

Major M'Aras—Descent of the Army—Battle, and Victory, of the Eighth of March—General Menou—Affair of the Twelfth—Action of the Thirteenth—Battle of the Twenty-first—Sensation caused by the Death of Abercrombie—Measures pursued by his Successor—View of the Country—Journey to Rosetta—Mirage.

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The *Tau-
rida* sails
for *Egypt*.

THE impatience of our Captain to proceed with his cargo to the fleet, added to the weak state of the author's health, made us eager to leave *Macri*. Having got on board our stock of water, and our sheep from *Abercrombie's Isle*, a contrary wind prevailing, we beat out of the Gulph, and made our course for *Egypt*. The wide surface of the *Libyan Sea* was before us. We entertained anxious thoughts concerning the safety of our little bark, deeply laden, and ill-suited, either in her complement of mariners or in her construction, to encounter the deadly gales and the calms of the *Mediterranean*. Landsmen, however, are generally erroneous in their calculations at sea. The success of the voyage surpassed our most sanguine expectations. A land-breeze came on soon after we had cleared the Gulph, the sea was unruffled, and we stole along, almost imperceptibly, with hardly a wind or any sensible motion, over a surface so tranquil, that a glass full of water might have remained upon deck without

spilling a drop. During this voyage, which continued only five days, the most surprising vigilance was manifested by our cruizers, who had the guardianship of the coast of *Egypt*. Over an expanse comprehending six degrees of latitude, it might have been supposed that a vessel lying so low in the water, and so small as the ship in which we sailed, would escape observation: but we were spoken to at least half-a-dozen times; and the master of one of the cruizers actually boarded the *Taurida*, believing, from her *French* aspect, that he should take possession of her as a prize. A very remarkable circumstance occurred, which may convey notions of the propagation of sound over water, greater than will perhaps be credited; but we can appeal to the testimony of those who were witnesses of the fact, for the truth of that which we now relate. By our observation of latitude, we were an hundred miles from the *Egyptian* coast: the sea was perfectly calm, with little or no swell, and scarcely a breath of air stirring, when Captain *Castle* called our attention to the sound as of distant artillery, vibrating in a low gentle murmur upon the water, and distinctly heard at intervals during the whole day. He said it was caused by an engagement at sea, and believed the enemy had attacked our fleet off *Alexandria*. No such event had, however,

Extraordinary instance of the propagation of sound.

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taken place; and it was afterwards known, that the sounds we then heard proceeded from an attack made by our troops against the fortress of *Rachmanie* upon the *Nile* beyond *Rosetta*: this had commenced upon that day, and hence alone the noise of guns could have originated. The distance of *Rachmanie* from the coast, in a direct line, is about ten leagues: this allows one hundred and thirty miles for the space through which the sound had been propagated, when it reached our ears.

On the sixteenth of *April*, towards sun-set, we first made the fleet off *Alexandria* from the mast-head of the *Taurida*. Our Captain, being out of his course, mistook it for the fleet of troop ships and other transports. Evening coming on, we steered for the harbour of *Alexandria*, believing it to be *Aboukir Bay*, and wishing to get in before it grew dark; an intention which would soon have been interrupted by the guns of our fleet, if we had persevered: but the boatswain at length perceiving our error, we luffed up, and lay-to all night. In the morning of *April* the seventeenth, we saw *Alexandria* very distinctly, with the *French* ships lying in the harbour; and had a fine view of the famous Column called *Pompey's Pillar*, as well as of the *Obelisk* to which mariners give

the name of *Cleopatra's Needle*. A stiff gale coming on, we steered along the coast for *Aboukir*. About nine o'clock A.M. we made *Nelson's Island*; and presently saw the whole fleet of troop ships, transports, with all the *Turkish* frigates, merchant vessels, and other craft, belonging to the Expedition. It was the grandest naval sight we had ever beheld; and much more surprising in its appearance than the famous *Russian* armament, prepared at *Portsmouth* during a former war. Innumerable masts, like an immense forest, covering the sea; swarms of sailing-boats and cutters, plying about in all directions between the larger vessels; presented a scene which it is not possible to describe. We stood on, for a considerable distance, to the eastward of *Nelson's Island*, in order to avoid the shoal where the *Culloden* struck before the action of the *Nile*; our course being precisely the same pursued by the *British* fleet previous to that memorable engagement; and the fleet of transports lying at anchor, afforded a correct representation of the position of the *French* armament upon that occasion.

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Astonish-
ing appear-
ance pre-
sented by
the *British*
Fleet.

Bearing down at last upon the fleet, we passed under the stern of the *Delft* frigate; when, being unmindful of the temerity of our

CHAP. IX. proceeding, we ventured to hail a young officer upon the poop, and to inquire for the situation of the *Braakel*. Captain *Castle* immediately warned us to beware of repeating the question; saying, that we should soon be sensible of the immeasurable distance at which the inhabitants of those floating islands hold the master of a merchant smack: and so it was proved by the answer, which came, like thunder, in three monosyllables, easier for the reader to imagine than for an author to express. Soon after, the Quarter-master of the *Braakel* came alongside, in the jolly-boat; Captain *Clarke*, who expected us, having surmised, as he afterwards informed us, from our pitiful appearance and wavering track, that we were his visitors, and in want of a pilot. Having reached his comfortable cabin, we were soon introduced to the officers both of the army and the navy; and found, after our long absence from *England*, the society of our countrymen particularly grateful. We enjoyed, what we had long wanted, the guidance of books and of well-informed men, concerning countries we were yet to explore. According to the promise we had made to the *Capudan Pasha*, we accompanied Captain *Clarke* to the *Sultan Selim*, and introduced him to the *Turkish Admiral*. Several days were employed in visiting the different ships, in search of friends and schoolfellows;

some of whom, particularly of those belonging to the Guards, we had the misfortune to find desperately wounded. The sight of many of our gallant officers, in a wounded state, or brought from the shore incapable of service from the injuries of the climate, presented a revolting picture of the ravages of war. One day, leaning out of the cabin window, by the side of a wounded officer who was employed in fishing, the corpse of a man, newly sewed in a hammock, started half out of the water, and slowly continued its course, with the current, towards the shore. Nothing could be more horrible: its head and shoulders were visible, turning first to one side, then to the other, with a movement so solemn and awful, that one might have imagined it was impressed with some dreadful secret of the deep, which, from its watery grave, it came upward to reveal¹. Such sights were afterwards more common; hardly a day passing without ushering the dead to the contemplation of the living, until at length they passed without our observation. Orders were afterwards

Spectacle
caused by
the ravages
of War.

(1) Precisely in the same manner, the corpse of *Carraccioli* rose and floated in the Bay of Naples, and was seen coming to Naples, swimming half out of the water. "A fact so extraordinary," says Mr. Southey, "astonished the King, and perhaps excited some feelings of superstitious fear, akin to regret." See *Southey's Life of Nelson*, vol. II. p. 53. Lond. 1813.

issued, to convey the bodies, for interment upon *Nelson's Island*, instead of casting them over-board. The shores of *Egypt* might in truth have been described as washed with blood. The bones of thousands were whitening, exposed to a scorching sun, upon the sands of *Aboukir*¹. If we number those who had fallen since the first arrival of the *French* upon the coast, in their battles with the *Turks*², *Arabs*, and *English*, we shall find no part of their own ensanguined territory so steeped in human gore. Add to this the streams from slaughtered horses, camels, and other animals, (the stench of whose remains was almost sufficient to raise a pestilence even before the arrival of the *English*;) and perhaps no part of the world ever presented so dreadful an example. When a land-wind prevailed, our whole fleet felt the

(1) Between the village of *Utko*, and a place called the *Caratanserai*, we saw the shore entirely covered with human skulls and bones. Dogs were raking the sands for human flesh and carrion. *Nelson's Island* became a complete charnel-house, where our sailors raised mounds of sand over the heaps of dead cast up after the action of the Nile. Even military men, who have published an account of the Expedition, have expressed the horror which these scenes excited, nor would anyone envy that man his feelings who could view them with indifference.

(2) Ten thousand *Turks* were drowned at once in the Bay of *Aboukir*: being driven into the sea by *Bonaparte*, after the slaughter of four thousand of their countrymen in the field of battle. See the Plate, representing this dreadful massacre, in Denon's "*Voyage d'Egypte*," Pl. 89. and also a narrative of the fact, p. 259.

tainted blast; while from beneath the hulks of our transports, ships that had been sunk³, with all the encumbering bodies of men and carcasses of animals, sent through the waves a fearful exhalation.

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At the time of our arrival, the *French* had been defeated in three successive actions;—that of the eighth of *March*, the day of landing our troops; the thirteenth, when the *English* drove them from the heights to which they had retreated; and the memorable battle of the twenty-first, when *Abercrombie* fell. There had been a skirmish on the twelfth; in which Colonel *Archdale*, of the twelfth dragoons, lost an arm, and Captain *Butler* of the same regiment was taken prisoner. * In the action of the twenty-first, the *French* lost five thousand men; eleven hundred of whom the *English* buried before their own lines, and in different parts of their camp. We saw the trenches in which they were deposited.

State of
affairs
upon the
Author's
arrival.

It is a subject of wonder, that our troops should have succeeded in this instance so well as they did. They landed under every possible

(3) Part of the *L'Orient*, with one of her cables, was raised by the crew of the *Ceres*, Captain *Russel*, in weighing anchor.

