one Pylio Gusi to betray their native mountains. Just before this time the vizir had liberated Foto Tzavella upon condition of sending his wife and children to Ioannina as hostages and settling himself with the rest of his family, either at Parga or one of the Ionian islands. In the month of September, 1803, this gallant chieftain came to Suli for the last time : assembling the council of the republic in Kiaffa he gave them all the information possible respecting the state of affairs, exhorted them to defend their liberties unto death, and advised them to send away all useless hands under plea of his relationship and the security of his conduct. The Suliots followed his advice, and Foto led these unhappy exiles to Parga, from whence they embarked for Corfu. In the mean time Cuzzonica and Gusi having had several conferences with Vely Pasha at Glyky, and engaged the whole fara of the Zervas to act as their base accomplices, led a body of 200 Albanians through some secret passes of the mountains and concealed them in the houses of the conspirators. Next day Vely made a general attack and the Suliots while they were engaged in the defiles were assaulted in the rear and dispersed ; great numbers were killed and the rest either retreated into Kako-Suli or shut themselves up with Samuel in the tower of Kunghi, whilst Kiaffa itself fell into the hands of the enemy. News of this unfortunate event reaching the ears of Foto Tzavella he was unable to restrain his ardour, and although his dearest pledges were in the power of the tyrant, he resolutely abandoned them to their fate, and departing for Suli passed unperceived through the enemy's guards by night and threw himself into the fort of Kunghi with the caloyer. From that place he headed a desperate sally against a large body of troops under the immediate conduct of Ali himself, who came to attack Kako-Suli over the mountains of Dervitziana, and put them so completely to the rout, that the vizir retired to Ioannina and left the whole conduct of the war to his son. The poor Suliots were at last so worn down by war and famine, and so

strictly blockaded on every side by their inveterate enemies that they were reduced to the necessity of accepting terms of capitulation, which were proposed and ratified on the 12th of December 1803: yet even in this their distressed situation the terror of the Suliot name was so great that the whole population was permitted quietly to emigrate and settle wherever they might please.

And now follow the most bloody and perfidious scenes in the catastrophe of this tragic history. Men, women, and children being gathered together, they were separated into two bodies, the largest of which under the conduct of Tzavella and Dimo Draco bent their steps towards Parga, whilst the other marched in the direction of Prevesa with the intention of embarking for Santa Maura. Both were attacked on their road by the troops of the perfidious tyrant. The first mentioned corps having formed a hollow square, and placed their wives, children, and cattle in the midst, gallantly fought their way through the enemy and effected their retreat. The other party were not equally fortunate. Being overtaken by their pursuers at the monastery of Zalongo, they entrenched themselves in its court and prepared for a stout defence: so many troops however were brought against them that the gates of the monastery were soon forced and an indiscriminate slaughter commenced; those that could escape took the road to Arta, but a party of about 100 women and children, being cut off from the rest, fled towards a steep precipice at a little distance from the convent: there the innocent babes were thrown over the rocks by their despairing mothers, whilst the women themselves, preferring death to the dishonour that awaited them, joined hand in hand, and raising their minds to the highest pitch of enthusiasm by songs in honour of their lost country, they whirled round and round in a species of frantic dance like ancient Thyades, till they approached the very edge of the cliff; then with a loud shout of defiance, and as it were by a preconcerted signal, one and all threw themselves headlong down.

After the evacuation of Suli, Samuel the caloyer with four privates remained in the great fortress of Aghia Paraskevì upon Kunghi, to deliver up an inventory of its stores to the commissioners appointed by Vely Pasha. Having received intelligence of the vizir's perfidy towards his countrymen, he determined to take the only revenge that now lay in his power. Accordingly as soon as the Albanian bey and his attendants entered, he descended into the subterranean vaults with a lighted torch, and plunging it into the gunpowder of the magazine blew up the fortress and all it contained into the air; by which terrible act of retribution he avoided the horrid fate prepared for him by the vizir, who had sworn, if he took him, to flay him alive and stuff his skin as a curiosity.

Those of the Suliot exiles who escaped from Zalongo pursued their way through storms of wind and rain aided by the darkness of night, fathers leading their children in one hand and carrying their naked swords in the other, mothers tying their infants on their backs, and some even putting them to death lest their cries should attract the attention of their pursuers. Next day however they were discovered by the Albanians, surrounded and made prisoners; but subsequently were released and allowed by the vizir to settle at Vurgareli which is at the foot of Mount Tzumerka, six hours distant from Arta. After their surrender a party of the Albanians withdrew to a place called Rhiniasa, near the ruins of an ancient city, supposed to have been Elatria: here was a small settlement of Suliots, most of whom had fled, except the family of one Giorgakì Botzi, whose wife and children inhabited a large pyrgo or tower, called the Gula τῆς Διμυλᾶς, which was barricadoed against attack. The barbarous soldiers surrounded their habitation and called upon these unhappy females to yield: the mistress, named Despo, then assembled her family together and asked them if they preferred death to dishonour? Being unanimously answered in the affirmative, she ordered them to fire off all the ammunition which had been left in

the tower against the ruffians, except one barrel of gunpowder: to this she herself applied a match and blew up the tower with all its tenants into the air.

But the scene is not yet to close over the miserable remnant of Suli. Ali, whose revenge was still unsatiated, sent a considerable body of forces against the colony of Vurgareli with orders for its extirpation. The unfortunate colonists having received intimation of his design decamped suddenly, and took up a strong position at the monastery of Seltzo, at the foot of a mountain called Fruzia, not far from the Achelous. In the latter end of January, 1804, they were attacked here by an army of Albanians, which for the horrid purpose of revenge had been picked out of the relatives and friends of those who had fallen in the wars of Suli. After a siege of several months, in which these miserable exiles bravely resisted the attempts of their enemies, Ali sent strong reinforcements with a severe reprimand to his officers, and orders for a general assault. Thus stimulated, the barbarians made another attempt which was attended with success: the Suliots were all put to the sword, except a few that escaped into Acarnania, whilst the women in a fit of desperation ran towards the Achelous and cast both their children and themselves into its stream.

The Suliote mountains being evacuated by their brave defenders, Ali repaired the towers and forts, and laid the foundation of that splendid fortified serai which now adorns the highest top of Kiaffa, and is the strongest post in all his dominions. In the mean time the poor Suliots, dispersed abroad amongst the neighbouring tribes, took refuge, some at Santa Maura and others with the Albanian beys; but the greatest part retired to Parga and Corfu: here they subsisted upon charity, or enrolled themselves in the service of their protectors, whilst the sight of their dark mountains towering above the Tzamouriot hills, and the thoughts of those days when they wandered about their native rocks free as the mountain storm, filled their hearts with melancholy recollections. A source from which they endeavoured to draw consolation

in their misfortunes was the composition of patriotic songs, which they sung upon the downfall of their country and the valour of her sons. The principal one of these, denominated (κατ' ἑξοχὴν) the Song of Suli, and still a great favourite in Albania, will be found subjoined in the margin below*, whilst a translation of it is offered to the English reader, in which the sentiments are all preserved, though in a few instances it was found impossible to adhere strictly to the simplicity of the original.

SONG OF SULI.

1.

Shall Suli submit to the foe?
 Shall her brave palikars bend the knee?
 Shall the fire in their hearts cease to glow,
 Whilst Foto is gallant and free?

2.

Foto lives and is free—let them sneer:
 He bows not his neck to a lord;
 For his musket is Foto's vizir,
 And Foto's pasha is his sword.