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Obstacles
encoun-
tered by
the Expe-
dition
under Sir
Ralph
Abercrom-
bie.

circumstance of disadvantage, and yet drove from their posts, with the bayonet, the veteran legions of *Buonaparté's* army; a mode of fighting in which the *French* were supposed, at that time, to be superior to every other nation. It was there manifested, as it has since been so decidedly proved, that, man to man, they have no chance of success when opposed to *British* soldiers. The laurels gained by our army in *Egypt* can never fade¹. Posterity will relate the heroism, which, on these remote and almost unknown deserts, enabled an inexperienced army to vanquish an enemy, not only in possession of the territory, but also inured to the climate, and well acquainted with the country. The obstacles encountered by our troops were greater than have ever been described, the most powerful of which originated in their want of information. Never did so much ignorance characterize an expedition. The maps they brought with them would have disgraced a *Chinese Atlas*. The instruction which they had received was a mere mass of error; and their guides were unable to direct them. It is said, Sir *Ralph Abercrombie* lamented, in his last moments, the false notions he had been taught to

(1) "The meanest soldier of that army," said *Mr. Sheridan*, "ought to be covered with laurels."

entertain of *Egypt*, and of the situation in which the *French* were there placed. In fact, every one possessed more information than the conductors of the *British* armament. There was not a clerk in the factory of *Constantinople* or of *Smyrna* who was not better informed. Instead of the flat sands they expected to find between *Aboukir* and *Alexandria*, they discovered a country full of eminences and advantageous posts: the *French*, when defeated, had therefore only to fall back from one strong position to another. Once having effected a landing, our troops were told—and they believed the tale—that they might march without interruption to the walls of *Alexandria*. It may be important to the interests of our empire to state the truth, at this distance of time; and to afford a brief record of this memorable campaign, as far as it can be communicated by a writer destitute of any military science: it will be given as he received it, from the most impartial among the *French*, as well as from the most candid of his own countrymen.

The divisions and cabals among the Chiefs on both sides, were productive, often of failure, and sometimes of disaster. The rare military talents and valour of Sir *Sidney Smith*, beloved too as he was by the soldiers and sailors of the

Sir *Sidney*
Smith.

expedition, could not be viewed without jealousy by the commanding officers both of the army and navy. The most unpardonable resistance was therefore opposed to his measures, and to his suggestions. His situation was, in truth, singular. Some of the Captains in the fleet felt umbrage because one of their profession associated so much with landmen, and was so often on shore; while the Generals of the army could ill brook counsel, or even assistance, from a naval officer. Upon this account, the important project, which was recommended by him, of sending gun-boats into the Lake of *Aboukir*¹ previous to the action of the thirteenth of *March*, and the voluntary offer he made of conducting that operation, with a view to impede the retreat of the *French*, were not only

(1) In the extraordinary changes to which this part of *Egypt* has been liable, the very limited observations of the author do not authorize even an attempt to reconcile the existing appearance of the country with the description of antient geographers. *Strabo* (lib. xvii. p. 1135. ed *Oron.*) journeying by land from the *Canopian Gate* of *Alexandria* towards the east, arrives, after the distance of one hundred and twenty *stadia* (fifteen miles), at the city of *Canopus*. This seems to coincide with the position of *Aboukir*. But as to the present lake, the result of an inundation during the year 1784, whether it cover the original course of the *Δούρος* (by means whereof, as distinct from the *Alexandrian Canal*, the annual voyage took place from *Canopus* to *Alexandria*), or whether it occupy territory formerly inundated, in a similar manner, by the sea; or if the site of *Aboukir* may not rather be that of *Taposiris* than of *Canopus*, according to *Forster's* conjecture, in his *Notes upon Granger*, supported by the testimonies of *Niebuhr*; may remain for future determination.

LAKEMORETIS

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it sailed for *Egypt* on the ~~twenty-second~~¹ of *February*. The troops, burning for action, in excellent health and spirits, arrived in *Aboukir* Bay upon the second of *March*, at ten o'clock A. M. A sham descent had been practised in *Marmorice*, to exercise the soldiers. By this it was found, that six thousand men might be landed, in the most perfect order, and ready for immediate action, in the short space of twenty-three minutes. Their passage had been boisterous. Several *Greek* transports parted from the fleet during a gale of wind, and disappeared for many days, with part of the *twelfth*, the *twenty-sixth*, and *Hompesch's*, regiments of *Dra-goons*. Owing perhaps to this circumstance, or finding that it was too late to land the troops upon the day of their arrival, the undertaking was postponed until the next: an unfortunate circumstance, although perhaps unavoidable, as an opportunity was thereby lost, not to be afterwards recovered. Had the landing been then effected, it is now known that we should have encountered no opposition; and it is also certain that the *reserve* at least might have been put on shore. The enemy, although long

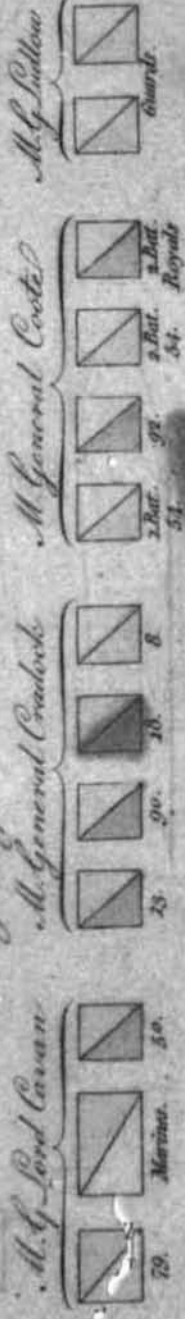
(1) According to Sir R. Wilkinson's Narrative, this happened on the twenty-third. The author gives this information as he received it from the captains of the fleet, and from the log-books of their ships.

ORDER OF BATTLE.

of the Army under Sir Ralph Abercrombie Part.

Lieutenant General Sir Ralph Abercrombie Commander in Chief

Major General Hutchinson



FIRST LINE



SECOND LINE



Brigadier General Cooke

Major General Moore



THE RESERVE

before informed of our approach, was totally unprepared, and the lives of many brave soldiers might have been spared. The following day proved unpropitious, and our army was unable to land: in consequence of this, the enemy gained time to strengthen himself, and to spread news of the invasion in all parts of the country where his forces were stationed. Preparations were accordingly made for a stout opposition. The succeeding morning was equally unfavourable, and six days were lost in the same manner; during all which time, the *English* fleet remained in sight of the *French* army; and was at length so little regarded, that the *French*, becoming dupes by the delay, believed the whole to be intended as a feint, which might beguile their attention from the part of the coast where the descent was really meditated. So completely did this opinion finally prevail, that the time thus allowed them to prepare for their defence was not employed so advantageously as it might have been. A *Greek* deserter, sent, as they afterwards believed, by our army, had circulated among them a report, to which implicit credit was given, affirming that our intention was to land the army at *Jaffa*, upon the coast of *Syria*.

The delay shewn upon this occasion was not

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solely owing to the weather. A principal source of it might be referred to another cause. Major *M'Arras*, chief engineer, had been forwarded in a vessel, previous to the sailing of our fleet from the Bay of *Marmorice*, in order to reconnoitre the country, and to obtain information necessary for expediting the landing of our troops. This officer had been twice on shore, either in the *Penelope's* or the *Petrell's* boat, and with the greatest success. He had observed the Lake of *Aboukir*; had surveyed all the adjoining territory, ascertained the different heights; and selected a convenient place for landing. Having finished all his plans, he unfortunately ventured on shore the third time, to confirm the accuracy of certain observations; and was observed by a *French* armed boat, in the very instant when he was putting off to return to his ship. The wind was against him; and the crew of his boat finding every effort ineffectual, suffered it to fall alongside, and surrendered. By a most dastardly instance of cruelty on the part of the *French*, they poured a volley of musketry into the boat, after the surrender had taken place; by which Major *M'Arras* was killed. Soon after this disaster, our fleet arrived; and the Commander-in-chief, instead of obtaining the information confidently expected, was reduced to the dilemma of waiting

Death of
Major
M'Arras.

until the business of reconnoitring, now rendered more difficult than ever, could in some measure be again accomplished.

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Thus was the descent of our army postponed until the eighth of *March*. The French had gained even more time than they thought proper to employ for the means of defence; and were stationed upon the sandy heights eastward, and within gun-shot, of *Aboukir* Castle, between that fortress and the entrance to the lake. The spot selected for landing the troops was immediately under this hill; and that a worse place could hardly have been chosen, is evident from this circumstance, that the enemy had, besides their artillery upon the heights, a covering for their flanks, of eight field-pieces upon the right, and four upon the left. These, together with the guns of the castle, bore down upon the place of landing¹. The day prior to that of the descent, signals were made to cook three days' provisions for the troops, and for boats of every description to put off from their respective ships, and to repair to the *Mondovi* brig, as a point of

Descent of
the Army.

(1) It is known to every officer who attended this Expedition, that the army might have been landed anywhere to the eastward, near *Rosetta*, without the loss of a single man. Whenever it is asked, Why was not this the case? there is but one mode of reply; namely, that which is suggested by another interrogation: Why were we as ignorant of the country of which we came to take possession, as of the interior of *Africa*?

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Battle and
Victory of
the Eighth
of March.

rendezvous, when a false fire should be shewn from the *Foudroyant*, the ship of the Commander-in-chief. On the following morning, the eighth of March, at three o'clock A.M. the expected signal was made. Agreeably to the instructions given, every boat then repaired to take in her proportion of troops from the ship, or ships, to which they were allotted; and then proceeded to the appointed station, close under the hill, about a league from the enemy, whence they were to move, according to the order of battle: there they all remained, until the whole of the reserve was collected around the *Mondovi*.