* Μὴν προσκυνᾶτε πρὸ παιδία·
 'Ραιάδες μὴν γενῆτε·
 εἶναι ὁ Φῶτος ζωντανός,
 Πασιὰ δὲν προσκυνάει.
 Πασιὰ ἔχει Φῶτος τὸ σπαθὶ
 Βεῖρη τὸ τυφέκι·
 εἰς τὴν Φραγγιὰν τὸν 'ξυρίζον
 καὶ εἰς ἄλλα τὰ ῥηγάτα·
 Ἡρὲ ν' ἀναθεμὰ εἰς Μπότζαρι
 καὶ εἰς τὰ Κινζονίκα
 Μὲ τὴν δουλὰν τὴν κάματτα
 Τῆτο τὸ καλοκάρι·
 Πῆ μπάσσα Δελὴ Πάσσα
 Μίσα 'στὰ Κακσοῦλι·
 'Ενα πυλάκι 'ξέφυγε
 'Απὸ μέτωπίς τῃ Πέρραν.

Σελιώτες τὸν βοήσανε,
 Σελιώτες τὸν βοήσανε,
 Πυλάκι πύθεν ἔρχεσθε;
 καὶ πῶ δὲ καταβάινεις;
 'Απὸ τοῦ Σόλι ἔρχομαι
 καὶ 'στὴν Φραγγιὰν παγάνω.
 Πυλάκι πέσμας τίποτες
 κανέν καλὸ χαμβέρη·
 τί τὸ χαμβέρη τὰ σὰς πῶ
 καὶ νὰ σὰς 'μολογήσω;
 Πῆραν τὸ Σόλι, πῆραν·
 Πῆραν τὸν Αβαρίκον·
 Πῆραν τὴν Κιάφα τὴν κακὴν,
 τὸ Κιάγγι 'Ξακουμένο·
 καὶ ἐκάψαν τὸν εὐλόγερο
 Μὲ πέσματος σωμαίτες·

3.

To Franghia* the hero is sped.
Oh! curse on each traitorous slave!
Cruel Cutzo and Botzari fled
From the ranks of the faithful and brave.

4.

To Parga's dark rock in the sea
A bird has directed its flight;—
"Bird, bird, from what crag dost thou flee?
Where ends thy sad journey to-night?"

5.

'On Suli's high crag is my nest:
To yonder green isle I repair.'
"So peace on thy downy wings rest,
Sweet bird, as its message they bear.

6.

"Then what news from dark Suli, sweet bird?"
'What news? Thou art free, palikar,
But at Suli no more shall be heard
Thy shout in the frenzy of war.

7.

'For Suli lies low and forlorn;
Avarico and Kiaffa renowned;
And Kunghi's high ramparts are torn
Into fragments and scattered around.

8.

'For the gallant Caloyer was there;
And he laughed as he lighted the train:
Oh! he laughed ere he soared up in air
To escape from the conqueror's chain.'

* i. e. to Corfu, for the Ionian islands are included in Franghia or the land of the Franks.

The generous mind, which knows how to respect valour and detest that baseness which can betray it, may feel some relief at knowing that of all those who sold themselves to Ali Pasha for the reduction of Suli not one escaped retribution by the rapacious fangs of him for whom they had thus stained their souls with crime. The chief instrument and prime mover of this treachery, who first induced Botzari to turn traitor, was named Palasca. A brief narrative of the principal events of this man's life may not prove uninteresting to the reader. He was first known as a robber at the head of a gang that infested the mountains of Zagori and Kolonia, where he pillaged caravans and plundered travellers to such a degree that Ali was obliged to send a large force against him and offer a considerable reward to the person who should take him prisoner. After a desperate conflict he was at length secured, brought to Ioannina, and condemned to the stake. On the morning however which was to have seen his execution, a person found means to interest the father of our host, old Anastasi Argyri, in his behalf, and induce him to request a pardon from the vizir. Anastasi accordingly went to the serai and urged his petition upon his knees before Ali. "Leave him to his fate, *φίλε μου*, leave him to his fate, for he is an incorrigible rascal," said the vizir. Anastasi however renewed his entreaties, which he seconded by slipping a diamond ring of great value upon a finger of the hand which he held in supplication. "Well then," replied Ali, "if it must be so, I give you the man; take him and do what you please with him: but I know you will repent this interference." Upon this the old gentleman went to the prison, carried off the culprit to his own house, kept him there for a month, and then dismissed him with a sum of money and abundance of good counsel. The first news he heard afterwards of Palasca, was, that he had organized a large band of desperadoes in the woods about Arta and Salagora, which they rendered almost impassable; and two months had scarcely elapsed before several bales of rich Genoa velvet, the property of Anastasi himself, were seized by this banditti. The old gentleman made

bitter complaint of this when he next visited his friend at the seraglio, but gained no other kind of pity except a loud laugh and a taunt respecting the caution which he had received. "Well, well," said Anastasi, "I will at least make one attempt for the recovery of my property." Upon this he went home and dispatched a messenger to Palasca with a letter, to which he received an immediate answer from the robber informing him that his goods were all restored at the dogana of Salagora, and that if the bales had been full of sequins not one should have been taken: he made an apology for neglecting his advice and following such a life, but pleaded the impossibility of inaction, or pursuing any other course but that to which he had been so long habituated. The outrages of this gang at length became so daring that Ali was obliged to send a little army against them, when Palasca was so hotly pursued that he deserted his company and fled for refuge to the rocks of Suli. There he lived for some time in good repute, married a daughter of the Captain Botzari, and led many parties of Suliots with great success against the forces of the vizir. At last it struck Ali, who knew the character of the man, that he might be converted into a fit instrument for the promotion of his designs. He therefore entered into communication with him by means of his selictar-agà, with whom Palasca was before acquainted, gained him over to betray those who had so hospitably received him, and through his influence persuaded Botzari also to act as a traitor to his country. Palasca was now not only pardoned but received into high honour by the vizir; was made a captain in his army, and accompanied him in his expedition against Paswan Oglou: there he so distinguished himself that he was soon promoted to a still higher command, and taken completely into confidence. Upon their return to Ioannina he was made a member of the divan and intrusted with many important commissions: amongst others was that of collecting the tribute in one of the districts of the pashalic. Here however the temptation became too strong, his old habits returned in full vigour, he ran off with the money, and again took

refuge in Suli. At the capture of this place he was one of that party who were attacked by the Albanians at the monastery of Seltzo, but with about fifty others made his escape and fled into the forests of Acarnania: there he took up again his old trade of robber with a large brigade, but was at last routed by Ali's troops, discovered by a shepherd amidst the reeds of a marsh, and carried off to Ioannina. There he found no Anastasi again to plead for him; but having had his skin flayed from his face, and his hands and feet chopped off, he was left to die by the side of the public road, a miserable spectacle to all beholders.

The Suliots had not long been banished from their country before they were engaged by Hassan Zapari and the beys of Tzamouria to attempt its recovery. Ali, after the reduction of Suli, refused to withdraw his troops from the Tzamouriot district, before all its seaports should be delivered into his power. In fact, for political purposes, he entered into an agreement to rent the duties of these ports from the Capudan Pasha; but the beys refused to pay the revenue into his hands, or allow his garrisons to collect it, though they expressed a perfect readiness to receive and pay any other officer whom the Porte should appoint. They now brought into the field about 7000 men, and retook the important fortress of Leftherochori, which Ali had occupied by a coup de main: but still fearing the event of the contest, they applied to the Russians in Corfu for assistance, and allured the Suliots to join their cause, with the hope of recovering their native mountains. From Count Mocenigo at Corfu, they received an auxiliary force of Albanian warriors, and the Suliots landed to the number of about 1500, at the mouth of the Acheron or Porto Fanari. The issue of this contest however turned out most disastrous to the independent cause. Ali took about forty towns and villages, with much plunder and many prisoners, and would at this time have conquered all Tzamouria, but that he thought it his best policy to act with forbearance and yield to

the desire of his adversaries for peace, which was mediated by the Turkish admiral Seramet Bey : thus he deceived the Porte by shewing a deference to its authority and pleading his own wish to preserve order and tranquillity as the sole inducement for taking up arms.

The Suliots in the mean time were very ungenerously treated by their allies, having been left in total want of clothes, ammunition, provisions, and every kind of assistance ; nor was any attempt ever made to reinstate them in the land of their ancestors, though this had been held out as the chief inducement for their services. Thus deserted they fought their way back to Parga, repelling their enemies wherever they met them, and from thence retreated again to Corfu : there they accepted an offer of the Russian authorities to form a regiment in the Albanian battalion*, just as they were deliberating upon a plan of emigration, for the purpose of founding a republic in some other district of Greece.