Never was any thing conducted with greater regularity. The *French*, to their astonishment, as they afterwards often related, instead of beholding a number of men landed pell-mell, saw the *British* troops preserving a regular line, as they advanced in their boats, although the wind was directly in their teeth; and, finally, landing in due order of battle, under the heaviest fire perhaps ever experienced. Shells, cannon-balls, and grape-shot, coming with the wind, fell like a storm of hail¹ about them; yet

(1) The sailors upon this occasion compared the thick shower of shot falling about them to a violent storm of hail which the fleet had experienced in the Bay of *MarMorice*, when the hail-stones were said to have been as large as musquet-balls. "On the eighth of February,"

The diagram illustrates a fleet formation with the following components and labels:

- Launches with guns:** Small boats at the front of the formation.
- Flat Boats:** Larger, wider boats positioned behind the launches.
- Cutters:** Medium-sized boats positioned behind the flat boats.
- Launches:** Small boats at the rear of the formation.

The ships are labeled with names: Europa, Bear, Tourterelle, Circe, Thetis, Medusa, Europa, Incubant, Europa, Iphigeneia, Cyclops, Kent, Diadem, and Swiftness. The formation is designed to be flexible, allowing the fleet to operate in various configurations.

not a soldier quitted his seat or moved, nor did a single sailor shrink from the hard labour of his oar. Not a musket was suffered to be charged, until the troops could form upon the strand. They were commanded to sit still in the boats: and this command, with inconceivable firmness, did these men obey; with the exception only of returning for each volley of shot from their enemies three general cheers, an effect of ardour in which their officers found it impossible to restrain them. The feelings of those who remained in the ships were not proof against such a sight. Several of our brave seamen wept like children; and many of those upon the quarter-decks, who attempted to use telescopes, suffered the glasses to fall from their hands, and gave vent to their tears.

But the moment of triumph was at hand. For three long miles, pulling in this manner

says Sir R. Wilson. *Hist. of the Exp.* p. 5.) "commenced the most violent thunder and hail storm ever remembered, and which continued two days and nights intermittingly. THE HAIL, OR RATHER THE ICE STONES, WERE AS BIG AS LARGE WALNUTS."—*Diodorus Siculus* (*lib.* xx.) mentions a storm of hail which happened at *Rhodes* in the spring of the year 316 before Christ, when the hail-stones were upwards of a pound in weight, and the houses were thrown down by the weight of them. We have accounts of a similar nature in sacred Scripture. "The Lord cast down great stones from heaven upon them unto *Achah*, and they died: they were more which died with hail-stones, than they whom the children of *Israel* slew with the sword." *Joshua* x. 11.

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against the wind, did our brave tars strain every sinew. Several boats were sunk by the bursting of the shells, and about two hundred and seventy men were killed before they reached the shore. At length, with all their prows touching the beach at the same instant, the boats grounded. Then a spectacle was presented that will be ever memorable. Two hundred of the *French* cavalry actually charged into the sea, and were seen for a few seconds hacking the men in the boats: these assailants were every one killed. It was now about ten o'clock; and within the space of six minutes, from this important crisis, the contest was decided. The soldiers of the *forty-second* regiment, leaping up to their middle in water, formed rapidly upon the shore; and with a degree of impatience nothing could restrain, without waiting to load their muskets, broke from the main line before it could be formed, and ran gallantly up the hill, sinking deep in the sand at every step they took'. In this

(1) Sir *R. Wilson* relates, that the *twenty-third* and *fortieth* ran first up the hill, and, charging with the bayonet the two battalions which crowned it, carried the two Nole hills in the rear, and took three pieces of cannon. "The *forty-second*," says he, "had landed, and formed as on a parade." Hist. of Exped. p. 14. Where "almost *præternatural energy*" was everywhere displayed, it is of little moment to ascertain the most impetuous. Sir *Robert* had every opportunity of ascertaining the truth; but a difference in his statement would not justify the
author

perilous situation a body of *French* cavalry charged down upon them; but, instead of being thrown into any disorder, they coolly received the charge upon the points of their bayonets; and the rest of the army coming up, routed the enemy on all sides. The *French* fled with the greatest precipitation. Our troops had been taught to expect no quarter, and therefore none was given. The wounded and the dying neither claimed nor obtained mercy; all was blood, and death, and victory. It is in the midst of the glory this day's success reflected upon the *British* arms, that Humanity remembers some things she may wish to forget, but never will record. The cool and patient valour with which our soldiers had sustained the torrent of *French* artillery, and beheld the streaming wounds of their companions, previous to their landing, could but prove a prelude to the fury they would manifest, when it became their turn

author in altering notes made from testimony upon the spot, in order to copy the narrative even of a more accurate writer. Having afterwards an occasion to examine the place of landing, the author visited the hill here alluded to; and was at a loss to conceive, how troops could charge rapidly with fixed bayonets against a heavy fire, where, unimpeded by any other difficulty than the sinking of his foot in the loose sand, he found it almost impracticable to ascend. The fact, however, only proves what ardent valour may accomplish; for that this was really done, it would be absurd to doubt.

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General
Menou.

When our troops landed, *Jaques Abu'allah Menou*, Commander-in-chief of the *French* forces in *Egypt*, was in *Cairo*. Intelligence had been repeatedly sent to him, accompanied by entreaty, that he would hasten to the relief of *Alexandria*. The *French* described him as a pompous, obstinate, corpulent man, entirely absorbed in composing or in delivering harangues to his soldiers. No persuasion could induce him to move. He considered the affair of our invasion as of little importance. Until our army had actually gained footing in the country, and twice defeated the *French* troops, he took no measures to interrupt their progress. According to the *French* statement, General *Friant*, with a body of cavalry, amounting to fifteen hundred men, was the only force upon the spot to oppose the landing of the *English* army. Had the resistance been greater, and *Menou* present, it is believed, that, with all the advantages possessed by the *French*, a descent upon the coast would have been impracticable.

A skirmish took place upon the twelfth of CHAP. IX.
March. In this affair the *twelfth* regiment of Affair of the Twelfth.
 Dragoons, by too precipitate a charge, suffered very considerably. Colonel *Archdale*, who commanded it, lost an arm, receiving a shot, in the very instant that he raised his sabre as a signal for his troop to advance, from one of the *Tirailleurs*. This did not prevent him from leading his men gallantly through a body of the enemy, much superior in number. Captain *Butler* of the same regiment was also taken prisoner. This brave but rash action was publicly reprehended by our Commander-in-chief; and the army was cautioned against the ill effects of too impetuous zeal and intemperate valour. The command of the *twelfth* devolved upon Colonel *Brown*; and Colonel *Archdale* came on board the *Braakel*.


On the thirteenth, the following day, our Action of the Thirteenth.
 army attacked and drove the enemy from the heights to which they had retreated after the action of the eighth. This battle was desperately fought on both sides, and mutual loss sustained to a very considerable amount. The result, however, made it evident that no resistance could be offered to the *English* bayonet. It was also discovered, that upon this occasion the *French* used bullets and cannon-shot of

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IX. } copper and brass; generally deemed a dishonourable practice, as calculated only to gratify cruelty and malice. The slightest wounds so inflicted are said, with what truth others may determine, to be mortal. This species of ammunition was obtained from the sheathing of ships in the port of *Alexandria*. Several of those balls were exhibited in the fleet, and some of them we afterwards found in the sand where the action took place. An opinion then prevailed, that if the action of the thirteenth had been properly followed up, the *English* would have been the same day in possession of *Alexandria*. We had reason afterwards to believe this would have been the case, by information from the people of the city; stating, that no reinforcement having arrived from *Cairo*, the merchants, tradesmen, and other inhabitants, were compelled to mount the ramparts and attend the gates as sentinels; who would gladly have cast away their arms to receive the *English*, or would have turned them upon the *French* during their retreat. Instead of this being done, the enemy were allowed to establish themselves, in a very advantageous position, upon some heights before the walls, whence it was found exceedingly difficult to dislodge them. To this place our army pursued them; and then retreated to an eminence near some

Ruins, rendered afterwards renowned, as the theatre of the most dreadful carnage during the glorious battle of the twenty-first.

About the nineteenth, *Menou* arrived in *Alexandria*, pouring forth a torrent of abuse upon the garrison and troops who had opposed the landing of the *English* army. Delivering one of his turgid harangues, he reproached them, “in allowing, to their everlasting shame, an army of heroes to be chastised by a mob of *English* school-boys.” The fat figure of *Menou*, added to his blustering and gasconading manner, rendered him a pleasant object of ridicule to the natural vivacity of *Frenchmen*, who distinguished him by the appellation of “*Cochon-Général* ;” frequently retiring from the parade highly diverted by his *fanfaronnades*. Having ended the speech he had prepared for the occasion of his arrival, immediate preparations were made for a general attack upon the *English*, with his whole force ; “*pour anéantir les Anglois*,” as he termed it, *tout d’un coup*.” The day for this great event was fixed for the twenty-first, when our army was to be surprised, before day-light, in its

(1) The words were given to me by some *French* officers who were present upon that occasion.

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Battle of
the *Ten-*
first.