The part taken in these affairs by the Russians served but to augment Ali's hatred against them ; and his jealousy was this year (1805) still further alarmed by an event in the north of Albania, where the republic of Monte Negro, which is able to bring 20,000 muskets into the field, voluntarily took the oath of allegiance to the Russian government. The Russians on their part were equally jealous of Ali Pasha's increasing power, from whence they foresaw the most serious obstacles against their own designs upon European Turkey : hence they

* This battalion was commanded by a Russian officer named Bekendorff ; and was increased and recruited by exiles from all parts of the continent who fled either from the tyranny or the justice of Ali Pasha. Each regiment consisted of nine companies, each company being commanded by a captain, two lieutenants and one ensign : the pay of a captain was only sixty piastres per month, of a lieutenant forty, of an ensign twenty-five, and a private nineteen. In the war which soon ensued between Russia and France this corps was employed in the Neapolitan expedition, and after the peace of Tilsit it passed into the service of the French under the command of Col. Minot. Foto Tzavella and Mosco his mother both held commissions, the former that of a captain, the latter of a major in this battalion, but resigned them, like many others from disgust at ill treatment, as well as from that inherent love in the Albanians for his native soil, which, as in the case of the Swiss, never forsakes him. Foto with forty men passed over to Ioannina, threw himself at the feet of the pasha, made the *προσκύνησις* or adoration, and was received into his service. Mosco who accompanied him married a second husband, and was living in that capital at the time of our residence there.

sought by every method to counteract his designs and controul his movements; but not succeeding in any of their enterprises for want of spirit, activity, and proper intelligence, they always involved the poor Grecks in the most serious calamities, and promoted the very plans which it was their intention to oppose. They did however succeed in counteracting his machinations at Constantinople, where he began to put all his arts in practice to gain permission for re-occupying the ex-Venetian towns, or at least to get the appointment of the commissioner vested in himself, which would have led to the same result.

About this time also the rapid progress of the French arms in Dalmatia excited his apprehensions, and in this dilemma he turned his views towards the English government, with which he had continued to carry on an active correspondence through Lord Collingwood, the successor of Lord Nelson in command of the Mediterranean fleet. Hence it was that Major Leake, who had this year been sent upon a commission to Ioannina, was detained to take a military survey of the country and point out the best means of defence against an invading enemy. In these measures Ali was employed, building fortresses, reforming his police, clearing the country of banditti, and above all endeavouring to sow dissensions in the neighbouring states, of which he might take advantage, when the victory of Austerlitz, which was followed by the union of Illyricum and Dalmatia with the French empire, made him think it prudent to recover the favour of the Emperor. Bonaparte having at this time serious designs upon European Turkey, did not think proper to repel his advances, but even sent him some very valuable presents through General Massena. Ali himself declares that he offered to make him independent king of Epirus; but he has no document to prove the truth of this assertion.

As Russia still continued in hostility with France and at the same time manifested designs of aggrandizing herself at the expence of Turkey, Ali thought the opportunity was now arrived for attacking that power in the Ionian islands, and of establishing an authority there

which he had long ardently desired. He sent a request to Bonaparte that a French resident might be established in his capital, and Mr. Pouqueville was selected for that important office with the title of consul general, whilst his brother was appointed vice-consul under him at Prevesa.

The French minister at the Porte at this time governed the councils of the Divan, not only by the influence of his emperor's success but by the bribes which he distributed amongst its members. Through his interest Ali procured the pashalic of Lepanto for his son Mouchtar and that of the Morea for Vely: in return he assisted Sebastiani in promoting the rupture which succeeded between Turkey and Russia, at the very commencement of which he obtained the permission he so eagerly coveted of re-occupying the continental dependencies of the Ionian islands. Upon taking possession of Prevesa he reduced that unfortunate place by systematic oppression to the state of abject misery in which it is now seen. Having, in defiance of the treaty of 1800, deprived most of the original proprietors of their lands and houses, which he distributed amongst his Mahometan followers, he demolished two-thirds of the city, overthrew the churches, laid the foundation of a splendid seraglio for his own residence, and built a spacious mosque. All this was done not only to prevent any European state from taking an interest in its restitution, but to furnish a plausible pretext to the Ottoman Porte for refusing ever after to restore a *Turkish* city to the protection of an infidel power. Vonizza also and Butrinto were in like manner ruined, though these places in the height of their prosperity were insignificant if compared with Prevesa. Parga luckily escaped this storm by receiving a Russian garrison from Corfu into its fortress.

Ali nevertheless anticipating the completion of his views upon the Seven Islands, strenuously urged Mr. Pouqueville to furnish him with artillery and engineers, engaging to push the war in this quarter so vigorously against the Russians, that they should be unable to annoy the French army of Dalmatia, or send any reinforcements to Cattaro,

the siege of which was now meditated by the French who were in great force at Ragusa. At the commencement of 1807 his wishes were gratified; he received both artillery-men and stores, conveyed in a gun-boat and a corvette from the kingdom of Naples, whilst Colonel Vaudoncourt, a skilful engineer, who had been dispatched upon a mission by Marmont to the beys and pashas of Erzegovina, Albania and Epirus, remained in his dominions to superintend operations. This officer in a dispatch to Marshal Marmont, which I have seen, affirms that he had no difficulty in developing the motives and estimating the probable services of all the other chieftains whom he visited, but he describes Ali Pasha as a man arrived at the head of an independent state by a complicated series of the most enormous crimes, during which he had by forty years practice acquired a dissimulation perfectly impenetrable: falsity had become his habitual character and his hardened soul never betrayed by the least external agitation the passion lurking within: accustomed to sacrifice without mercy all the agents in those transactions which he was not willing to avow, a bloody and impervious veil covered all his manœuvres. In the commencement of his residence at Ioannina this officer proceeds to say that he was deceived by the vizir's apparent symptoms of good faith, by the frankness of his protestations and the calm physiognomy of his open countenance; but he soon began to entertain suspicions of his character and designs by the solicitude shewn to mislead him with regard to his military resources, by the discrepancy observable between his discourse and actions, by the constant fears expressed lest the French Emperor should demand the restoration of the ex-Venetian towns, by the merit he made of the fortress which he was constructing at Prevesa, and the fluctuation of his projects regarding Parga and Santa Maura: all which things proved that Ali had views and interests perfectly distinct from his allies, and he soon found that these centred in his own occupation of the septinsular republic at the conclusion of the war. Every subtile art was put in practice to dis-

cover whether Mons. Vaudoncourt possessed any secret order respecting such an arrangement; in the mean time Ali was constantly making a display of his services, agitating his presumed rights over the islands which he affects to say constitute an integral part of the Epirotic territory, expressing his expectations of a recompence, or endeavouring at any rate to elicit a promise of reimbursement in case the cession of any place should be required. The colonel did not think proper to destroy these hopes lest he should detach him at once from the French interests, and though he longed to send a statement of his surmises to Marshal Marmont, he was restrained by knowing that his dispatches would be opened, and he was not in possession of a cipher. A single intercepted dispatch might have caused Ali to take measures injurious to the welfare of the Dalmatian army, whilst his ulterior views could do no harm, and the very belief felt throughout Europe that he was attached to the French cause might in reality prove beneficial to it.