At the hour appointed, the attack was made. In the beginning of it, the *French* conducted themselves with admirable skill. It is certain our army did not then expect them; although, for two preceding nights, the soldiers had been ordered to lie down upon their arms, and be ready at a moment's notice. They came silently on, and in good order; which is the more remarkable, as it was said the greater part of them had been dosed with brandy. They had crept with amazing perseverance, even upon their hands and knees, through fear of alarming our videttes. The *French* videttes were, however, observed to draw nearer and nearer to ours; until, at length, the *English* sentinel observed the *French* army close behind, coming slowly on in a line. This man gave the alarm, by firing his musket, and retreating with all possible expedition. The *French* instantly and rapidly charged up the hill, beginning a false attack upon our *left*; and, carrying a redoubt by

(1) The literal translation of *cultuter*, the word used by *Menou* in the orders given for that attack; as found in the pocket of General *Raise*, whose head was taken off by a cannon-ball. See the original, in Sir *Robert Wilson's* Hist. of the Expedition.

means of the bayonet, hoped thereby to throw our army into confusion, by drawing the attention from its *right*, where the main assault was intended. This project was soon perceived by our Commander-in-chief, and failed of its effect. It was still dark. The firing ceased upon the *left*, and was soon heard very warm upon the *right*. To that point General *Abercrombie* directed all his attention; although both armies discharged their artillery without discerning a single object, except during the flashes of the cannon; when, as an officer belonging to the reserve assured us, the *French* army was not otherwise visible, although now so near, than by the appearance of a long black line, disclosed during those momentary coruscations. As dawn appeared, the *French* were found to have succeeded in turning our *right* wing: and a party of their cavalry were actually seen advancing in the rear of the *twenty-eighth* regiment. The prudence and gallant conduct of this regiment gave the first favourable turn to the conflict of the day. Cavalry in the rear of infantry have generally the power to throw it into disorder. It was at this critical moment, decisive as to the fate of *Egypt*, that an adjutant of the *twenty-eighth* gave the word, "*Rear-rank! right about, face!*" This was readily obeyed; and the soldiers, with astonishing firmness and

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presence of mind, sustained a severe attack in front and rear at the same time, without a single man moving from his place¹. At this juncture, the *forty-second* regiment, coming up to aid the *twenty-eighth*, were themselves overwhelmed and broken by a body of the enemy's cavalry. Still, although dispersed, they resisted to a man; and were seen so intermingled with the enemy, that the flank companies of the *fortieth*, stationed in the openings of the *Ruin* upon the *right*, were afraid to fire, for fear of destroying them. *Menou* had promised a *Louis* to every *French* soldier who should be concerned in establishing a position in that building; and several attempts were made for the purpose. The *fifty-eighth* had been stationed there in the beginning of the action, with a part of the *twenty-third*, and had already repulsed a column of the enemy, in its attack upon this place; when, during the severe conflict sustained by the *twenty-eighth* in front, three columns forced in behind the redoubt where that regiment was stationed; and while some of them remained to carry on the attack upon its rear, the principal part penetrated into the quadrangular area formed by the *Ruin*. Here they were received

(1) The *fifty-eighth* is said to have been also in a similar situation. *Wilson's Hist. of the Exped.* p. 32. *

by the *fifty-eighth* and *twenty-third*; and followed by a part of the *forty-second*, who cut off their retreat; so that a most desperate contest ensued. Our men attacked them like wolves, with less order than valour, displaying a degree of intrepidity nothing could resist. After expending all their ammunition, they had recourse to stones and to the but-ends of their muksets, transfixing the *Frenchmen* with their bayonets against the walls of the building, until they had covered the sand with the blood and bodies of their enemies; where they remain heaped at this hour, a striking monument of the tremendous glory of that day. Not fewer than seven hundred *Frenchmen* were bayoneted or shot among those *Ruins*.

By some unaccountable negligence, the principal part of the artillery and ammunition had not been brought to the station then occupied by our army: hence originated a saying, that the *French* had been defeated by an enemy destitute of artillery. Certain it is, that both the *twenty-eighth* and *forty-second* regiments, towards the termination of the contest, were reduced to the necessity of throwing stones². General

(2) "The *French* on the right, during the want of ammunition among the *British*, having also exhausted theirs, pelted stones from the ditch at the *twenty-eighth*: who returned these unusual, yet not altogether harmless, instruments of violence, as a *serjeant* of the *twenty-eighth* was killed by one breaking through his forehead." *Hist. of the Exped.* p. 34.

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Sir *Ralph Abercrombie*, with a view, as it is related, of rallying the *forty-second*, and restoring order among their ranks, hastening towards the dreadful conflict in the *Ruin* upon the right, where the action was hottest, was nearly surrounded by a party of *French* cavalry. A dragoon made a thrust at him; but Sir *Ralph*, receiving the sabre between his breast and his left arm, wrested the weapon from his antagonist. At this instant, an *English* soldier, seeing another riding towards the *General* to aim a blow at him, and being without ball, thrust his ramrod into his musket, and with it shot the dragoon. Soon after, Sir *Ralph* was seen without his horse, the animal having been shot under him; when Sir *Sidney Smith* coming up, supplied him with that on which he was mounted. It was on this occasion that Sir *Ralph* presented to Sir *Sidney* the sabre he had wrested from the dragoon'. Soon after, our venerable Commander received, in the hour of conquest, the fatal wound in his thigh, of which he afterwards expired.

Victory now declared itself for the *English*; and it may be said to date from the moment when *Abercrombie* received his mortal wound.

(1) Sir *Sidney* has since placed this sabre upon the Monument of Sir *Ralph Abercrombie*.

Five *French* Generals were killed. *Menou's* horse was shot under him. It was reported, that he wept when he beheld the fate of the day, and exerted himself in vain endeavours to rally his retreating army. Among the wounded on our side, were Generals *Oakes*, *Moore*, *Hope*, and Sir *Sidney Smith*. The loss sustained by the *French* was not less than five thousand. Eleven hundred of their dead, as before stated, were buried by our own troops. After the action, both armies maintained the positions they had occupied before the battle².

After the twenty-first of *March*, the affairs in *Egypt* remained for a considerable time at a stand. We joined the fleet, as before mentioned, upon the seventeenth of *April*. The death of Sir *Ralph Abercrombie* had then thrown a gloom over every thing: and to its dissipation, neither the splendid talents nor the acknowledged popularity of his successor were in any degree adequate. Although General,

Sensation
caused by
the death
of *Aber-*
crombie.

(2) The *French* army upon this occasion consisted, according to their own statement, of nine thousand seven hundred men, including fifteen hundred cavalry, with forty-six pieces of cannon. The *British* force, reduced by their losses in the actions of the eighth and thirteenth, &c., did not yield an effective strength of ten thousand men, including three hundred cavalry. As the battle was fought by the right of the *English* army only, half that number resisted the concentrated attack of all the *French* force,—See *Hist. of the Expedition* p. 43.

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Measures
pursued by
the Suc-
cessor of
Abercrom-
bie.

now Lord, *Hutchinson* received as members of his council all those persons whose advice or assistance was esteemed by the late Commander-in-chief, and implicitly adopted every measure to which it had been his intention to adhere, the regret of the army and navy on the loss of their beloved veteran was expressed only in murmur and discontent. A less enviable situation could not have been sought, than that which General *Hutchinson* was called upon to fill. There is now, indeed, both satisfaction and pleasure in dwelling upon the difficulties of his arduous station; because the result has proved, that no one could either have been better qualified for the undertaking, or could have devised a scheme more wisely for the ultimate success of the enterprise, than the very system he pursued, and accomplished, for the final delivery of *Egypt*. Profiting by the moral of the old fable of "The four bulls and the lion," he directed the operations of the army successively to the different stations held by the dispersed forces of the enemy: subduing these, one after another, instead of allowing them to combine their strength, he was enabled to effect what no other plan of carrying on the campaign could possibly have brought to pass. It is true, that matters did not proceed quite so rapidly as before, but they advanced with much greater

certainty. A mere spectator in the fleet would have heard continual complaint of the tardiness and torpor seeming to prevail. Even the *French*, from their advanced posts conversing with our officers, were known to indulge their sarcasm at the dilatory nature of our operations, by expressing pretended impatience for better quarters; and by occasionally remarking, "*Messieurs, vous vous hâtez très lentement.*" The sentiments however of their own Generals might be cited, if it were necessary, to prove that a more soldier-like undertaking was never brought to issue, nor one more characterized by sound military science, than the plan for the expulsion of the *French*, which the successor of *Abercrombie* adopted.

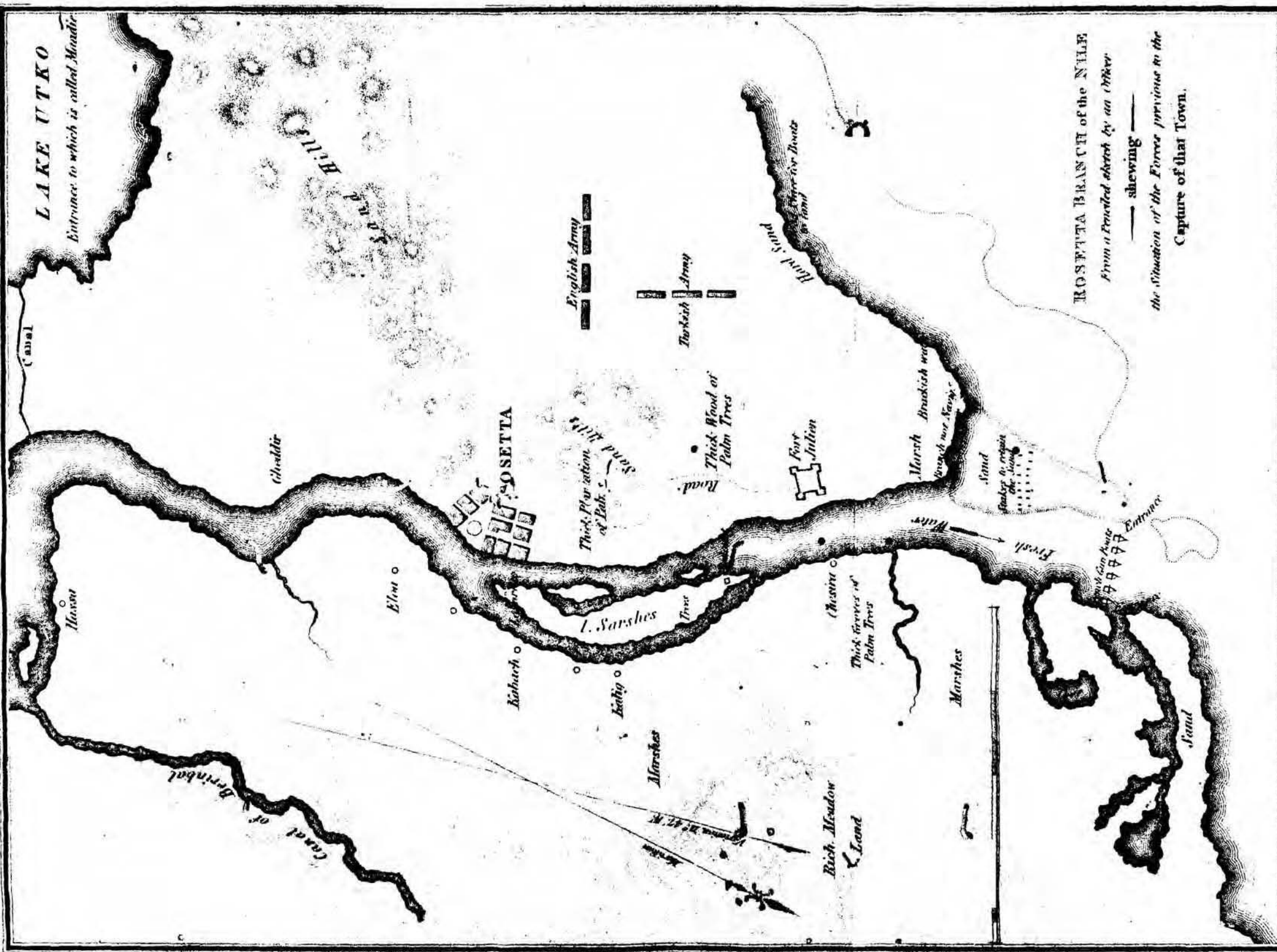
To accomplish this desirable object, his first effort was, to interrupt all communication between the garrison of *Alexandria* and the rest of *Egypt*. This was effected by destroying the Canal of *Alexandria*; and thereby not only preventing a supply of fresh water, but also causing the waters of the Lake of *Aboukir* to fall into the antient bed of the Lake *Marcotis*. We were present during this operation. The Canal was cut through in two places: the torrent, rushing vehemently down a steep of eight feet, soon carried away the intervening mound,