In the mean time Ali continued his exertions with extraordinary activity: he endeavoured to intrigue with the Tzamouriots and Paramithians, for the purpose of carrying Parga by a coup de main, but in this he failed. Under the direction of Colonel Vaudoncourt he threw up works round Ioannina, strengthened his scrai of Litaritza, and constructed those forts and lines at Prevesa which have been already described, and which are formidable when compared with Turkish fortifications in general: but his unconquerable avarice, and his insecurity with regard to indemnification, upon the restoration of the place being demanded, caused him to thwart his engineer in every plan: however as the object of this latter was only to keep the Russians in check, he submitted quietly to all the vizir's caprices, and left him a work which is but partially constructed according to the rules of art. Having thus secured Prevesa, he prosecuted the siege of Santa Maura with all possible activity, hoping to gain possession of that island before any general cession should be made, as no one knows better the value of previous occupation. His army encamped

on the beach of Playa, where the channel of the Dioryctos is narrowest; it consisted of 8000 Albanians under command of his old general Usuf Araps, and to this were opposed on the side of the Russians about 2000 troops of the line, with a multitude of the Suliots, Ali's inveterate enemies, augmented by numerous deserters who fled from his injustice or his tyranny.

It is doubtful whether he would not have attained this object of his most ardent wishes, had it not been for a well-timed diversion promoted by the Russians, which menaced the internal tranquillity of his states. This arose from a general insurrection of the Tzamouriots and Paramithians, in league with the pashas of Delvino and Berat, and if this latter had been a man of more decided character, Ali, instead of gaining Santa Maura, might have been driven out of Epirus. But he soon found means to divert Ibrahim from the alliance, sowed dissensions amongst the others, or checked them by his arms.

About this time our celebrated naval expedition sailed against Constantinople, the motives and conduct of which have been so mistaken and misrepresented by politicians on this side the water, that I think it right to state what opinions were entertained respecting it by those nearer to the scene of action.

Russia, in all her enterprises and political schemes, ever keeps her eye fixed upon the possessions of Turkey: she is also aware that she never can gain her point unless England be willing to assist or unable to oppose her. In the year 1806 that great northern power saw a favourable opening in affairs of which she endeavoured eagerly to take advantage. Knowing that England was alarmed at the preponderating influence of Bonaparte, she entered into an alliance with her offensive and defensive, and then succeeded in forcing Turkey into a contest by demands which she never would have made had she not been sure of the assistance of her new ally. At the very commencement of this war a powerful Russian army took military possession of the important provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, and

the very existence of the Turkish empire in Europe was threatened. It was not long before England saw the ultimate aim of Russia, but she could not refuse her co-operation without a risk of throwing Alexander into the arms of Bonaparte; accordingly Admiral Duckworth received orders to advance with his fleet against the Dardanelles. That officer sent a frigate to Corfu, with an intimation to Admiral Siniavin that he expected his contingent, which was supposed to consist of about six ships of the line: instead of this however the Russian admiral immediately bent the sails of nearly thirty; which when our resident in that island observed, he instantly dispatched a confidential messenger overland, in the disguise of a Turkish dervish, to inform the British admiral of the fact, who, upon this intelligence, made all possible expedition, whilst his Russian ally delayed his course at the isles of Hydra, Spezie, and Poros, to procure additional vessels and to man his own. Admiral Siniavin was quite astounded when he met our fleet at the mouth of the Dardanelles, on its return from Constantinople, against which it had not fired a shot: by this circumstance, whether it may be styled a lucky incident or a masterly manœuvre, the Turkish capital was saved from that destruction to which it had been devoted by the cabinet of St. Petersburg. Had the Russian fleet once been permitted to anchor before Constantinople, an immense force was prepared in the Black Sea to co-operate from that quarter, and the armies on the Moldavian and Wallachian frontiers were ready to pour down upon their prey. At no time before was the Crescent ever in such danger, and it may be long ere Russia shall again be able to drive her adversary so far into the toils. The treaty of Tilsit took place soon after these events.

CHAPTER VIII.

Ali deserted by his French Allies—Sends an Envoy to the Conference at Tilsit—Seven Islands conceded to the French—Ali endeavours to gain Parga, but fails—His impolitic Revenge—Admits an English Agent to a Conference—Assists the English in making Peace with Turkey, and publicly espouses the British Interests—Expulsion of the French from five of the seven Islands—Ali takes Berat—Endeavours to gain possession of Santa Maura and Parga, but fails—Makes a Gain both of the English and the French—Conquers the Tzamouriot Beys—Subdues Kimarra—Mission of Mr. G. Foresti as English Envoy to Ioannina—Ali escapes the Danger of a powerful Invasion by the French Troops from Dalmatia and Corfu—Avlona taken and Ibrahim Pasha made Prisoner—Ali attacks Gardiki, conquers it, and massacres the Inhabitants—Murders the Pasha of Delvino—Takes Measures preparatory to putting Ibrahim to death—The Porte sends an Officer to inquire into his Conduct—Ali's Cunning—His Treatment of the French Consul—Alarmed at the Conduct of the Porte—Averts the Storm—Endeavours to bribe General Denzelot and Mr. Pouqueville to surrender up Parga to his Arms—Failing in this Attempt he attacks it with his Troops—Defeated before the City—Parga surrenders itself to English Protection—Subsequent Transactions relative to its History and final Delivery into the Hands of its inveterate Foe—Summary of Ali's Character—Views regarding his Successor, &c. &c.

WHEN the armistice was concluded between Russia and France, Ali was still occupied in prosecuting the siege of Santa Maura and

forming schemes for the extension of his power. But upon that event taking place, his French allies withdrew from the contest, and left him to his own resources. A Turk either has, or pretends to have, no notion of this etiquette and delicacy of conduct; Ali therefore affected great surprise at what he termed a base desertion, discovered traits of extreme ill humour, and spread the most extraordinary rumours and alarms throughout Albania, being almost thrown off the balance of that equilibrium which it was still necessary for him to sustain. He however dispatched a messenger to the congress at Tilsit, endeavouring to gain by negotiation what he had failed to take by force. His envoy had formerly been in the service of Bonaparte himself. He was originally an Italian friar, and chief inquisitor at Malta, from whence he accompanied the French army to Egypt, as interpreter of languages: on his return to Europe, after the battle of the Nile, he was taken by a Turkish privateer, and sent as a present to Ali Pasha at Ioannina: there he met with a call to the Mahometan faith, into which he was admitted under the name of Mahmet; he insinuated himself into the good graces of a beautiful young Turkish damsel whom he married, and of his sovereign whom he served with such zeal in various negotiations that he was now appointed ambassador and plenipotentiary at this important conference. Here, however, his eloquence was of no avail, and he returned to Ioannina, announcing the cession of the Septinsular republic to the dominion of France.

As soon as this cession was made, and the arrival of Cæsar Berthier as governor-general made known, Ali thought it a favourable opportunity of attempting to gain possession of Parga. With that view he sent his second minister of state, Sechrî Effendi, to Corfu, accompanied by the schoolmaster Psalida, who urged his demands with so many plausible pretexts, and supported his claims so adroitly from the tenor of that treaty which he had himself so shamefully violated, that Berthier, who had received orders from Bonaparte to humour

the vizir, and concede to him any reasonable request, was upon the point of surrendering up the place. Just at this time a deputation arrived from Parga to counteract the wiles of their inveterate adversary, and so forcibly did these patriots display his insidious arts, their own long attachment and connexion with the Ionian government, and their unshaken determination to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of their independence, that even Berthier was moved to compassion, and felt his soul animated by certain feelings of generous enthusiasm. He entered heartily into the cause of the Parghiotes, and exerted himself so effectually with the French emperor, that the city and territory were taken under protection, and definitively annexed to the Ionian government.

Ali's ambassadors returning with the purpose of their mission uneffected, excited in his mind a strong feeling of hatred against the French interests; at present however he did not dare to break with them; but it is scarcely possible that he should long remain amicable with any power that possesses the Ionian islands. Soon after the failure of these negotiations, he took an opportunity of retaliating in a manner not quite consistent with his interests. The authorities in Corfu became so distressed for money, owing to a strict blockade by the English fleet, that they sent a deputation to the vizir requesting him to accommodate them with a loan. His refusal was accompanied with a haughty intimation, that the pasha of Ioannina was neither a banker nor a merchant. Now if Ali had not thus permitted his feelings of hatred or avarice to counteract his schemes of policy, he would have rather doubled the sum required, and made the French his debtors to as large an amount as possible: then a prohibition of supplies, aided by the English blockade, would soon have upset French philanthropy, and Parga would have been transferred to him as a redemption of the debt. Instead of this he irritated them by every method in his power, imposing enormous duties upon the corn and cattle exported from Albania, and demanding the money to be paid in advance.