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and produced an inundation extending to such a prodigious distance over all the desert to the east and south of *Alexandria*, that before the middle of *May*, the *French*, than whom no people shew more alertness in converting even disaster to some advantage, had a flotilla of gun-boats upon this newly-created sea.

About this time, *Fort Julien*, upon the *Rosetta* branch of the *Nile*, was taken by the *English* and *Turks*; which was followed by the evacuation of *ROSETTA*. *Rachmanie*, an important fort, was then attacked and carried: by the capture of this place, all communication with *Alexandria* was said to be interrupted. Immediately after the capture of *Rachmanie*, the *English* army began its march to *Cairo*: their route was along the banks of the *Nile*. They proceeded about ten miles a day, suffering much from the heat, as well as from the drenching dew and the mosquitoes during the night. *Bereles* and *Damiata*, upon the coast, were moreover abandoned by the *French* and *Maltese*, and taken possession of by the *Turks*. The *Maltese* deserted to us; and the *French*, putting to sea, were captured by our fleet.

Upon the twenty-second of *April*, Captain *Clarke* conveyed us, in his cutter, to visit the



LAKE UTKO

Entrance to which is called Moudie

Canal

Chaddir

ROSETTA

Thick Plantation of Palm Trees

Thick Wood of Palm Trees

Fort Julien

Marsh Brackish water through wet Swamp

Sand

Fresh Water

Entrance

shewing

the Situation of the Forces previous to the Capture of that Town.

ROSETTA BRANCH of the NILE

From a Pentled sketch by an Officer

English Army

Turkish Army

Hard Sand

Rich Meadow

Marshes

Thick Groves of Palm Trees

L. Sarshes

Kabuch

Elon

Kabig

Marshes

Canal of Berinbal

Longitude 30° 27' E
Latitude 31° 17' N

English camp off *Alexandria*; on which occasion we first landed in *Egypt*. We entered the Lake of *Aboukir* by the Block-House, remaining a short time to examine the landing-place of our troops. The waters of this extensive lake broke in from the sea in the year 1784. It is everywhere shallow; and so full of fishes, that they leap into boats passing over the lake; a circumstance which greatly surprised us. The opening of the sluices for the inundation of the old bed of Lake *Mareotis* had then drained it so low, that boats could barely pass. We were often stranded, and every one of us obliged to get into the water, for the purpose of heaving our bark over the mud, upon which she rested. We landed just below the *English* camp, and beheld the extraordinary spectacle of a desert rendered lively by the presence of a *British* army; admiring the singular concurrence of circumstances which had occasioned an exhibition of *English* soldiers and sailors, lounging about, and seemingly at home, upon the sands of *Egypt*. The shore was covered with palm-trees in full bloom, making, at this season of the year, a splendid appearance. *Arabs* and *Moors* were seen mounted on dromedaries and camels; while the officers of our army appeared cantering upon asses, to and from the little shops established by *Greeks* in tents near the

shore. The strong reflection of the sun's rays from the sand is painful; but the most refreshing breezes, as constant as the sun, daily cool this parched coast. We did not experience any oppressive degree of heat, but walked about two miles, from the shore to the camp, with great pleasure. The sands were covered with rare plants; and these were all in flower.

The *twelfth* Dragoons, the regiment to which our visit was principally intended, had received orders to march for *Rosetta* the day following that on which we arrived. We dined with them in their *Egyptian* mess-room; which consisted of a square hole in the sand, covered with the branches of palm-trees. In the evening we rode with them throughout the camp, and passed the outside of the lines. The whole front of the *British* army was then drawn out, and under arms, behind the breast-work. We visited the *twenty-eighth* regiment, in which were several officers of our acquaintance; and also the artillery upon the heights opposite to *Alexandria*. Our videttes were then going out. From this place we very distinctly saw the *French* cavalry descending from the works before *Alexandria*, to relieve their own videttes. They were so near, that we could discern the riders, and distinguish them when putting on their

long white cloaks for the night. The *French* and *English* videttes were stationed within an hundred paces of each other, and often conversed; the *French* party coming frequently over to ours, to ask for water. At that time, the enemy occupied a lofty mound opposite to our line, and a deep valley separated the two armies. This valley reminded us of the neutral territory in *America* where Major *André* was taken, while endeavouring to effect his escape from the enemies' works, which he had been so hardy as to reconnoitre. As we returned to the station occupied by the *twelfth*, we passed the *Ruin* where the action was hottest during the battle of the twenty-first: visiting its interior, an old soldier, one of the heroes who had there distinguished himself, pointed out the heaps of sand raised over the bodies of those who fell during the terrible conflict, and shewed us the dark traces of their blood, yet remaining upon the walls. Afterwards, we rode to examine the sluices made through the *Alexandrian Canal*, and beheld the torrent still rushing, with unabated force, from the Lake of *Aboukir*. We had a tent allotted to us for the night: it was double-lined; yet so copious are the dews of *Egypt*, after sun-set, that the water ran plentifully down the tent pole. We slept upon the sand, not without dread of scorpions, which are here

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IX. } very numerous, and had stung several of the soldiers¹. In the morning, we discovered that our tent was the only one remaining upon this station. The *twelfth* had marched before daylight. During our return to the fleet, we had greater difficulty than before in getting our boat over *Aboukir* Lake.

Upon the twenty-fifth we again quitted the *Braakel*; and sailed for the *caravanserai* at the mouth of the Lake *Maadie*, determined to visit *ROSETTA*. As there was not sufficient depth of water in the lake, we steered along the coast, and landed at the village of *Utkó*, to the west of an old castle upon the shore. The surf ran very high, and is here generally dangerous. We found the sand covered with human skulls and other bones, which the sea and the sun had whitened; the jackals having previously stripped them of every particle of flesh. These were described to us as the remains of those *Turks* who fell in the dreadful slaughter, when *Buonaparté* drove a whole army into the sea².

We had to cross a perfect specimen of the

(1) One of the privates, who received a wound from a *scorpion*, lost the upper joint of his fore-finger.

(2) See a former note, in this Chapter, p. 336.

pathless *African* desert³, in our way to *Uthô*: the distance, however, did not exceed three miles. High mounds of sand, shifting with every change of wind, surrounded us on all sides, and concealed the view of other objects. Yet even here we found a few rare *plants*, and some of these we collected⁴; but the heat was extremely oppressive. We also observed in this desert an interesting proof of the struggle maintained by man against the forbidding nature of the soil. Here and there appeared plantations of *pumpkins*; and a few jars and cylinders of *terra cotta* contained young *palm-trees*: these were placed in holes deep in the sand; a hollow space surrounding each plant, to collect the copious dew falling every night. The vegetation of *EGYPT*, even the redundant produce of the *Delta*, is not owing solely to partial inundation from the *Nile*, or to artificial irrigation. When we hear that rain is unknown to the inhabitants, it must not be supposed the land is on that account destitute of water. From all the observations we could collect during our subsequent residence,

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IX.
View of the
Country.

(3) This is a part of the desert described by *Savary*. (*Letters on Egypt*, vol. I. p. 47. ed. 2. Lond. 1787.)

(4) Among these were a non-descript species of *Lotus*, of *Orobanchæ*, of *Salsola*, *Chenopodium*, and of *Polypogon*. See *List of Plants* at the end of the *Third Section* of these *Travels*; also the Note in Chap. II. Vol. V. of the 9vo. edition, where the new species are described.