At length, Berthier, incensed in his turn, declared his intention of forcing Ali to restore the other three continental dependencies, and Butrinto first, that being situated exactly opposite Corfu, at the narrowest part of the channel, and called the key of the island which itself is styled the gate of the Adriatic. Had the French general at this time acted with promptitude, he might have taken the place with 500 men ; but he delayed till the vizir had thrown a garrison into it of 6000 Albanians, and the opportunity was lost. Ali then openly defied all attempts, and in addition to his hatred, conceived a contempt for his adversary. Lest the French should attempt to recover Prevesa, he moved his army from Playa into that place, and completed the sum of its misfortunes. In the autumn of 1808, a British agent was dispatched to hold a conference with him at this place, and take advantage of the growing inclination which he daily felt towards the English, whose naval power he foresaw would prove the greatest obstacle, or the best auxiliary to his future designs. Our envoy landed, and was met at midnight by Ali, upon the ruins of Nicopolis. There they concerted their plan of operations, and parted before the morning dawned. This secrecy was adopted to keep all knowledge of the fact from the French consul, whom the vizir had invited that day to a rural fête near Vonizza, on the gulf of Arta. He there left his guest in the midst of amusements : a swift-sailing boat conveyed him across the gulf, where a horse was in readiness, upon which he mounted and galloped towards the plain.

Ali now became actively engaged in close correspondence with the commanders of our fleet, for the purpose of bringing about that peace between Turkey and Great Britain, which Sir A. Paget endeavoured in vain to negotiate. Mr. Adair, who arrived at the Dardanelles in the latter end of 1808, had just opened a communication with the Turkish Divan, when the insurrection of the janissaries, and the death of the Vizir Mustafâ Bairactar threw every thing into confusion. Our minister was upon the point of quitting his station in despair. but Ali,

who is suspected, and I believe not without reason, of having assisted in fomenting this insurrection, as well as that of the Nizam Djedid under Sultan Selim*, wrote instantly to Mr. Adair, and earnestly requested him to wait the event. His advice was followed; his interest had great weight in the Divan, and in a short time the peace was concluded. During this negotiation Ali took advantage of the opportunity it afforded of attempting to engage Mr. Adair in a promise of co-operating with him in the reduction of Parga: that gentleman, however, not only contrived to elude so disgraceful a compact, but very adroitly prevented the vizir from attempting it alone and unassisted. As soon as preliminaries of peace were signed, Ali dispatched an envoy named Seid Achmet Effendi to England, to enhance as much as possible the services rendered by his master to the British cabinet. These indeed were considered so important, that by way of acknowledgment a very fine park of artillery, with several hundreds of the newly-invented Congreve's rockets, were sent him on board a transport: Major Leake, who had the care of this artillery, was ordered to remain, to teach his Albanian troops the use of it, and to act as English resident.

Ali now publicly espoused the interests of Great Britain; opened his ports to our merchants or cruisers, and granted supplies on the most liberal terms for our navy, and the armies in Spain and Portugal. Availing himself of the importance which this new alliance gave him, as well as the co-operation of our blockading squadron, which prevented the French or Russians from furnishing his enemies with any species of assistance, he began to attack them in good earnest. Another event soon occurred, in the autumn of 1809, which gave addi-

* His motive is evident. The Nizam Djedid, as well as the regulations of Mustafâ Bairactar, were calculated to infuse new vigour and energy into the Turkish state, by reforming the army, abolishing the janissaries, and introducing European improvements into all branches of the government. The old system of things is much more agreeable to a rebellious pasha, who sets up a sovereignty independent of the Porte.

tional strength to his hopes and energy to his measures. This was the expulsion of the French from Zante, Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Cerigo, and the consequent occupation of these islands by the English. At this time he was engaged in the siege of Berat, in the north of Albania, whose citadel, planted upon a lofty hill on the right bank of the river Apsus, was hitherto considered as impregnable. Ali however pressed the siege with so much vigour, bombarding the citadel and town from the opposite heights, and terrifying both the garrison and inhabitants with those newly-invented instruments of destruction the Congreve rockets, under the direction of an English engineer officer, that Ibrahim Pasha was obliged to capitulate upon condition of retiring with his suite and treasures to Avlona. Ali, in his carriage, surrounded by his troops, waited on the left bank of the river till Ibrahim had passed over the bridge, then entered and took possession of Berat, not only without the sanction but even without the knowledge of the Porte. He thought it proper however to send a dispatch to Constantinople, informing his sovereign that a great part of Upper Albania being in a state of revolt, and Ibrahim Pasha not only incapable, by reason of his age and other infirmities, to restore order, but lying under strong suspicions from his attachment, first to the Russians, and lately to the French, he had thought proper to secure this important fortress with troops that could be relied on. He also sent very large sums of money to be distributed among the members of the Divan, and thus procured not only pardon, but approbation from the Sultan, who yielded immediately to his request of conferring the government upon his son Mouchtar. The three tails however were not taken, as is usual in case of losing a pashalic, from Ibrahim, whose character was held in high esteem both at Constantinople and in his own dominions. This success threw into the hands of Ali, not only the strongest fortress, but the finest province of Upper Albania, for the great plain of Musakia is the very granary of the country. He at first used his victory with great moderation, lest the people, if persecuted, should join the stand-

ard of their former chief, the remembrance of whose virtues could not soon be eradicated from their minds.

Leaving this new acquisition in the hands of his faithful follower **Usuff Araps**, Ali returned speedily to his capital, to take every possible advantage of our success in the Ionian sea. During the bombardment of Santa Maura by the British troops, he encamped opposite that island with a large force, anxious to find some opportunity of mingling in the affray, and urging his own claims to the occupation of the island: these he pressed vehemently after its surrender, but being unable to substantiate them, he deceived our commanders, by cunningly gaining permission to build barracks for his soldiers; instead of which he threw up two strong fortresses, each of which commands an entrance into the **Dioryctos** or channel, and one of them even the castle of Santa Maura.

But though Ali could neither gain from his British allies the possession of Santa Maura, nor persuade them at this time to drive the French out of Parga, that he might himself occupy that fortress, he did not think it his interest to shew any signs of ill humour at present: he still had a great game to play, in which no ally could afford him such material assistance as England. He was placed in a most advantageous position between the great rival powers, and he was determined to make the most of it. Five of the islands were under the protection of the British, and two under that of the French; the former courting his assistance, and the latter dreading his enmity. In this conjuncture of circumstances he played his cards admirably. He encouraged us to blockade Corfu under promise of co-operation, whilst he took advantage of its distress to introduce provisions secretly for his own gain and profit. Forging letters of correspondence between the French generals and **Ibrahim Pasha**, or the rulers of other states upon the coast of **Albania**, he very easily procured the assistance of our naval commanders in all his enterprises; whilst those hardy and war-like tribes who had hitherto resisted his aggressions, because their own

valour had been seconded by the powers which possessed the Ionian Isles, finding their succours from thence cut off, and their offers of devotion rejected, were obliged to surrender unconditionally to his arms, or run the chance of war and extermination. Amongst those who chose the former alternative, was Pronio Agà of Paramithia, and the famous Hassan Zapari of Margariti, both of whom, after capitulation, were thrown into a dungeon at Ioannina, where probably they still remain. The Kimarriots, descendants of the ancient Chaonians, and the bravest people of Epirus, whose very trade was war, defended their rugged mountains to the last extremity, fighting sword in hand with very little intermission for three successive days, after they had expended all their ammunition. Ali however had gained possession of their principal village, called Vouno, by his old art of bribery*, and falling upon the rear of these warriors, cut the greatest part of them to pieces. The country then surrendered, and the vizir having garrisoned its strong holds, carried 250 hostages to Ioannina, for the peaceable conduct of the inhabitants: he has since thought proper to wreak his vengeance upon this unfortunate tribe, banishing them all to various parts of his dominions, and burning all their villages to the ground, except one only, named Cutzi, containing about a hundred Greek families, whom he permitted to remain, upon condition of their conversion to the faith of Mahomet. The great protector of the Kimarriots in former wars had been Giaffer Pasha of Avlona, a man of great talents and high reputation, whose death Ali procured by poison, in a bath at St. Sophia.