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it seemed doubtful whether any other country has so regular a supply of moisture from above. Even the sands of the desert partake largely of "the dew of heaven," and, in a certain degree, of "the fatness of the earth." Hence it is that we meet with such frequent allusion to the copious dew distilled upon *Oriental* territories in the Sacred Writings. Brotherly love is compared by David¹ to "the dew of *Hermon*." The goodness of *Judah* is described as the dew². "The remnant of *Jacob* shall be," it is said³, "in the midst of many people, as a dew from the Lord." And the blessings promised by the son of *Beer*⁴ are to "be as the dew unto *Israel*." In all this sandy district, *palm-trees* are very abundant, and their presence is a never-failing indication of water below the surface: wheresoever they are found, a brackish and muddy pool may speedily be formed, by digging a well near their roots. The natives are chiefly occupied in the care of them; tying up their blossoms with bands formed of the foliage, to prevent their being torn off, and scattered by the winds. Our soldiers were at first ignorant of the extent of the mischief they occasioned

(1) Ps. cxxxiii. 3.

(2) Hos. vi. 4.

(3) Micah v. 7.

(4) Hos. xiv. 5.

by cutting down these trees, each of which proves as a little patrimony to the native who is fortunate enough to be its owner. We had ventured into these wilds without guides; and were therefore glad to perceive, as we advanced, the traces of dromedaries' feet upon the sand, crossing the line we pursued. Following the track marked out by these animals, we presently arrived at the wretched solitary village of *Uthó*, near to the muddy shore of the lake of that name, the entrance to which is called *Maadie*. Here we procured asses for all our party, and, setting out for *Rosetta*, began to recross the desert, appearing like an ocean of sand, but flatter and firmer, as to its surface, than before. The *Arabs*, uttering their harsh guttural language, ran chattering by the side of our asses; until some of them calling out "*Raschid!*" we perceived its domes and turrets, apparently upon the opposite side of an immense lake or sea, that covered all the intervening space between us and the city. Not having, at the time, any doubt as to the certainty of its being water, and seeing the tall minarets and buildings of *Rosetta*, with all its groves of dates and sycamores, as perfectly reflected by it as by a mirror, insomuch that even the minutest detail of the architecture and of the trees might have been thence delineated, we applied to the *Arabs* to be informed in

Journey to
Rosetta.

what manner we were to pass the water. Our interpreter, although a *Greek*, and therefore likely to have been informed of such a phænomenon, was as fully convinced as any of us that we were drawing near to the water's edge, and became indignant when the *Arabs* maintained that within an hour we should reach *Rosetta*, by crossing the sands in the direct line we then pursued, and that there was no water. "What," said he, giving way to his impatience, "do you suppose me an idiot, to be persuaded contrary to the evidence of my senses?" The *Arabs*, smiling, soon pacified him, and completely astonished the whole party, by desiring us to look back at the desert we had already passed, where we beheld a precisely similar appearance. It was, in fact, the *Mirage*¹; a prodigy to which

(1) An explanation of the phænomenon, called *Mirage* by the French, was published at *Cairo*, in the *Décade Egyptienne*, vol. I. p. 39. by *Monge*. It is too long for insertion here: but the author thus previously describes the illusion.

"Le soir et le matin, l'aspect du terrain est tel qu'il doit être; entre vous et les derniers villages qui s'offrent à votre vue, vous n'apercevez que la terre; mais dès que la surface du sol est suffisamment échauffée par la présence du soleil, et jusqu'à ce que, vers le soir, elle commence à se refroidir, le terrain ne paraît plus avoir la même extension, et il paraît terminé à une lieue environ par une inondation générale. Les villages qui sont placés au-delà de cette distance paraissent comme des îles situées au milieu d'un grand Lac, et dont on serait séparé par une étendue d'eau plus ou moins considérable. Sous chacun des villages on voit son image renversée, telle qu'on la verrait effectivement s'il y avait en avant une surface d'eau réfléchissante."

every one of us were then strangers, although it afterwards became more familiar. Yet upon no subsequent occasion did we ever behold this extraordinary illusion so marvellously displayed. The view of it afforded us ideas of the horrible despondency to which travellers must sometimes be exposed, who, in traversing the interminable desert, destitute of water, and perishing with thirst, have sometimes this deceitful prospect before their eyes¹

Before we arrived at *Rosetta*, seeing a flag displayed upon the tower of *Abú-mandúr*, to the right of our route, we supposed a part of our troops might be there stationed, and therefore climbed that mountain of sand, to visit them. Here we were unexpectedly greeted with an astonishing view of the *Nile*, the *Delta*, and the numerous groves in all the neighbourhood of *ROSETTA*: it is the same so wretchedly pictured in *Sonnini's Travels*, and of which no idea can be

To this *Monge* adds, that the large masses only are distinctly reflected; but when the *Mirage* is very perfect, the most minute detail, whether of trees or buildings, may be plainly perceived, trembling, as when the inverted images of objects appear in water, the surface whereof is agitated by wind.

(2) "It is called *السرّاب* *al-sarab* by the *Arabians*; and is alluded to by *ISAIAH* (xxxv. 7.) in the following words: *וַיִּהְיֶה הַשֶּׁרֶב לַמַּנֶּחֱם*, 'And the *Serab* (the illusory lake of the Desert) shall become a real lake.' " *Edin. Review* for Feb. 1813. p. 139.

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formed from his engraved representation. The scene is of a very striking nature. The sudden contrast it offers, opposed to the desert we had traversed; the display of abundance exhibited in the fertility of this *African* paradise; with all the circumstances of local reflection excited by an extensive prospect of the *Nile*, and of the plains of *Egypt*; render it one of the most interesting sights in the world. Among the distant objects, we beheld the *English* camp, stationed about five miles up the river, upon its western side; and all the country as far as the fortress of *Rachmanie*. The beautiful boats peculiar to the *Nile*, with their large wide-spreading sails, were passing up and down the river. Unable to quit the spot, we dismissed our guides, and remained for some time surveying the pleasing scene. Afterwards, descending on foot, close by the superb mosque of *Alú-mandúr*, we continued our walk along the banks of the *Nile*, through gardens richer than can be imagined, beneath the shade of enormous overhanging branches of *sycamore* and of *fig* trees, amidst bowers of *roses*, and through groves of *date*, of *citron*, of *lime*, and of *banana* trees, to *ROSETTA*. As we entered the town, a party of *Arabs*, in long blue dresses, welcomed our coming, placing their hands upon their breasts, and saying, “*Salaam-úlyh! Bon Ingéseses!*” while from the

camp, *English* officers, on horses, on camels, or on foot, added to numerous boats filled with troops upon the water, gave to the place a character of gaiety never perhaps possessed by it in any former age. All authors mention the beauty of its scenery, complaining only of the monotony and dulness of the city. At the time we saw it, no such complaint could be made; for, with unrivalled natural beauty, *Rosetta* then exhibited one of the liveliest and most varied pictures of human life which it is possible to behold. From the different people by whom it was thronged, its streets resembled an immense masquerade. There was hardly a nation in the *Mediterranean* but might have been then said to have had its representative in *Rosetta*; and the motley appearance thus caused was further diversified by the addition of *English* ladies from the fleet and from the army, who, in long white dresses, were riding about upon the asses of the country.

Upon our arrival, we went to the quarters of Sir *Sidney Smith*. He was then with our army in the camp near *Rachmanie*; but we were conducted to a house he had kindly prepared for our reception, "that the turbulence of war might not," as he was pleased to express it, "interfere with the arts of peace." This dwelling

was the most delightful of any in *Rosetta*. Placed in a prominent situation upon the quay, it commanded a view of the *Nile*, and of the *Delta*, in every direction'. We had therefore only to return to the fleet for a few articles of convenience, and for our books, and here to fix our residence.

(1) Sir *Sidney Smith*, afterwards viewing this prospect from our terrace, said, "We have often abused *Savary* for his extravagance and amplification; but the view here may at least reconcile us to his account of *Rosetta*."

APPENDIX.

No. I.

PARTICULARS
OF THE
REVOLUTION AT CONSTANTINOPLE
IN THE YEAR 1807;