It was during these operations, in the spring of 1810, that Mr. George Foresti arrived at Ioannina in character of English resident, whose services to this country during the time he held so delicate and even dan-

* It was put into his hands by means of four brothers of the name of Casnezzi, who resided for some years afterwards in great distinction at Ioannina: when however Ali thought proper to lay waste Kimarra, he deprived these men of all their wealth, and threw them, with their wives and families, into prison, where they still remain: and thus he generally serves the traitors whom he has employed.

gerous an appointment, have been such as no one can well appreciate who is not acquainted with the difficulties he had to encounter. A Greek by birth, and endowed with the sagacity of his nation, possessing the advantages of a liberal education, wary, cautious, and indefatigable in labour, intimately acquainted with the character of the vizir, he never ceased to penetrate his designs, avert his indignation, and keep him constant in that line of policy which ultimately contributed to preserve Europe from the degrading yoke of French tyranny. Nor was his situation by any means an enviable one: many incautious promises which it was impossible to perform, had been made to Ali by our agents, for securing his support, and there were not wanting persons who gladly took advantage of such cases to prejudice the vizir's mind and avert his favour from the English minister. That gentleman however having adopted a plan of great forbearance and inflexible fortitude, defeated every attempt made to counteract his influence with the pasha, and though he constantly exhibited an inclination of bettering the condition of his own country as well as of guarding strictly the interests of that which he had the honour to serve, he continued till the very end of the war to possess greater influence over the mind of this extraordinary potentate than was ever exercised by any other human being.

In this year Ali escaped the greatest danger with which he had hitherto been threatened. This was no less than a plan of operations concerted between the French generals, and sanctioned by the Porte, to attack him by a force from the island of Corfu and at the same time by a large corps under Marshal Marmont from Dalmatia. Nothing but our success in Spain, which called Marmont's army to that quarter, preserved him from destruction: the French however never totally gave up the plan, and would have made the attempt from Corfu alone but for the intervention of a British fleet.

Poor Ibrahim Pasha had been implicated in the formation of this enterprise, and was now left alone to resist the attack of his irritated

and powerful adversary. Ali besieged him so closely in Avlona, whilst two English frigates blockaded the port against the introduction of supplies from the French, that Ibrahim fled with a few of his principal followers, in disguise, and took refuge in the mountains of Arberi or Liapurià. There he was soon after betrayed, and conducted by his conqueror in a species of mock triumph to the city of Konitza, from whence, after the lapse of a year, he was conducted to Ioannina and confined a close prisoner in a solitary tower, where this venerable old man, the father-in-law of Ali's two sons, may be seen like a wild beast through the iron bars of his dungeon.

The Pasha of Delvino, with the chiefs of Liapurià, Argyro-Castro and Gardiki, alarmed at the storm which they saw gathering around them, speedily assembled their forces, which were attacked and defeated by Ali in the plains between Argyro-Castro and Delvino. He then entered and took possession of this latter place, making prisoners two sons of Mustafà whom he sent to Ioannina and confined in a convent of the island. There these unfortunate youths languished in close custody at the time of our residence, shut out from every consolation of society and deprived of the sight of all human beings except their gaolers. Two others made their escape to Corfu where they were soon assassinated by an emissary of the vizir, whose bouyourdee was found in the villain's pocket, who confessed the fact just before his execution. Mustafà himself retired to Gardiki, and thus deferred the fate which ultimately awaited him. The great city of Argyro-Castro next surrendered after a short conflict, upon condition of becoming a chiflick, and the whole valley of the Druno, the richest and most populous in all Albania, fell entirely under the vizir's subjection. No place now remained for him to conquer except Gardiki: this had first offended him, and upon this he purposed to pour the vial of his wrath to the very dregs.

Gardiki, whose population was entirely Mahometan, surmounted a fine conical hill surrounded by an amphitheatre of the most splendid mountain scenery. Its constitution was a species of republic, each fa-

mily sending a representative to the general council, out of which thirteen members were chosen by vote to form the executive government. Their office was annual and they had power of life and death, though it was necessary for eight of them to concur in cases of capital condemnation. No person was allowed to carry arms within the city walls, and a murderer not only forfeited his life to the state, but also his property, both personal and real, to the family of his victim.

The Gardikiotes well knowing what they had to expect from the resentment of their ancient foe, prepared for the most vigorous defence, giving the command of their troops, amongst which were many chiefs and distinguished officers of other clans, to Demir Dosti, a general of consummate prudence and exalted courage, a descendant of that very person who had rescued Ali's mother and sister from the shameful treatment of his fellow citizens. The vizir's army was commanded by two of his most experienced officers, Usuff Araps and Emir Bey, and was so large that 500 horse-loads of calamboci were distributed daily in rations to the troops.

For a long time operations went on slowly and little more was effected towards the subjugating of Gardiki than the capture or destruction of its dependent villages and advanced posts. This delay was occasioned by Ali's own generals, who being aware of his vindictive intentions and willing to spare a population who professed the same religious faith as themselves, dispatched messenger after messenger to their master, representing the extreme difficulty of storming the place and requesting his permission to offer to the Gardikiotes the same terms of capitulation as were accepted by Argyro-Castro. Ali soon penetrated their designs, and determined to counteract them. Accordingly he sent for Athanasi Vayà, that military officer upon whose fidelity and discretion he can most rely, and dispatched him to the army with a large body of Greek and Albanian troops, giving him instructions to act promptly, in combination with all the other Greeks of the army. Athanasi on his arrival at the camp assembled together

certain officers, shewed them the vizir's bouyourdee couched in the strongest terms, attached them to his own forces, and without the slightest communication with the Turkish generals, who dared not interfere, led them sword in hand against Gardiki. He first carried a large farm house at the bottom of the hill which had been entrenched and converted into a strong out-post: from thence he drove its defenders up a steep and narrow path leading towards the city, in which they took refuge as well as in a small fortress which commanded the ascent. The Greeks animated by the example of their leader, and joyful at an opportunity of exterminating a Mahometan tribe, followed through every difficulty and danger, forced the citadel, and soon gained possession of the city itself, which was given up to all the horrors of an assault in the very sight of the Turkish troops below. Very few persons escaped from slaughter or captivity. Amongst the prisoners were Mustafà Pasha, Demir Dosti, and a great train of beys and agàs: these were sent immediately under a strong escort to Ioannina, whither they were brought in a species of mock triumph and treated at first not only with kindness but munificence. This refinement in cruelty is not unusual with Ali when he wishes to make his victims feel more keenly a reverse of fortune. The other citizens of Gardiki were distributed through the different towns and villages in the vicinity, which became answerable for their appearance under the most dreadful penalties; whilst the unfortunate females, they who least deserved it, became conversant with calamity in its most frightful forms: after having been subjected to the brutal passions of the soldiery, they were conducted to that tigress in a human shape, Shäinitza, at her palace in Libochobo: there their beautiful flowing hair was cut off close to their heads in the presence of that sanguinary monster, who first stamped it contemptuously under foot and then ordered that part of her divan to be stuffed with it upon which her unwieldy form is accustomed to repose: these innocent and unfortunate victims of inhuman cruelty were afterwards

turned out destitute upon the mountains, when the penalty of death had been proclaimed against any one who should harbour or relieve them.

After a few weeks Ali departed, at the head of a large body of troops, to Libochobo, to pay his sister a visit and congratulate her upon the satisfaction made to her violated honour. We may well suppose that the storm of vengeance now raging in his bosom was not allayed by the soothing entreaties of feminine compassion. Before he left Ioannina he gave orders that all the Gardikiote beys should be cast into close confinement in the monasteries of the island, whilst secret instructions concerning them were left with his agents. During his residence at Libochobo he commanded all the prisoners to be brought from the surrounding districts on a certain day and hour into the court of a large han called Valiarè in the valley of Deropuli, about five miles from Argyro-Castro, near the commencement of the Gardikiote territory. Thither he proceeded at the appointed time with about 3000 of his troops. Seated in his carriage at the gate of the han he ordered each person to be called out separately before him, and when he had minutely investigated his age, parentage and profession, he ordered a few to be carried into a place of security (those probably who had been settlers in the place since the insult which he was about to revenge) and the rest he remanded back into the court of the han. He then commanded his troops to advance, who were well aware of the service upon which they were about to be employed: the Mahometans all held back, but the Greeks eagerly mounted the walls which surrounded the area wherein the prisoners were enclosed. Ali then took a musket from the hands of a soldier, and having ordered the han gates to be thrown open, discharged the first shot into the crowd of victims: this was the signal for a general massacre; the surrounding troops fired amongst them till their ammunition was expended, when others succeeded and continued the work of death. The fury of despair ministered arms to some of these wretched prisoners, who with stones torn from the pavement and the walls wounded

many of their destroyers: others retreated into one of the apartments of the han, to which fire was immediately applied, and those who escaped the volleys of musketry fell a sacrifice to the flames. In the mean time, a few having burst out of the area, came in despair and flung themselves at the feet of the vizir and cried for mercy in accents that might have moved a heart of flint; but Ali's heart is harder than flint, and not a single rill from the fount of mercy flows into his soul: he ordered his chaoushes and kaivasis to cut the imploring suppliants in pieces with their ataghans before his face. The bloody work was thus completed, when the bodies, amounting to between seven and eight hundred, were left unburied to rot upon the spot where they had fallen; the gateway of the area was walled up and an inscription placed over it cut in stone, which signifies, **THUS PERISH ALL THE ENEMIES OF ALI'S HOUSE***.

On the very day of this butchery the Gardikiote beys who had been left at Ioannina to the number of seventy-two, were brought down to a convent upon the island opposite Mitzikeli, where they were all strangled, their bodies conveyed in boats to the opposite shore and buried at the foot of the mountain. From the han Ali proceeded with his troops to the once flourishing city of Gardiki, which he laid in ruins, placing it under an anathema or curse, and prohibiting it from ever again becoming the habitation of man during the continuance of his dynasty in Albania. The property of its citizens he had before converted to his own use, and as they were great merchants, he kept an accurate account of all the debts found due to them, and exacted the most punctual payment. This then is the fate of Gardiki: its walls demolished, its policy dissolved, its riches dispersed and its people massacred, it has

* An Albanian poet afterwards wrote a long inscription in Romaic verse, which with Ali's sanction was placed over the door of this han. The reader will find it in the Appendix with a translation. The whole transaction at the han may be compared with one related by his biographer of the deified Augustus. "*Perusia capta, in plurimos animadvertit: orare veniam vel excusare se conantibus una voce occurrentes, moriendum esse. Scribunt quidam trecentos ex dedititiis electos utriusque ordinis, ad aras Divo Julio extructam Idibus Martiis hostiarum more mactatos.*"

become a dwelling place for owls and the coiled serpent basks within its desolated courts.

Every Gardikiote that was subsequently discovered within the dominions of Ali was arrested and put to death, when his corpse was sent to augment the mouldering heap of his unfortunate countrymen at the han of Valiarè. The vizir was grievously offended with his son Vely, who refused to put to death some Gardikiotes in his service or surrender them up. It is scarcely necessary to observe that Ali glories in this deed, which he considers one of just and pious retribution. It occurred on the 15th of March, 1812.

When the vizir returned to Ioannina he gratified a revenge, not less bitter from its being protracted, upon his old antagonist Mustafà Pasha of Delvino. This wretched victim he confined in the same convent with his two sons, and gradually starved him to death, allowing him only one small piece of calamboci bread and one draught of water for his daily fare. His body was then publicly exposed in presence of the cadì and mufti, as is customary on the death of a pasha, to see whether there be any marks of violence upon the corpse: it was reported that he had died a natural death; but this report was little credited at Constantinople. A few months after this horrid murder, his cruelty or his policy demanded another sacrifice, and the destined victim was no other than the venerable Ibrahim. However, before he ventured to imbrue his hands in the blood of this respectable character he thought it necessary to discover whether such a deed were likely to arouse the indignation of the Porte. In order therefore to sound the feelings of the Divan, he put in practice the following manœuvre. On a certain day Ibrahim Pasha disappeared from his apartment in the tower. The messenger who was sent every morning by his daughters to inquire after their father's health, came back and reported the circumstance of his absence, adding that he had made all possible inquiries without being able to discover his abode. The daughters hearing this, and feeling convinced that their father had been secretly put to

death, set up the Albanian howl for the dead, in which they were joined by all the slaves of their harems as well as by the women of the adjoining mansions: from thence the cry was spread from house to house, and the whole city of Ioannina rung with lamentations ~~three~~ three days for this imaginary death of ~~the sultan~~ the occurrence indeed was generally believed and the French consul dispatched a courier with the intelligence to Constantinople. This messenger was stopped by the agents of Ali, his dispatches were read, and he was allowed to proceed. The news occasioned a strong prejudice against Ali in the minds of all. A council was called, and a capigi-bashee of the highest rank was sent to Ioannina with the sultan's commands to investigate the affair and bring back the depositions of the great officers of religion and the law. The messenger arrived, and being introduced into Ali's presence surrounded by all his ministers, stated the object of his mission, and produced his credentials, attested by the signet of the sultan. Ali affecting great surprise, exclaimed, "Dead! Ibrahim, my father, dead!" whilst all his divan followed him in expressions of incredulity and astonishment. Then turning to his two ministers, Mahomet and Sechrî Effendi, he added, "Go and accompany this officer of the Porte to the apartment of Ibrahim, and let him see what falsehoods have been circulated respecting us." Accordingly they went and found the object of their visit in the very best apartment of the seraglio, surrounded by every thing which could minister to his comfort. Ibrahim being instructed in what to say, and threatened with the extremity of torture, if he should disclose the truth, requested the capigi-bashee to say to his lord the sultan—that he kissed the ground on which he trod, and was penetrated with the deepest gratitude for the honour of his kind inquiries; but that he was perfectly well and more than content with his condition at Ioannina, being treated in the kindest manner by the vizir, and rendered happy in the society of his daughters and their children; that he felt himself now grown too old for the cares of government, and that his domi-

nions could not possibly be under better administration than that of his dear friend Ali Pasha.

The capigi-bashee, having received this most unexpected answer, returned to the council-room, where he was thus addressed by the ~~capigi-bashee~~ "said, he, "how I am surrounded by enemies! it is my misfortune always to excite suspicion, and to have my motives and actions misrepresented; and this was the case lately, on the death of Mustafâ Pasha of Delvino: go now and report to my master the sultan all you have seen and heard, and assure him that Ali, in his old age, will not dishonour his grey hairs, nor act in opposition to the wishes of his sovereign." The capigi-bashee in the mean time was loaded with presents and magnificently entertained, but he was not allowed to be for a minute absent from Ali's satellites, who surrounded him and prevented the access of all who could have told him the truth: in like manner he was attended by a *guard of honour* to the very suburbs of Constantinople, where he gave a most favourable report of Ali's conduct, who in consequence received a letter of thanks from the grand signor. Ibrahim still remains alive in close confinement, from which, as far as he himself is concerned, death would be a fortunate release.