WHICH ENDED IN
THE DEPOSITION OF THE EMPEROR SELIM III.

~~~~~  
*Extracted from Mr. WALPOLE's Manuscript Journal.*  
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“THE *Nizam Jedit*, or, as it may be literally translated, the *New System*, had been instituted by Selim, for the purpose chiefly of augmenting the standing army, and disciplining it according to European tactics. The new-raised troops in and near the capital amounted to about 14,000 men; and were quartered in the barracks of Scutari, and between Buyucderé and Pera: in Asia there were not less than 60,000. They were maintained at great expense, and new and extraordinary taxes were levied to produce a fund for the support

of them. The advanced price of tobacco, and other articles of luxury or necessity; the prohibition of the exportation of corn; the jealousy of the Janissaries at the increase of such a body of soldiers as the new troops, who, as they imagined, were raised to check and controul them;—these and other causes excited complaint and discontent on every side. In the year 1806, while I was at Constantinople, the new troops and Janissaries met in frequent battle in the vicinity of the capital. Victory decided at length for the latter; and the Porte was obliged to raise the Colonel of the Janissaries to the post of Grand Vizier. Peace however was not restored; the Janissaries still considered the troops of the *Nizam Jedid* with suspicion and hatred, as the destined means of effecting a reform in their own body. The enemies of the Government did not hesitate to point out the deposition of the Emperor, as the only method by which the discontents and murmurs of the people might be quieted. They called him the '*first Infidel*' (*bir Giaour*). They said, that as he had been seven years on the throne, and had not given an heir to it, he ought, according to the laws and religion of his country, to descend from it. The Sultan-mother, the Messalina of Constantinople, with her lover, Yussuff Aga, attached herself to

the new troops, as a body on whom they could depend to support the Emperor, should the Janissaries make any attempts to excite revolt. Under pretext of dread of insurrection in the north of Turkey, their numbers were increased; and an imminent attack from Russia furnished another excuse for their augmentation.

“The expedition of the English to the Dardanelles suspended only for a short time the animosity of the Janissaries, and the civil disturbances in the capital; which were renewed with violence shortly after. On Wednesday the 26th of May, 1807, the rebels went in a body to the Hippodrome, and demanded of the Mufti an order for the death of those whom they marked out. The barracks of the new troops were next destroyed. The massacre then began; and six of the members of the *Nizam Jedit* were killed. On Thursday the rebels went to the Seraglio, and insisted on the deposition of Selim: and on Friday the new Sultan appeared in public; and, as he went in procession to prayers, was hailed with joy by the insurgents, who retired peaceably home, after his return from the mosque.

“Mustapha the Fourth, the new Emperor, thought it expedient, after he had been on

the throne a short time, to publish an act of amnesty in favour of the Janissaries. The following short abstract will shew the nature of it.

“ It begins with some reflections on the conduct of the members of the *Nizam Jedit*, and on the unhappy delusion which had urgéd Selim to promote and encourage their measures. It adds, that by this, the officers and body of the Janissaries were alarmed ; that the *Oolemà*, and other respectable persons of the State, were obliged to disavow their obedience to their former sovereign ; that they had united in proclaiming Mustapha, the son of Abdul-Hamid, their emperor ; that their conduct had been directed by the spirit of the paragraph of the Korān, which says : “ THOSE WHO RENDER US HOMAGE, RENDER IT TO THE HIGHEST ; AND THE HAND OF THE LORD IS IN ALL THEY DO. THE WORDS OF OUR PROPHET, WHICH CONDUCT US BY THE PATH OF LIFE, HAVE BEEN REGARDED : IF A CITY OUGHT TO BE DESTROYED, LET US GIVE AN OPEN FIELD TO THE EXCESSES OF THE VIOLENT ; AND LET US EXTERMINATE IT ENTIRELY. THIS THREAT HAS BEEN EXECUTED ON THE BETRAYERS OF THE FAITH AND THE EMPIRE ; THEY EXIST NO LONGER ;, AND THEY SHALL

HAVE MORE AND SEVERER PUNISHMENT IN THE DAY OF THE RESURRECTION."

It appears, from the foregoing relation, that Selim was deposed on Thursday the 27th of May, 1806. In the *Hamburgh Correspondent* of July the 24th following, (See *General Evening Post*, August 4th, 1807,) a long account was inserted of the Turkish Revolution, in which the subsequent passage occurs :

" This occasioned so much distrust and discontent, that the revolution would have broken out sooner, if the English fleet had not made its appearance. The party, in fact, were pretty sure of their object; and even in February last, in a respectable German Journal, the following passage appeared, under the head of *A Dialogue in the Shades*.

" ' A Professor of Astronomy in London, in a view of the Constellations, has observed an insurrection among the Janissaries, and the death of the Sultan.'

" In consequence of the dispositions afterwards made, the dethronement of Selim seemed naturally to follow, for" . . . &c.

It is observable, that the Professor of Astronomy here mentioned, was no other than the

writer of the predictions in MOORE'S *Almanach*, printed in 1806. Now, whoever recollects "The Dialogue under Four Eyes" of the celebrated *Wieland*, in which *Buonaparté*, while in a state of the greatest depression in the East, was pointed out, under the very title of "First Consul," as the future Saviour of France, will have no great difficulty in conjecturing from what quarter this Professor of Astronomy received his illumination, nor from what source the revolution had its origin.

S. H.

No. II.

EXTRACT
FROM THE
LETTER OF CARDINAL ISIDORE
CONCERNING THE
CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE
A. D. MCCCCLII.

.... "AUDITE hæc, audite omnes gentes, auribus percipite, qui habitatis orbem! Audite hæc omnia qui in orbem orbis partem colitis, ministri, pastores, et principes omnium ecclesiarum Christi, universi quoque reges et principes Christicolæ, ac universus Domini populus cum religiosis cunctis! Audite! et notum sit vobis, quod præcursor veri Antichristi, Turcorum princeps et dominus, servus autem tot dominorum quot vicinorum, cujus nomen est Mahumet, inimicus crucis Christi, hæres rei et nominis illius primi pseudo-prophetæ et latoris legis spurcissimè Agarenorum, filius Sathanæ omnium flagitiosissimus, qui furiis infectus, et insaniâ, sanguinem Christianorum sine intermissione sitit, nec extingui valet ejus sitis post eorum innumeras cædes. Tantoque odio contra Christum et membra ejus movetur, ut eradere nomen ejus de terrâ nitatur; et inspecto aliquo Christiano sibi obvianti, se inde existimet sordidatum, ut oculos ablumat et os, immundum se profitens priùs. Hoc igitur tam terribile et horridum monstrum, exigentibus demeritis Christianorum, justo Dei judicio, in eos sævire et crassari

permissus, civitatem imperialem novam Romam, olim felicissimam, nunc miserrimam, et omni calamitate oppressam Constantinopolim diù obsessam cœpit, expugnavit, spoliavit omnibus bonis, et penè delevit. Quis autem (ut verbis utar prophetæ) dabit capiti meo aquam, et oculis meis fontem lachrymarum, ut plorare valeam die ac nocte interfectos populi illius, et scelestissima sacrilegia in eâ capturâ perpetrata? Quis hujus horribilitatis memor, non obstupescat, non lethargicus fiat, non præ dolore obmutescat? Nec tum cuncta enormia explicabo, ne piæ aures audire refugiant: sed ex paucissimis relatis cogitentur alia. Hic nefandus, nominibus blasphemiae plenus, civitate receptâ, post decapitationem Imperatoris, cum omni suâ progenie et nobilitate, plurimos ferreis manicis et compedibus alligatos, ac collis eorum funibus cinctis, extra urbem deduxit nobiles, plebeios, monachos et monachas, mares et fœminas, virtute et conditione præclaros, vituperabiliter detractos, multis injuriis refertas, ut meretriculas et in lupanari prostitutas trahebant; tanta et talia contra eos agebant, quanta de brutis animalibus, et qualia sine rubore, fari minimè quis valeat? Adolescentulos utriusque sexûs à parentibus segregabant, et divitiis de eis pretio negociabantur. Infantes coram genitoribus suis ut agnuculos mactabant. Matres filiis, et geniti genitricibus privabantur. Germani à fratribus, uxores à viris, nurus à socribus, lugentibus et ululantibus segregabantur. Disjuncti consanguinei et amici, in diversis regionibus servi venditi ducebantur. O quàm amaræ lachrymæ, quanta suspiria quot clamosi singultus inter amicos et notos! quæ miserabiles voces emittebantur inter tantas cardes, servitutes, expulsiones, et contumelias! Principes, barones, et domini, bubulcorum, porcariorum, homuncionum effecti sunt famuli. Intra decennium pueros ad ritus suæ perfidæ sectæ compellebant. Heu quomodo obscuratum est aurum fulgidum sapientiæ, per tenebras ignorantiae! aurum dignitatis per ignobilitatem servitutis! Quomodo mutatus est color optimus Græcæ

eloquentiæ, in barbariem Turchiæ ! lapides sanctuarii, si qui erant constantes in fide, dispersi sunt in capite omnium viarum jacentes prostrati. De cæteris taceamus : humana sunt. Sed de injuriis, subsannationibus, contumeliis, opprobriis scelestibus erga divina, quæ lingua valeat explicare ? Quis intellectus capere ? Quæ aures patienter audire ? Ni fallor, nunquam ita inhonoratus Deus. Venerunt gentes gehennæ deditæ, in hæreditatem tuam, quæ Israel est te videns per fidem. Polluerunt templum sanctum tuum : Ecclesiam nobilissimam Sanctæ Sophiæ, cum aliis. Imagines Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et Matris ejus Virginis gloriosæ, et sanctorum ac sanctarum Dei, insignia vivificæ crucis conspuentes, confringentes, conculcantes ; sacrosancta evangelia, missalia, et reliquos Ecclesiæ libros dilacerantes, deturpantes, comburentes. Sacras vestes sacerdotum, reliquaque ornamenta Ecclesiæ scindentes, ad indumentum suum et ornatum sumentes, vel pro vili pretio conferentes ; vasa Domini, ejus cultui dedicata, in eis comedentes et bibentes, in reliquum conflata ad prophanos usus transferebant. Posuerunt denique carnes sanctorum tuorum, morticina servorum tuorum, reliquias beatorum corporum, escas volatilibus cœli ; dispergentes hinc inde carnes sanctorum tuorum quos occidebant bestiis terræ : quia non erat qui sepeliret. Altaria suffoderunt, invocantes nomen maledicti Mahumeti, eum laudantes de victoriâ. Omitto præ pudore quod mingeabant, stercorisabant, omnia vituperabilia exercebant in templis, imaginibus, et reliquiis sanctis. Sancta canibus dabant, margaritas sacramentorum ante porcos projiciebant. * Cùm hæc recolo, totus ex horrore contrëmisco ; nec ulterius stylo exarare queo illorum piacula, et fidei Christianæ religionis dedecora et irrisiones injecta. Monasteria tam monachorum quàm monialium invadentes, omnia diripiebant, ejicientes illos de habitationibus suis : xenodochia infirmorum destruebant. Etsi de multis et magnis excidiis et exterminis civitatum, historiographi etiam gentilium referant, ferè nulla posset desolationi hujus

coæquari. Nullum incolam intrâ reliquerunt, non Græcum, non Latinum, non Armenum, non Judæum: urbem ipsam suis civibus nudatam quasi desertam effecerunt. Eorum actus et opera propriis oculis vidi, et cum reliquibus constantissimis viris unâ, plura perpessus sum mala, et pericula, licèt de manibus eorum me eripuerit Deus, ut Jonam de ventre ceti."

No. III.

A

CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS

UPON DAILY SALE

IN THE CITIES OF THE EAST.

PROCURED BY THE AUTHOR THROUGH THE FRIENDLY OFFICES OF A
DERVISH IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

Translated and arranged by the Rev. GEORGE CZCIL RENOARD, M. A. Fellow
of Sidney College, Cambridge, now Chaplain to the British Factory at Smyrna.*

THEOLOGY.

Paris

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 1. منازل السائرين | 50 |
| THE Resting-Places of Travellers. [See <i>D'Herbelot</i> , p. 576. b.] | |
| 2. اصحاب بدر شرحي منيني | 300 |
| A Commentary on the Champions of Bedr, by Menīnī [Pro-
bably a work on some of the traditions relating to the
victory gained at Bedr, over the unbelieving inhabitants
of Meccah.] | |

The books referred to, as authorities, in forming this translation, are:

1. *D'Herbelot's Bibliothèque Orientale.* Paris, 1697. fol.
2. *Encyclopædische Uebersicht der Wissenschaften des Orients, aus sieben Arabischen, Persischen, und Türkischen Werken übersetzt.* Leipzig, 1804. 2 vols. 8vo.
3. A pretty copious abridgment of "Ḥāji Khalīfeh (Cātib Chelebi)'s *Cashfu' s-zunūn fī amāl kutub wa'l funūn*"—a celebrated bibliographical work; of which a complete account may be found in the preceding publication.

3. خطبة حديث اربعين تفسير سورد فتيم 220
 The Prayer for the Prosperity of the reigning Prince—The Forty Traditions.—A Commentary on the First Chapter of the Korān. [See D'Herbelot, *Khotkbah*, p. 1000. a. Encyclopædise Uebersicht der Wissenschaften des Orients, p. 634—639, for the Forty Traditions.]
4. تركي تصوف اداب الطالبين 45
 A Treatise on Mystical Theology,—and Morals, in Turkish. [Perhaps two different Tracts.—For the doctrines of the Sūfīs, or Mohammedan Recluses, see D'Herbelot, *Sofī*, p. 816. a.]
5. مجمع رسائل خواص وتصوف 60
 A Collection of Tracts on the Peculiarities of the Korān, and on Mystical Theology.
6. تصوف فارسي 35
 A Treatise on Religious Seclusion; in Persian.
7. رسائل تصوف 180
 Tracts on the same subject as the last article.
8. جماليه تركي تصوف 70
 The Jemāliyyah. [A treatise on the same subject; in Turkish.]
9. مصلح النفس تصوف تركي 11
 The Improver of the Soul. [On the same subject; in Turkish.]
10. رسائل تصوف عين القضاة 260
 Tracts on the same subject.—The Eye of Judges. [The latter, probably, a treatise on the Duties of a Kāzī, or Judge.]
11. قلندر نامه تصوف، منظوم فارسي 45
 The Guide of Kalenders. [A treatise on Religious Seclusion: in metre, and in the Persian language.]

12. بیان طریق صوفیه سنبل افندی . . . 180
An Explanation of "the Path of Devotees," by Sumbul Efendî.
13. تصوف جعفر صادق 35
On Seclusion from the World, by Jâfer Sâdik. [Jâfer the Just was the sixth Imâm, and is held in high veneration by all Musselmans. Vid. *D'Herb.* 389. a.]
14. رسایل تصوف مفتاح الغیب وغیره . . . 140
Tracts on Mystical Divinity : The Key of Secrets, &c.
15. دیوان هدایى ورسایل تصوف ترکی . . . 180
The Poems of Hidâyî, and Tracts on a Spiritual Life; in Turkish.
16. دیوان احمدی ترکی تصوف 120
The Poems of Ahmedî, on Spiritual subjects; in Turkish.
17. ترکی منظوم تصوف 35
A Treatise on the same subject, in metre, and in Turkish.
18. منہاج الفقرا انقروی 900
The High Road of Fakîrs, by Enkurevî.
19. احسن الحديث لوقچی زاده 440
The Best of Traditions, by Okchî-zâdeh. [The Hadîs are the Sayings of Mahomet, traditionally preserved among his Followers, and venerated almost as much as the Korân itself. See *D'Herb. Hadith*, p. 416. a. Also called the Arbâin of Okchî-zâdeh. Vid. *D'Herb. Ocgi*, p. 684. a.]
20. The same work 220
21. Ditto 300
22. Ditto 700

23. ترجمہ احادیث شریفہ 70
A Translation of the Sacred Traditions.
24. ابن ملک علی المشارق 340
The Commentary of Ibni Melec on "The Rise," [i. e. The Rise of the Prophetic Luminaries from the pure sky of the history of the elect Being (Mahomet). The complete Title is thus given by *Hājī Khalīfah*, مشارق الانوار. The Author's name is, The Imām Razi'uddīr. Hasan ibn Muhammed as-saghānī — It is a very celebrated Treatise on the Tradition; establishing the number of those that are genuine at 2246. The Commentator is also a celebrated Author. His name at length is Abdu'l latīf, ibn Abdu'l-āzīr. His work is entitled مبارک الازهار في شرح [مشارق الانوار]
[I have given a more detailed account of these books; as *D'Herlelot* (p. 560. b.) is not only very concise, but also incorrect, in what he says respecting them.]
25. اداب بیتی فی علم الحديث 140
The Institution of Baīhakī in the Science of Tradition.
26. تحفة الابرار ترکی 45
A Present for the Pious, in Turkish. [An historical work on the Traditions. *D'Herb.* p. 890. a.]
27. انوار العاشقین 380
The Lights of Lovers. [Probably a Collection of the Sacred Traditions; translated into Turkish, by Ahmed, brother of Mohammed ibn Sālīb, the author of the original work, entitled *Maghāribu z-zamān*. H. KH.]
28. حدیث اربعین صدرالدین فتوی 70
The Forty Traditions, by Sadru'ddīn Fetevī.

29. شرح نخبة لابن حجر 140
 A Commentary on the Nokhbah of Ibn Hajar. [See *D'Herb.* 674. a. Hājī Khalīfeh gives the title at full length, thus; *النخبة الفكرة في مصطلح اهل الاثر* whence it appears that *D'Herbelot* has made a mistake in translating the title, "Ce qu'il y a de meilleur dans la *pauvreté*," instead of Ce qu'il y a de meilleur dans la *réflexion*.—Probably his copy had *الفقر*. This led him into greater error, viz. the notion that Poverty is the exclusive subject of the Hadīs which occur in this work; while it is, in fact, a general treatise on the traditions relative to the Prophet.]
30. شيخ قاسم هلي النخبة وغيرهم 50
 Shaikh Kāsim, on the Nokhbah of Ibn Hajar, &c. [*i.e.* Shaikh Kasim ibn Koṭlūboghā (قطلوبغا) of the Hanifī sect. *D'Herb.* 262. a. Hājī Khalīfeh.]
31. تفسير يسن وغيرهم تركي 220
 A Commentary on the 36th Chapter of the Korān, &c. in Turkish.
32. تفسير ملا جامي 140
 The Commentary of Mullā Jāmī [on the Korān.]
33. تفسير تركي حمدن اشافي 45
 A Commentary, in Turkish, from the 41st Chap. forwards.
34. تفسير ابو الليث سورة ص الي اخره 300
 A Commentary from the 38th Chap. to the end of the Korān, by Abū'l-leis.
35. تفسير قاضي نباء 140
 A Commentary on the 78th Chap. of the Korān, by Kāzī.

36. تصوفات تركي تفسير 140
Divine Meditations, in Turkish. A Commentary. [Perhaps
two distinct works.]
37. تركي تفسير سورة محمد بن اشافي . . . 110
A Commentary, in Turkish, from the 47th Chap. of the Korān,
forwards.
38. تفسير ابن كمال جلد اول 30
The Commentary of Ibni Kemāl, vol. I.
39. تفسير بيناوي من اول نعام الي كهف . 260
A Commentary on the Korān, from the beginning of the 6th
to the 28th Chapter, by Baižāvi (*Beidhawī*).
40. شيخ زاده من العرقان الي السبا . . . 380
A Commentary from the 25th to the 34th Chap. of the Korān,
by Shaikh-Zādeh.
41. شمس الافاق بسطامي
The Sun in the Firmament, by Bastāmī. [A Treatise on
the Mystical Powers of the Arabic Letters. See *De Herb.*
193. a. 775. a.]
42. Ditto 500
43. خواص قران ترجمه سي 90
A Translation of "The Peculiar Properties of the Korān:" [The
Khawāss; i. e. the Peculiar and Cabalistical Properties of
the Letters used in the Korān. *Encyklopædische Ueber-*
sicht, p. 79. 615.]
44. خواص تركي 110
A Work on the same subject, in Turkish.
45. خواص قران عربي 440
A Work on the same subject, in Arabic.

46. خواص فاتحه عربي 260
The Cabalistical Properties of the Letters which occur in the
First Chapter of the Korān; in Arabic.
47. مجموع خواص تركي 60
A Collection of Tracts on the same subject; in Turkish.
48. خواص قران تميمي 160
A Treatise upon the same subject; by Temīmī.
49. قبس الانوار خواصه [خواص] 260
Luminaries lighted up—on the same subject. [See *D'Herl.*
223. b]
50. Ditto 300
51. احيا علوم و شرح اسما الكسن [الكسني] 180
The Revival of the Sciences, and a Commentary on "the
Excellent Names." [Two different works. Of the first,
the whole title is, احيا علوم الدين—It is the most
celebrated work of Alghazālī (*D'Herl. Gazali*, p.362. b.)
of which Hājī Khalīfah has given a comprehensive
account. There are no less than twenty different works
bearing the title of the second, enumerated in the *Keshfu'*
z-ẓunūn.]
52. منهاج العابدين 70
The High Road of the Devout.
53. موعظ [مواظ] خضر زاده 260
The Sermons of Khizr-zadeh.
54. كيميا الغادة غزالي 60
The Alchemy of Habit, by Ghazālī. The title should have been
written كيميا السعادة The Alchemy of Felicity.—It is a
work