This affair being concluded, Ali, glad of the opportunity, resolved to retaliate upon the consul-general for his interference. Accordingly he interdicted all his subjects, except those who were employed as spies and informers, from holding the least communication with his dwelling, and thus, in the midst of a large capital, Mr. Pouqueville lived in a species of the most distressing solitude. To speak the truth, Ali had more reason for this conduct and for his irritation against the French, than for many other acts. A regular system had been for some time, and still continued to be carried on, between Monsieur Andreossi French minister at the Porte, the Duc de Bassano at Paris, and General Denzelot at Corfu, with the Consul-general of Albania, to create every species of annoyance in their power against

Ali Pasha, to stir up rebellion against him in his own country, or hostility from without, and most especially to represent him in his true character at Constantinople, to draw down upon his head the vengeance of insulted majesty. All this was well known; for not a single courier did Monsieur Pouqueville ever dismiss from Ioannina who was not arrested, and not a single dispatch did he write that was not copied for the vizir's inspection, who possessed the key of his cipher. It is also a fact that the Porte, irritated by the deceitful conduct of Ali during the whole of his eventful life, and instigated by these representations, did actually entertain serious ideas, in the year 1813, of attacking him in his strong holds. But, not to compromise the character of the Ottoman government in attempting what it might be found impossible to effect, commissioners were sent to inspect his country and make returns of his forces, his military and naval stores, castles, fortresses; all of which were freely and immediately offered to inspection.

Ali was at first alarmed by these demonstrations of energy, and assured a Greek gentleman of my acquaintance that he would defend himself to the last extremity, and if then pressed, would blow himself up, with his serai of Litaritza, rather than fall into the hands of his enemies. Things however were not likely to arrive at this pass; he had made himself too useful to the English, and was considered likely to be too efficient in their cause, to be neglected when he had need of their assistance: it was thought therefore that the representations of our ambassador to the Divan had no little influence in averting this storm from the dominions of our ally. The arrival of a secretary from the English ambassador, a few months before our visit to Ioannina, was considered intimately connected with these arrangements, and this, amongst other things, contributed probably to the marked civility with which we were treated by the vizir.

During our residence in his capital those great events occurred which led to the destruction of Bonaparte's authority, and the ultimate re-

moval of the French from the Albanian confines. He knew that the English would soon either by force or treaty occupy the remainder of the Ionian islands, and he was now most anxious to take advantage of the declining state of French affairs to gain possession of Parga, that single solitary rock, which alone, throughout the whole extent of his dominions, was illuminated by the rays of liberty. Having failed however in the alluring temptations which he held out to Monsieur Pouqueville and General Denzelot, he determined upon one of those prompt movements which are so habitual to him, and for which he had been some time prepared, feeling little doubt but that if he should once gain possession of the place, he could find means to justify his conduct or appease resentment. Unauthorized then by his government, which at this time was at peace with France, and without any declaration of war, he moved that overwhelming force against unhappy Parga in the month of February, 1814, to which I have before alluded : at the same time he ordered his flotilla to sail from Prevesa for the purpose of aiding in the siege and intercepting all the inhabitants that might endeavour to escape to the islands : these directions, however, were rendered nugatory by the spirited conduct of some English cruisers, who refused to let his vessels approach.

On the 28th of February Ali's troops carried by assault Ajà and Rapesa, two frontier villages of the Parghiot territory, putting to death many of the inhabitants, and sending the remainder into a slavery still worse than death. After this a small fort was erected and the army advanced upon Parga ; but the French garrison retired into the citadel without any show of resistance ; the only opposition was made by the bravery of the inhabitants. These marched out with exultation to the defence of their country, accompanied even by their women and children, who handed ammunition and loaded the muskets of their husbands and their parents. The contest was neither long nor sanguinary ; for the Parghiots having the advantage of ground and shelter, effectually checked the vizir's troops, especially his

cavalry, as they charged up a narrow causeway leading to the city, that they were obliged to retreat after losing several of their companions, among whom was a near relation of Ali's, the commander of the Albanian forces: the body of this young man was buried on the frontier, and a mausoleum erected over his remains, at which it is thought that Ali was resolved, if he took the place either by storm or capitulation, to immolate his adversaries in what he would call an expiatory sacrifice.

In spite of this victory, however, the poor Parghiotes had sufficient cause to tremble, while such numerous and active enemies remained hovering over their borders, and their defenders were so inert in their behalf. They had still further reason for alarm, when they discovered that a secret correspondence was carried on between their inveterate foe and the commandant of the French garrison. In this dilemma they dispatched a message to Captain Garland, who had lately taken possession of the little island of Paxo, and requested to be received under British protection. This was referred to General Campbell, the governor of the Ionian isles, who immediately dispatched the Honourable Sir C. Gordon with a force ready to take advantage of any favourable circumstances. Captain Hoste, of the *Bacchante* frigate, and Captain Black, of the *Havannah*, met this officer at Paxo, and entered into consultation respecting the proper measures to be pursued; when it certainly does appear to have been determined that if the Parghiotes would, as of their own accord, disarm the French garrison and give guarantees for the sincerity of their intentions, they should be taken under British protection and follow the fate of the Ionian islands*.

* "The fortress of Parga is considered as an appendage of the Government of the Seven Ionian Islands, and more particularly as an outwork of the garrison of Corfu towards the Turkish frontier. In consequence of its situation on the main land of Greece, its commanding position as a place of strength, and the increased preponderancy the possession of it would not fail to throw into the hands of the Turks, and more particularly the vizir Ali Pasha of Ioannina, whose pashalic surrounds it, it has ever been an object of much jealousy with those powers, who have made many efforts to obtain a footing in Parga, and, vice versâ, for these same motives, it has been equally the wise

To these conditions the Parghiotes cheerfully consented, and with the utmost secrecy they organized a plot for taking possession of the citadel. An English flag, concealed under the girdle of a boy, was brought into the fortress without exciting suspicion; a signal was given by ringing a bell to the conspirators, who rushed forwards, disarmed the centinels, seized upon the rest of the garrison, and hoisted the British standard in place of the tri-coloured flag. Only one man lost his life in this almost bloodless conspiracy; he was a Cephalonian in the French service, and commissary of police, who thrusting his head out of a window, with loud exhortations to blow up the magazine, was instantly shot. The inhabitants being now in full possession of the place, Sir Charles Gordon landed with a detachment of British troops from the *Bacchante*, sent off the French garrison under terms of capitulation to Corfu, and took possession of the place on the 22d of March, 1814.

The subsequent history of this unhappy state is as difficult to handle as it is painful to dwell upon: for the Englishman who shall record its annals will find himself constantly perplexed by an apparent breach of faith and violation of a compact which is complained of,

policy of the powers occupying the Seven Islands, and Corfu in particular, to maintain firmly their hold of that fortress and its territory." These are General Campbell's Instructions to Lieut. Brutton, who commanded at Parga in May 1815, and General Campbell was the officer and High Commissioner with whom the Parghiotes treated for the surrender of their country to the British flag. See Col. de Bosset upon Parga, p. 90. The main point upon which this question turns, is the compact, made or implied, between General Campbell and the Parghiotes, respecting their surrender to the British flag. If their surrender was conditional, as the instructions of that officer above quoted seem to prove, it will follow that our delivering up Parga to Ali Pasha was unjust, and it will not be enough to say that no mention was made of Parga in the treaties of Paris or Vienna. Turks alone would justify such a proceeding by such an argument. If the surrender of the Parghiotes was unconditional, I still think the measures pursued were cruel and impolitic, cruel, because the inhabitants did not receive full compensation for their property, and could receive none for the rupture of moral ties and associations; impolitic, because the tide of feeling among the inhabitants of the Levant has been thereby turned against Great Britain; because some port on the Epirotic coast is absolutely necessary for the well-being of the Ionian Islands; and because Ali Pasha, so far from having a claim upon Parga, was rather bound to restore all the other continental dependencies to their original constitution, since he, in the name of the Ottoman Porte, so infamously violated the treaty of March 1800; above all, because a Christian power is thus exhibited to the world as yielding up the rights of Christians to an infidel tyrant, rights which the very name of that power could have defended, and whose flag waving upon the fortress of Parga would have been a sufficient protection.